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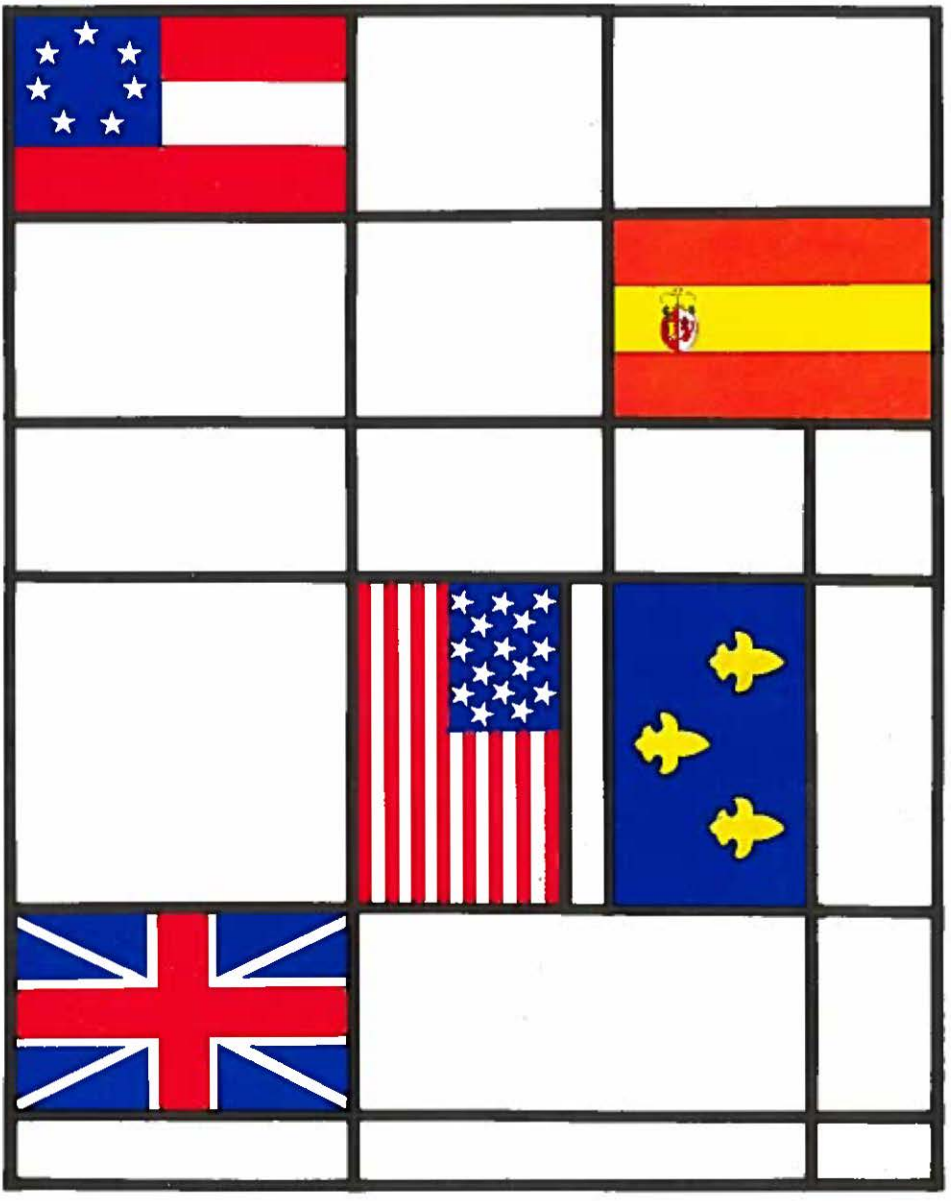

GCHR Gulf Coast Historical Review

Vol. 9 Spring 1994 No. 2

Cover design by
Marilyn Thomason

From the Editors . . .

This issue marks the conclusion of our ninth year of publication. While this may not seem especially important to some readers, it is to your editors! We will not shout our own praises just yet, though we are delighted to be fortunate enough to still be here to do so. Also it would seem more appropriate to do this at the end of our tenth year, or first decade, but we thought our readers would like to know what has been on our minds recently.

One of our goals in founding the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* was to encourage regional studies by publishing articles and book reviews of wide ranging interest. In this issue readers from New Orleans to Tampa can find work on some aspect of their community's history. Alabama's modern Republicans and Confederates in Florida's panhandle are also represented. The story of the New Orleans League of Women Voters' turbulent early years should prove interesting to readers far beyond the borders of the Crescent City, and Professor Hathorn's conclusion of his study of Alabama's GOP (the first installment was in last Spring's *GCHR*) is instructive for residents of other states as well. Indeed, each article in this issue could be taken as a model for research on a similar topic elsewhere along the coast.

Our book review section examines twenty-two titles of recent publications about our region. It is very nice to see such a large number of books coming out and we certainly owe a debt to all the reviewers and to our book review editor, Dr. Jim McSwain, for bringing them to our attention. Of course we must thank the books' authors for this gratifying state of affairs.

Our next issue, which comes out in the fall, will be devoted to the proceedings of the last Gulf Coast History & Humanities Conference. We have an excellent group of articles on the theme "The Gulf Coast in the Gilded Age," as those who attended the conference in October 1993 will attest. The proceedings volume will be extra large in order to contain virtually all the papers presented, so be sure to renew your subscription this summer so as not to miss a thing in our tenth year of publication.

NOTICE

The University of Georgia will sponsor a symposium entitled "Black and White Perspectives on the American South," on September 29-30, 1994. The two-day conference at the University's Center for Continuing Education will include sessions devoted to "The Historical Development of southern Race Relations," "Class, Race, and Gender," "Culture," and "Justice and Poser." The speakers include John Boles, William Chafe, James Cobb, Melissa Fay Greene, Daryl Dance, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Vincent Harding, Trudier Harris, and George Wright. For more information on the symposium, contact Professor Will Holmes, Department of History, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602, (706) 542-8848.

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Martha Gilmore Robinson

"Women of Brains and Standing": The New Orleans League of Women Voters, 1934-1950

Pamela Tyler

The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, granting to women the right to vote, did not usher in a golden age of reform and social justice as some had predicted. Overcoming the effects of generations of stifling limitations placed upon women's education and public role would require more than adding forty words to the U.S. Constitution, particularly in the southern states. In 1928 one southern woman noted the persistence of what she called "the old anti-suffrage attitude in the South." She realized that most women had their uncertainty, timidity, and diffidence about political participation boosted by men. "They have viewed politics as something they should stay away from," she observed. "They have been told so and have believed it and the few feminists who have tried to push in have been slapped in the face."[1]

In 1922 registered male voters in the city of New Orleans outnumbered women by four to one, a ratio which was maintained for the next fourteen years. Following the tradition of southern female gentility, New Orleans women had been bred to shun anything "unladylike." Because politics remained relentlessly male, a world of cigar smoke, corner saloons, and ward bosses, most women needed a special incentive to become politically involved.

In many cities, the League of Women Voters provided the necessary training ground for introducing women to politics through a well-planned program of study of political issues on a strictly nonpartisan basis. But in New Orleans, in glaring violation of the National League of Women Voters constitution, the local League chapter had campaigned openly for candidates and had invoked the name of the sacredly nonpartisan League in backing them. These particular League members had entered the male political world with a vengeance, norms of genteel behavior notwithstanding. A possible explanation for their eager plunge into vigorous partisanship may lie in the fact that the officers of this early League of Women Voters were related by blood or marriage to state and local politicians. Since the League advanced the cause of the New Orleans city machine ("the Old Regulars"), it is not too great a leap to speculate that the New Orleans chapter functioned as a variety of women's political auxiliary to the local male machine and that women's political activities in this context won the warm approval of office-holding husbands and brothers.[2]

Lending the League of Women Voters' imprimatur to a political machine's slate of candidates proved too great a transgression of the ideals of the national organization, however. In the 1930s the national parent body revoked the charter of the New Orleans League of Women Voters for their breach of League policy.

Thus because the League of Women Voters had been so fully identified with a political machine, an ironic situation developed in New Orleans. "Women of brains and standing," as one of their number described them, were women who opposed machine politics, and they held the League of Women Voters in low esteem, though it was the very organization noted in the rest of the country for standing resolutely "above politics."[3]

In June 1934 Martha Gilmore Robinson, a socially prominent, well-educated New Orleanian (surely a "woman of brains and standing"), presided at a gathering of the leading clubwomen of her city. It was a meeting to which her postcards had invited a selection of women's groups concerned with social welfare, education, civic improvement, culture, and professional advancement. Most, though not all, of those attending shared certain traits: higher-than-average education, economic security, civic mindedness, and previous participation in women's associations. Assembling hatted, suited, and gloved in Tulane University's Gibson Hall, the women rallied to Robinson's call to establish "a nonpartisan organization for promoting women's responsible participation in government."[4] Thus was born the Woman Citizens' Union (WCU).

Unlike the disgraced local chapter of the League of Women Voters, this group intended to remain strictly nonpartisan, refusing to make endorsements of candidates, proposing only to educate women politically and to promote their responsible participation in government.[5] Their roster of officers reflected a distinct class bias: of seventeen original officers, ten were listed in the city's Social Register and four had husbands in the Boston Club, the city's most exclusive men's club. Furthermore, this slant in favor of the city's elite did not go unremarked by middle-class women. Six months after formation of the WCU, the New Orleans Federation of Women's Clubs received an invitation to join the Woman Citizens' Union. The twenty-eight members of its board of directors had only one of their number listed in the Social Register; clearly they were a middle-class group. The hostile tone of their reply to the WCU invitation is obvious. Stating that they were "ignored when your organization was started," their letter closed icily "as we were not considered in the past we certainly [would] not consider joining now."[6] The Woman Citizens' Union began life, then, as a self-consciously elite organization.

The birth of the WCU coincided with and was to some extent caused by deteriorating relations between the city of New Orleans and Senator Huey Long. Opposition to Long's obsessive power-grabs centered in New Orleans, whose legislative delegation maintained a stubborn independence and fought Long's proposals. The summer of 1934 saw virtual siege warfare as Long grimly determined to bring the city into submission by whatever means he could employ. Only days before the September 1934 municipal election, he dispatched two thousand armed guardsmen to New Orleans in an obvious attempt to

intimidate the city's voters.[7] The very visible presence of so many armed troops undeniably had this effect, particularly on women voters who were only recently registered, many of whom had never voted before, and for whom the mere act of casting a ballot under such inflammatory circumstances was fraught with anxiety.

New Orleans Times-Picayune,
October 11, 1941

The evening before the election Martha Gilmore Robinson spoke on radio to encourage women to vote despite the threatening atmosphere.

> Do not let talk of trouble frighten you away. A woman who conducts herself with dignity and intelligence will never be molested. In fact the presence of such women at the polls acts as a restraint to lawlessness. This fact should double the obligation upon women to perform their civic duty.[8]

Predictably Long's candidates won the election. The Woman Citizens' Union immediately began a massive voter registration campaign to boost the numbers of women voters. Believing that women were morally superior to men, WCU members felt that women's influence in elections would have a purifying effect on government. As Robinson put it, "Women, who through the ages have been the guardians of morality in the home, the bulwark of spiritual and cultural causes in the community, it is your influence which is needed in politics today."[9]

The number of white women registered to vote in Orleans Parish spurted upward between 1934 and 1936, from 47,966 to 70,303, a total increase of forty-seven percent.[10] This increase coincides with and is probably a response to the voter registration drive of the Woman Citizens' Union. The voter registration drive, electoral reforms, and civil service laws constituted the heart of the WCU agenda. Among the electoral reforms WCU members advocated were the use of public schools as polling places, permanent voter registration, the use of voting machines, restrictions of the behavior of police at the polls, and poll tax repeal. The undeniable effect of these reforms would be broader participation in elections and a larger vote. In the past upper-class reformers alarmed at political corruption had tended to favor measures to shrink the pool of eligible voters. However, through energetic efforts to enlarge the electorate, Robinson and the WCU revealed a solid faith in democracy. Within six years of the WCU's formation, all of the desired reforms except permanent voter registration had become law. WCU members built significant public support for the measures by traveling to Baton Rouge to testify on behalf of them at committee hearings, holding public meetings at which the reforms were discussed, and devoting countless hours of unpaid labor to writing, mimeographing, addressing, and mailing circulars.[11]

In the effort to secure these reform goals, the WCU enjoyed fruitful cooperation with the Baton Rouge League of Women Voters. Robinson, impressed with their members and envying their affiliation with a large, helpful, and respected parent body, concluded that the New Orleans WCU could be a more effective instrument for women's political activity by becoming a chapter of the League of Women Voters. The National League of Women Voters harbored doubts, however, after the fiasco with the earlier New Orleans League chapter, that any New Orleans organization could be interested in politics and yet remain nonpartisan. Four years of negotiations with the National League office then ensued involving earnest pledges of good faith from the Woman Citizens' Union, testimonials on their behalf, delicate negotiations by mail, and a visit of inspection from a National staff member. Finally after intense scrutiny, National allowed the Woman Citizens' Union to vote itself out of existence in October 1942. As a world war swirled around them, the WCU members reconstituted themselves as the New Orleans League of Women Voters.[12]

The fledgling New Orleans League boasted a membership of eighty women, almost all from the so-called "silk stocking" district in the Uptown-University area. Indeed, Robinson had gone to some pains to enlist "the right sort" of woman, as she put it.[13] These original League members were an elite, with roots deep in Louisiana, unassailable social status, and economic security.

Robinson and the New Orleans League associated local machine politics and corruption with fascistic conditions abroad and described their work to eradicate

such local conditions as "war work." The League's most sustained project of war years involved voter registration, especially the registration of women. Beyond a resolute refusal to work for African-American registration, the League targeted no special neighborhoods, no particular class, no groups "likely" to vote a certain way. They did not participate in registration efforts with partisan groups. Instead, League members conducted an exhaustive house-to-house canvass of the city to identify any and all unregistered individuals. They distributed pledge cards which read, "To take the place of one voter gone to war, I promise to register at once and do my part as an American citizen by taking an active part in government and voting in elections."[14]

Registering women comprised only half the battle, however; persuading them actually to exercise the vote instead of succumbing to the long-held shibboleth that "politics is a man's world" was the other half. Many women held the view that the mere act of voting could taint them, rendering them susceptible to a charge of being "mixed up in politics." Avoiding such a seemingly innocuous charge was not an unreasonable motivation in a state with the lurid political reputation of Louisiana. Convincing women to vote meant convincing them to enter the political realm which was, almost by definition, corrupt and foul, and thus, by having contact with it, to risk loss of their special, womanly purity.

Robinson, a superb speaker, addressed many women's audiences to counter these biases. "Ask yourself: Why is politics a dirty business?" she demanded. "Why should the business of managing the most idealistic form of government the world has ever known be a dirty business?" Echoing Jane Addams and other social feminists of an earlier era, she told women, "There is nothing that touches your home, your family that is not touched by politics. It is up to you to see that politics is clean."[15]

During the war the League of Women Voters attained high stature in New Orleans. The press reported their activities approvingly. Calling Robinson "a fearless, sane, and sensible leader," one 1944 editorial hailed women's greater participation in the affairs of the state. "The day of the racketeer seems doomed," the writer continued, predicting that, because of female influence, "never again will the kind of machine politics Louisiana once cowered under be able to crush our people and entrench itself in government." A year later another editorial saluted Robinson as "the 'First Lady' of New Orleans" and applauded her "many activities and driving ambitions to make this a better city."[16]

League members regularly patrolled voting precincts to check for violations of election law. This earned them the respect of some political figures, because after meticulous inspections and recordkeeping, Robinson and her members were certain to reveal violations to the press. Not content with merely documenting illegalities at the polls, Robinson provided the names and addresses of buildings

which should have served as polling places under the law and of bars which remained open in violation of it. This was not accomplished without long hours of work. Robinson customarily rose before dawn on election day to begin her rounds, checking on League members deployed at the city's 262 precincts.[17]

The New Orleans League at its inception was not racially integrated. In 1948 the League stumbled over a racial issue fraught with divisive potential; at the center of the controversy was the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. In 1938 southern progressives had formed this coalition of reform groups to work to lift the region out of its backwardness. The declared purposes of the organization were to promote the general welfare of the South and improve the economic, social, and cultural standards of its people. Its first convention, held in Birmingham, adopted resolutions favoring shorter hours for working women, liberal workmen's compensation laws, state Wagner acts, abolition of the poll tax, freedom for the Scottsboro boys, and a federal anti-lynching law. The emphasis on labor and racial issues reflected the large delegations of CIO members and African-Americans in attendance.[18]

Over the years southern politicians disavowed the goals of SCHW as it increasingly aimed at changing southern institutions and practices. The CIO broke with the Conference because its liberalism on race hampered CIO efforts to unionize southern whites. An SCHW resolution condemning segregated meetings alienated southern white moderates in the group, who were accustomed to approaching racial matters with great circumspection. As a result the Conference lost its sense of unity and much of its white membership. By 1946 Harry Truman and Eleanor Roosevelt had disavowed the organization completely; more than half its remaining membership was African-American. At its annual convention in New Orleans that year, it went on record condemning all racial discrimination in housing, education, employment opportunities, and transportation accommodations.[19]

Thus by 1947 the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, which had been founded and once enthusiastically supported by the leading southern white progressives, no longer represented even that small segment of the South's population. As the Cold War chilled the American scene, the SCHW defiantly defeated a resolution to condemn the Soviet Union and refused to bar Communists from its ranks, convincing many that it was a hotbed of fellow travelers and prompting more resignations. Later in 1947, the House Un-American Activities Committee delivered the coup de grace to the SCHW in public opinion when it branded the Conference a "deviously camouflaged Communist-front organization."[20]

Strands of the story of the SCHW and the New Orleans League of Women Voters intertwine at this point. Emily Blanchard, the state chairman of the Louisiana SCHW, had long been an active member of the Baton Rouge League

of Women Voters and an officer in the state League. Martha Robinson had known Blanchard for years; they regarded each other with mutual respect and affection and ranked among each other's closest colleagues in League and PTA work in the state.[21] In New Orleans, where the press had spread stories of the SCHW's left-wing affiliations even before the HUAC report, release of the report made SCHW a target for constant media criticism. Robinson was understandably concerned that the public might come to believe the League of Women Voters was associated with the unpopular Southern Conference on Human Welfare if Blanchard continued to serve on the state League of Women Voters board while chairing the state SCHW. Accordingly, she talked with Blanchard about the advisability of her not taking another term on the state League board. Their conversation was friendly; Robinson came away believing that Blanchard would not seek re-election.

Instead Blanchard allowed her name to be put in nomination for another term when the League met in convention. Robinson's refusal to support her and her subsequent coolness prompted Blanchard to write a fond note to explain herself. "Martha, darling...I missed your warm, affectionate approval yesterday....I am not choosing S.C.H.W. as against the program of the League [and I] would not consciously embarrass you or the League." Robinson allowed the breach between them to remain. When Blanchard suggested consideration of black membership in the League of Women Voters, the chill intensified.[22]

In the summer of 1947 a New Orleans newspaper reported erroneously that the local League of Women Voters and the Southern Conference on Human Welfare would be working together in a voter registration drive. Robinson immediately issued a vigorous denial through the press. Blanchard then requested that she be allowed to come before the League to present information about the nature of the SCHW and to answer questions. Robinson refused. To a friend she wrote,

> I felt it would nullify all League efforts to be associated in the public mind with a group pushing a program which is considered radical by the mass of people in the state. The League would have no more chance of passing anything in the coming legislature than a flower in a furnace. Lord knows, the League program is very progressive, to put it mildly, to most Louisiana communities. If we try to get too far ahead of their ideas we will repel them and be unable to get them to take any more liberal point of view.[23]

It is probable that Robinson read the situation correctly, and her assessment of the state legislature and public opinion was accurate. At the same time the pragmatic attitude coincided with her own personal feelings on the issue; one suspects she would have steered a different course had she supported SCHW objectives herself.

The League of Women Voters adopted a resolution which deplored Emily Blanchard's advocacy of membership for African-American women and made her remaining a member of the League contingent upon her resigning from SCHW. This she declined to do. Instead she left the League.[24]

The situation degenerated rapidly into a breach between Martha Robinson and the League's most liberal members. Because of this liberal-moderate split of 1947-48, the League of Women Voters lost some members who abandoned it to seek other groups more in harmony with their own leftist sentiments. Disquieted by the controversy which surrounded the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and unsettled by her friend Emily Blanchard's close association with it, Martha Robinson had in effect participated in a purge in 1947-48. Yet under her leadership, the League of Women Voters steered a definitely progressive course, intent upon governmental reforms and greater citizen participation in government. However, it did not support changing the racial status quo in Louisiana. The incident is indicative of Robinson's attitudes on race and Communism, attitudes which the bulk of Louisianians, even those of a progressive cast of mind, shared at that time. After Blanchard's exit, other more liberal League members drifted away and found organizations where they were philosophically comfortable.

By 1948 the New Orleans League of Women Voters had undergone a traumatic year of dissension which had taken a toll. From monthly general meetings and board meetings three or four times each month, the organization slid into stagnation; it did not meet at all from November 1947 until June 1948. In addition to the loss of its most liberal members, the League was abandoned by its most conservative members as well because it had been tarred with the brush of extremism and controversy.

From this watershed onward, an important change is apparent. The New Orleans League of Women Voters, which had begun as an outgrowth of the Woman Citizens' Union, ceased at mid-century to be a provincial, inbred organization dominated by the city's elite. It became instead much more representative of the city's population. While early League membership had represented the city's insular ruling class, a survey taken in 1951 revealed that of twenty-five League board members, only seven were lifelong residents of New Orleans; eight had lived in the city less than five years. It is also significant that they were all college-educated, and that their colleges represented many geographic areas and approaches to education. In addition to holding degrees from Sophie Newcomb College in New Orleans, League of Women Voters board members at mid-century were alumnae of Barnard, the University of California at Berkeley, Northwestern, Radcliffe, Sweetbriar, and Wellesley, rendering them a truly cosmopolitan group.[25]

With this infusion of new blood, the New Orleans League of Women Voters experienced a rapid growth in membership. It had begun with an initial roster of eighty members in 1942, of whom thirty were either Social Register-listed or connected via husband with the Boston Club. Thus over one-third of the original membership came from the city's elite. By 1950 under Martha Robinson's recruiting efforts aimed at rebuilding a badly shaken organization, membership climbed to 513. Expanding out of its original stronghold in the Uptown-University area, the New Orleans League established unit groups in six other neighborhoods, all of which were distinctly middle-class. The new units acknowledged members' needs by scheduling night meetings for the first time, a tacit recognition of the fact that not every new member had household servants or was a full-time homemaker.[26]

Martha Gilmore Robinson, who had presided over the League of Women Voters in its formative years, accomplished a major change in her attitudes at an age when she could have been collecting Social Security checks (if she had ever held a paying job). She had begun her work in the League with a provincial view of "transients," or people living in Louisiana who were not natives.[27] In her personal lexicon, a transient was a newcomer, an interloper, one who could never really belong in the inner circle of an old community like New Orleans. Convinced from birth that she and her family and friends were the elite, Robinson had not sought out those newcomers for admission into the charmed circle until she was in her sixties. It is to her credit that she was able to change, to become less chauvinistic about her city and state, to accept those she had labeled "transients."

However, the burgeoning of the League after it began energetic recruiting efforts and attracted hundreds of new members, many of them non-natives, gave her genuine pleasure. Contact with educated women whose backgrounds were varied and outlooks broad stimulated Robinson. She wrote of the new members, "They are good live gals!"[28] In 1950 Robinson noted appreciatively that recruitment efforts had rendered the League "a true cross section of our community." Of this growth and rebuilding, a staff member from the National League office wrote, "They are doing a tremendous revitalizing job under Mrs. Robinson, and if they will only let more new people get in...it should be wonderful."[29]

To what can we attribute Robinson's reversal of outlook? Unfortunately, her papers reveal nothing of her inner feelings on this issue. The League of Women Voters, and its predecessor, the Woman Citizens' Union, had occupied her energies for a decade and a half when the liberal-moderate schism ripped the New Orleans group. The loss of a handful of key members, left-liberals who had endorsed the policies of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and who had supported Henry Wallace's 1948 presidential ambitions, deprived the League

of some of its most capable women and threatened its very existence. Robinson apparently saw two options: either find replacements for the departed members or preside over the slow decline of the League of Women Voters, the organization which she had made the center of her life and which she regarded as a distinct force for political enlightenment and moderation in Louisiana. Faced with such a stark choice, Robinson adapted.

Martha Gilmore Robinson was no reactionary. She had consistently supported Roosevelt and the New Deal. Writing to her sons in the military in 1944, she displayed clear recognition of changes in the wind. "I don't want you boys to be like the narrow-minded, ignorant reactionary people in this state. We are in a great social revolution. Whether you like it or not, the world can never be the same."[30] In her leadership of the New Orleans League of Women Voters, she worked for reforms that would bring to a close the dominance of the machine, the cronyism, and the corruption which had long characterized Louisiana politics. In addition she enthusiastically subscribed to League policy promoting greater internationalism and was an ardent backer of the new United Nations.[31]

The schism that rent the League in 1947-48 shows that women's groups were not immune to the Cold War fears that plagued the nation; the split between Blanchard and Robinson is an echo of national patterns in the late forties. When prominent New Dealers formed the outspokenly anti-Communist Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) in 1947, they had the support of liberals like Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who, in pulling away from the so-called progressivism of the left-liberal Henry Wallace, left him to the Communists and fellow-travellers.[32] Quite simply, anti-Communism was in vogue for liberals; in the South, it was equalled in popularity by persistent support for racial segregation. The course that Robinson steered allowed the League of Women Voters to retain its influence with the extremely conservative state legislature, a body which viewed the League, even as reconstituted after the split, as a shockingly liberal organization.

As the New Orleans League of Women Voters moved into the second half of the twentieth century, it was not racially integrated. That step would come in the 1960s. Nonetheless, after an unsettling internal schism, it emerged indisputably a much stronger organization, improved because of its diversity. The League of Women Voters at mid-century enjoyed a broader base of support and greater numbers. Martha Robinson herself would have been the first to salute all of the members of the reborn New Orleans League of Women Voters as "women of brains and standing."

Notes

[1] Sue Shelton White to Mollie Dewson, November 23, 1928, quoted in Anne Firor Scott, "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties," *Journal of Southern History* 30 (August 1964): 315.

[2] Marguerite Wells to Mrs. Ed Pilsbury, November 20, 1936; Wells to Pilsbury, December 2, 1936; in National League of Women Voters Papers, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as NLWV Papers.

[3] Anonymous to National League of Women Voters, June 3, 1936, NLWV Papers.

[4] Woman Citizens' Union minutes, June 1, 1934, in Martha G. Robinson Papers, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University New Orleans. Hereafter cited as MGR Papers.

[5] *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1934.

[6] Mrs. V. K. Casserlly to Martha G. Robinson, January 24, 1935, New Orleans League of Women Voters Papers, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans. Hereafter cited as NOLWV Papers.

[7] T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long* (New York, 1970), 726-27.

[8] MGR radio script, September 6, 1934, MGR Papers.

[9] MGR radio script, undated, MGR Papers.

[10] *Report of the Secretary of State to His Excellency the Governor of Louisiana*, 1935 and 1937, p. 397, insert #3. This increase of white women voters is by far the largest increase among women voters in any two-year period. The gain in white male voters between 1934 and 1936 was only 14 percent, while registered black women increased by 21 percent (from 91 in 1934 to 116 in 1936) and numbers of registered black males actually declined by 10 percent in this two-year period.

[11] *Times-Picayune*, November 2, 1941; various WCU petitions and resolutions in MGR Papers; MGR radio script, undated, also in MGR Papers.

[12] Internal memos make it clear that the National League of Women Voters doubted whether there was "any ground for believing that a LWV with its nonpartisan purpose could succeed in Louisiana." Constance Roach to Mrs. Bailey Clavin, December 3, 1941; Marguerite Wells to Mrs. Roscoe Anderson, December 9, 1936; NLWV Papers.

[13] Rosa Keller, "League of Women Voters, 1942-1977," manuscript in author's possession.

[14] LWV Board minutes, July 19, 1943, NOLWV Papers. With four sons in uniform during World War II, Robinson felt keenly interested in the war's progress. Inaugurating the voter registration drive, Robinson told the press, "The League believes that ballots on the home front are as vital as bullets on the firing line. We must preserve at home the democracy we fight for abroad." *Times-Picayune*, July 15, 1943.

[15] Typescript of MGR speech, undated (approximately one week after the Pearl Harbor attack), MGR Papers.

[16] *New Orleans States*, May 13, 1944; November 23, 1945.

[17] *Times-Picayune*, December 15, 1943; January 19, 1944.

[18] Thomas A. Kureger's *And Promises to Keep: The Southern Conference on Human Welfare, 1938-1948* (Nashville, 1967) is the basic monograph for understanding that organization's genesis, rise and fall. Also useful is Virginia Foster Durr's splendid autobiography, *Outside the Magic Circle*, ed. Hollinger Barnard (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1984).

[19] George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 637-38.

[20] Walter Gellhorn, "Report on a Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities," *Harvard Law Review* 60 (October 1947): 1221-33.

[21] Cleanth Brooks to Pamela Tyler, June 20, 1988, in author's possession. Brooks married Emily Blanchard's daughter, the late Edith Blanchard Brooks.

[22] Emily Blanchard to MGR, April 23, 1947, NOLWV Papers.

[23] MGR to Kay Bates, September 3, 1947, NOLWV Papers.

[24] Emily Blanchard to Rosa Keller, July 24, 1974, in Keller, "League of Women Voters, 1942-1977," manuscript in author's possession.

[25] Author interviews with Ruth Dreyfous, June 16, 1988; Ruth Hamill Preston, October 15, 1983; untitled report, NOLWV Papers; 1948 annual report, NOLWV Papers; Helen Fox, "Vital Statistics of L.W.V. Board Members," 1951, NOLWV Records, LWV office, 534 Loyola Avenue, New Orleans. Hereafter cited as LWV HQ Papers.

[26] Martha G. Robinson, "A Summary of the Reports to the Membership of the Officers and Directors of the League of Women Voters of New Orleans," April 22, 1950, LWV HQ Papers; Author interviews with Mathilde Dreyfous, March 10, 1989.

[27] Robinson wrote bluntly to a colleague in League work, "I do not suppose you *transient* Louisianians can ever understand how we feel...." (Emphasis Robinson's.) The recipient of this letter was a college professor at LSU who had lived in Baton Rouge with her husband for ten years! MGR to Ruth H. Preston, January 24, 1944, NOLWV Papers.

[28] MGR to Mrs. A. D. Tisdale, July 15, 1948, NOLWV Papers.

[29] Rae R. Horner to Anna Lord Strauss, October 2-16, 1948 (field report from Louisiana), NLWV papers.

[30] "Robinson Home Journal," June 23, 1944, MGR Papers. Robinson's support for Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal provided a source of serious friction between husband and wife in the Robinson household. Her husband, like countless businessmen, rejected the New Deal as an overextension of government and seemed to be particularly irascible concerning the president and his family. See various issues in the "Robinson Home Journal," a carbon-copied newsletter which Martha Robinson wrote to scattered family members during World War II, especially August 20, September 18, 23, October 22, 1944, and February 12, 1945.

[31] Martha G. Robinson to Ruth H. Preston, August 23, 1943; MGR to Leta Tisdale, September 15, 1945, MGR to Kay Bates, January 23, 1948, MGR to League chapter presidents in Louisiana, September 22, 1948 in LWV Papers.

[32] William L. O'Neill, *American High: The Years of Confidence 1945-1960* (New York, 1986), 95-97, 158-66.

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A Dozen Years in the Political Wilderness: The Alabama Republican Party, 1966-1978

Billy B. Hathorn

Until the 1960s, Alabama remained snugly anchored among a dozen southern states characterized by unwavering loyalty to the Democratic party—at the local, state, and national levels. Stereotyped by the legacies of Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Great Depression, Alabama Republicans often failed to offer even token candidates for contested offices. Nevertheless by 1962 and 1964 the Grand Old Party appeared to have been rejuvenated by a determined new breed of leaders. In the crucial elections of 1966 Congressman James Douglas Martin, a catalyst behind the GOP revival in the "Heart of Dixie," confidently carried the party's gubernatorial banner. Not only was Martin initially favored to win, but Republicans also dreamed that he could sweep other candidates into office. Such hopes proved illusory, for the entrenched Democrats returned the Alabama GOP to its status as a near nonentity in statewide politics.

In retrospect Martin's candidacy was a blunder, for it squandered Republican potential on an essentially quixotic mission. Moreover, Martin relinquished the House seat he had held for a single term, with dim prospects that a Republican could succeed him. He failed to gauge the momentum behind Democratic nominee Lurleen Burns Wallace, who declared her candidacy after the legislature refused to amend the state constitution so that her immensely popular husband, Governor George Corley Wallace, could seek reelection. Martin further undercut the planned gubernatorial candidacy of former state Republican chairman John Edward Grenier of Birmingham, an oversight which sparked needless intraparty friction.

Four years earlier, Martin, a Gadsden businessman, had nearly unseated Democratic Senator Lister Hill. He had been expected to challenge Senator John Sparkman in 1966, while Grenier ran for governor. For a time it seemed that both men, who had jointly built the state's Republican infrastructure, might oppose each other for the gubernatorial nomination before the state convention in Montgomery in July. Grenier's switch to the Senate contest, however, cleared the path for Martin to proceed with the race for governor.[1]

False reports of GOP strength abounded. In February 1966, the *New York Times* predicted that Martin "not only has a chance to win the governorship, but at least for the moment must be rated as the favorite." Political writer Theodore H. White incorrectly predicted that Alabama would become the first ex-Confederate state to elect a Republican governor. A consensus developed that Martin might lend coattails to Republican candidates in legislative, county, and municipal elections. The defections of three legislators and a member of the

The REAL CHOICE Tomorrow!

A MAN OR A WOMAN

JIM MARTIN
Yes, a he-man, a battler, and a winner in the United States Congress

LURLEEN WALLACE
Yes, a nice wife, trying to do a man's job in Montgomery

Don't Kid Yourself—
George Wallace is Grabbing for Personal Power!

VOTE FOR

★ A WINNING CONGRESSMAN!
★ A REAL CONSTITUTIONALIST!
★ A COMMON SENSE CONSERVATIVE!

GO TO THE POLLS TOMORROW AND PULL THE LEVER FOR . . .

JIM MARTIN

GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA

Jim Martin campaign ad Mobile Register, *November 7, 1966*

Democratic Executive Committee reinforced such possibilities. The *New York Times* explained that Alabama Democrats had denounced the national party for so long that it was "no longer popular in many quarters to be a Democrat."[2] Martin claimed that the South must "break away from the one-party system just as we broke away from a one-crop economy." He vowed to make Alabama "first in opportunity, jobs, and education."[3]

Keener insight at the time should have revealed that the forty-eight-year-old Martin was pursuing the one office essentially off limits to the GOP that year. No Republican had served as governor since David Peter Lewis left office in 1884, and Wallace's organization was insurmountable despite an early poll that placed Martin within distance of victory.[4]

Though the Republicans sought to downplay the racial question, Governor Wallace kept the issue alive when he signed legislation to nullify desegregation guidelines between Alabama cities and counties and the then United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Wallace claimed that the law would thwart the national government from intervening in schools. Critics, however, denounced Wallace's "political trickery" and expressed alarm at the potential forfeiture of federal funds. Martin accused the Democrats of "playing politics with your children" and "neglecting academic excellence."[5]

Martin also opposed the desegregation guidelines and had sponsored a House amendment to forbid the placement of students and teachers on the basis of racial quotas. He predicted that Wallace's legislation would propel the issuance of a court order compelling immediate and total desegregation in all Alabama public schools. Martin compared the new law to "another two-and-a-half minute stand in the schoolhouse door while the whole state suffers," referring to Wallace's 1963 stance at the University of Alabama.[6] Martin urged the dismissal of national Education Commissioner Harold Howe II, the principal author of the guidelines, and proposed that Wallace and Education Superintendent Austin R. Meadows go to Washington to challenge the guidelines in a bipartisan fashion. In reply, Meadows derisively told Martin to "let Jacob Javits handle it," a reference to the New York Republican senator active in the civil rights movement. The anti-guidelines law was subsequently struck down as Martin had warned, and Alabama was placed under a federal court order to abolish its dual system.[7]

"New South" author Pat Watters contended that Wallace's actions unintentionally compelled the national government to "act and did more to advance Negro causes than the most fervent civil rights advocate" could have imagined.[8] Syndicated columnist Holmes Alexander noted with irony that though Wallace had lost every fight with Washington, Alabamians were "convinced he has come off the winner." Alexander observed the politically astute Wallace

greeting a black family in a restaurant, a gesture other southern politicians of that day would have cautiously avoided.[9]

To Martin, the forty-year-old Mrs. Wallace's "proxy" candidacy reflected an "insatiable appetite for power" by a "one-family dynasty." Mrs. Wallace used the slogan "Two Governors, One Cause" and proclaimed the words *Alabama* and *freedom* to be synonyms. Martin termed the governorship as a "man-sized job" and bemoaned having to campaign against a woman, a remark which subsequently would be considered anachronistic.[10]

Though he sought a state office, Martin focused on policies of President Lyndon B. Johnson unpopular with many Alabamians concerning the Vietnam War, urban unrest, and inflation. "We want to see this war ended, and it's going to take a change of administration to do it," warned Martin.[11] On state issues, Martin promised to "cut off all profiteering," a reference to a questionable $500,000 school book depository contract awarded to Wallace supporter Elton B. Stephens of Ebsco Investment Company. Martin challenged "secret deals in the building of highways or schools" and "conspiracies between the state house and the White House."[12] In the latter case, Martin charged that Wallace's "grandstanding" at the University of Alabama had been prearranged with the United States Justice Department.[13]

Doubts persisted whether Lurleen Wallace, who underwent multiple surgeries in 1965, could withstand the rigors of campaigning. Wallace indicated that he pondered retiring from politics prior to the filing deadline and returning to his hometown of Clayton to practice law. Yet Mrs. Wallace swept the primary—she even surpassed Wallace's 1962 showing—and buried the ambitions of former Governors John M. Patterson and James E. Folsom, Sr., Attorney General Richmond M. Flowers, and former Congressman Carl Elliott. After the primary the Wallaces vacationed at Gulf Shores; a decade later Wallace touchingly reflected that the gathering turned out to have been his wife's last respite. Mrs. Wallace served as governor for fewer than sixteen months; recurring cancer claimed her life in May 1968, when Wallace was seeking the presidency.[14]

Wallace defended his wife's candidacy from attacks by his critics. He felt somewhat vindicated when Idaho Republicans denied renomination in 1966 to Governor Robert E. Smylie, author of the article entitled "Why I Feel Sorry for Lurleen Wallace." In his memoirs Wallace recounted his wife's ability to "charm crowds" and cast off invective: "I was immensely proud of her, and it didn't hurt a bit to take a back seat to her in vote-getting ability." Wallace rebuffed critics who claimed that he had "dragooned" his wife into the race: "She loved every minute of being governor the same way...that Mrs. [Maine Republican Margaret Chase] Smith loves being senator."[15]

Though Lurleen Wallace uttered few substantive remarks during the campaign, Wallace deemed her a "polished speaker." To the *Huntsville Times*, she was "lovely but totally inexperienced." At her general election kickoff in Birmingham, Mrs. Wallace pledged "progress without compromise" and "accomplishment without surrender." In typical appearances she spoke in platitudes: "You know that tax money is being spent for your benefit and not for the enrichment of a favored few. George will continue to speak up and stand up for Alabama." She promised to heed public opinion: "Contrary to what the liberals preach, progress can be made without sacrificing the free enterprise system and...the Constitution."[16] After introductory remarks, Mrs. Wallace turned over the podium to her husband, who thrilled the audiences by baiting official Washington. It was during the 1966 campaign that Wallace coined his line "There's not a dime's worth of difference" between the national parties: "You can take the national Democrats who run the party...and then you can...take these national Republicans...and you can put them in a sack. You can shake them up and turn them up. There's not a dime's worth of difference in any one of them. I'm against all of them, just like you are."[17] Wallace likened Republicans who supported civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965 to "vultures" who presided over the "destruction of our Constitution and our laws." He ridiculed House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford ("He has all the problems he can handle at Ann Arbor") and Chief Justice Earl Warren ("He lacks the legal brains to try a chicken thief").[18]

Wallace was critical of former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, a determined campaigner for GOP candidates. He lambasted the Eisenhower-Nixon administration for having used troops to enforce desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas. Jim Martin, who discussed political developments with former President Dwight D. Eisenhower at Eisenhower's Gettysburg farm, said that Eisenhower told him that the troops were dispatched only after Little Rock's Democratic mayor voiced fears of an insurrection. According to Martin, Eisenhower had "no alternative" but to "send in troops."[19]

Wallace predicted that the states would increasingly defy federal encroachment in their affairs; as proof he cited the nomination of segregationist Lester G. Maddox as Georgia's Democratic gubernatorial candidate. Martin, however, proclaimed that President Johnson was undeterred by "the Lester Maddoxes and the George Wallaces" but feared a two-party system in the South.[20] In plugging for two-party politics, Martin claimed that the "only way to beat LBJ, [Hubert] Humphrey, and the Bobby Kennedy crowd would be for Alabama and the South to become strongly conservative Republican states," to "secede" from the Democratic party, and therefore "Beat LBJ the Jim Martin Way."[21] In reply, Jefferson County Democratic Chairman Cooper Green reminded Martin that Chief Justice Warren, a former California Republican

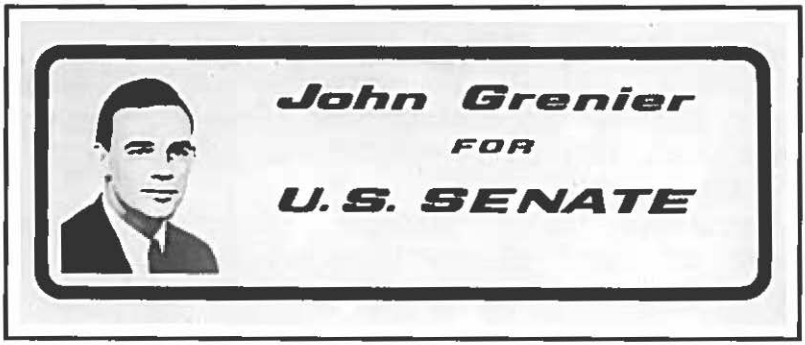
governor, had written the 1954 desegregation decision. Martin defended the GOP as a "conservative" party and noted that Wallace himself had made overtures to become Goldwater's running mate.[22]

Wallace's memoirs mention Martin merely as "the strongest Republican candidate in many years."[23] The Wallaces were so confident of victory—"Wallace coordinators" were organized in every county—that they could concentrate on public relations gestures such as a trip to Decatur to dedicate the John C. Calhoun Technical Junior College, one of numerous community colleges built during the Wallace administration.[24] Martin therefore wound up in a one-sided debate with Wallace against the national Democrats. And Wallace was the master of what one writer had termed the "popular sport of "LBJ-cussin'." In the face of Wallace's anti-Johnson tirades, Martin asserted the preposterous claim that Johnson would dump Vice President Humphrey in favor of Senator Robert Kennedy. The Republicans complained when vandals plastered Wallace stickers over Martin's billboards; GOP chairman Charles O. Smith likened such "dirty tricks" to "storm trooper tactics of a police state."[25]

Anti-Wallace voters did not fully coalesce behind Martin. Some preferred Dr. Carl Ray Robinson, a Bessemer physician-lawyer who, as an independent candidate, proclaimed Wallace and Martin equally unsympathetic to the needs of average citizens. Robinson said that Wallace had so perverted the Democratic label that Martin could have run for lieutenant governor on a Wallace ticket. Robinson filed a five-million-dollar slander suit against Martin after Martin speculated that Wallace was subsidizing Robinson in order to split the opposition. Martin dismissed the suit as "something the Democrats have cooked up" and questioned how it could be slanderous to say that "one Democrat supports another."[26]

Two Republicans, South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond and former Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, campaigned on behalf of Martin and Grenier. Thurmond, who carried Alabama as the States' Rights presidential nominee in 1948, addressed an all-white audience at the GOP state convention. He denounced Johnson, Humphrey, and Kennedy as "the most dangerous people in the country" and urged a "return to constitutional government." Thurmond charged that the Democrats were allied with "minority groups, power-hungry union leaders, political bosses, and big businessmen looking for government contracts and favors."[27] Irritated over Goldwater's appearance in Alabama, Wallace claimed that Goldwater had won five southern states primarily because of the abandonment of Wallace's candidacy: "The Republicans have tried to beat LBJ once...Where were [they] when I was fighting LBJ?" Goldwater refrained from personal criticism of Wallace but repudiated a proposed third-party as "disastrous" for the GOP.[28]

For a time in 1966, Senator Sparkman seemed vulnerable. He won the Democratic nomination by an unimpressive margin over weak opponents. Moreover, some 224,000 voters who participated in the gubernatorial primary skipped the Senate race. Republican John Grenier concluded that such apparent lukewarmness toward Sparkman provided a base from which to mount a challenge. Yet Sparkman benefited from Lurleen Wallace's candidacy, for he could extol the popular portions of his record and still stress that he had opposed President Johnson on nearly half of Senate roll call votes. The philosophical differences between Wallace and Sparkman were hence blurred in the name of party harmony. Though Sparkman had trailed in the polls during the first half of the year, he reclaimed front-runner status by the time the general election campaign began. Sparkman emphasized the value to the state of his constituent services, his chairmanship of the Senate Banking Committee, and membership on the Foreign Relations Committee.[29]



1966 campaign literature *Jack Edwards Collection, University of South Alabama Archives*

Grenier, a thirty-six-year-old lawyer and investment banker depicted as "bright, tough-minded, and a superb organizer," had been Alabama GOP chairman from 1962 to 1965. While serving as Goldwater's regional manager, Grenier succeeded in securing the support of 271 of the 279 southern delegates. Still he was unrecognized by most voters. Grenier tried to tie Sparkman to President Johnson and termed his opponent the "ambassador to Alabama from the court of King Lyndon." He challenged the Democrats over the economy, constitutional interpretation, the Great Society, civil disobedience, urban unrest, and anarchy. Grenier proposed military victory in Vietnam, the restoration of voluntary prayer in public schools, and restrictions on foreign aid.[30]

Martin and Grenier initially planned a Goldwater-style campaign. Yet when polls projected victory for Lurleen Wallace, Grenier tried to steer independently of Martin. He spoke warmly of the Wallaces and asked conservative Democrats to repudiate Sparkman: "There are deep differences between John Sparkman and George Wallace."[31] Sparkman's hometown daily, the *Huntsville Times*,

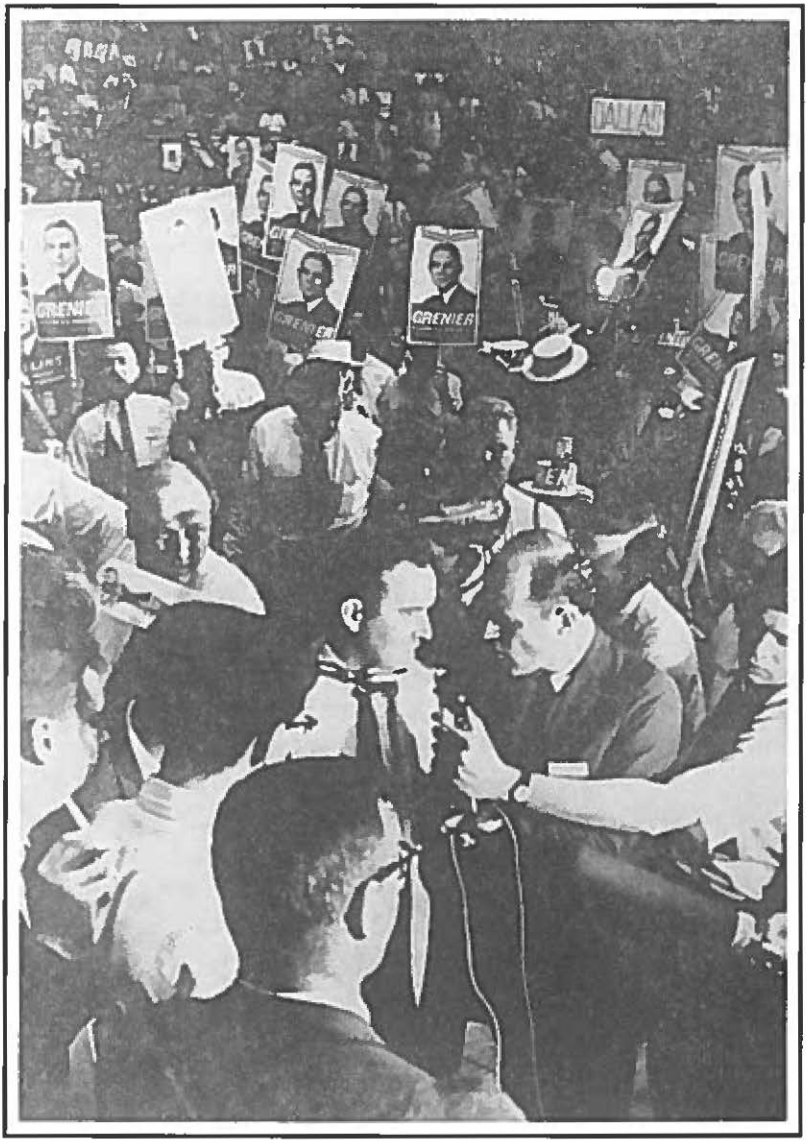
questioned Grenier's attempt to "attach himself to the Wallace coattails," even while Grenier affirmed backing for Martin.[32]

Initially, the Republicans had believed that the Wallace factor would allow them to make inroads in the black community. Journalist Roy Reed told the *New York Times* that the GOP was "carefully and quietly seeking Negro support." Such aspirations prompted Grenier to concede that the Civil Rights Act had legally resolved the desegregation question. Nevertheless, Grenier thereafter raised the racial issue when he criticized Sparkman's vote for a rent subsidy law that would have facilitated the integration of neighborhoods. Furthermore, the Alabama GOP platform affirmed support for state literacy tests as a prerequisite for registration though such tests had been struck down by the Voting Rights Act of 1965.[33] Grenier's attempt to court Wallace voters drew the enmity of some Republicans and the private outrage of Martin. To the liberal Republican Ripon Society, Grenier's candidacy was "an echo of Democratic racism." The Society challenged Grenier's earlier collaboration with "ultra-conservatives" in a coup against the Madison County GOP organization. One party regular, Mrs. James F. Hayes, retaliated against Grenier by endorsing Sparkman. The *Montgomery Advertiser*, which declared Sparkman the "symbol of the other [non-Wallace] Alabama," viewed Grenier as a "canny and able young political comer" who was still "no replacement" for Sparkman.[34]

The tensions between Martin and Grenier reflected disarray in the GOP, as two ambitious personalities agreed on ideology but quarreled over tactics. The confusion over which offices they would seek climaxed at the state convention, attended by more than twenty-five hundred persons. There Martin partisans had tried to convince the congressman to switch to the Senate race, but Grenier blocked such a move on grounds that he should not defer twice to Martin. Once amiable relations between Martin and Grenier chilled. Robert Sherrill maintained that Martin's decision to stay out of the Senate race may have been solidified by a meeting with directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank in New York. According to Sherrill, the directors preferred Sparkman's reelection to block the accession of Illinois' Paul Douglas to the chairmanship of the Banking Committee. (Douglas was unseated by Republican Charles H. Percy.) As the directors desired, Sparkman received generous backing from business and banks, which pressured the GOP to withhold financial support from Grenier.[35]

Republican National Committeeman Perry O. Hooper, Sr., a former probate and circuit judge from Montgomery, reflected years later on the Martin-Grenier rivalry:

> The year 1966 was a disaster...nobody could imagine a governor's wife running for office and winning. I began to realize it in January, but nobody else seemed to understand. Once we made that mistake, it was all downhill. It was felt that if we were going to really build a party we needed a governor,



Grenier backers surround a Martin supporter at the 1966 Republican convention

Montgomery Advertiser-Journal, *July 31, 1966*

> and Jim Martin was a hot item. He wanted to switch over to the senatorial nomination, but he wouldn't take a leadership position and let it be known....He hoped the convention would take over, but John Grenier was too well organized to make the switch. Neither Martin nor Grenier has ever gotten over the 1966 races. Martin ran against Grenier to serve on the national committee in 1968 and blew him away. Hopefully, a lot of these things are in the past. All we can do is learn from 1966.[36]

Despite the odds, Martin campaigned to the finish, buoyed by several newspaper endorsements and a straw poll at Auburn University. Four days before the election, Martin's "Victory Special" whistle-stop tour, conceived by Martin's eighty-three-year-old father, began in Mobile and rolled northward through nearly fifty towns and cities in thirty-two counties. A few candidates joined Martin, but there was no united effort, and the national party pointedly declined to give Martin financial assistance. When a poll showed one-third of voters undecided one week prior to the election, Martin predicted that he might yet "sweep the Great Society out of Washington and the 'Little Society' [his appellation for the Wallace administration] out of Montgomery." Martin overstated his hopes that his election would make Alabama a "Republican state for one hundred years." He equated "Republicanism" to the philosophy of Democrat Jefferson Davis, who assumed the Confederate presidency in Montgomery in 1861.[37] The *Huntsville Times* hailed Martin's tenacity: "He may not win...but he has given Alabama a two-party campaign." Though it opposed the concept of the proxy candidacy, the *Times* did not endorse Martin.[38]

The pro-Martin *Montgomery Advertiser* published an editorial entitled "The Many Demons of Governor Wallace," which satirized Wallace's "real and imagined devils" to include President Johnson, Congress, the Supreme Court, most other states, Communists, Democrats, Republicans, and the media. The editorial charged that Wallace's presidential aspirations had supplanted his desire to wield executive power at home.[39] To the *Greensboro Watchman*, the proxy candidacy represented a "bitter assault" on the state constitution: "Like Caesar, Wallace has become too powerful for us."[40]

Ultimately Martin and Grenier carried only one county—the "Free State" of Winston, where many are descendants of non-slaveholders who remained loyal to the Republicans after the Civil War. Martin also scored a six-vote plurality in Greene County. His 262,943 votes (31 percent) were less than half of Mrs. Wallace's 537,505 ballots (63.4 percent); Robinson trailed with 47,655 votes (5.6 percent). Grenier received 313,018 votes (39 percent); Sparkman, 482,138 ballots (60.1 percent). Another 7,444 votes (0.9 percent) went to Independent Julian Elgin, who had been Sparkman's 1960 GOP opponent. Grenier ran eight percentage points ahead of Martin because he received 50,075 more votes than Martin, and 45,503 fewer ballots were cast in the Senate race. Three other

Republicans were crushed in bids for lesser statewide offices; the GOP offered no nominee for lieutenant governor, as Martin had mandated that candidates be self-financing.[41]

1966 Grenier campaign photos *Republican Party Records, Auburn University Archives*

The *Montgomery Advertiser* summed up the results: "the flimsy house that Barry [Goldwater] built collapsed, except for a few boards here and there....The Republicans have little more than the bare foundation of a party." Stephen Hess and David Broder maintained that the results proved the "futility of trying to out-seg the Democrats."[42] Martin conceded in good spirits, pledged support to Mrs. Wallace, and vowed to continue plugging for a two-party system. Those tasks would prove daunting. The Democrats regained Martin's House seat, and a Wallace legislative leader, William F. "Bill" Nichols of Sylacauga (who died in 1988), unseated Congressman Glenn Andrews. At no time since 1966 have Republicans held a congressional seat in northern Alabama.

Neither Martin nor Lurleen Wallace specifically solicited black voters, whose numbers soared with passage of the Voting Rights Act. The black leadership took no position on the election. The *Huntsville Times* determined that Mrs. Wallace polled a majority in predominantly black precincts in Anniston, Birmingham, and the black belt. Numan V. Bartley and Hugh D. Graham concluded that she received 65 percent in black-majority precincts in Montgomery, while Martin and Robinson trailed with 23 and 13 percent, respectively. In black-majority precincts in Birmingham, Mrs. Wallace took only 31 percent, whereas Martin and Robinson polled 35 and 34 percent, respectively. Sparkman easily carried those same precincts in Montgomery and Birmingham, gathering more than 80 percent of the ballots. In mostly black Greene County, Martin led Mrs. Wallace, 1,365 to 1,359, while Sparkman trounced Grenier, 1,618 to 624. Martin ran ahead of Grenier among wealthier and white-collar whites but lagged behind Grenier with blue-collar and lower-middle-income

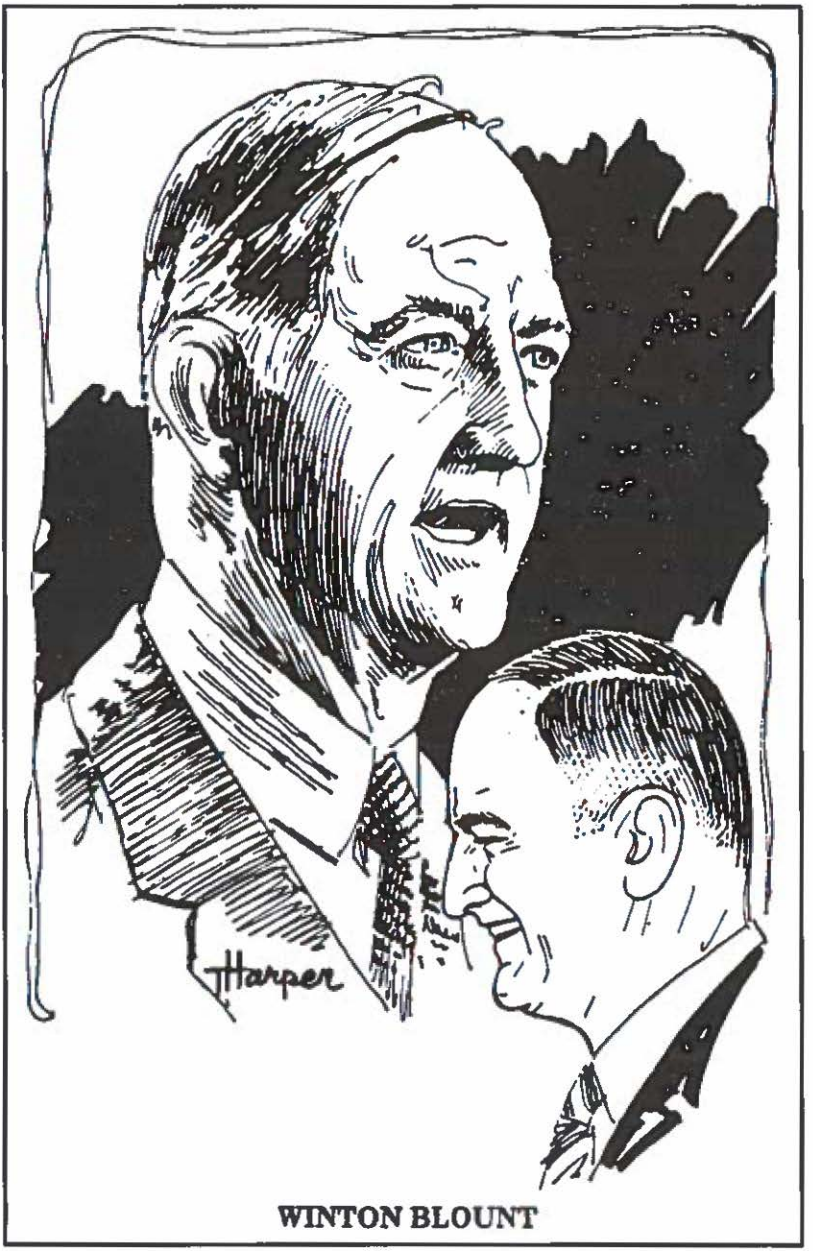
whites. Upper-class whites were the single group receptive to the GOP in 1966. Martin took 53 percent among upper-income whites in Montgomery, and Grenier drew 46 percent from that bloc; in Birmingham Martin and Grenier polled majorities from upper-income whites.[43]

After the 1966 elections, Alabama Republicans returned to their status as nearly irrelevant. Though Richard Nixon was elected president in 1968, he polled just 146,923 votes (14 percent) in Alabama, the worst Republican presidential tally in the state since 1936. Wallace's American Independent party swept two-thirds of the Alabama vote. Republican Finance Chairman Tandy Little conceded the absence of a Nixon campaign in Alabama: "We couldn't afford it...because of the [three congressional] incumbents."[44] Nixon's best tallies, in Winston and De Kalb counties, were under 40 percent. Wallace polled 691,425 votes (65.9 percent), while Democrat Hubert Humphrey carried three counties and polled 196,579 ballots (18.7 percent).[45] The House Republicans who survived—Jack Edwards, John Buchanan, and William Dickinson—assembled personal followings, and none tied himself to Nixon. Each promised to vote according to the preference of his district should Wallace have garnered sufficient electoral votes to force the outcome into the House.[46]

Democratic Lieutenant Governor James B. Allen easily retained the Senate seat vacated by Lister Hill. Allen overwhelmed the Republican choice for senator, Probate Judge Perry Hooper. The Ripon Society contended that the conservative Hooper offered "an echo of platitudes," and Wallace supporters rallied behind Allen. Hooper polled 201,227 votes, 24 percent of the two-party tally, compared to Allen's 638,774, or 76 percent. Hooper outpolled Nixon by 54,304 votes and narrowly held his home county of Montgomery. He fared best with upper-income whites, taking two-thirds of the vote among that bloc in Montgomery and Birmingham. Lower-income whites in Birmingham conversely gave Allen 70 percent of their ballots. In eleven counties, Hooper failed to surpass single-percentage digits. Hooper recalled that many voters "didn't know" that he was in the race: "They only knew that George Wallace was carrying the banner....People didn't dislike Nixon, they just liked Wallace, who sounded...Republican."[47]

The GOP fielded no gubernatorial candidate in 1970, when Wallace was closely challenged in a runoff by his late wife's successor, Albert P. Brewer. According to the Senate Watergate hearings, the national GOP channeled $400,000 to Brewer in hopes of defeating Wallace, then viewed as a potential threat to Nixon's reelection. After Brewer lost the runoff, talk persisted that he might switch to the GOP and run again in the general election, but Brewer affirmed his Democrat loyalty. Years later Brewer said he was never approached by Republicans about making another race but indicated that some associates

Albert Brewer, 1969 Mobile Register



WINTON BLOUNT

Birmingham News, *April 26, 1972*

proposed that he run as an independent, advice he declined. Brewer indicated that he was unaware of any activities by the Nixon administration against Wallace and added that he does not recall having discussed the 1970 campaign with Nixon until after that election.[48]

By 1972, with Wallace eliminated from the presidential race after the assassination attempt in Maryland and Nixon geared to reelection, Alabama Republicans tried again to topple John Sparkman. The seventy-two-year-old senator barely avoided a runoff primary with State Treasurer Melba Till Allen of Mobile, who had aided Wallace in the 1970 race against Albert Brewer. Wallace remained neutral in the Sparkman-Allen primary, but some of his coordinators worked for Mrs. Allen. Only after Sparkman secured the Democratic nomination did he obtain Wallace's official endorsement, which proved helpful in advertising. Jim Martin, still bitten by the political bug, announced his candidacy, but the GOP nominated Montgomery developer Winton M. "Red" Blount, the last postmaster general before the position was removed from the Cabinet. According to Perry Hooper, Martin was not "anti-Blount" but merely wanted the chance to oppose Sparkman, even though he had failed to do so in 1966, when his prospects may have been brighter. Hooper recalled having urged Blount to run for the Senate but expressed regret that he did not take a major role in the campaign. In Alabama's first statewide GOP primary, Blount polled 27,736 votes; Martin, 16,800; and two other contenders, 6,674. Martin carried fifteen counties, a testimony to his longtime standing within the party. Only 51,210 voted in the primary, and 30 percent of the ballots were cast in Jefferson County alone.[49]

Blount attempted with little success to link Sparkman with presidential nominee George McGovern, perhaps the weakest Democrat ever to run in Alabama. Alabama editor Ray Jenkins described the alleged Sparkman-McGovern connection as "just a little too much bull...for the most unsophisticated Alabama voters. It was an insult to them in a way."[50] Despite his personal wealth, Blount could not match Sparkman's war chest, which was buoyed by nationwide contributions from business. President Nixon, Sparkman's vice-presidential opponent twenty years earlier, concentrated on his own race and hesitated to offend a leading Senate Democrat. The White House shunned several other underdog Republican challengers as well, particularly in the South. When presidential Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler was asked if Nixon supported Blount, Ziegler replied, "Well, he doesn't oppose him." Despite Ziegler's retort, Hooper said the fact that other leading Republicans, including Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, came to Alabama to assist Blount proves that Nixon preferred his former Cabinet officer. The Democrats depicted Blount's wealth as a source of shame, not the fruits of his successful construction business. Wallace reportedly asked how Blount, who "had air-conditioned stables for his horses,

could be aware of the needs of the common man." In gaining his sixth and last Senate term, Sparkman polled 654,491 votes (65.3 percent). Blount, who trailed with 347,523 votes (34.7 percent), carried only Winston and Houston counties and lost his home county of Montgomery. Nixon received 728,701 votes (73.9 percent) and carried all but six counties. He received more than twice as many votes as Blount and outpolled Sparkman both numerically and percentage-wise.[51]

Nixon's reelection did not foster long-range Republican prospects; indeed so long as Wallace was the premier political name in Alabama, the GOP faced severe limitations on its potential. Martin had ridden a wave of protest in 1962, which crystallized in Goldwater's nomination, but he and Grenier were crushed by the Wallaces in 1966. The Ripon Society could foresee no scenario in which the GOP might mount a serious campaign until the "Wallace fever subsides." Wallace's persistent use of the term "Alabama Democrats" signaled his followers to oppose Humphrey or McGovern but continue voting Democratic for state and local candidates. Wallace explained that most Alabamians had been "satisfied" with the Democratic party because "all shades of opinions can participate in the primaries. It's not a matter of not getting a choice. You get a choice in the Democratic primary."[52] Jack Bass claims that Wallace put the Alabama GOP into an electoral "deep freeze" while Republicans netted long-term gains in other southern states: "As long as Wallace continues to dominate Alabama politics, Republican chances of political recovery appear virtually nonexistent."[53] By 1971, the GOP held the governorship and both Senate seats in Tennessee. It elected governors in Florida and Arkansas in 1966, in Virginia in 1969, in North Carolina in 1972, and in South Carolina in 1974. The GOP secured Senate seats in Florida, Texas, Virginia, and the Carolinas.[54]

With the constitutional ban against successive gubernatorial tenure finally lifted, Wallace could seek reelection in 1974. Reports persisted that he might again contest the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976, despite confinement to a wheelchair. After the near-assassination, Wallace claimed that he had grown more compassionate, conceded certain "mistakes," and called himself a "populist" even as the business-oriented *Birmingham News* endorsed him for the first time.[55] Nixon's subsequent resignation and Wallace's continued dominance demoralized the GOP. Republican State Senator Elvin McCary of Anniston ran for governor against Wallace but polled less than 15 percent of the vote. Senator Allen, whose command of parliamentary procedure had enhanced his reputation, ran without GOP opposition. No Republicans were elected to the legislature in 1974, despite the establishment of single-member districts, which normally should have enabled the GOP to gain up to twenty seats.[56] Alexander Lamis demonstrated Wallace's "retarding influence" on Republican growth. While Democratic strength dropped precipitously in the early 1960s, it was abruptly halted in 1966 at a point above 60 percent. Democratic hegemony

peaked in 1974, when Wallace secured his third term.[57] By 1976, Wallace's presidential hopes had collapsed, and Alabama joined nine other former Confederate states in rallying behind Jimmy Carter, who unseated the unelected President Ford.

In 1978, Alabamians were poised to choose a new governor—Wallace was ineligible to seek a third consecutive term—and, for the first time in seven decades, both United States Senate seats would be filled simultaneously. Jim Allen died suddenly on June 1, and John Sparkman (who died in 1985) announced his retirement. The GOP could contest all three offices when no elected incumbents would be running, but its prospects were murky. When a former GOP State Executive Committee member, Opelika industrialist Forrest H. "Fob" James, Jr., announced for governor as a "born-again Democrat," he did not disclose his party switch. James's intraparty rivals included former Governor Brewer and Attorney General William J. Baxley, who dismissed James as "a Republican who hitched a ride on the Democratic donkey." James professed "the error of my [Republican] ways" and declared himself henceforth to be a loyal Democrat.[58]

James defeated Baxley in the runoff, and the Republicans nominated Harold Guy Hunt of Holly Pond, a Baptist minister and Cullman County probate judge. Hunt, who would win the governorship eight years later, ignored his bleak prospects and attempted to mount a credible campaign as a public servant. He raised about $600,000 in contributions and favored legal spending limits since the wealthy James had nearly $2,000,000 on hand for the general election. Ironically, Democrats had raised comparable fears against Winton Blount's senatorial candidacy in 1972.[59]

Sparkman's departure produced a runoff between Congressman Walter W. Flowers, Jr., of Tuscaloosa, a House Judiciary Committee member who had voted to recommend impeachment of President Nixon, and Alabama Chief Justice Howell T. Heflin of Tuscumbia, nephew of the legendary Senator Tom Heflin. Heflin defeated Flowers, 65 to 35 percent, by painting Flowers (who died in 1984) as part of the "Washington crowd." Wallace's decision not to run for senator substantially strengthened Heflin.[60]

Challenging Heflin in the general election was Jim Martin, whom Congressman Jack Edwards of Mobile called "our old warhorse." The sixty-year-old Martin endorsed the 30 percent reduction in income taxes promoted by New York Representative Jack F. Kemp and Delaware Senator William V. Roth. Martin said that Kemp-Roth, a form of which was implemented in the Reagan administration, would create jobs. He also proposed a 10 percent cut in national expenditures and streamlining of the bureaucracy.[61]

Governor Wallace appointed Allen's widow, Maryon Pittman Allen, to the interim vacancy. She was challenged by State Senator Donald W. Stewart of

Anniston, who carried the endorsement of organized labor. The *Tuscaloosa Graphic* said that the aloof Mrs. Allen appeared to consider the Senate seat "hers by inheritance."[62] Stewart, whom Mrs. Allen called a "flaming liberal," scored an easy victory in the runoff. Tuscaloosa attorney George W. Nichols, Jr., won the Republican primary, which attracted barely twenty-one thousand voters.[63]

Meanwhile, Martin concluded that his chances might be strengthened if he sought the two-year term against Stewart, rather than the six-year slot against Heflin. Martin and former President Ford, who took a special interest in the Alabama race, persuaded Nichols to withdraw so that Martin's organization could be put to the maximum potential.[64] The change of races recalled the attempt in 1966 when some Martin backers had urged John Grenier to step aside so that Martin could oppose Sparkman, and Grenier could challenge Lurleen Wallace. Martin did not expect the switch in races to backfire because Stewart himself had first declared for the six-year term.[65]

After years of frustration, Alabama Republicans encountered a ray of hope in 1978, when a poll found that 78 percent of voters called themselves "conservative" and 48 percent claimed the "independent" label. Hoping to take advantage of professed conservatism, Martin unleashed his rhetoric on Democratic Senators Edward M. Kennedy and George McGovern. When he had planned to challenge Howell Heflin, Martin derided Heflin as a "Ted Kennedy bedfellow." Thereafter he judged Heflin "conservative on most matters" and labeled Stewart "a McGovern-style liberal."[66] Former State Senator Thornton D. Perry of Tuskegee formed a "Democrats for Jim Martin" organization when Martin was opposing Heflin, but when Martin switched races, Perry endorsed Stewart. James Pittman, Maryon Allen's brother, succeeded Perry as head of the reorganized "Conservative Democrats for Martin"; tragically Pittman was killed in an air crash prior to the election.[67]

Democratic Chairman George L. Bailes of Birmingham belittled "Switchback" Martin for a "flim-flam on the electorate."[68] Freed from opposition, the glib Heflin ridiculed Martin as the "Harold Stassen of Alabama," a reference to the former Minnesota governor who for years pursued a vain quest for the presidency.[69] A Republican "Who's Who"—former President Ford, future Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush, Congressman Kemp, and Senators Goldwater, Roth, Robert Dole of Kansas, Harrison "Jack" Schmidt of New Mexico, and S. I. Hayakawa of California—trekked to Alabama to support Martin. Senate Republican Leader Howard H. Baker, Jr., of Tennessee, himself seeking reelection, dispatched a staff member.[70] Martin benefited from the switch in races because he could legally receive contributions for both the six-year and two-year terms. The national GOP filled his coffers with $230,000.[71] In a preview of mid-term races, syndicated columnist James J.

Kilpatrick predicted unexpected GOP gains and incorrectly mentioned Alabama as ripe for an upset.[72]

Stewart criticized Martin's utilization of surrogate speakers, though he brought in retired Congressman Robert E. Jones II, of Scottsboro, actor Gregory Peck, and Louisiana Senator Russell B. Long, son of the legendary Huey P. Long.[73] Stewart challenged Martin's House record; Martin missed a third of recorded votes in 1965 and two-thirds of such votes in 1966 when he was often in Alabama tending to political chores. Stewart said with considerable effectiveness that Martin had "done nothing but run for office, and he did not stay there and represent the people the one time he was in office." When Martin tried to pin the "liberal" label on his opponent, Stewart retorted that Martin had misapplied the appellation to Howell Heflin, Lurleen Wallace, and Winton Blount.[74] The Blount family, however, held no grudge from the 1972 primary, as it donated $4,000 to Martin.[75]

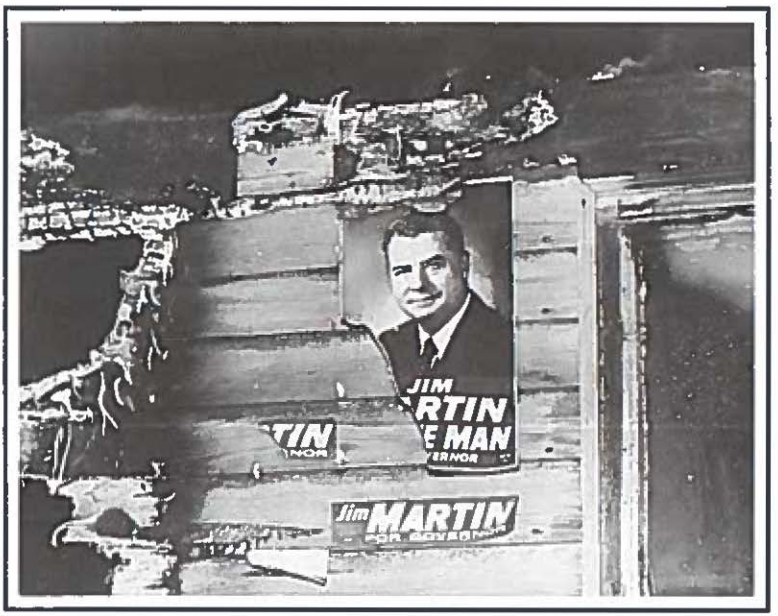
Martin challenged Stewart's connections with labor and accused him of hostility to the right-to-work provision of the Taft-Hartley Act. Stewart insisted that his pro-labor record did not include opposition to right-to-work. Working against Stewart was the disclosure that he had undergone treatment for a "nervous breakdown" in 1958, when he was eighteen years old. That issue reappeared in 1980, when Stewart lost renomination to James Folsom, Jr., the future lieutenant governor and governor.[76]

Martin finished the race with 316,170 votes (44 percent), compared to Stewart's 401,852 (56 percent) and won these seven counties listed in descending order by percent: Winston (60.2), Montgomery (52.9), Baldwin (57.9), Houston (51.2), Shelby (53.9), Cullman (50.8), Mobile (53.0). Martin lost Jefferson County by only twenty-seven votes and Madison County by fewer than six hundred votes. Though Martin's last showing was not particulary impressive, it was sufficiently improved over 1966 that he could proclaim a moral victory. In the gubernatorial race, James defeated Hunt, 551,886 (73.7 percent) to 196,963 (26.3 percent). Hunt won Cullman and Winston counties with 65.3 and 56.2 percent, respectively. Heflin ran without GOP opposition for the other Senate seat, but 34,971 Alabamians (6 percent) voted for the Prohibition party nominee.[77]

Despite the losses, the GOP more than doubled its two members in the legislature by adding former Birmingham Mayor George Siebels and two Mobile lawmakers, Bert Nettles and Ann Bedsole, the state's first woman GOP representative. Nettles argued that a moderate approach could produce slow but solid growth, while a conservative theme could "score some dramatic upsets when the Democrats are in disarray" but spell a "dismal long-term future."[78]

According to Ray Jenkins, Martin had been

> in the vanguard of what promised to be a period of profound political change. Then something dreadful happened to the Republicans on the way to 1966. They picked a fight with George Wallace. The bubble burst and once again the Republicans were relegated to their humble status as a mere facade of patronage...[Martin] came out of political isolation to spread the faith yet once again, even though the odds were clearly against him....When told by friends, he should become a Democrat, Martin said "If ever there is to be a healthy two-party system in Alabama, someone must keep the faith, someone must keep principle above self-interest...."[79]



Tattered Martin poster *Republican Party Records, Auburn University Archives*

Perry Hooper disputes the consensus of Ray Jenkins, Jack Bass, and Alexander Lamis that Wallace was the principal obstacle to development of the two-party system in Alabama. Instead Hooper claims that Wallace may have inadvertently aided the GOP by fostering opposition to the national Democrats. Hooper said that he has "always gotten along quite well" with Wallace despite their partisan differences. Hooper describes Wallace as a "southern gentleman [who] likes people, and it shows." To Hooper, the hurdle to southern Republicans remains "our inability produced from within ourselves." Hooper still considers Martin the GOP's "finest candidate" but remorsefully noted that "time

just slipped by, and it's difficult to overcome problems like we had in 1966." Martin, who still gets ovations from the party faithful, was appointed in 1987 by Governor Guy Hunt as secretary of the Alabama Department of Conservation and Natural Resources.[80]

Excluding the 1964 and 1972 presidential contests, Alabama Republicans did not score statewide until 1980, when Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., of Mobile County won the Senate seat which Martin had sought in 1962. The GOP won the governorship in 1986, two decades after Martin's defeat by Lurleen Wallace. Even then, Hunt's victory was an unintended consequence of internecine fighting in the Democratic primary. While choosing Hunt, voters rebuffed Denton for a second term. Moreover, Hunt's narrow 1990 reelection margin was a personal triumph, for the GOP made few gains in other races on the ballot.

Alabama Republicans seem more likely to prosper by small breakthroughs than by some political upheaval in one or two consecutive elections. Because voter attitudes shift slowly over time, the process can be agonizingly slow for minority parties hopeful of success. Were the GOP to concentrate on legislative and courthouse organization, it could create a future pool of talent from which to field candidates. The party could hence attempt to build upward from the grassroots.[81] Otherwise, the GOP may not command much consideration and must remain contented with occasional victories for president, governor, or senator and hold its precious legislative and congressional seats. In 1992, in contrast to the national Democratic trend, Republicans fared well in Alabama. President Bush carried the state in his unsuccessful reelection bid, and the GOP gained a congressional seat altered by reapportionment and held the shaky seat vacated by the retirement of William Dickinson. Surprisingly, the Democrat running to succeed Dickinson was State Treasurer George C. Wallace, Jr., whose loss marked the first political defeat in Alabama for a member of the Wallace family since George Wallace's 1958 gubernatorial race. In the spring of 1993, the GOP suffered a devastating blow when Governor Hunt was forced from office, ordered to pay $211,000 in fines, and required to perform one thousand hours of community service upon conviction of diverting to personal use some $200,000 left over from his tax-exempt 1987 inaugural fund.[82] Though the glowing prospects that Alabama Republicans prematurely believed were awaiting them in the early 1960s faded into the distance, slow change, unexpected circumstances, and the demise of the Wallace organization could still propel the GOP into a competitive force in the politics of the approaching twenty-first century.

Notes

[1] *New York Times*, October 31, 1965,63; January 2, 1966, 37; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, April 1, 1966, 728; Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945* (New York,

1976), 80; M. Stanton Evans, *The Future of Conservatism: From Taft to Reagan and Beyond* (New York, 1968), 149. Neither James Martin nor John Grenier replied to multiple requests for interviews.

[2] Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa, *Almanac of American Politics* 1990 (Washington, 1989), 4; *New York Times*, February 28, 1966, 14.

[3] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, August 5, 1966, 1709; April 1, 1966, 728; *Huntsville Times*, October 10, 1966.

[4] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, July 22, 1966, 1489.

[5] *Huntsville Times*, September 3, 4, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 1, 6, 1966.

[6] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, October 7, 1966, 2350.

[7] *Huntsville Times*, October 2, 9, 16, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 6, 9, 28, 1966.

[8] Patt Watters, *The South and the Nation* (New York, 1969), 239.

[9] *Huntsville Times*, October 14, 1966.

[10] Ibid., September 4, November 1, 2, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 27, 1966; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, October 7, 1966, 2350; Stephen Hess and David S. Broder, *The Republican Establishment: The Present and Future of the G.O.P.* (New York, 1967), 355-56.

[11] *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 12, 1966.

[12] *Huntsville Times*, September 12, 14, 19, 20, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 30, 1966.

[13] *Time*, October 12, 1962, 19-22; *Newsweek*, October 14, 1963, 36, *Jackson* (Mississippi) *Clarion-Ledger*, October 18, 1963; Robert L. Lineberry and George Edwards, *Government in America*, 6th ed. (New York, 1994), 89.

[14] George Corley Wallace, *Stand Up for America* (New York, 1976), 108-10.

[15] Ibid., 109, 111; *Huntsville Times*, October 10, 1966.

[16] *Huntsville Times*, September 28, 30, October 10, 11, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 30, 1966.

[17] Wallace, *Stand Up for America*, 110; *Huntsville Times*, September 28, 1966.

[18] *Huntsville Times*, September 30, October 9, 1966.

[19] *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 4, 1966.

[20] Ibid., September 30, October 5, 1966; *Huntsville Times*, September 30, 1966. See Billy Hathorn, "The Frustration of Opportunity: Georgia Republicans and the Election of 1966," *Atlanta History: A Journal of Georgia and the South*, 31 (Winter 1987-88): 37-52.

[21] *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 14, 1966; *Huntsville Times*, September 7, 21, 23, 1966; *New York Times*, September 25, 1966, 77.

[22] *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 17, 23, 26, October 15, 1966.

[23] Wallace, *Stand Up for America*, 110; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 6, 1966.

[24] *Huntsville Times*, October 31, 1966; Donald Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," *The Changing Politics of the South*, ed. William C. Havard (Baton Rouge, 1972), 457; Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 73.

[25] Ibid., September 28, November 2, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 6, 1966.

[26] *Huntsville Times*, October 4, 5, 9, 10, November 1, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 6, 9, 1966.

[27] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, August 5, 1966, 1709; *New York Times*, July 30, 1966, 10.

[28] *New York Times*, October 7, 1966, 2350; *Huntsville Times*, October 26, November 1, 3, 4, 1966; Hess and Broder, *The Republican Establishment*, 357; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, October 7, 1966, 2350.

[29] *Huntsville Times*, October 13, November 3, 1966; *New York Times*, May 13, 1966, 20.

[30] *Huntsville Times*, October 13, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 12, 1966; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, August 5, 1966, 1709; Bernard Cosman and Robert J. Huckshorn, eds., *Republican Politics: The 1964 Campaign and Its Aftermath for the Party* (New York, 1968), 78; Hess and Broder, *The Republican Establishment*, 337; *New York Times*, May 13, 1966, 20; May 19, 1966, 33; August 26, 1966, 17.

[31] *Huntsville Times*, November 3, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 20, 1966; *New York Times*, August 26, 1966, 17.

[32] *Huntsville Times*, November 6, 1966.

[33] Ibid., October 17, 1966; *New York Times*, January 2, 1966, 37; July 31, 1966, 56; September 25, 1966, 77.

[34] *Huntsville Times*, November 6, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 18, 1966; Hess and Broder, *The Republican Establishment*, 356.

[35] *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, August 5, 1966, 1709; *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 8, 1966; Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 79-80; Robert Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South* (New York, 1968), 294; *New York Times*, July 30, 1966, 10.

[36] Interview with Perry Hooper, Sr., March 5, 1991.

[37] *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 4, 21, 30, November 3-5, 1966; *New York Times*, September 25, 1966, 77.

[38] *Huntsville Times*, November 10, 1966.

[39] *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 2, November 5, 1966; Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950s* (Baton Rouge, 1969), 280-81.

[40] *Greensboro Watchman*, in *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 14, 1966.

[41] State of Alabama, Secretary of State, Election Returns, 1966; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 8, 1966; Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," 457; Hess and Broder, *The Republican Establishment*, 330. During the Civil War, some 2,678 whites from Winston and neighboring counties enlisted in the Union army.

[42] *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 1, 1966; Hess and Broder, *The Republican Establishment*, 342.

[43] *Huntsville Times*, November 9, 12, 1966; Election Returns, 1966; Numan V. Bartley and Hugh D. Graham, *Southern Elections: County and Precinct Data, 1950-1972* (Baton Rouge, 1978), 347-50.

[44] Quoted in The Ripon Society, *The Lessons of Victory* (New York, 1969), 256.

[45] Election Returns, 1966.

[46] *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 10, 1966; Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," 458, 466; Louis M. Seagull, *Southern Republicanism* (Cambridge, MA, 1975), 89, 93-94.

[47] Richard M. Scammon, comp. & ed., *America Votes* (Washington, 1969), 8: 7; David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1979), 29-30; Ripon Society, *The Lessons of Victory*, 256; Interview with Perry Hooper, March 5, 1991; Strong, "Alabama: Transition and Alienation," 463; Evans, *The Future of Conservatism*, 284; Seagull, *Southern Republicanism*, 94; Bartley and Graham, *Southern Elections*, 348, 350.

[48] Reg Murphy and Hal Gulliver, *The Southern Strategy* (New York, 1971), 78-79, 96, 1046; Bass and DeVries, *The Tranformation of Southern Politics*, 81; Letter to author from Albert Brewer, October 26, 1992. Brewer is distinguished professor of law and government at Samford University.

[49] Scammon, *America Votes* (Washington, 1973), 10: 28; 1972 Republican Primary Returns, Alabama Department of Archives and History; Neal R. Peirce, *The Deep South States of America: People, Politics and Power in the Seven Deep South States* (New York, 1974), 304; Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 81; Roller and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 1304; Paul A. Theis and Edmond Lee Henshaw, *Who's Who in American Politics* (New York, 1967-68), 106; Seagull, *Southern Republicanism*, 94-95; Interview with Perry Hooper, March 5, 1991. Treasurer Melba Allen was imprisoned in 1978, after being convicted on a conflict-of-interest charge of using her public office for personal gain.

[50] Quoted in Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York, 1990), 81.

[51] Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 80; Seagull, *Southern Republicanism*, 93.

[52] The Ripon Society, *The Lessons of Victory*, 257; Quoted in Lamis, *The Two-Party South*, 83.

[53] Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 81.

[54] Ibid., 23-40, 73-81.

[55] Ibid., 57.

[56] Ibid., 80; Lamis, *The Two-Party South*, 82.

[57] Lamis, *The Two-Party South*, 82, 84.

[58] Ibid., 84-86; *Huntsville Times*, October 1, 1978; *New York Times*, April 21, 1978, 11; May 17, 1978, 16; September 6, 1978, 12; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, June 3, 1978, 1397; June 24, 1978, 1614; July 15, 1978, 1796.

[59] *Huntsville Times*, September 21, October 21, 1978.

[60] Ibid., September 6, 12, 1978; *New York Times*, June 22, 1978, 20; *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 1, 1978; Alan Ehrenhalt, ed., *Politics in America* (Washington, 1985), 9; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, February 11, 1978, 378, 418; See Robert Oldendick and Stephen E. Bennett, "The Wallace Factor: Constancy and

Cooptation," *American Politics Quarterly* 6 (October 1978): 469-82 for an analysis on why Wallace may have declined to run for senator.

[61] *Huntsville Times*, October 27, 1978.

[62] *Tuscaloosa Graphic*, in *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 13, 1978; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, June 24, 1978, 1614; July 15, 1978, 1796.

[63] *Huntsville Times*, September 27, 1978; Scammon, *America Votes* 13: 37. Nichols defeated Elvin McCary, 15,637 to 5,941.

[64] *Huntsville Times*, October 5, 6, 1978; *New York Times*, October 12, 1978, 52.

[65] *Huntsville Times*, October 3, 1978; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 1, 3, 1978; *Facts on File* 38 (October 13, 1978): 769.

[66] *Huntsville Times*, September 17, October 6, 1978.

[67] Ibid., September 29, October 5; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 31, 1978.

[68] *Huntsville Times*, October 3, 5, 1978.

[69] *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 16, 1978.

[70] Ibid., October 18, 21, 1978; *Huntsville Times*, September 13, 17, 1978.

[71] *Huntsville Times*, November 8, 1978; *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1978.

[72] *Huntsville Times*, November 2, 1979.

[73] Ibid., November 3, 1978; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 30, November 2, 1978.

[74] *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 22, 29, 1978; *Huntsville Times*, October 11, 27, November 3, 1978.

[75] *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1978.

[76] *Huntsville Times*, November 5, 1978.

[77] Scammon, *America Votes* 13: 33-35; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, March 31, 1979, 576.

[78] Peirce, *The Deep South States of America*, 305.

[79] *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 12, 1978.

[80] Interview with Perry Hooper, March 5, 1991; *Huntsville Times*, November 8, 1978.

[81] Joanne Varner Hawks, "A Select Few: Alabama's Women Legislators," *Alabama Review* 38 (July 1985): 191-92.

[82] *Facts on File* 53 (April 22, 1993): 305; 53 (May 7, 1993): 465.

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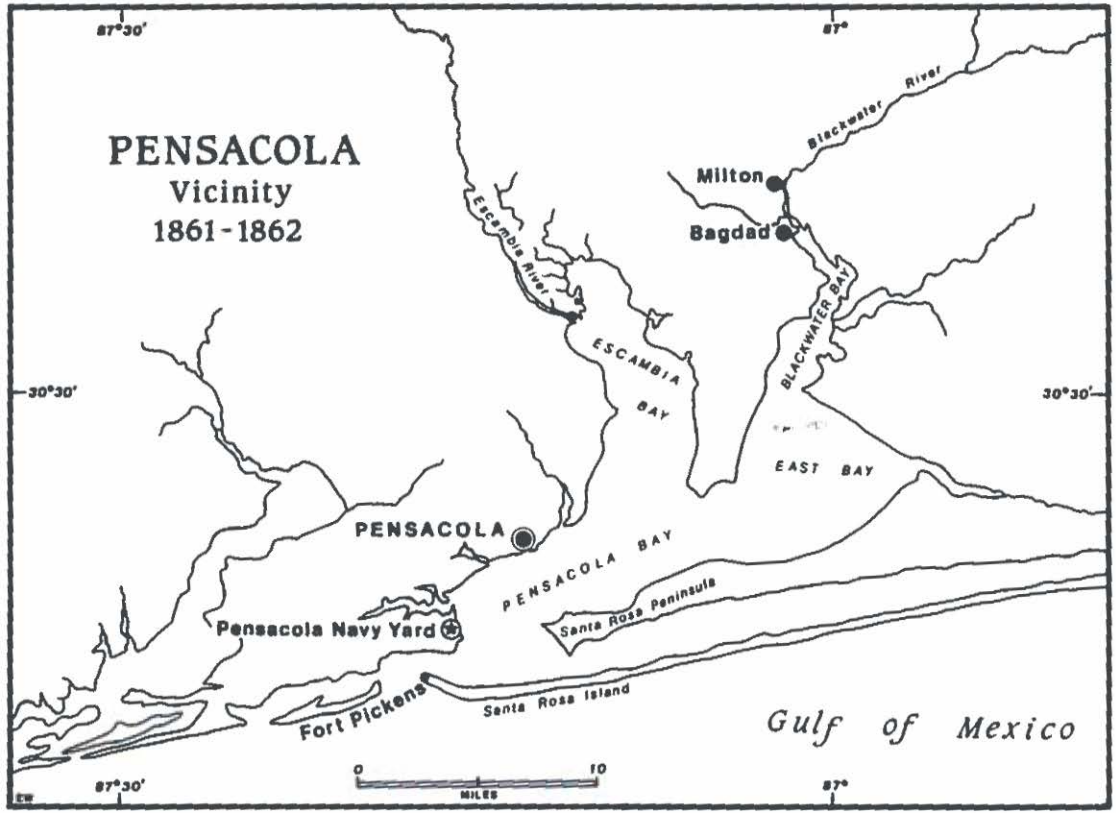

PENSACOLA
Vicinity
1861-1862
87°30'
87°
30°30'
Blackwater River
Milton
Bagdad
Escambia River
ESCAMBIA BAY
BLACKWATER BAY
EAST BAY
PENSACOLA
PENSACOLA BAY
Pensacola Navy Yard
Santa Rosa Peninsula
Fort Pickens
Santa Rosa Island
Gulf of Mexico
0
10
MILES

"Conflict at the Water's Edge" Ollinger & Bruce, Frederick G. Howard, and Confederate Naval Gunboat Construction on the Lower Blackwater River, 1861-1862

Nathan Woolsey

Much has been written of the sixteen month presence of the Confederacy in West Florida from secession in January 1861 to the final departure of Confederate troops in May 1862. Nevertheless, the most significant endeavor of the Confederate States Navy, west of the Apalachicola River in wartime Florida has been largely overlooked, the construction of gunboats on the lower Blackwater River in the waning days of Confederate occupation.

Between October 1861 and March 1862 two such vessels were begun and substantially completed at the Ollinger & Bruce, and F. G. Howard yards at Bagdad and Milton, Florida, respectively. Ultimately, these were burned under a scorched-earth directive, initiated by General Braxton Bragg, CSA, concurrent with Confederate troop withdrawal to the Tennessee front.

Although company records of the Ollinger & Bruce and F. G. Howard yards are apparently no longer extant, Confederate States naval contracts and related documentation for both yards are still tangibly intact. Along with the old War Department's Official Records compilations, these reveal the trials and tribulations afforded mosquito fleet construction on the Blackwater River. Likewise, the political ramifications that followed upon the gunboats' destruction serve to delineate a classic interservice collision that reached up to the office of Jefferson Davis himself. An investigation of the Ollinger & Bruce, and F. G. Howard experiences can only deepen our historic awareness and understanding of these little known events.

On May 10, 1861, George T. Ward, inimitable Florida Whig, Constitutional Unionist, reluctant secessionist, and delegate to the Confederate States Provisional Congress at Montgomery, Alabama wrote Confederate Secretary of War, Leroy P. Walker, of Florida's special needs in wartime. Of particular concern to him was the undefended Gulf Coast from the Perdido to the Suwannee rivers, exposing a soft underbelly to federal seaborne invasion, and the corresponding absence of a Confederate navy to meet the challenge. "A system of small armed steamers to cruise upon the coast would be a very powerful element of defense," wrote Ward. "Until we can take the ocean with a navy on equal terms with the enemy—a distant day—the conflict on these two last must be at the water's edge...."[1] Ward's fears were well founded. An incipient Confederate States Navy had already adopted such a defensive expediency until the enemy could be met on equal terms at sea. By act of the Provisional Congress on March 15, 1861, the navy received an appropriation of $2,028,685,

of which Secretary Stephen R. Mallory earmarked $1,100,000 for the acquisition of vessels. This included the construction of ten steam gunboats: "five to be built in Mobile and New Orleans for lake and Sound service...to be ship-rigged propellers of 1000-tons burden, capable of carrying at least one ten-inch and four eight-inch guns, and five to be built in South Carolina and Georgia for those coasts...of tonnage not exceeding 750-tons."[2] However, the Bullion Fund from the ransacked U.S. Mint at New Orleans began to run perilously low by May. Mallory thereupon found his navy budget "circumscribed and confined to" the aforesaid $1,100,000. Only $500,000 remained "to purchase and equip vessels for coastal defense," and all but $140,000 of this amount was quickly expended in the purchase of seven immediately serviceable steamers.[3]

Nevertheless, by July 1861 Mallory had pressed ahead and reported to President Davis that "contracts are being made with builders in those states [South Carolina and Georgia] for the immediate construction of gunboats, to mount each, three heavy guns, and to act in connection with the [purchased] steamers." Though some of these contracts postdate the March 1862 destruction of the Ollinger & Bruce and F. G. Howard vessels, it appears that these five Georgia and Carolina boats, often designated as Mallory or Saffold-class vessels, were the direct progenitors for those built on the "inland waters of Florida."[4]

To administer the original $1,100,000, an act of March 17, 1861 had created an oversight commission, to which Mallory appointed Lieutenant Robert T. Chapman, Commander Lawrence Rousseau, and one Commander Ebenezer Farrand, lately interim Commandant of the Pensacola Navy Yard. Although the three officers apparently met on any number of occasions, most notably at New Orleans in April 1861 to examine and procure the two vessels which were to become the *Sumter* and *McRae*, the tasks of contract and purchase seem to have proven impractical for any one managing body. Over the summer of 1861 Mallory appears to have authorized the commission's dissolution into separate superintending entities. Farrand was returned to a place he knew best, Pensacola and its environs.[5]

By August 19, 1861, gunboat appropriations were back on track in the Confederate Congress, and on August 26, "the Chair presented a communication from the President, transmitting to Congress estimates from the Secretary of the navy for the construction and equipment of three gunboats for the coast and river defense of the State of Florida," at $420,000. The resulting authorization was approved and duly signed by President Davis on August 29, 1861.[6] The Blackwater boats were on their way.

Farrand's months at Bagdad and Milton were to prove only a temporary sojourn in what was destined to become a noteworthy career in the Confederate navy. The fifty-year-old commander had resigned his USN commission at Pensacola on January 21, 1861, after more than thirty years of service in West

Commander Ebenezer Farrand, CSN

Alabama Department of Archives and History

Florida, having lately served as executive officer of the Pensacola Navy Yard, under the command of the aged Captain James Armstrong, USN. Thereafter, Farrand seems to have been left at loose ends under Armstrong's equally ineffectual successor, Captain Victor M. Randolph, who supervised the yard during its brief weeks as property of the State of Florida. At the end of February 1861 the navy yard came under provisional Confederate supervision. As the new, acting CSN Commandant at Pensacola, Farrand undertook the refurbishing of the captured sidewheel cruiser USS *Fulton*, which had been laid-up in the stocks since secession. Master carpenter for the *Fulton* refitting, John O. Hoodless, was to eventually succeed Frederick G. Howard in Milton shipbuilding following the war.[7]

As commanding officer, Farrand had served only a few weeks when he was appointed to the CSN purchase and contract commission. Hence, command of the navy yard passed to Captain Thomas W. Brent who served in that capacity until Pensacola's abandonment in May 1862. Through the summer of 1861 Farrand's movements on behalf of the commission remain obscure. Yet, by late October, he had returned to the Florida Panhandle by way of Jacksonville, where the first of the three gunboats was contracted to be built at St. John's Bluff.[8]

In 1861 Farrand believed that Pensacola was the most important Confederate-held seaport in the State of Florida. Its deep, natural harbor, its substantial fortifications, its navy yard and seemingly inexhaustible access to area lumber and naval stores, made its retention of paramount importance to the Southern cause. However, back in Pensacola, Farrand was met with a far more tense situation than he remembered on his leave-taking the previous spring.

On September 2, 1861, a federal party had fired the remains of the navy yard's late, great, floating drydock. This facility had been scuttled in Pensacola Pass by the Confederates when its towlines were broken during transit to Pensacola the previous May. Then, before dawn on September 14, the schooner *Judah*, which was in the process of being fitted as a Confederate privateer, had been burned by federal raiders, with loss of life. This had led in turn to the ill-starred imbroglio of the Battle of Santa Rosa Island on October 9, when a Confederate invasion attempt against Union-held Fort Pickens achieved nothing but an even greater loss of life. Consequently, uninterrupted gunboat construction at the navy yard, under the aim of Pickens' guns, could hardly be guaranteed.[9] However, Farrand knew of other possibilities.

The surrounding river country, comprising Escambia and Santa Rosa counties, boasted an unrivaled nucleus of regional industrial enterprise. Here a number of small shipyards situated in protected basins were employed specifically in the maintenance and repair of the various lumber factors' lighter and schooner fleets. Given broad discretionary powers to contract and supervise as he saw fit, Farrand may very well have had specific talent and capability in

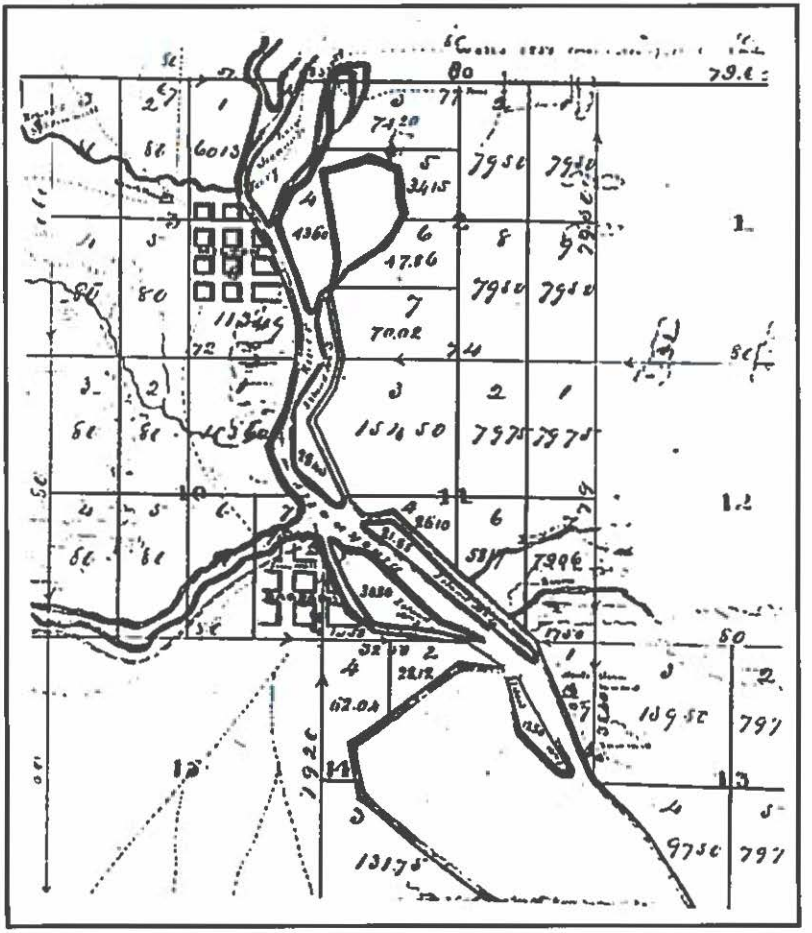
mind. Thereafter Farrand apparently stayed out of Pensacola. His low profile is underscored in a letter of March 8, 1862 from Brig. General Samuel Jones, to Captain Brent at the navy yard. In it Jones seems to have been genuinely surprised to learn, "there was a naval officer engaged in building two gunboats at or near Milton...."[10]

Yet, what knowledge and judgement guided Farrand in contracting these Blackwater vessels? Though the evidence is circumstantial, William M. Ollinger of Echternach, Luxembourg, Martin F. Bruce of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Frederick G. Howard of Halifax, Nova Scotia—three young shipwrights in their twenties in 1861—must have plied their trades at the Pensacola Navy Yard between 1857 and 1859, amid the construction of the sloops-of-war, USS *Seminole* (801-tons) and USS *Pensacola* (3000-tons).[11] These had been the only substantial shipbuilding orders the Pensacola Navy Yard had ever received. Farrand had undoubtedly come to know these men well.

Notwithstanding, Ollinger, Bruce, and Howard must have gained valuable experience at the navy yard, and made contacts with such local antebellum lumber barons as Ezekiel E. Simpson and William L. Criglar, who undoubtedly convinced these three of the entrepreneurial possibilities of the region. New shipyards on the nearby Blackwater River, serving especially the coastal schooners upon which the immense and contiguous Simpson and Criglar milling operations in turn wholly relied, was an opportunity to be seized.

The raw materials for shipyard production were also well at hand in antebellum Santa Rosa. Virgin, longleaf "yellow pine" was available for masts and keels. Live and white oak were to be found for assorted timbers. Additionally fine stands of bald cypress, Atlantic white cedar, and juniper—known locally as "red cedar," provided an indispensable planking. It must have seemed a winning proposition. In 1858 the business partnership of Ollinger & Bruce was formed to construct, "a small repair plant and marine railway" at the settlement of Bagdad on the Blackwater River, adjacent to their lumber supplier and lease-grantor, the E. E. Simpson & Company mills. Howard must have purchased his Milton yard, formerly the property of Santa Rosa shipwright and politician Joseph M. Bowers, at about the same time.[12]

It was Ollinger & Bruce's good fortune to establish their facility on the finest lee in the Blackwater drainage, a twenty-one-acre peninsula known as Shipyard Point. Surmounted by a live oak hammock, the topography of the Point remains to this day remarkably unchanged. Sloping gently into marshland on the north where the yard once stood, the Point encloses a brackish lagoon on the south, Oakland Basin. Here Ollinger & Bruce conveniently stored their green oak in the shallows—in the even-seasoning process—hence the name. From the basin, the "knees" and "stems" would be fished-up at intervals and placed in a drying shed, before eventual use at the yard.[13] A transformed geographic feature



1853 Map showing the Blackwater Communities of Milton and Bagdad

Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida

still to be seen at the Point is Dutchman's Cut, connecting the basin to the Blackwater River on the northeast as opposed to the wider, yet distant entrance to the southwest. This channel, which was dredged by William Ollinger to more easily facilitate water traffic from basin to yard, most certainly derived its name from the nineteenth-century American slang for its German engineer.

As the year 1860 followed its troubled course, and the threat of war loomed in the offing, the first three 100-ton capacity sections of the Ollinger & Bruce floating drydock were completed using plans of an identical facility in Milwaukee. The original three "interchangeable and self-docking pontoons" were joined by "locking logs," and anchored to the river bottom, using twenty tons of ballast per section. Using hand pumps, as many as forty men took from ten to fifteen hours to lift the cradle with a large vessel out of the water in the two-step basin process.[14]

Information on this and other Blackwater yards is scant. Yet, it appears the Ollinger & Bruce plant was a miniaturized version of the Pensacola Navy Yard's 1852 facility, with requisite deep basin, plus shallow basin with foundation and sectional docks. An 1863 inventory detailing the firm's losses lists, "three sets of railways and cradles" valued at $1,500 apiece. It is not known if Ollinger & Bruce employed a steam hydraulic locomotive engine to draw a vessel up the ways, or if this work was done manually by the capstan. Furthermore, it seems that steam pumps or "syphons" as they are referred to, were not installed to empty the drydock caissons until after the yard was rebuilt following the war.[15] Therefore, a portion of the Ollinger & Bruce workforce could have been comprised of slave labor, leased from the nearby E. E. Simpson & Company complex.

Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known of F. G. Howard's Blackwater River facility other than the fact that it was located on the Milton waterfront, adjacent to the machine shop and iron foundry of Penny & Chadwick. However, an account dating from Bowers' time records that the yard was in possession of "three launching ways, attached for hauling-up vessels for repairs...." Furthermore in response to a query from Captain Brent at the navy yard in January 1862, regarding the drydocking of an unspecified number of coal scows, in the midst of gunboat construction, Howard wrote: "We will have them hauled out at fifty dollars apiece, which is as cheap as it can be done...as they will be very much in the way."[16] Unquestionably both the F. G. Howard and Ollinger & Bruce yards were uniquely equipped for the tasks the Confederate States Navy set before them.

On Monday October 29, 1861, Articles of Agreement between Frederick G. Howard and the Confederate States Navy were signed at Milton. The specifications called for a 150-foot gunboat of ten-foot hold, and twenty-five-foot beam to be built in a period of 120 days at a cost of $57,500, "in good and

workman-like manner according to the terms and specifications and drawing herewith appended." The contract further stipulated that the vessel be outfitted with two engines and propellers and a pair of boilers containing nine hundred feet of fire and flue surface. Payment for the work was to be made in six installments, of one-sixth part work and materials, done and provided, when eighty percent of each part's accrued costs would be covered. A final settlement would be made when the vessel was completed and delivered to the Port of Pensacola, "when full payment would be made for the same."[17]

Interestingly enough, the Howard vessel was known to have received some level of private financial support from the considerable interests of Pensacola lawyer and Confederate Senator, Augustus E. Maxwell. Maxwell was a great friend and confidant of Secretary Mallory, an invaluable connection for the Blackwater boats. A surviving communication of December 16, 1861 from Maxwell at Columbus, Georgia, to Captain Brent, indicates that Brent use an enclosed dispatch from Secretary Mallory as a "warrant" to remove any item from the Pensacola Navy Yard stores deemed necessary for the Howard boat's completion.[18] Though the plans for the F. G. Howard gunboat are apparently lost, those of its sister ship, the CSS *Macon*, built by the H. F. Willink Yard at Savannah from the designs of Confederate Chief Naval Constructor, John L. Porter, survive today. Confederate naval historian Robert Holcombe reproduced both a spar and berth deck plan from these originals in William Still's *Confederate Shipbuilding*.

Unfortunately the plans for the Ollinger & Bruce boat are also lost. Only the contract has come to light. In it the company entered into agreement with the Confederate navy on Monday, November 4, 1861, one week after the signing of Howard's. Witnesses to the contract were Bagdad lumbermen and property lessors, Ezekiel E. Simpson, and Richard M. Bushnell. Its specifications called for a 110-foot gunboat of ten-foot hold and eighteen-foot beam to be built in a period of eighty-five days at a cost of $15,850. The payment provision was the same as F. G. Howard's, with once again, final settlement being made when the vessel was delivered to Pensacola.[19]

Whether F. G. Howard and Ollinger & Bruce were also to install boilers and machinery in their boats is unclear. The installation of simple, yet effective marine engines would have proven little difficulty for the Milton firm of Penny & Chadwick, although nothing has come to light showing their involvement in the project. In the summer of 1861, Penny & Chadwick made a proposal to lease their machine shop and iron foundry at fifty dollars per day, "for the purpose of repairing the machinery of the steamer *Fulton*." It appears this met with Confederate States Navy Department approval, and chief machinist Enoch Chadwick was to superintend the work. Following the evacuation of Milton in the spring of 1862, William Penny relocated the foundry to Prattville, Alabama,

where it became an operating subsidiary of the Columbus (Georgia) Naval Iron Works for the remainder of the war. Indeed, it was William Penny & Company of Prattville that constructed the machinery for the celebrated Confederate ram, *Tennessee*.[20]

Although evidence for the manufacture of the Ollinger & Bruce gunboat engines is most likely irretrievable, that for the F. G. Howard vessel survives in part and reveals that flexibility born of chaos saved the Confederate navy time and again in impossible situations. At a cost of $4,000, the engines and boilers for the Howard gunboat were cast and fabricated at the Columbus Naval Iron Works. Yet, before they could be shipped overland by rail to Pensacola, via Montgomery in the winter of 1862, Confederate soldiers had already begun to pull up the track from Pensacola northward to Pollard, Alabama. After the Blackwater gunboats were destroyed in March 1862, these car-loads of machinery were readapted at Columbus on Mallory's order, and forwarded to Savannah. There the engines were installed by the firm of H. F. Willink aboard its ironclad, CSS *Savannah* in 1863.[21]

The F. G. Howard vessel was to have carried two ten-inch guns of nine thousand pounds, and that of Ollinger & Bruce, one ten-inch, and one rifled thirty-two pounder. Undoubtedly, these ten-inch smoothbores were to have been mounted as pivot guns on slide carriages fore and aft. The thirty-two pounder or "bulldog popgun" was a standard of the era. Though not the deadliest craft afloat, the Blackwater gunboats would certainly have been adequately equipped for their mission of intercostal defense.[22]

Following the March 1862 destruction of the vessels, Farrand stated emphatically in a letter to Mallory that "each [gunboat] was well, strongly, and thoroughly built for sails or steam," a necessity with the uncertain breezes of estuary patrol. In consideration of the availability of choice, seasoned lumber at the Ollinger & Bruce, and F. G. Howard yards at the war's outset, each vessel was probably built along the lines of a knockabout schooner, of not more than 400-tons displacement, with no bowsprit to interfere with the forward gun. In classic schooner fashion, the gunboats would most likely have been fore-and-aft rigged, with a mainmast abaft the foremast. Ultimately, the 110-foot Ollinger & Bruce vessel was to have probably been a foreshortened twin-screw version of the 150-foot John L. Porter design. Its cabin would necessarily have been arranged differently, yet in all other respects the two Blackwater gunboats were as plausible a match as two Confederate shipyards could have made them.[23]

As General Braxton Bragg rode through the night toward Pensacola in the early hours of January 2, 1862, he undoubtedly felt sorely tried. An illuminated horizon over his destination was yet another harbinger of travail, sure to warrant his immediate inspection upon arrival. To Bragg's fury, he found that his second-in-command, Brig. General Richard Anderson, while in a state of

inebriation on New Year's Day, had responded to provocation by launching a bombardment on Fort Pickens. The quick Union response resulted in the burning of a valuable warehouse and stores in the navy yard. Upon Anderson's removal, Brig. General Samuel Jones was dispatched south from the Army of Northern Virginia as replacement.[24] Yet Bragg was at the end of his tether. Had he forsaken his commission in the U.S. Army, only to watch his Confederate career disintegrate among these maladroit subalterns?

Though an excellent administrator, Bragg had a reputation as a notorious martinet. This tended to undo any good works resulting from his departmental organization. On October 7, 1861, his Pensacola command, which embraced the Blackwater gunboats, was enlarged to include the coastal State of Alabama, which only served to bring Mobile with all it distractions under his purview. Troop requisitions, dwindling supplies, boredom, and stalemate all paled in his efforts to manage the affairs of subordinates. Both the former Mobile city mayor Brig. General Jones M. Withers, and the politically sacked former Confederate States Secretary of War, Leroy P. Walker, drove Bragg to paroxysm.[25]

By comparison Confederate naval affairs were a minor bugbear, but an irritant all the same. In Pensacola the Confederacy's marriage of expediency between land and sea forces had fared better than might have been expected, particularly in joint battery construction and maintenance. Doubtlessly this stemmed in no small part from Bragg's contention to lead, and therefore Brent's willingness to follow. However, Mobile only exacerbated Bragg's West Point sensibilities and served to cloud naval coordination, perhaps to the detriment of the Blackwater boats. On November 29, 1861, he wrote Adjutant General Cooper at Richmond: "As early as last spring and frequently since, I have asked for some young navy officer, but without success. I have two steam gunboats [appropriated civilian craft, the *Bradford* and *Nelms*], at Pensacola, commanded by landsmen. A rifled ship gun promised for one of them some weeks ago is not yet heard from...."[26] This note of "solicitude" was soon displaced in one of those ever-widening concentric rings of squabble which Bragg so loathed.

On December 4 marines under the command of Lieutenant James D. Johnston, the senior ranking naval officer at Mobile, had helped themselves to sacks of coal from one "Hitchcock's [Cotton] Press," which did constitute naval property, but without Confederate States Army permission. This caused General Withers to have what can only be described as an apoplectic fit. Bragg had only recently written Adjutant General Cooper that in Withers's case: "Dissipation and want of experience and organization will cause me to tremble for the result if he were vigorously [i.e., militarily] attacked...." However, Bragg's manifest loyalty was to the army first, causing him to close ranks in support of Withers in an ignominious campaign to have Johnston cashiered for his impertinence.[27]

Then, to further add to Confederate army choler, a blockade runner from Havana was beached under the guns of Fort Morgan on December 27, only to be pulled off and towed into Mobile Bay by a "small unarmed steamer" under constant fire. Though the nearest Confederate naval vessel was over thirty miles up the bay, and never could have reached Fort Morgan in time to pull the stranded runner in, Bragg and Withers clamored once more that Johnston was as good as derelict. As it turned out, only Mallory's quick intercession on Johnston's behalf saved the young lieutenant's skin, whereupon Johnston served at Mobile as one of the most able naval officers on either side of the entire war.[28]

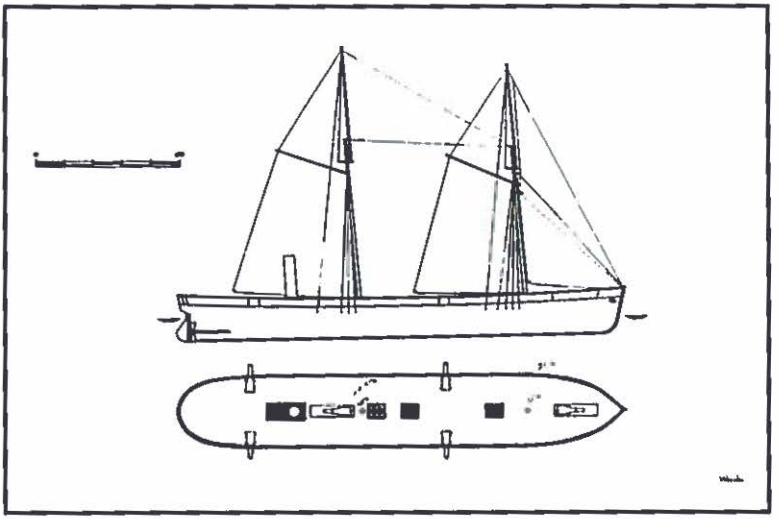
Ultimately this Withers-Johnston affair appears to have critically soured what small goodwill Bragg may have held for the navy. In an effort to come to some consensus with the naval secretary over the Johnston matter, Secretary of War Judah P. Benjamin succinctly summed up the prevailing martial view in a letter to Mallory on January 6, 1862: "Without desiring for a moment that any authority should be assumed over the vessels and officers of the Navy by any military commander, it does seem to me that small craft in harbor and shore waters should to some extent be made subordinate to commanders of department charged with coast defenses...."[29]

In the meantime, how fared the Blackwater gunboats? By January their keels must have been long since laid, with work continuing apace. Yet the seeds of their destruction had already been sown, for they may have become pawns in the game of interservice rivalry. Bragg was then even more likely to put distance between himself and the project. It was probably only his determined resolution for their utility which could have preserved them. Subsequently at a loss for what to do with them, Jones could only acquiesce in their destruction.

Upon Brig. General Samuel Jones's arrival at Pensacola, Bragg reorganized his Department of Alabama and West Florida, placing Jones in command of the Army of Pensacola, and Withers over the Army of Mobile, so that he could devote a greater proportion of his time to inspection and training. It was at this juncture that fate intervened. In February 1862 the Union army under Ulysses S. Grant plunged into Tennessee, scattering the Confederacy's forces before it. This was the beginning of the Union campaign to divide the South from its Trans-Mississippi West. With the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson on February 6 and 16, respectively, the Tennessee and Cumberland valleys were laid open to Federal invasion. From desperate leaders, orders came down from Richmond to bring up some eight thousand troops from Bragg's command to fill the ever-widening gap. The decision was made to retain Mobile, but Pensacola would have to be abandoned, and preparations were made for the withdrawal of the Confederate lines into Alabama.[30]

On February 27 Bragg wrote Jones from Mobile: "...You will make all dispositions at the earliest moment, working day and night to abandon

Pensacola....I desire you particularly to leave nothing the enemy can use...." Guns, stores, and railroad iron were to be removed into the interior. Sawmills were to be "disabled." All lumber was to be burned. Furthermore, Bragg ordered that the gunboats *Bradford* and *Nelms* "and all other boats" be destroyed if necessary.[31] Ironically on this very same day, an unwitting Secretary Mallory confidently reported to President Davis that "one gunboat is nearly completed at Columbus, Georgia, and two others under contract there. Two are nearly completed at Pensacola, and one at Jacksonville...."[32]



CSS Macon

Drawing by Robert Holcombe
James W. Woodruff, Jr. Confederate Naval Museum
Columbus, Georgia

On March 1 another letter arrived from Bragg, informing Jones that he was leaving Mobile for the Tennessee front. Also, as General Withers had been relieved from duty, Bragg added, "You will assume command of the department, remaining however at Pensacola to complete the work there...." Jones pressed ahead with preparations for the imminent departure, but a new concern arose from the east. What was to be done with Santa Rosa County? On March 7, Jones's adjutant, Captain Charles S. Stringfellow, in a message to Lt. Col. William K. Beard of the First Infantry Regiment, Florida Volunteers, commanding Deer Point, wrote that the steamer *Tom Murray* had been chartered and placed under Beard's orders. Stringfellow warned: "...You will keep constantly on the alert, and if attacked by an overpowering force, or if you should discover two or more buildings in the Navy Yard to be on fire, you will

take your men on the steamer...and proceed immediately to Bagdad and Milton, and there burn every foot of lumber, the sawmills, and boats, including the steamer *Tom Murray*...."[33]

Stringfellow further ordered that the battalion be supplied with forty rounds of ammunition, and five day's rations, three of which to be cooked, for a northward march to Brewton, Alabama from Milton. As will be seen, a subsequent confusion over these rations probably played the decisive factor in the destruction of at least one of the Blackwater gunboats. Yet as a contingency, Stringfellow directed that Lt. Col. J. F. Conoley of the Fourth Alabama Battalion at Pensacola, prepare the selfsame measures for a final retreat overland to Pollard, via Milton, if Beard's men were transferred to Tennessee, "before it became necessary to evacuate Pensacola."[34]

Meanwhile at the navy yard as Captain Brent was working feverishly to remove naval stores, a message arrived from Jones. It offered the use of the steamer *Time* as transport up the Escambia River to a landing below the makeshift Alabama & Florida railhead at Pollard. Furthermore Jones disclosed that it had come to his attention that a naval officer had "been for some time" constructing two gunboats, "at or near Milton." Likewise, both vessels were "nearly ready for service." Failing removal up the Escambia, Jones was concerned lest they fall into Union hands. He wrote: "It is probable that an attempt will be made to run the *Bradford* and *Nelms* into Mobile Bay, and it may be they could tow the two gunboats on a dark night..." conceding to Brent, "You are better able to judge of that than I can."[35]

On March 10 Beard finally received the awaited orders to move out. In these instructions Jones revised Stringfellow's directive of March 7, advising Beard not to burn the *Tom Murray* on the Blackwater, but instead: "proceed with your command up the Escambia as near to Pollard as you can approach, leave the steamer, and go to Pollard to act as a guard temporarily of the public property at that place...." Jones informed Beard that he was to take only one hundred men, "the best and most reliable you have, with three officers." The commencement of destruction was only to begin at daylight at Miller's Point, Santa Rosa County, on the following morning. Jones further stipulated: "You will communicate with the officer or agent having charge of the gunboats, and deliver a letter which I will send you. If those can be towed up the Escambia, you will...give such assistance in towing them out of danger up the Escambia as you can. If that cannot be done you will destroy the gunboats also...."[36]

At eight o'clock the evening of Monday, March 10, 1862, the steamer *Tom Murray* pulled out from Deer Point, rounding into Pensacola Bay under cover of darkness. Aboard, two companies of Leon County's First Regiment Florida volunteers, under the command of Captains Means and Baker watched the long, low shadow of Santa Rosa Peninsula slide away to starboard in the crossing to

East Bay. In the prow stood Lt. Col. William K. Beard, accompanied by Escambia merchant-capitalist, Mr. Alexander McVoy, the colonel being "unacquainted with the topography of the country and the location of the mills."[37] Certainly in the crevice of light from a dark lantern, the two men poured over their roster of objectives, while the battalion sat on deck, smoking their pipes, or talking among themselves of the tasks ahead. Or did they speak of insufficient rations, perhaps even of a certain quantity forgotten in the final moments of boarding at Deer Point? It was probably best not to tell the colonel—yet!

At eleven o'clock, the *Tom Murray* hove into the wharf at Miller's Point. Colonel William Miller was not at home, but in his report to Captain Stringfellow, Beard wrote: "I advised Mrs. Miller of the object of my mission. At daylight, I commenced the execution of your orders by firing the mills and other property...."[38]

At dawn on Tuesday March 11, all of Shipyard Point was certainly roused by the spreading alarm of mill fire, as a great column of smoke arose from miles down on East Bay—a common occurrence in days when every plant kept its dune of sawdust within shovel's reach to stoke the engine furnace. Few at Bagdad must have realized the enormity of the situation upon them. But as the morning wore on, a second, a third, and succeeding columns of smoke appeared in quick succession, each more closely at hand than the last. No one could doubt that either a Union invasion, or Confederate retrenchment was underway. With little time to lose, Ollinger and Bruce gave orders to their workmen to prepare the floating drydock for towing "to water just deep enough to submerge the facility at low tide." Taking bearings of the location, they gave a signal to open the caisson valves, causing the greater portion of the three linked sections to sink in safety beneath the surface of the Blackwater. To both shipwrights' deep chagrin, in their hurry they had misjudged the depth from their plumb, and this allowed the top course of the dock on each side to break the surface. Later spotted for what they were by the *Tom Murray*, these "wings" were set afire, and burned to the waterline.[39] Back at the yard, the Ollinger & Bruce gunboat continued to ride quietly at anchor, awaiting only the installation of its boilers and machinery.

From Miller's Point the *Tom Murray* steamed northward up the Blackwater River, laying waste the most industrialized county in antebellum Florida. By day's end the river basin responsible for thirty-two percent of the state's 1860 manufacturing output had gone up in flames. At Milton citizens were successful in persuading Beard to delay the firing of the waterfront mills of Mir & McVoy until the winds had sufficiently lulled.[40] Bagdad had not escaped so happily.

When the *Tom Murray* docked, Beard's men found eight million board feet of virgin heart-pine lumber stacked along the quay at E. E. Simpson & Company. Put to the torch the burning stacks quickly raged out of control,

rendering the whole of the waterfront a colossal pyre. Showers of sparks were soon swirling over the housetops of the little city, and burning embers raining down on its frantic populace. The grand homes of company principals Ezekiel Simpson, Benjamin Overman, and Richard Bushnell, in close proximity to the mill complex, were soon engulfed. Beard sent a detail from his command to aid in the removal of furniture from the burning houses, though what little was saved was badly damaged. Logging supervisor, Benjamin Thompson rescued his fine home by dispatching his slaves to the roof to beat out the spreading flames with wet sacking. Yet, Beard's report to Captain Stringfellow continues, "I found it necessary to burn the gunboats at Bagdad and Milton, it being impractical to tow them up the Escambia, as they could not pass the bar; in fact, only one of them was launched...."[41] That evening, Beard's men reboarded the *Tom Murray* to wend their incendiary way further along the Escambia Bluffs in circuit to Pollard.

When Commander Ebenezer Farrand returned from Jacksonville six days later and surveyed the devastation, he was thunderstruck. On the very day that general immolation had been visited upon the Blackwater, March 11, he had been pinned down at St. John's Bluff, as DuPont's South Atlantic Blockading Squadron backed a Federal investment of Jacksonville. As Union forces approached, Farrand could only give orders to burn the St. John's boat and retreat.[42] Bagdad presented a pitiable sight, indeed.

Furious at army meddling in what he deemed as strictly naval business at Milton and Bagdad, an irreconcilable Farrand set out for Richmond to personally inform Secretary Mallory of the fiasco. His report was scathing. He noted that F. G. Howard's vessel "was yet on the stocks, but might have been, if necessary, put into the water at the moment." Accordingly, the Howard boat was six to eight days from launching, and with the exception of machinery, twenty to twenty-five days from armament. The Ollinger & Bruce vessel "had been in the water about ten days," and with the exception of machinery was only ten days from armament. Farrand stated that both vessels had been under construction thirty-five miles from Fort Pickens, and if need arose, easily removed up the Escambia. "When I was at Pensacola," Farrand reported, "I saw no unusual number of enemy's ships off the Port, nor could I discover the necessity for the destruction of the gunboats."[43]

As in many strategic evacuations, Pensacola's military was not unique in acting prematurely. Evacuation week, March 10 to 15, came, but without any corresponding movement from the Union stronghold at Fort Pickens to seize the advantage, urgency fizzled into stalemate. Quite simply, the federal garrison at Pickens was isolated at the western end of Santa Rosa Island. They were without adequate U.S. naval support in the midst of Farragut's push to New Orleans, and could never hope to press the initiative. Pensacola's Confederate

Martin Frederick Bruce (1833-1894)

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John C. Pace Library,
University of West Florida

command, caught up in a wave of general panic that swept the city with news of its imminent evacuation, only slowly regained this perspective.[44]

As early as March 11, Samuel Jones wrote Adjutant General Cooper at Richmond "I am convinced the enemy's force on Santa Rosa Island is much smaller than has been supposed. All seems quiet there. I believe Colonel [Thomas M.] Jones, with from seven hundred to one thousand armed men, with the volunteers who are coming in, can hold the place long enough to move all that is particularly worth moving, and perhaps much longer."[45] Thereafter, Samuel Jones received notice of promotion to major general, and reassignment. Command at Pensacola then passed to Colonel Thomas M. Jones of the Twenty-seventh Mississippi Infantry.

Meanwhile in Richmond, apprised by Farrand of the Blackwater gunboats' destruction, Secretary Mallory determined to take this issue of undue interference to President Davis. The next day, April 12, Mallory wrote the Executive Department, "...So far as I am advised, the destruction of the vessels was uncalled for, and I have the honor to request that the officer under whose authority they were burned may be called upon to report why it was done."[46] Davis forwarded the letter, and Farrand's report to Secretary of War George W. Randolph, upon whose shoulders it fell to continue the inquiry. Of Davis's opinion in the matter, nothing is known. Yet it can be surmised, that in the week following epic happenings near a backwoods Tennessee church called Shiloh, that squabbles of sanctions and entitlements in far-distant Florida necessarily paled to insignificance.

Responding to Randolph's investigation in a letter from Mobile on April 25, Samuel Jones justified the scorched-earth policy along the Blackwater and Escambia watersheds on the perceived intelligence of the enemy to Pensacola's imminent abandonment. "The report that it was to be abandoned was known in Pensacola before the first instructions on the subject reached me, and caused a great panic. The inhabitants were flying from the town, and some persons had succeeded in escaping to Fort Pickens, and no doubt informed the enemy of the condition of things...."[47]

Jones fully defended Beard's decision, "that it was found impracticable to tow the gunboats up the Escambia." Farrand by his own admission was absent in Jacksonville, and no naval authority was present. Neither vessel would have been ready for its machinery until May, and most specifically, Jones stated "...The mechanics and laborers employed about them could not be relied on to destroy them to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy."[48]

In a well aimed parting shot, Samuel Jones effectively shifted the onus of responsibility to Secretary Mallory himself, for not taking such naval matters at Pensacola more into hand in realizing that the city was to be abandoned. As evidence, Jones proffered the fact that Mallory's estate agent at Pensacola had

removed the secretary's slaves from the evacuation detail at the navy yard, to accompany the family's furniture and household effects northward to safety in Alabama. In closing, however, Jones sheepishly admitted, "I regret that I did not know at the time that the Secretary was not advised of the orders in the case, that I might have brought the matter to his notice." Yet, unrepentant to the end, Jones wrote from Brooksville, Mississippi on June 20, "Events which have transpired since my letter was written show that if the destruction of the unfinished gunboats was uncalled for on the 11 of March, it would have been called for a little later...."[49] Secretary Randolph, content that all had been done which could have been done, closed the inquest thereafter.

Yet in all the procedure, the crucial factor of the gunboats' destruction was consistently overlooked. Whether it was because Beard or his captains had not been direct participants in the inquiry, or for some other reason, the question of rations was never addressed. It was in fact most likely a logistical breakdown in the sustenance of Beard's two companies on the scorched-earth mission, which directly influenced the decision as to whether one, or both gunboats were to be towed behind the *Tom Murray* up the Escambia. The reason given in Beard's report of March 16, that "they [gunboats] could not pass the bar," was false. It is impossible to know the Howard boat's condition to travel, if it was as Farrand stated, "yet upon the stocks." But the Ollinger & Bruce boat, already launched as essentially an empty hull, would not have had any difficulty in following its heavily loaded draw up the Escambia. Also, for some unknown reason, the "five-days rations, three to be cooked," which Captain Stringfellow directed the battalion take, were either wholly, or in part, lost, consumed, or left behind at Deer Point. By Tuesday evening (twenty-four hours out), as Beard wrote, "It became necessary to purchase supplies, which I did at Milton. But these again gave out, and I had to get some at another point on the river, but was only able to procure a small quantity." By the time the *Tom Murray* reached the Escambia River community of Bluff Springs on the following Saturday morning, the battalion was famished. Beard wrote, "Being entirely out of provisions, I marched my men to Pollard, and on arriving there could obtain none, so was forced to go on to Brewton." Also, in submitting his manifest of "property destroyed," Beard admitted, against Samuel Jones's explicit orders, "Much of my work was done after night, and again so hurriedly that a correct statement could not be made."[50]

Clearly, Beard's men, under duress of exhaustion and immoderate hunger, were loathe to be encumbered by the towing of an unfinished gunboat from Bagdad, especially with days of scorched-earth torching along the Escambia before them. Like the luckless Howard vessel, burned on its stocks, the Ollinger & Bruce boat was set alight where she rode, the problem solved.

With the closing of that fateful spring of 1862, there was very little else that William Ollinger, Martin Bruce, and their young families could do but join other refugees fleeing northward into Alabama with the retreating Confederate lines. A Pensacola city government in exile was established at Greenville, Alabama, and on May 10, 1862, Pensacola was surrendered to federal forces. Orders arrived at Bagdad from the Confederate Navy Department requesting that the firm of Ollinger & Bruce evacuate the town and proceed to Montgomery, bringing up the boilers and engines that were to have been installed in their gunboat, and apparently had escaped destruction. By late spring a procession of oxcarts loaded with the machinery and salvaged stores departed Bagdad on the 150 mile trek northward under the supervision of the two partners. A surviving Confederate paymaster's invoice of reimbursement from the following October reveals that Commander Farrand provided a draft for the "expenses" at Milton of William Ollinger, as well as for debts accrued in the evacuation overland from West Florida. Yet, for some unknown reason, William returned to Pensacola after capitulation, where he was arrested on July 30, taken before a Union provost marshal, and administered a loyalty oath to the United States. The alternative was jail for an indefinite period in Fort Pickens. Upon taking the oath, William Ollinger duly skipped town and rejoined his family in Montgomery.[51]

Thereafter, one source indicates that Ollinger & Bruce may have been employed for a short time in pontoon construction on the Alabama River at Montgomery. However, it appears that Commander Farrand in his newly appointed capacity from mid-1862, as Confederate superintendent of all Alabama and Tombigbee rivers' shipbuilding, slated Ollinger & Bruce for the construction of the sidewheel ironclad, *Nashville.* In June 1863 chief contractor William Ollinger, apparently accompanied the vessel downriver, as she was towed to Mobile for completion. Through the remainder of the war, Ollinger & Bruce maintained a suit against the Confederate government for $11,247.50 in damages to their Bagdad shipyard. Beyond the initial installments from the Confederate States Navy toward vessel construction, there is no indication the partners ever collected a cent.[52]

Following the war, Ollinger & Bruce returned to Bagdad from Alabama, and rebuilt the shipyard on its old location, raising the sunken drydock from the bottom of the Blackwater River. On July 9, 1867, the partnership purchased the whole of the twenty-one acre peninsula comprising Shipyard Point from the reconstituted Simpson & Company for four hunderd dollars.[53] For the next fifty years the firm of Ollinger & Bruce, and its successor, the Bruce Drydock Company, operated a shipyard at the site.

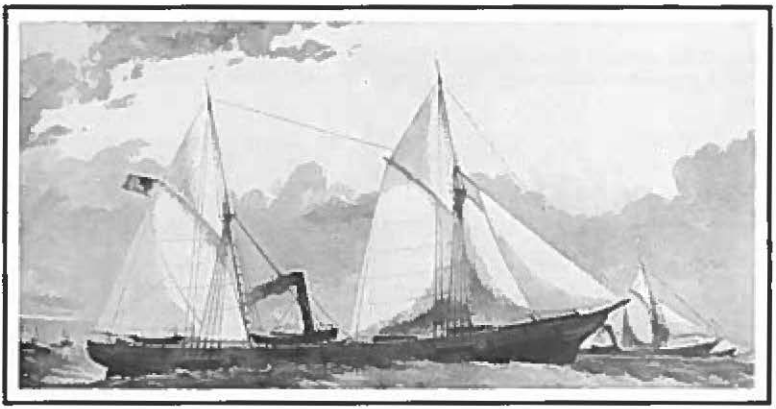
As for Frederick G. Howard, nothing is known of the wartime dissolution of his Milton shipyard, though it was certainly consumed in great portion by the

same fire that destroyed his gunboat. Notwithstanding, evidence indicates that Howard thereafter took a lieutenant's commission in the Confederate army, where he appears to have ably filled the role of an assistant inspector general, First Brigade, Second Division of Braxton Bragg's Army of Tennessee. Though he managed to survive the war and return to Florida, Howard died at Pensacola, August 30, 1867, aged thirty-three years, in the midst of a great yellow fever epidemic that was ravaging West Florida that summer.[54] Howard's old friend and lawyer, Augustus E. Maxwell, was executor of his estate and on May 2, 1870, shipwright John O. Hoodless with partner Richard Thackery purchased the Milton shipyard at auction for $405. By 1873, Thackery had sold his share, and Hoodless found himself sole proprietor and owner of the yard for the next thirty-nine years.[55]

Ultimately, could the Ollinger & Bruce and F. G. Howard gunboats have been of any use to the Confederacy if they had not been destroyed on March 11, 1862? That they would have been finished by Pensacola's May 10 surrender is likely, although their subsequent utility remains in doubt. The gunboats might have served some months on the Escambia or Blackwater rivers, but surely would have been overtaken by Union reconnaissance before the year was out. Despite Farrand's protestations to the contrary, the commander surely knew from long experience in West Florida that the Escambia-Conecuh river system above the Florida State line was virtually impassable to all but the simplest log rafts. Before extensive clearance and dredging were undertaken in the 1880s, the river's 235 mile length above Pollard to its source near Union Springs, Alabama was closed to steam navigation. There was scarcely a more torturous and snag-ridden watercourse to have been found in the Old South. Under no circumstances could the Blackwater boats been effectively concealed or bottled in these upper reaches for any length of time.[56]

As for Samuel Jones's query into possibly towing them or sending them under their own power to Mobile, it would have been incredible if they had made it. Not to even consider a harrowing westward journey through the blockade, Pensacola Pass presented a veritable Scylla and Charybdis path to misfortune. Even on a dark night, the gunboats would have been quickly spotted on the bar, and promptly seized or destroyed. Had they hugged the lee of Perdido Key, they would have quickly foundered in the surf of Caucus Shoal, as treacherous to navigation in 1862 as it is today.[57] Perhaps their only escape could have been through East Pass, some fifty miles to the other end of Santa Rosa Island. There, they could have hoisted sail, and with some night work and considerable luck, evaded the East Gulf Blockading Squadron to arrive at St. Andrew's Bay, or the mouth of the Apalachicola River undetected. But this is pure speculation. Undoubtedly, the vessels would not have survived, or remained

in Confederate service much longer in these locations than if they had remained in the watersheds of the Escambia or Blackwater rivers.



USS Winona, *similar to the vessels the Confederacy had planned for the "Coast and River Defense of the State of Florida"* Harpers Weekly, *September 28, 1861*

Only a year had elapsed since George T. Ward's letter to the secretary of war, advocating "a system of small, armed steamers" to defend Confederate Florida "at the water's edge." In the life of the Confederacy, a year was an eternity expended in an instant. The experiences of Ollinger, Bruce, Howard, and Farrand are half forgotten components in the ensemble of what historian James M. McPherson termed "The Salt Water War," which had virtually swept the Confederate navy from coastal patrol by the summer of 1862. Henceforth, the navy would build, fight, and die along the great rivers of the southern interior. For Confederate naval shipbuilding on the Blackwater River, the conflict was over, "at the water's edge," and the war moved inexorably on.

Notes

[1] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. 1, 467-68; cited hereafter as OR.

[2] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (New York, 1887), 32, 36, 263.

[3] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, DC, 1895-1929), ser. 2, vol. 2, 76-79; cited hereafter as ORN.

[4] Ibid., 76-79. William N. Still, *Confederate Shipbuilding* (Columbia, SC, 1987), 13-14.

[5] Scharf, *History*, 263. ORN, ser. 2, vol. 1, 791.

[6] *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America 1861-1865* (Washington, DC, 1904), 1: 370-71, 407, 410, 446.

[7] *Officers in the Confederate States Navy 1861-1865* (Washington, DC, 1898), 41. William N. Still, "The Confederate States Navy at Mobile, 1861 to August 1864," *Alabama Historical Quarterly* 30 (Fall and Winter 1968): 127-44. ORN, ser. 1, vol. 4, 217-18.

[8] Articles of Agreement for Gunboat Construction, October 3, 1861, between Confederate States Navy and George Mooney, Confederate Treasury Dept. Records, RG 365, National Archives.

[9] Edwin C. Bearss, "Civil War Operations In and Around Pensacola, part 1," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (July 1957-April 1958): 125-65. OR, ser. 1, vol. 6, 666-67.

[10] OR, ser. 1, vol. 6, 846-47.

[11] George F. Pearce, *The U.S. Navy in Pensacola, From Sailing Ships to Naval Aviation 1825-1930* (Gainesville, FL, 1980), 43-64.

[12] Thomas A. Johnson Papers, 77-1, Box 4, Folder 27: Paul H. McNeil, "History of a Sixty Year Old Pioneer Floating Drydock," (unpub. MS, 1919) Special Collections, John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida, Pensacola, FL. The real value of Frederick G. Howard's Milton shipyard in Schedule 1 of the 1860 Census, Returns for Santa Rosa County is given as $3200. No value for Ollinger & Bruce is given. Unfortunately, the Census enumerator also failed to record any figures for these, and any other county shipyard, in Schedule 5: Products of Industry, 1860.

[13] Thomas A. Johnson Papers, 77-1.

[14] "Modern Equipment of the Bagdad Drydocks: Six Pulsometer Steam Pumps Have Been Installed There," with details of Ollinger & Bruce history, *Pensacola Journal* (January 5, 1908): 1.

[15] Shipyard Inventory presented before the Acting Florida District Court, Pensacola Division CSA, April 15, 1863, War Dept. Collection of Confederate Records, RG 109, National Archives. McNeil, "History."

[16] Brian R. Rucker, "Blackwater and Yellow Pine: The Development of Santa Rosa County, 1821-1865" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1990), 305. Howard to Brent, January 23, 1862, Capt. Thomas W. Brent Papers, Confederate Subject and Area File, RG 45, National Archives.

[17] Articles of Agreement for Gunboat Construction, October 29, 1861, between Confederate States Navy and Frederick G. Howard, RG 365, National Archives.

[18] Mallory to Maxwell, December 9, 1861, and Maxwell to Brent, December 16, 1861, Capt. Thomas W. Brent Papers, RG 45, National Archives.

[19] Articles of Agreement for Gunboat Construction, November 4, 1861, between Confederate States Navy and Ollinger & Bruce, RG 365, National Archives.

[20] Penny & Chadwick to Brent, August 16, 1861, Capt. Thomas W. Brent Papers, RG 45, National Archives. William Penny & Co. entered into Confederate naval service at Prattville, AL, October 8, 1862.

[21] Receipt, William W. J. Kelly to R. J. Stockton, Columbus Iron Works Co., April 23, 1862; Mallory to Warner, April 10, 1862, RG 45, National Archives.

[22] ORN ser. 1, vol. 18, 845-46.

[23] Ibid. Shipyard Inventory, RG 109, National Archives.

[24] Edwin C. Bearss, "Civil War Operations In and Around Pensacola, Part 3," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 39 (April 1961): 330-53. OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 802.

[25] Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, A Narrative* (New York, 1958), 1: 568-69: "[Bragg] loved to crush the spirit of his men. The more a hangdog look they had about them, the better was General Bragg pleased." Bearss, "Civil War Operations, Part 3."

[26] OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 771-72.

[27] Ibid., 771, 778-79, 787, 794-96, 799-802.

[28] Ibid., 789-90, 799-800.

[29] Ibid., 796.

[30] Ibid., 809-10, 815-16. Bearss, "Civil War Operations, Part 3."

[31] OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 835-36.

[32] ORN ser. 1, vol. 18, 830-31.

[33] OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 837, 843-44.

[34] Ibid., 843-44, 848-49.

[35] Ibid., 846-47.

[36] Ibid., 849-50.

[37] Ibid., 859-60. For further information on Alexander McVoy, see: Eisterhold, "Lumber and Trade in Pensacola and West Florida: 1800-1860," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (July 1972): 267-80.

[38] OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 859-60.

[39] "Modern Equipment of the Bagdad Drydocks...." McNeil, "History."

[40] Rucker, "Blackwater and Yellow Pine," 625. OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 859-60.

[41] Ibid. Interview with Charles N. D'Asaro, Ph.D., June 28, 1992, Bagdad, FL, recounting information related by Mrs. Camille Patterson, a Thompson family descendant of Fort Walton Beach, FL.

[42] ORN ser. 1, vol. 12, 697-99.

[43] ORN ser. 1, vol. 18, 845-46.

[44] OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 710-15, 856-57.

[45] Ibid., 852.

[46] ORN ser. 1, vol. 18, 845.

[47] OR ser. 1, vol. 6, 891-92.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., 890.

[50] Ibid., 859-60.

[51] Bearss, "Civil War Operations." Interview with Capt. Joe and Mrs. Helen Null Ollinger, June 27, 1992, Point Clear, AL; recounting information related by Wilhelmina Ollinger, youngest daughter of William M. Ollinger. Confederate States Navy Paymaster's Receipt, October 14, 1862, between George H. O'Neale, Asst. Paymaster CSN, and William Ollinger; RG 109, National Archives. Loyalty Oath of William Ollinger, July 30, 1862; Thomas A. Johnson Papers 67-6, December 1975 addition.

[52] Charles H. Overman "After 111 Years, Bagdad Reaches the End, Part 1," *Southern Lumber Journal* (March 10, 1939): 16, 71. Interview with Mr. Tom P. Ollinger, July 3, 1992, Mobile, AL, recounting information related by Wilhelmina Ollinger, youngest daughter of William M. Ollinger. Shipyard Inventory, RG 109, National Archives.

[53] Santa Rosa County Deed Book A, No. 83, Simpson & Co. to Ollinger & Bruce, 144-45, Santa Rosa County Courthouse, Milton, FL.

[54] Celestino Gonzalez Papers, Box 2, Folder 4; Pensacola Historical Society, Pensacola, FL. Frederick G. Howard was interred in St. Michael's Cemetery, Pensacola, FL, where his grave site can be found today.

[55] Santa Rosa County Deed Book A, No. 128, A. E. Maxwell, Executor of F. G. Howard, deceased, to Hoodless & Thackery, 209-10.

[56] Thomas McAdory Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), 1: 319-20.

[57] James C. Coleman, *Fort McRee: A Castle Built on Sand* (Pensacola, FL, 1988), 51-52.

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The castle-like grave of Angelo Cueto Mune,
Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery

Landmark in Early Twentieth-Century Florida

Robert Brinkmann and Sandi A. Dunlap

Some of the first settlers of Tampa, Florida came from Spain and Cuba to work in cigar factories. Their history can be traced through an analysis of the Centro Asturiano Cemetery, one of the oldest burial grounds in Tampa. The social club Centro Asturiano served as a social organization as well as a health maintenance organization, or mutual aid society. Members received a free cemetery plot in a club-owned cemetery as part of the benefits of membership. As a result most members of the club and their immediate families were buried in the cemetery. Records of the cemetery and engravings on grave markers tell a story about a unique population of immigrants who settled on the Gulf Coast.

Although the city of Tampa has a rich native American and pioneer history, it did not incorporate as a town until 1849.[1] The hot, moist climate and abundant poisonous snakes and alligators combined with its distant location from major American and Caribbean cities did not make Tampa a desirable destination for settlers. It remained a rough outpost until rail and industry entered the area in the 1880s and 1890s. Rail connected Tampa with the outside world in 1883 making the city a viable trade and production center.[2] Visitors found Tampa's port and climate favorable for settlement and soon a variety of businesses entered the area. One of the early industries, cigar manufacturing, developed in 1886 shortly after the founding of Ybor City near downtown Tampa by Vicente Martinez-Ybor. This area served as a base for the growing Florida cigar industry.

As the cigar industry expanded, workers from many parts of the world came to Tampa for employment. The earliest laborers came with Ybor and with other entrepreneurs from factories in Havana, Key West, and the northeastern United States. However, this work force was too small for the employment opportunities available and factory owners encouraged additional labor migration into Tampa. Before long workers from Cuba, Italy, and Spain came to the factories with their diverse backgrounds and cultures. The Spanish workers arrived mainly from two regions in Spain, Galicia and Asturias,[3] often via Havana. Many workers left Spain as a result of the decline in the Spanish economy and society. A cluster of small villages in the interior of Sicily was the source of Tampa's Italian immigrants.[4] Tampa was not their original destination. Many Sicilian immigrants arrived in Tampa via New Orleans.[5] During the settlement of Ybor City by the immigrants, subsidiary businesses developed including hotels and shops that served the distinctly Latin community.

The cigar industry was a vital force in the diverse immigrant community in Tampa. During this time workers were brought together by cultural activities sponsored by factory owners, by native-language newspapers, by labor organizations, and by ethnic social clubs. On occasion cigar factories were beset by strikes and labor unrest. Workers shared a strong sense of class solidarity. This unified work force transcended racial and ethnic differences. In addition the Sicilian immigrants emigrated from rural villages which had experienced socialist-led rural uprisings. The existing political climate in Ybor City fostered philosophies ranging from socialism to anarchism.[6]

One of the reasons for the unrest was the poor sanitary conditions and lack of any medical benefits for workers. For years after the opening of the first cigar factory in Ybor City in 1886, the area was nothing more than barely improved swamp. Workers' homes stood on bricks above the damp soil, and snakes and alligators were common sights in the area. Factory workers endured plagues and diseases. Indeed, it was believed that the cigar workers had a greater mortality rate than other Tampans as a result of the location of Ybor City along the low swampy coastline and the unsanitary conditions within the factories.

Due to the poor health of Ybor City residents many of the workers tried to develop health benefits as part of membership within the ethnic social clubs. In 1902 one group of individuals formed a club called Centro Asturiano de Tampa specifically to provide health benefits to members along with the traditional social benefits of club membership.[7] The club formed as an auxiliary of Centro Asturiano de Havana which had been founded in 1886. By 1907 Centro Asturiano de Tampa had 3,030 members of various ethnic backgrounds.[8] Although the club was begun by individuals from Spain's mountainous northern region of Asturia, it was open to males working in Ybor City. Italians, Galicians, and Cubans joined Centro Asturiano de Tampa to take advantage of the medical benefits. As part of overall membership privileges to Centro Asturiano, burial plots were provided to full members and their immediate families. The first cemetery owned by Centro Asturiano de Tampa was purchased in 1909 and is currently called the Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery. It was used until 1946 when the club purchased what is called Centro Asturiano Memorial Park. Today, the old cemetery stands as a landmark to the immigrant experience in Tampa.

The Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery is a rectangular plot of land located on the southwest corner of Ola Street and Indiana Avenue. It has a length of 311 feet and a width of 133 feet. The major axis is parallel to Indiana Avenue; the minor axis is parallel to Ola Street. Surrounding the cemetery is a low stone wall with a ten-foot chain link fence installed inside its perimeter. There is an entrance about at the midpoint of the east wall on Ola Street. There is an

additional opening about at the midpoint on the north wall along Indiana Avenue, but the chain link fencing contains only one gate at the Ola Street entrance.

Central Altar or Catafalque

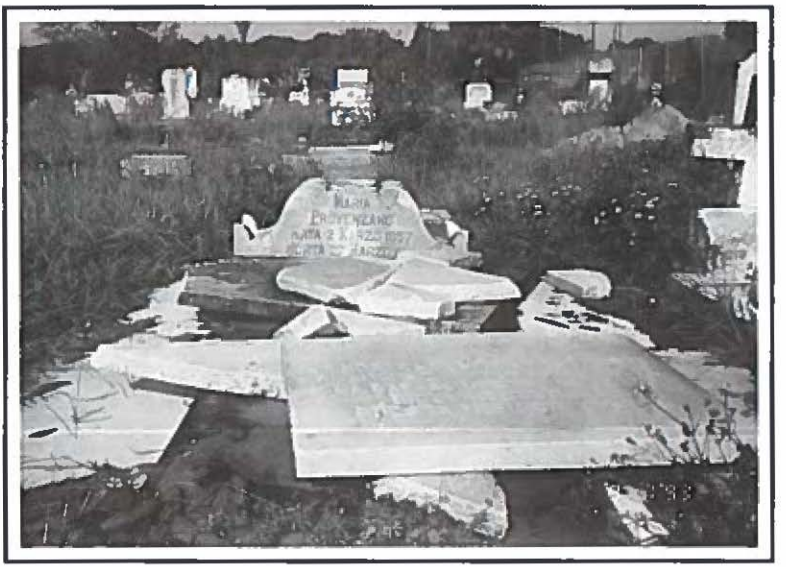
The focal point of the cemetery is a covered altar or catafalque in its center. This serves as the dividing point between the orderly eastern front of the cemetery and an unorganized western rear area. The front area is divided into sections A and D which are separated by a central broad unpaved path leading from the Ola Street entrance to the altar. Each of the two major sections were subdivided: Section A has eight subdivisions and section D has seven. The subdivisions are delineated by cement curbing and are identifiable by the section number inscribed on the curb adjacent to the central path. Each of the sections is separated by a narrow unpaved walkway. Individual plot numbers are inscribed on the curbing facing these walkways.[9]

Another broad unpaved path is to the west of section D7. This leads from the altar to the Indiana Street gate. A large unordered portion of the cemetery is west of this path. On the section A side the unorganized area begins immediately after section A8.

The unordered section of the cemetery seems to have burials placed at random. In fact there is a linear pattern to the rows of burials running north to south. However, the linearity is not as exact as in the front portion of the cemetery. What contributes to the sense of disarray is the complete lack of alignment in the east-west direction. Section dividers and obvious pathways are absent.

The burials in the Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery are placed close together. In some cases less than a foot of distance separates the gravesites. The close spacing gives the impression of clustered graves, a characteristic of European cemeteries.[10] In this respect the Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery is a reflection of the European ancestry of those who are interred in the cemetery and those who planned the layout.

The Centro Asturiano Cemetery is in a state of severe disrepair. The combined effects of neglect, vandalism, and nature have destroyed or damaged a number of burial sites. Failure to maintain the cemetery has resulted in overgrown grass, weeds, and trees such as palmetto and shrub-like oaks. Organic litter (leaves, branches, and Spanish moss) from two large live oaks at the front of the cemetery virtually obscure many of the gravesites in the eastern portion of the graveyard. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the disrepair is that the cemetery is a repository for litter. A variety of trash, including beverage containers, styrofoam, old clothing, and automobile parts is common.



Destroyed grave of Maria Provenzano

The damage to the gravesites is the result of insidious human activity and a variety of natural phenomena. Many of the graves have fallen victim to malicious mischief and grave robbing. Damage ranges from smashed porcelain photographs and toppled headstones to completely destroyed gravesites, the most notable being the tomb of Maria Provenzano which was destroyed and ransacked by vandals. All but the smallest of bone fragments, cloth pieces, and hair remnants were removed. Some pieces of coffin wood and a single handle from the coffin remained.

The warm, humid, subtropical climate of Tampa provides excellent conditions for the weathering of headstones. Most of the tombstones in the Centro Asturiano cemetery are limestone or marble, both of which are susceptible to dissolution by water. Many tombstone inscriptions are weathered to illegibility.

Another feature present in the cemetery is subsidence zones caused by sinkage of gravesites. In many cases coffins were not required to be encased in cement underground vaults. This allowed the coffin and remains to be exposed to the normal process of organic decomposition. When decomposition of the coffin reached the point where the weight of the overlying soil and burial marker could not be supported, collapse occurred. Oval depressions and tilted headstones are the surface expression of the collapse. The root systems of oaks and palmetto growing on or near gravesites also hastens destruction.

Cemetery neglect often results from abandonment or poor managerial practices coupled with design flaws. Poor practices are the result of inexperience of those responsible for cemetery management. In the ethnic cemetery management responsibilities usually fall to volunteers and family members.[11] These managers may or may not be experienced in landscape and monument maintenance requirements. Lack of experience can be complicated by a layout which favors labor-intensive hand mowing and weeding over easily performed mechanized mowing. The Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery has both of these characteristics—management by a committee which is not experienced in maintenance requirements of an old cemetery and a layout which necessitates labor-intensive landscape tending.

Abandonment is also a major cause of disrepair of cemeteries. The descendants of original immigrants often bury in non-sectarian cemeteries.[12] The original ethnic cemetery is forsaken for a more Americanized memorial park. In the case of this cemetery, capacity was reached in the 1940s. A new cemetery was purchased and the old cemetery was closed. Most of the money and energy spent on maintenance was devoted to the newer cemetery and the old cemetery fell into ruin.

Many of the architectural features of the Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery are unique to the area and to the cemetery itself. The markers display a wide variety in size and style ranging from simple concrete tablets to massive above-ground family vaults. Markers and monuments are numerous. Instead of occupying family plots or mausoleums, members were buried individually following the southern European cemetery tradition.[13]

Tombstones often reflect the economic status of an individual and fashions at the time of death. A number of grave markers in the Centro Asturiano cemetery are hand-made cement tablets that are hand-inscribed with the name of the deceased and their death and birth dates. This was an inexpensive means of memorializing the deceased. Most of the members buried in the cemetery were low-income cigar workers who probably could not afford marble or granite headstones.[14]

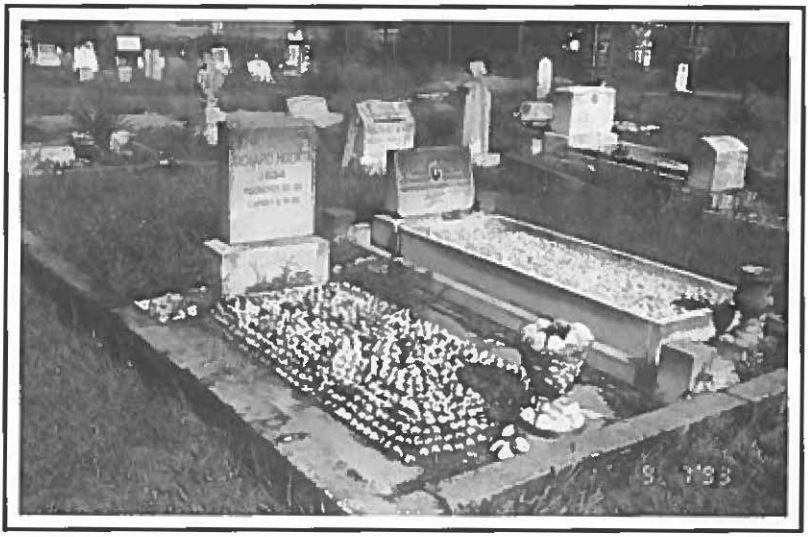
The decorative mosaic tile vaults and markers are unique to this cemetery. Constructed inexpensively out of cement and readily available tiles, these

markers were more ornate memorials than simple cement tablets. The best-preserved example is the Generosa Salas grave.[15] An excellent example of Italian mosaic tile work, this grave was constructed by Francesco Constantino, an Italian tile worker who owned Constantino Monument Company. Geometric patterns were commonly used. On the Salas grave the design is evocative of the funeral wreath that was hung on the door of a home or business.[16]

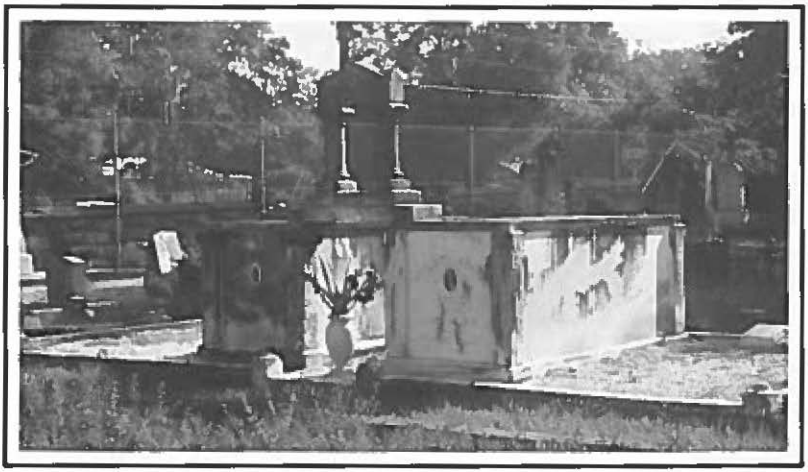
Grave of General Salas

The shell grave of Genaro Huerta is unique within the cemetery itself. Shells form decorative borders at other sites, but this is the only site at which shells cover the entire grave mound. The most frequently used shells were mollusks, especially bivalves and gastropods.[17] At the Huerta grave the mound is covered by whelk shells, and a planter is constructed of scallop shells. The mound itself is indicative of the immigrant origins of the deceased and the surviving family. Immigrant mourners regarded the mound as a symbol of death and the dead.[18]

Perhaps the most striking hand-made grave marker is one referred to as the "castle." It is constructed of granite pieces of similar composition to the curbstones used in Ybor City in the early twentieth century. The rock fragments are cemented together with asphalt paving material. It appears to be made with material salvaged or scavenged from public works projects. A carved, professionally cut limestone plaque details the personal information about Angelo Cueto Mune, the person buried at the site.



Grave of Genaro Huerta



Arango family tomb

The cemetery contains a number of above-ground vaults. The practice of entombment was brought to the western hemisphere by the Italians, French, and Spanish.[19] It was a sign of improved economic status—the poor used earth burial while the middle and upper class favored entombment.[20] Elaborate above-ground vaults and markers emphasize the social position and aspirations of the mourners rather than the deceased.[21] The most significant examples at the Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery house the remains of the Arango family, who were prominently connected with the development of the cigar industry in Tampa. A second reason for using above-ground vaults is based on the hydrogeology of the area. Fluctuating water table levels can, at times, make earth burial impractical because of the possibility of saturation of interred remains, a situation hardly calculated to appeal to surviving relatives.

Because the gravesites were so closely spaced, it was impossible to conduct memorial services at the actual plot. This problem was solved by the construction of a carved altar or catafalque at the center of the cemetery. The hearse bearing the deceased was able to enter the cemetery at Ola Street and proceed up the central path to the covered area. The casket was removed and placed on a bier under cover while the hearse exited via the Indiana Avenue gate. Services were conducted, and the remains were next removed to the gravesite for internment.

The Centro Asturiano Cemetery serves as an artifact by which we can interpret the society in which the deceased lived. Certainly, for many of the poor immigrants, their grave is the only remnant of their existence. Indeed in many cases their tombstone or crypt is all that the modern observer can use to get a glimpse of the individuals' lives. The cemetery also is an indicator of the importance of religion, family, fraternal organizations, and ethnic identity to the unique immigrant population.

Unlike many American cemeteries from the same time period, the Centro Asturiano Cemetery does not display a strong sense of religious identity. Only a handful of the markers have any Christian symbology. Typical of the few religious motifs present are doves, crosses, and angels. Most of the Christian symbology is associated with the burials of young children. Several of the children's burials are marked with tombstones depicting lambs or doves. Religious texts on tombstones are absent. The most pious statement found on a tombstone in the cemetery is an innocuous "rest in peace."

Most of the members of Centro Asturiano were not religious and some were very antireligious, specifically anti-Catholic. Many of the Spanish immigrants remembered the wealthy, religious, Catholic elite preaching to a poor peasantry in Asturias. The workers left Spain because the aristocracy and the church kept the peasant class poor. For this reason many immigrants also left the Catholic Church after arriving in the United States. When the Old Centro Asturiano

Cemetery was founded, there was a motion put forward at a club meeting to consecrate the cemetery grounds with a religious ceremony. After much discussion the motion was tabled.

The lack of religious convictions is evident in the nearly total absence of any religious expression in the cemetery. This feature is quite unlike other American cemeteries of the same time period, which were replete with crosses and scripture. Instead of religion the immigrants turned to other forms of social and emotional comfort. Yet it is interesting to note that when young children died, some families returned to religion to alleviate their grief and soften their loss. It is unclear if the return to religion was resolved through the erection of a headstone with a religious motif or if the family actually returned to the church for a religious burial for the child. In any event the return to religious comfort appears to have been short-lived because such symbols are rare on the headstones of adults.

Although religion is not a major theme within the Centro Asturiano Cemetery, families are a significant part of the history of the cemetery. Nearly every headstone contains a statement about the family of the deceased. Often the inscription states that the headstone was a gift from specific relatives, *recuerdo de su esposa e hijos* or *recuerdo de su esposo*.[22] In some cases an enameled photograph of the deceased was attached to the tombstone as a further indication of the family's regard for the deceased.

Even though the mention of family is one of the more common features of tombstone markings in the Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery, there are very few family plots within the cemetery. Often husbands are not buried next to wives, and young children are not buried next to parents. Indeed, one section of the cemetery was reserved exclusively for children. Outside of that portion of the cemetery individuals were buried in plots in the order in which they died. In a few cases burial plots adjacent to a deceased club member were reserved for relatives, but for the most part families were not buried together. In a few rare instances relatives were buried on top of each other in the same plot.

It seems curious that families made a point of naming relatives on tombstones but were not close enough to establish a family plot. The cause for this is revealed when one reviews the nature of the immigrant families. The death rate for immigrants was high. In turn-of-the-century Tampa the death rate for those living in Ybor City was higher than for those living in other portions of the town. Plagues and diseases often visited Ybor City due to its unsanitary living and working conditions. In addition the death rate among children was high. These statistics meant that within a family second marriages were common after the death of a spouse and that the birth rate was high to compensate for the high childhood death rate. In this setting family burial plots were inappropriate, especially when second or third marriages were common. Over three hundred

children were buried in the Centro Asturiano Cemetery from 1909 to 1946, many in unmarked graves. Due to the high death rate of club members' children and the lack of family burial plots, it seemed prudent to establish a section of the cemetery for children's burials. The development of this section also saved space because children could be buried at a greater density than adults.

Although it is clear that the family is important to members of the organization, it must be recognized that this population was made up of pioneers who traveled great distances to work in Tampa. Often they came to Tampa alone and eventually met their spouses there. Although this population settled into Tampa for the long haul, most did so for economic reasons. If the cigar industry had folded they would have moved on to other locations. This is another reason why family plots were not more common in the cemetery. Many of the workers were mobile, were not tied to the city, and did not have the need for a family plot that would be used for decades.

For many members the Centro Asturiano club and other fraternal organizations played a more important role in their lives and death than their families or religious connection, if any. Most of the grave-side services were administered by speakers from Centro Asturiano. Religious ceremonies were rare. In addition many tombstones hold the mark of the Masons or similar groups. The Woodmen of the World provided tombstones for those whom they insured. Clearly the Centro Asturiano club and other fraternal organizations took the place of religion for members. The clubs provided benefits, both social and health, that the church could not provide.

Today the Old Centro Asturiano Cemetery is a reminder of the significant contribution that the early immigrants made to the development of the City of Tampa. The tombstones and cemetery layout are unique to the region and reflect the hardships that individuals faced during the early portion of this century. In addition, the cemetery is a testament to the success of the mutual aid society, Centro Asturiano de Tampa. The club successfully provided for birth-to-death benefits for a portion of society that desperately needed social and medical benefits.

Currently the Centro Asturiano de Tampa is undergoing revitalization. The club recently opened a discothèque that draws young people (and revenue) to the club house. Volunteer student groups from the University of South Florida and members of Centro Asturiano de Tampa are in the process of renovating and cleaning the cemetery. Cemetery clean-up days are held once a month and club members are restoring vandalized tombstones. It is expected that these renovations will be complete in 1995.

Notes

The authors wish to thank Vera Garcia, Willie Garcia, Frank Gonzalez, and Joe Sanchez of Centro Asturiano for their assistance. In addition, the work of Gregory P. Ferrara was of great help.

[1] Evanell Klintworth Powell, *Tampa that was....History and Chronology through 1946* (Boynton Beach, FL, 1973), 33.

[2] Jose Rivero Muniz, *The Ybor City Story: 1885-1954*, trans. Eustasio Fernandez and Henry Beltran (Tampa, 1976), 5.

[3] Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City, Italians and their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Chicago, 1987), 70.

[4] Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *Tampa, The Treasure City* (Tulsa, OK, 1983), 101.

[5] Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936* (Knoxville, TN, 1988), 56.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: A History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region* (St. Petersburg, 1950), 181.

[8] Mormino and Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World*, 181.

[9] Although cemetery plots were provided by Centro Asturiano to members, the tombstones were purchased by families. Many could not afford a tombstone and some graves remain unmarked.

[10] David Charles Sloan, *The Last Great Necessity* (Baltimore, 1991), 6.

[11] Ibid., 126.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 125.

[14] Gregory P. Ferrara, "The Centro Asturiano Cemetery: A Walking Tour," unpublished document, 17.

[15] Ibid., 25.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 28.

[18] Sloan, *The Last Great Necessity*, 125.

[19] Ibid., 220.

[20] Ibid.

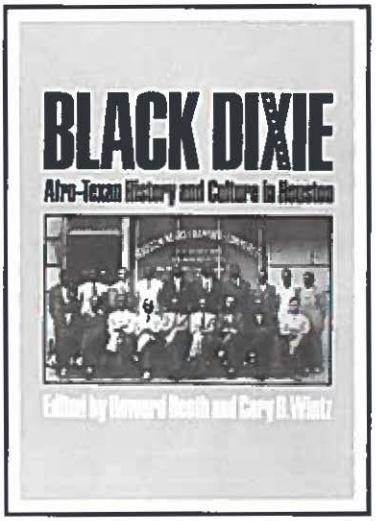
[21] Bruce Bower, "Grave Misunderstandings," *Science News* 136 (November 18, 1989): 330.

[22] The translations are "remembered by your wife and children" and "remembered by your husband."

Robert Brinkmann is a professor of Geography and Sandi A. Dunlap is a graduate student in the Department of Geography at the University of South Florida in Tampa. They supplied the photographs used in this article.

Book Reviews

Howard Beeth and Cary D. Wintz, eds. *Black Dixie: Afro-Texan History and Culture in Houston.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992, pp. 294. $47.50. ISBN 0-89096-494-7



Narrative histories are like motion pictures with a flowing story line, while anthologies are like snapshot albums with bits and pieces of a story. Whether or not an anthology makes sense depends upon how well the editor puts together pieces. This anthology about black life in Houston, Texas, is exceptionally well constructed. It avoids the inconsistency often found in such compilations. The "snapshots" include articles about slave labor, black women during Reconstruction, the politician Richard Allen, black businesses between the world wars, jitneys, race relations between the world wars, the white primary, sit-ins, operation Breadbasket, contemporary housing problems, and the impact of privatization. The articles, written by various sociologists and historians, are roughly ten to twenty pages long and thoroughly supported with footnote citations. Three of them have been published before, and there is not a weak one in the group. The fifteen photographs sprinkled through the text, however, are mainly gratuitous.

The editors, Howard Beeth and Cary D. Wintz of Texas Southern University, have arranged the articles into three main sections—one for the nineteenth century and two dealing with the twentieth century. Introductory material written by the editors fills in the gaps of history left open by the focused articles. Beeth, in addition, provides an article covering the historiography. His first sentence reads, "The historical profession in the United States traditionally has been overwhelmingly staffed and thoroughly dominated by white, middle-class males whose teaching, research, and writing have been marked by their prejudice towards groups of people unlike themselves." He concludes, however, by stating, "Changes in Houston have been paralleled by developments in the nation's scholarly community. Racism among historians has not wholly vanished but it is both less blatant and much diminished." This book, a product of modern scholarship, is good evidence of the change.

Racism in the history of blacks in Houston, however, is one of the two abiding themes of the collection. Racial prejudice can be seen at work in the case of jitney transportation where the black line was shut down first, for example, and in the white primaries where blacks were blocked from effective political participation. The other major theme is political and economic empowerment. The struggle out of slavery to a point of equality in jobs, city councils, and urban life has shown progress, but it is still ongoing. Although the articles cover a variety of events, they are mostly placed in a political context. It is the politics of housing that is emphasized, not the quality or condition of homes. It is the political squeeze of the sit-ins that is important, not so much the factor of food or convenience. The events are played out in the political arena, in other words, and Robert Fisher in the concluding article on privatization explains that the lack of black empowerment in Houston relates directly to Houston's emphasis upon private enterprise rather than public welfare. He sees public sector expansion critical to the success of community organizations that could help the black minority.

There exists a nagging fact about the history of blacks in Houston that is brought out with two commentaries from the early twentieth century. Black newspaperman Clifton F. Richardson, Sr. wrote an article in 1928 that counted the accomplishments and problems of the "colored citizens" and indicated that in Houston blacks were doing as well or better than elsewhere. Excerpts from the diary of Lorenzo J. Greene, a black book salesman, who traveled from Washington, DC though the country in 1930 indicated the same. There were problems, to be sure, but still Houston was better than other places. Why? The answer is not provided. Could it have been the privatization of the time, or the accommodations to segregation that helped create separate communities of white and black, or something else?

This anthology cannot answer everything about the black history of Houston. There is much more—crime, drugs, church history, individual business histories, art and architecture, music, family history in the twentieth century, inventiveness, folklore, entertainment, and food, for example. Nonetheless, this is a fine book. It demonstrates a competence and reach of scholarship that has been missing from the black history of Houston. The editors and various authors deserve congratulations.

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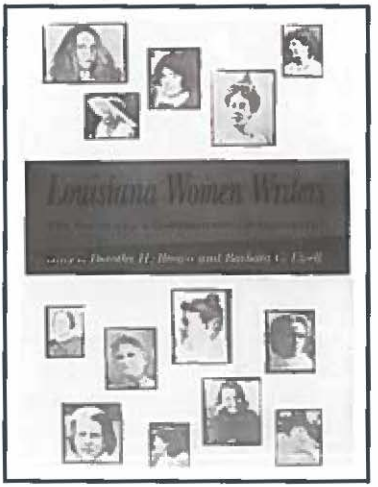
Dorothy H. Brown and Barbara C. Ewell, eds. *Louisiana Women Writers: New Essays and a Comprehensive Bibliography.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, pp. 349. $32.50. ISBN 0-8071-1743-9

Opening this book is sort of like opening a trunk from your grandmother's attic in Covington. Some of your finds will intrigue you; others won't. Some will prove wonderfully useful; others won't. Far more than with most scholarly studies, *Louisiana Women Writers* is an eclectic, uneven compilation of material. But, it seems fair to say, that anyone with even a passing interest in the women writers of Louisiana from the nineteenth century to the present will find something worthwhile in its pages.



The eleven scholarly essays, which constitute sixty percent of the book, are unusually varied in approach and quality. Their subjects range from the well-known (Kate Chopin, Katherine Anne Porter) to the forgotten (Ada Jack Carver, Sarah Morgan Dawson). Hence, some of the essays are narrow studies of a limited number of established texts, while others are little more than basic introductions to writers and their most important works. Most of the essays work well, within their necessary limitations.

Probably the strongest material in the collection is contained in the overview essays devoted to forgotten writers. Danish scholar Clara Juncker's study of the diaries of Sarah Morgan Dawson draws upon linguistic and feminist theory to trace how Dawson's private writings enabled her to explore her status as a white woman in occupied Louisiana during the Civil War. It is a deft and often poignant analysis. Patricia Brady's charming essay on Mollie Moore Davis is a sensitive look at how one woman, born in rural poverty, created a new identity for herself as a professional author and social leader in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century New Orleans. Likewise intriguing is Elizabeth Meese's study of Ada Jack Carver, who in the 1920s was nationally famous for her Cane River stories. Particularly welcome is Sylvia Patterson Iskander's look at contemporary writer Berthe Amoss, whose field is one too-rarely taken seriously in scholarly collections of this ilk, young adult fiction. It is difficult to read these essays without yearning to become better acquainted with the works of these little-known authors.

Less evenly rewarding are the studies of more established writers. Instead of illuminating Chopin's most-anthologized story, Ellen Peel in "Semiotic Subversion in 'Désirée's Baby'" unfortunately lets semiotics and political theory obscure some valid observations. For example, we do not know that Désirée did *not* have black blood, and that Chopin never states outright that Désirée and her mixed-race son actually died in that bayou. Another basically-sound essay that bogs down at the level of text is Alice Parker's "Evangeline's Darker Daughters: Crossing Racial Boundaries in Postwar Louisiana," which is really about Sidoine de la Houssaye's *Les Quarteronnes de la Nouvelle-Orléans*. According to Parker, "De la Houssaye's project is to gain access to a language of desire whose grammar and syntax are illicit by transposing libidinal energies, relocating sexual codes in stories of a marginal Other. With the mediating discourses of white culture eliminated, the quadroons are produced in the text through an exclusion of all signifiers that do not have a material relationship to the referent, so that primacy is given to a language of the body. The originary topos is the jungle, although the current reality of Voodoo practices made antecedents superfluous." This is no doubt true, but most readers will find Parker's writing style and theory-based insights impediments to conveying her ideas.

Far more accessible but likewise focusing on the nexus of gender and race are Violet Harrington Bryan's introductory-level look at the career and writings of Alice Dunbar-Nelson; Linda S. Coleman's essay on Grace King [now superseded by Helen Taylor's book *Gender, Race, and Region in the Writings of Grace King, Ruth McEnery Stuart, and Kate Chopin*]; and Elzbieta Oleksy's "The Keepers of the House," a mechanical but nonetheless revealing comparison study of *Gone With the Wind* and Shirley Ann Grau's *The Keepers of the House*. Another provocative essay on a limited number of texts is Merrill Skagg's study of how "Old Mortality" and "Holiday" reveal the Louisiana that Katherine Anne Porter created out of her readings. Less imaginative but nonetheless useful is J. Randal Woodland's straightforward look at three contemporary novels of Uptown New Orleans by Ellen Gilchrist, Sheila Bosworth, and Nancy Lemann. For lagniappe, each essay in the book is accompanied by a portrait or photograph of the author under consideration, while several also include pictures of the authors' homes (usually in New Orleans).

These eleven essays alone would constitute a scholarly volume, but Brown and Ewell have enhanced this material immeasurably by including more than one hundred pages of bibliography. They provide listings for some two hundred writers, with entries grouped according to "The Nineteenth Century," "Twentieth Century (Deceased)," and "Contemporary Writers." Each writer is given a thumbnail biography, a list of "Works," a list of "Secondary Sources," and—in some cases—a picture. Not surprisingly, some of the entries are uneven. Alice Solomon Dalsheimer (1845-1880) is included for having published two poems

"in New Orleans daily papers," but little else seems known about her. Likewise, it seems odd to include an entry on Florida's Zora Neale Hurston simply because her "research and writing in [Louisiana] cause her to be associated with it." One also wonders about the intended audience of the bibliography, since only a beginning student of, say, Chopin would need or want the titles of the seven best-known books devoted to her. Even so, the bibliography—like the eleven essays themselves—is a gold mine for those interested in the women writers of Louisiana. This book is a welcome addition to American literary scholarship.

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Caleb Coker, ed. *The News from Brownsville: Helen Chapman's Letters from the Texas Military Frontier, 1848-1852.* Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1992, *vii*, pp. 410. $39.95. ISBN 0-87611-115-0

The News from Brownsville presents a vivid picture of mid-nineteenth-century life along the south Texas Gulf Coast that should appeal to general readers, to Texas historians, and to all scholars interested in the antebellum American family. Much of the book consists of the prolific correspondence of Helen Blair Chapman, a United States Army officer's wife, who wrote well and at length on a variety of topics, from the political to the cultural. From 1848 through 1852, instead of keeping a journal, Helen asked for her letters to be preserved and wrote to her mother all the particulars of the Chapman life along the Rio Grande River. During these five years Helen and her husband, Major William Warren Chapman, were also apart for short periods of time. Their correspondence is also included. It depicted the intimacies and every day problems of a loving upper-middle-class family under frontier conditions.

Helen was exceptionally observant and tolerant. She described in great detail both the physical and the social world around her. She distinguished class differences in lifestyles for both the American and the Mexicans whom she met. She pictured Hispanic customs, celebrations, funeral rituals, and Catholic Church services without any hostility to religious or societal differences, which is

unusual in either nineteenth-century letters or fiction written by American Protestants. Helen accepted cultural dissimilarities. She was only critical of actions she perceived in moral terms, such as racism or alcoholism. She was unusual in believing that the Mexican population of Texas should have civil rights. She objected to slavery but met few black people and had less to say about their rights. Drunkenness was endemic on the frontier, and both Helen and William wished to set good examples by never using alcohol.

The News from Brownsville owes its readability in part to the literary aptitude of Helen and William and in part to the editorial skills of Caleb Coker, a present day descendant of the Chapman family. Coker has set the correspondence within a historical framework, adding background material, explanations, and biographical data to make clear the Chapman story. Coker's main purpose is to tell this story, which is an unusual one. Seldom are thoughts and feelings recorded in such depth. The non-judgmental descriptions of multi-cultural life along the Texas border are striking. Still, Coker's focus makes his work more interesting to the general public but reduces its utility for the American historian.

The years 1848 to 1852 were apparently selected not for their historical significance but because only then were the Chapman letters numerous enough to create the complete story of their lives. *The News from Brownsville* can therefore be useful as a text for courses in Texas history but not for more general classes. The time period is too short, and the area depicted is too small.

Coker's efforts to heighten interest in his story may have meant ignoring historically relevant data. He omitted letters that did not contribute to his narrative, rearranged authors' paragraphs and sentences in order to get a better story, and deleted materials judged to be "trivial, boring, or irrelevant." To Coker sewing may have seemed trivial and boring. Certainly it was essential work to Helen Chapman and to other women of her circumstances.

The book was not published primarily as family history, but it is in this area that the most interesting data is to be found. Coker has not analyzed gender expectations but has merely pointed out differences that might be expected. William was the breadwinner and was more interested in making a larger amount of money than Helen. She believed in women's greater moral influence and saw that her marriage vow meant following her husband whenever possible in order to make a comfortable home for him.

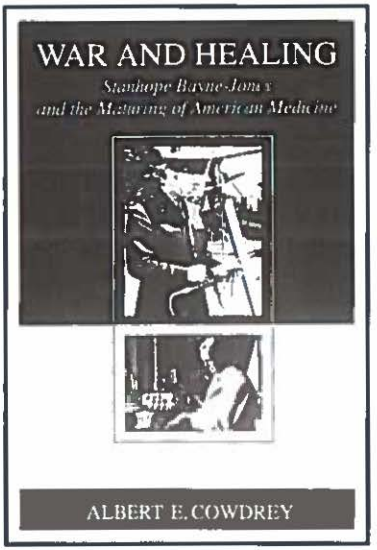
More pertinent is the gender complexity illustrated in the letters. The Chapman lives did not illustrate the separation of male and female spheres. William's world was not solely a public one. He cared deeply for his family, expressed his emotions fully, and enjoyed building his homes. Hoping to improve his wife's health, he sent her on a journey to Mexico City and for over four months ran the Chapman household himself. Nor was Helen's sphere

merely private. She read widely and liked to discuss her reading. She studied Spanish, astronomy, the war effort, and the presidential politics of her time. She was knowledgeable about the family money and even engaged in economic enterprises by raising and selling her own livestock. Helen worked for the betterment of her community, asked for the establishment of schools and churches, charity for the poor, and an end to racism. Neither Chapman was enmeshed in rigid gender roles.

The work is based on the collection in the Barker Texas History Center in Austin and is the second volume in the cooperative publications series undertaken by the Center and the Texas State Historical Association. With such a precedent, volume three is eagerly awaited.

Karol Kelley — Texas Tech University

Albert E. Cowdrey. *War and Healing: Stanhope Bayne-Jones and the Maturing of American Medicine.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, *viii*, pp. 230. $35.00. ISBN 0-8071-1717-X



Stanhope Bayne-Jones (1888-1970) wandered far from his New Orleans birthplace during the course of his distinguished career as medical administrator and champion of preventive medicine. Nonetheless, B-J, as he came to be known, was "a man of roots as well as ambitions." He revered his grandfather, Joseph Jones, who had been the Confederacy's most important physician and later a leader in Louisiana public health. B-J retained his ties with kinfolk on both sides of his family who remained near the Gulf. On the frigid front lines of World War I. B-J kept up his morale by remembering boyhood visits near Biloxi, "the sun on the sand and the shell roads." To this site during busy postwar years, B-J and his wife Nan journeyed frequently on vacations. Later, lured by a cousin, he returned to New Orleans to give counsel and to arbitrate a settlement in an intense internal dispute at Tulane University's medical school, where he himself had taken his first year of medical study before transferring to Johns Hopkins. B-J

"enjoyed...the southern sense of a present past," Cowdrey observes, "that is far too intense to be called nostalgia."

Once, in speaking to an audience of medical writers, Bane-Jones concluded by wishing them "the utmost in craftsmanship." In his biographer, he has been fortunate in having just such a superlative craftsman. Albert Cowdrey, an experienced historian of military medicine and of environmental themes, has written a study of great insight, sensitivity, and usefulness. He has been fortunate in the richness of his sources, using records kept by Bayne-Jones himself and those of the academic, military, and governmental institutions he served. A long, reflective oral history interview given in retirement proved helpful, and Cowdrey talked with many of B-J's family and associates. So, the biography is especially notable in parallelling the development of the intriguing mind of an intensely private man and the manifold activities of a remarkably public person. The narrative is absorbing, the evaluations keen.

Bayne-Jones had an "anxious childhood," loosing both parents tragically when very young, the Baynes and Joneses then disputing over the raising of the children. A Bayne relative expanded the boy's surname. These situations taught Stanhope "toughness, diplomacy, and secrecy." He finished preporatory school in California, attended Yale, and got his M.D. at Hopkins, staying on to work in pathology, bacteriology, and immunology. Here, as he would do later, he became friendly with those in power. His research was good because of his language skills and ability to shape a paper, although he lacked mathematical ability. He gave up the dream of becoming a general practitioner in New Orleans and instead volunteered for the challenge of war, serving on the front as a regimental surgeon with a British battalion before America entered the war. Another relative, Surgeon General William Crawford Gorgas, helped make this arrangement. After two rugged years, including occupation service, Bayne-Jones came home to a career of high-level administration of medical institutions.

From teaching bacteriology at Hopkins, he soon moved to chair that department at the University of Rochester's new medical school, then in 1931 to Yale where four years later he became medical school dean. He wrote a book for laymen about microbes and updated Hans Zinsser's textbook on bacteriology. His deanship, sums up Cowdrey, was "marked by solid achievement but few new ideas."

World War II took Bayne-Jones to Washington, first as a civilian, soon as an officer (eventually a general) charged with spotting incipient epidemics. He also served in a group suggesting policy on biological warfare. His principal contribution to the war effort was his successful combating of typhus, first in North Africa, next in Italy, then around the world. At war's end, remaining on the Army Epidemiological Board, he went to New York City to coordinate three neighboring institutions with often conflicting goals, Memorial Hospital, Cornell

University Medical College, and Sloan-Kettering Institute. He pushed through a successful pact, in the process maturing his ideas about ways of practicing preventive medicine in poor urban neighborhoods.

After seven years, B-J returned to the nation's capital where he remained for the rest of his life. As Cowdrey avers, "Ambitious people often find a final destination in Washington." He directed the Army's program of research, which required expansion and innovation in the climate of the Cold War. Later he assumed civilian responsibilities for the surgeon general of the Public Health Service. He chaired a committee to review the programs and policies of the National Institutes of Health. Later Bayne-Jones, at the age of seventy-three, played a key role on Surgeon General Luther Terry's panel to study smoking and health. The group's forthright conclusions bolstered plans for action.

Cowdrey sums up Bayne-Jones as "more man of the world than scientist, more doer than thinker, more Bayne than Jones." His spectacular career, evolving in this excellent biography and placed soundly in the complex setting of twentieth-century medical research, education, and institutions, will both fascinate and inform readers living in the Gulf region where Bayne-Jones's life began, as well as readers throughout the nation.

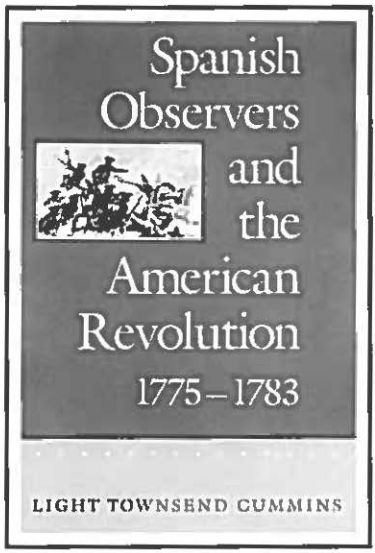
James Harvey Young Emory University

Light Townsend Cummins. *Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775-1783*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, *xv*, pp. 229. $32.50. ISBN 0-8071-1690-4

From its beginning an important part of the defense of the Spanish empire in America was its ruler's success in gathering timely information about the military actions and strategic plans of its enemies. Until the 1760s diplomatic agents in Europe and the special agents they occasionally used were supplemented in the Caribbean basin by an informal gathering of information from officials' correspondence and travelers' and mariners' reports. Occasionally, special agents might be sent to check a particular matter, especially after Spain's rivals established their colonies in the Lesser Antilles. Therefore, until the 1760s Spain did not have a system in the Caribbean for monitoring naval, military, commercial, and other matters of potential strategic importance for the defense of her empire. This carefully researched and written book describes the building of such a system during the 1760s and 1770s.

The Captain-General of Cuba served as the director and hub of the new systematic gathering of information about the British and their North American colonies. Naval picket ships, Havana's commercial fishermen, and Spanish

agents for the slave-trading monopoly (*asiento*) reported on British ship movements and news of all sorts picked up in non-Spanish ports. Fishermen were used as couriers for a correspondence developed with Father Pedro Camps, the Roman Catholic priest who served the Minorcan community at Fernandina in British East Florida. Subsequently, Luciano de Herrera became Spain's agent at St. Augustine, as did Yuchi Indians at St. Marks. In Louisiana, the governor kept tabs on the British at Natchez, Mobile, and Pensacola, and even sent a special agent to New York in 1772 when he heard of the first stirrings of colonial dissatisfaction with new British colonial policies.



The development of what became the American rebellion for independence during the mid-1770s provided Spain with an opportunity to get revenge on Great Britain for defeats suffered as recently as 1762. Because of complications arising from its Mediterranean and European interests, Spain did not immediately grasp this opportunity. It did expand its information gathering, provided covert aid to the American rebels, and used intelligence data to develop a policy appropriate to its situation and the opportunity provided by the American rebellion.

The key to the expanded information gathering after 1775 was the use of special agents operating as merchants who had permission to send goods to Havana from French West Indian and British North American ports, both normally forbidden trade with Spain's Caribbean ports. Among the early agents were Bartolomé Beauregard (sent to Philadelphia), Miguel Antonio Eduardo (sent to Philadelphia but detained by the British at Chesapeake Bay), Antonio Raffelin (sent to contact Stephen Ceronio at Cape Français), and Josef Melchor Acosta (posted to Cape Français to replace Ceronio). Following the Willing Raid (1778), Juan de Miralles y Trajan was sent to Philadelphia to be the Spanish observer of the Continental Congress while Joseph Elegio de la Puente briefly went to Florida for the (unrealized) purpose of shadowing the British army in the South.

Miralles's and his successor, Francisco Rendon's activities take up three of the book's eight chapters. These chapters are rich in details, not only about what these men reported but also about how they represented Spain's shifting policies with respect to American independence, border claims, and other matters. Cummins skillfully weaves context and personal action together to give an

informative account of the difficult Spanish-U.S. relationship in the years before 1783.

This book is an important addition to the literature on Spain's role in the American Revolution. It is solidly based in Spanish, U.S., and British archival sources, as well as in the secondary literature (much of it a generation or more old). Cummins's direct, economic style makes for good reading. The manuscript was deservedly awarded the "Spain and America in the Quincentennial of the Discovery Prize" in 1985.

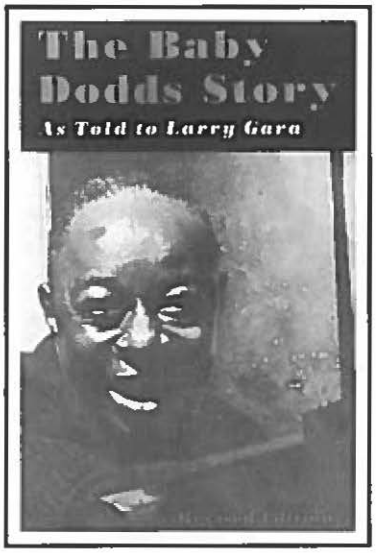
Paul E. Hoffman Louisiana State University

Baby Dodds. *The Baby Dodds Story: As Told to Larry Gara.* Rev. ed. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, *xxi*, pp. 105. $9.95. ISBN 0-8071-1756-0

Warren "Baby" Dodds (1894-1959) was probably the greatest drummer in the classic New Orleans jazz tradition. His musical career practically epitomizes the history of the entire genre. He was born into a musical black family in New Orleans, was inspired to take up music by the success of his older brother Johnny, started sitting in with various bands and playing in street parades, got jobs with bands in the Tenderloin District, and advanced to working in the bands of various legendary leaders. He left New Orleans in 1918 following the closing of Storyville, worked on riverboats with Fate Marable's Orchestra, went to California to work in King Oliver's band, and followed Oliver to Chicago. Then he played on some of the greatest jazz records of the 1920s by King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Johnny Dodds, and Jelly Roll Morton. Dodds remained musically active in the 1930s playing in small groups in Chicago saloons, and he returned to fame in the jazz revival of the 1940s, performing and recording with Bunk Johnson, George Lewis, Sidney Bechet, Tony Parenti, Muggsy Spanier, Art Hodes, and Mutt Carey. For someone who considered himself to be a working musician and never sought the spotlight, Dodds had an uncanny knack of being in the right place at the right time, though perhaps it would be fairer to say that his extraordinary talent was recognized and sought out by those who brought about the places and times that would immortalize this music.

The main part of this book is a reprint of a work that originally appeared in 1959, a few months after Dodds's death. Gara has changed a few photos and added an introduction and lists of selected recordings and reading. The author was a graduate student in history when he interviewed Dodds in twelve sessions in 1953. The model for his project was Alan Lomax's *Mister Jelly Roll*, a book based on recorded interviews of New Orleans jazz pianist Jelly Roll Morton.

While the Morton book is a fascinating study of a brilliantly talented pianist/composer/bandleader who bragged and slicked his way through the history of jazz, this book on Baby Dodds presents a more reflective artist who consistently tried to aid the development of the entire jazz scene rather than boost his own fame.



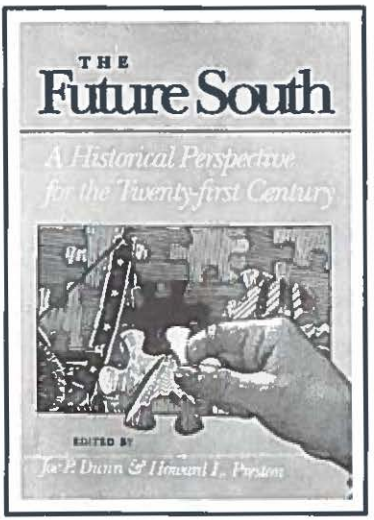
Gara's interviews and organization of the material combine the detailed knowledge of a dedicated jazz fan with a historian's sensitivity to larger issues. Although he is not a musicologist, he gets Dodds to discuss from whom he learned specific drumming techniques and has him rate other New Orleans drummers. Dodds's description of the early blues as being played slowly and with a "Spanish rhythm" is historically important, while his discussion of the meaning of the blues ought to be required reading for anyone who asks the question "What is the blues?" Gara points out that Dodds constantly stresses the collective nature of New Orleans jazz and the importance of craftsmanship, versatility, "good feeling," and relaxation. Dodds felt that the melody should always remain discernible and that the drums were the "key" to the band, playing according to the melody while still keeping time. Along with much fascinating detail about his own career and bands he played in, Dodds gives us many insider's views of musical life, such as his discussion of jazz world terminology and the significance of the tune "Didn't He Ramble," which was often played following the funeral of a man who appeared respectable but who had secretly cheated on his wife. He discusses the increasing white fascination and involvement with jazz, beginning with the polyglot audiences of sailors who heard it in the New Orleans Tenderloin, the small town audiences who heard it on the excursion boats along the Mississippi River, the whites who came to hear King Oliver's band in Chicago, and finally the white musicians who began performing with blacks in the early years of the jazz revival in the late 1930s.

This book would have benefitted from footnotes providing information on other characters, groups, and events mentioned by Dodds and by a complete discography. It would also have been helpful if Gara had correlated his work with other published studies and interviews of Dodds. Musical analysis of Dodds's drumming style could also have been included. For what it is, this

modest book is an excellent oral history of one of the great figures of New Orleans jazz and is fascinating reading for both the specialist and generalist.

David Evans Memphis State University

Joe P. Dunn and Howard L. Preston, eds. *The Future South: A Historical Perspective for the Twenty-first Century.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991, pp. 280. Cloth, $34.95. ISBN 0-252-01776-5 / Paper, $12.95. ISBN 0-252-06167-5



The eight essays in this book originated in a 1988 symposium marking the centennial of Converse College in South Carolina. Six were symposium papers, and Doris Betts and Howard L. Preston wrote articles on southern literature and cultural persistence expressly for the volume. The essays focus on broad southern themes (the city, politics, technology, race, gender, literature, culture) but are unified by their effort to use the South's unique history to comprehend its possible future.

To predict what will happen tomorrow is "to see through a glass darkly," as the contributors understand, for they carefully qualify much that they venture. Hedged as their conclusions must be, they are grounded solidly in history. The essays are thoughtful and thought provoking, are based upon a rich variety of sources, are well written, and read easily. Thorough discussion of all the essays is impossible, so one must be content to consider selected pieces. This is not to imply that some essays are of lesser value, for the quality of the work is uniformly high.

David R. Goldfield's "The City as Southern History: The Past and the Promise of Tomorrow" voices optimism. Urban southerners, looking forward, have the advantage of scale. Relatively few large metropolitan areas should make management easier and should keep "the historical connection with the land...[near] the doorstep of the metropolitan southerner." Also favorable is "the tradition of volunteerism," and, as Goldfield notes, urban southern churches "represent a moral reservoir that can serve both the region's traditions and its future." The "strongest tradition" may be the South's nonlinear history and its

having had to cope with disappointments. The urban South is not free of problems but still might lead the entire region and serve as a model for the country "in race relations, in economic development, in the value of traditions, and maybe even in equity."

In "The Future of Southern Politics: New Directions for Dixie," Alexander P. Lamis surveys the last quarter century, during which southern political changes "far outstripped the other regions of the country...." Recent developments indicate to Lamis that four trends are likely to continue into the next century. "The black-white Democratic coalition" will survive in a truncated form, but "deep tensions...[will] drive portions of the white wing into the waiting arms of the Republicans." With two-party politics well established at the state level, "lower positions on the ballot" will become more competitive. Nationalization of southern politics has occurred already and will persist, which does not indicate that the peculiar aspects will vanish. The southern Democratic party will continue its transition into "an organization that faithfully champions the interests of 'those who have less' of both races." Temporarily, this may reduce Democratic power in the South, but the ultimate effect could be a return to Democratic domination of presidential elections. What impact would the 1992 presidential victory of Bill Clinton, a southern Democrat, have on Lamis's analysis?

"The View from Atlanta: Southern Women and the Future" encompasses, in its largest part, Margaret Ripley Wolfe's passionate feminist exposition of the past. The keynote in her estimate of what is to come lies in her comment, "If the past is a guide, women should approach the future with caution." Notwithstanding the caveat, Wolfe is fundamentally optimistic, particularly in quoting Martin Luther King's favorite Baptist preacher: "We ain't what we want to be. We ain't what we gonna be. But, thank God, we ain't what we was."

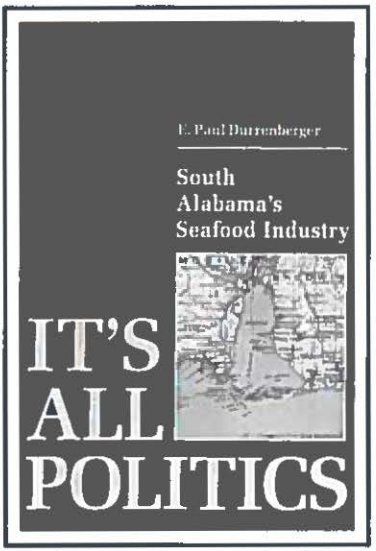
Wolfe sees ahead continued stirring among younger women "who...complacently accepted the hard-won gains of the past," and that promises "to make the future a dramatic theater." Women, driven by "economic necessity" and desire for "self-fulfillment," will seek employment in ever greater numbers. Confronting the work-related issues of salary equity, promotion, medical and child care may well raise their consciousness further and arouse greater female political activism. Effecting equal opportunity for women will demand "steadfastness to duty and purpose," but, as Wolfe declares, "the feminine foot soldiers of the future in the company of masculine support troops [will] march slowly to the soft cadence of equality, equality, equality."

James C. Cobb, in "Tomorrow Seems Like Yesterday: The South's Future in the Nation and the World," argues that by the late 1980s "southern problems, southern character, perhaps the whole notion of southerness itself, may have become...irrelevant...." According to Cobb, the American mainstream moved

"southward in the late 1960s and continued...until the perennially unworthy candidate for salvation...found itself not so much baptized as swamped." Placing the South squarely in the main current, Cobb concludes that, in anticipating the section's future, one should "consider that future less a challenge to the South's ability to measure up to national fantasies than...a test of capacity of the entire nation to cope with global realities." If Cobb's thesis of the inseparability of the South's future and the nation's is correct, then the predictions of his fellow authors are inappropriate. His, however, is not the first obituary of the South as a distinctive section and probably is premature.

Joseph A. Tomberlin Valdosta State College

Paul E. Durrenberger. *It's All Politics: South Alabama's Seafood Industry.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992, *xvii*, pp. 215. $34.95. ISBN 0-2520-1910-5



The Alabama Gulf Coast and seafood are synonymous to many Southerners. In *It's All Politics*, Paul Durrenberger takes an ethnographic-historical approach to describe this important economic system of south Alabama. He chose this approach since as an anthropologist he felt that an analysis of the culture of the seafood industry is as important as the historical perspective.

The title evolved as Durrenberger researched this project. Everyone from oyster catchers to environmentalists, shrimpers, and the Alabama Conservation Department officials agreed that the industry had problems. They did not agree on the problems, but all repeated one phrase: "It's all politics." These individuals realized that "everything is decided by power and by power relationships," and many involved with the industry felt that the issues were out of their hands. Although politics remain a constant throughout the development of the industry, Durrenberger argues that it is not necessarily the most important process.

He divides the history of south Alabama's fishing industry into three periods: 1819 to 1915; 1915 to 1950; and 1950 to the present. From 1819 when Alabama became a state until 1915 the focus of the system was preservation and

distribution. Originally, the seafood industry centered on supplying fish and oysters to the residents of Mobile. As the state prospered and transportation systems improved, the seafood industry grew to meet the demands of supplying seafood to the cotton plantations and cities in the interior. Following the first manufacturing of ice in Mobile in 1870, this growth accelerated and paved the way for the next period.

During the next period, 1915 to 1950, processing methods became the dominant element. Industrial canning became the central feature of the seafood industry after 1915. Initially oysters provided the backbone of the system, but the supply of oysters was too erratic and too small to meet the demand of the fast growing canneries, which were forced to supplement their production with shrimp. The increased demand for shrimp swelled the number of shrimpers and set the stage for the post-1950 period which was characterized by industrial shrimping and freezing. By 1950 a shift in dominance had taken place from oysters to shrimp. The former was beset with problems of floods, predators, and pollution. The development of trawl nets, larger and improved shrimp boats, and the technology of quick-freezing shrimp opened the Gulf Coast seafood industry to the national market, but the early prosperity of this period led to serious problems. They were expensive boats, rising fuel costs, falling shrimp prices due to foreign competition, and costly environmental measures such as TEDs (Turtle Excluding Device) which decrease their catch and plague shrimpers.

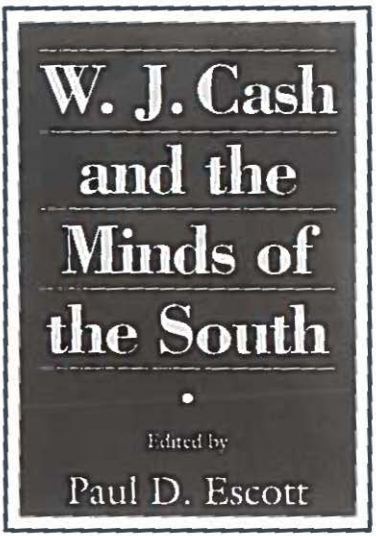
Professor Durrenberger stresses certain continuing themes from 1819 to the present. One is the constant prediction that the seafood industry is dying and would benefit from better regulations. This theme leads to another constant feature, the misuse of science. From the genesis of the seafood industry on the Alabama Gulf Coast, there have been groups asking for regulations. In this debate over the necessity of regulations or the type needed, one side claims scientific support and brands their opponents as irrational and unscientific. "In this process, another constant is that money talks. Each party bends science to its own interests." Another area of continuity is the industry's demand for fewer government regulations simultaneous with requests for subsidies, tax breaks, and protection from imports and foreign competition.

Durrenberger does not make a prediction for the future of the Gulf Coast but considers three possibilities. Unregulated population growth near the coast and industrial pollution have the potential for turning the Gulf of Mexico into a sterile body of water comparable to the Inland Sea of Japan. A second possibility is that the area will become a recreational playground for the rich or settlements for the retired similar to the Florida Keys. The third alternative is that the area will become a commercial fishing community affording working people a chance to earn a living much like the North Atlantic area around Iceland. Which course is taken will be the result of "It's all politics."

The author has done a remarkable job with his short but informative study of this important south Alabama industry. His research is thorough, and his bibliography is an excellent starting point for anyone interested in this area. The author's writing style is very readable, although occasionally dry, and there is no doubt that he knows his subject well.

Louis R. Smith, Jr. Livingston University

Paul D. Escott, ed. *W. J. Cash and the Minds of the South.* Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, *xiv*, pp. 267. $29.95. ISBN 0-8071-1773-0



In February 1941, after writing on-and-off for ten years during the Great Depression, Wilbur J. Cash, a journalist for the *Charlotte News*, published *The Mind of the South.* Cash argued that climate, frontier violence, religion, and racism molded the continuity and cohesiveness of the South, and he castigated Southerners for the intolerance, suspicion, cruelty, and injustices exhibited. Soon after publishing his opus, Cash won a Guggenheim Fellowship to pursue a long dreamed-about novel. Cash was haunted, however, by the specter of totalitarianism overseas, and the personal demon of depression, and hanged himself in July 1941, in Mexico City. His historical legacy consequently rests on this single provocative work.

Although in many ways Cash presented a flawed analysis, generations of students and scholars have read and debated *The Mind of the South*, elevating it in the ensuing years to the status of a classic. "The book is quoted, paraphrased, and plagiarized so regularly as to have practically entered into the public domain," C. Vann Woodward wrote at the time of the book's twenty-fifth anniversary. "It would be impossible to prove, but I would venture to guess that no other book on southern history rivals Cash's in influence among laymen and few among professional historians." Cash's alma mater, Wake Forest University, invited leading authorities to discuss the man and his ideas on the fiftieth anniversary of his work in February, 1991. *W. J. Cash and the Minds of the South* consists of papers and a solicited essay from that symposium, and

introductory and concluding essays by Paul D. Escott reflecting on the significance of the activities.

In Part 1, "Cash and His World," contributors examine the origins of his work and realities of the time. Bruce Clayton examines the formative cultural influences of, for example, the textile mill town in the piedmont, Baptist religion, and racial novels of Thomas Dixon on Cash, and the intellectual emancipation provided at Wake Forest by William Louis Poteat. Cash saw President Poteat as a symbol of freedom, courage, New South liberalism and enlightenment, and drew sustenance from him in matters of race, religion, and free speech. Raymond Gavins explores the racial context of Cash's world, how white supremacy elaborated and extended Jim Crow in North Carolina, and created an atmosphere of tension, fear, and denial. Although Cash did not foresee the creation of a mass civil rights movement, Gavins notes that Cash's criticism of racism, and his sense of growing protest by blacks, was "noteworthy for his time." Delving into medical literature, Bertram Wyatt-Brown investigates the connection between Cash's troubled mind and his achievements. "Cash killed himself for reasons deeply rooted in his own psychological makeup, but his writing served as a form of momentary therapy that eased some of the agony that melancholia entailed."

In Part 2, "The Mind of the South Reconsidered," participants offer criticisms of his concepts and views of the South. Richard King, an intellectual historian, looks at the impact of political modernity and crisis on matters of self-interest, romanticism, and the savage ideal. Disagreeing with those who claim that Cash's book "improves with rereading," Nell Painter contends that Cash probably never anticipated being confronted by an educated, black, female, and feminist individual like herself, and proceeds to provide a sharp critique of Cash's work as racist, sexist, narrow-minded, and superficial. "His confusion of gender, class, race, and sexuality no longer represents an enlightened view of a benighted region, and we are able to envision—if not yet to shape—a landscape of power that is less booby-trapped by history and prejudice than was his." In a solicited essay, Elizabeth Jacoway, probes Cash's concept of "gyneolatry" (the region's idolization of women), and how considerations of gender provide a richer and more textured picture of the South. In an enlightening comparative analysis, David Hackett couples Cash's work with James McBride Dabbs's *Who Speaks for the South?*, and investigates the differences of birth place, generation, social class, education, and subregion on the authors and books.

In Part 3, "The South Fifty Years Since His Death," scholars from history, religion, political science, and economics look at what has changed and remained the same in the contemporary South. Merle Black overviews the demise of the solid South and segregation, and the emergence of two-party politics and integration. Gavin Wright takes a look at southern economic development. Jack

Temple Kirby inspects Cash's influence on modern scholarship. He takes us on an excursion through the writings of George Tindall, Carl Degler, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Jacqueline Jones among others. C. Eric Lincoln, a black native of Alabama, reveals how despite all the constraints a black "countermind" in the form of the civil rights movement evolved. Paul Escott wraps up matters with an Afterword which attempts to place the symposium in perspective.

Like other anthologies drawing from sessions on a single figure, place, and time, there's a certain repetition cutting through the essays, especially on Cash's background, his father, education, sexual anxieties, psychological torment, and so on. There is also a reliance upon some common materials, such as biographies by Joseph L. Morrison and Bruce Clayton and previous critiques offered by Dewey Grantham and C. Vann Woodward. Besides using old foundation stones, this collection lays a lot of new flooring. *W. J. Cash and the Minds of the South* pulls together the most recent and insightful scholarship surrounding Wilbur Cash, showing the impact of, for instance, the new social history in evaluating issues of race, gender, and class, and providing a much deeper understanding of the man, region, and time.

Robert E. Snyder University of South Florida

Paul Finkelman, ed. *The Struggle for Equal Education.* 2 Vols. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992, *x*, pp. 1,110. $162.00. ISBN 0-8153-0540-0

These two volumes present significant scholarly studies of the constitutional basis for both separate and integrated schools since the Reconstruction era. The author claims to focus on the legal history of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, although many of the thirty-seven articles herein are, at best, only tangentially concerned with that subject. The collection itself is the seventh volume of *The African-American Experience*, an eleven-volume anthology of scholarly articles presented to reflect the "most significant" short studies on African-American legal history.

Although challenging reading for non-legal scholars, the articles in *The Struggle for Equal Education* provide fascinating insight into the legal and sociological maneuverings that resulted in strict public school segregation from the Civil War and Reconstruction era through Thurgood Marshall's and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund's magnificent and startling victory in *Brown* only a few decades ago. Historians will especially appreciate those articles which illuminate the beginning of the struggle for desegregated schools in 1867—what Congressional sponsor Charles Sumner called "mixed schools"—through the entrenchment of strict color lines in the public schools in

the late nineteenth and early twentieth century following the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. While black America continuously vented its disgust at educational Jim Crowism, most protests were personal and local in nature and never resulted in the type of sweeping reform that only national actions could bring about.

During the 1940s the NAACP eschewed such tactics and began to seek redress solely through legal and judicial means. It underwrote numerous amicus briefs and initiated or backed a number of important court cases including the precedent-setting *Mitchell v. U.S.* (1941), which stated that blacks in possession of first-class passenger tickets had to be provided accommodations equal in comfort and convenience to those provided whites, and *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), which declared all-white primary elections unconstitutional. The NAACP also shifted its substantial judicial program to the newly tax-exempt Legal Defense and Education Fund, later known as the Inc. Fund, which has been widely emulated by other organizations. The brilliant black lawyer Thurgood Marshall, who had served as both assistant special counsel and special counsel to the NAACP, molded it into one of the nation's most respected legal machines. Though the 1950s the Inc. Fund had participated directly in more than twenty important Supreme Court civil rights decisions and helped move a reluctant Congress toward the weak Civil Rights Act of 1957. As constitutional scholars noted in Finkelman's work, the NAACP's judicial thrusts remained the real cutting edge of the civil rights movement until the dramatic actions of the mid-1950s, after which the judicial thrust paled somewhat in comparison to other tactics, but nevertheless remained a singularly important strategy of contemporary protest.

It was in the mid-1950s, too, that the Supreme Court dealt with the paramount issue of segregation itself in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the landmark ruling striking down the "separate-but-equal" principle in public education. Because President Eisenhower declined to support the decision actively, most states of the Deep South either ignored the decision or, sensing the weak enforcement measures forthcoming from Washington, openly disavowed legal integration. In many ways the unanimous *Brown* decision and its aftermath embodied the theme of promise and betrayal which had underlain the civil rights struggle for so many years. Against this backdrop of rising expectations and continuing disillusionment emerged a new and unprecedented era of black protest.

By tracing the legal history of *Brown*, therefore, it becomes increasingly clear to the reader how the courts came to believe that segregated facilities were inherently unequal, thus raising doubts about the constitutional validity of decisions and actions resting on the logic of *Plessy*. With the *Brown* decision, a new era of civil rights litigation began, no longer centered on dispelling the

notion of "separate but equal," but rather now embarking on cases designed to ensure full and lasting compliance. In retrospect, the legacy of *Brown* has been mixed, sometimes reflecting the spirit of integration but just as frequently demonstrating the evasive tactics of segregationists. Today, and for some decades now, the constitutional argument has moved afield from the heart of the *Brown* "separate is unequal" decision to the explosive issue of busing to ensure district-wide integration of public schools. From a sociological rather than a legal perspective, one is tempted to typecast the movement to "preserve the neighborhood schools" as the new rallying cry of both intentional and unintentional segregationists. But perhaps that is a subject for an additional volume twelve in this series.

The articles selected for these volumes are quite varied in terms of authorship, time periods, and methodology. As expected, most of them are drawn from prominent legal scholarly journals (e.g., the *Harvard Law Review* and the *Yale Law Journal*), but just as frequently articles are recast from national and local historical journals (e.g., the *American Historical Review*, the *Journal of Negro History*, and the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*). The mix is enhanced by the inclusion of relevant policy-oriented publications (e.g., the *Journal of Policy History* and the *Social Science Quarterly*), and education-centered journals (e.g., *Integrated Education* and the *Journal of Negro Education*). Though most of the articles analyze the legal struggles behind *Brown*, the two articles by John Hope Franklin and Vincent P. Franklin are especially useful in focusing attention on the sociological "genesis" and "persistence" of school segregation in America. Conversely, Derrick A. Bell, Jr.'s "*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma," provides an unusually insightful conceptual framework for arguing against the goal of forced integration. Bell postulates that the black community might be better served by concentrating its efforts on the qualitative improvement of existing schools. While Bell's arguments are compelling, many readers may fear they are just more grist for the tactical segregationist's mill.

Scholars of the South will be particularly attracted to these volumes because of the copious discussions of significant early desegregation actions, for example, Little Rock, and the massive accumulation of data and research sources found in these selected articles. By the 1930s, for instance, quantitative analyses demonstrated that in the nine southern states the percentage of blacks attending high school was less than half the percentage of whites attending high school. In representative states like Alabama and Florida, the percentage of blacks to whites in high school was 25 percent and 24 percent respectively. Only 7 percent of African Americans had completed high school compared to 28 percent of native whites. Similar quantitative data are sprinkled liberally throughout these pages, and while they also may be available elsewhere, for example, Robert

L. Zangrando's and Albert P. Blaustein's *Civil Rights and the American Negro*, they are conveniently grouped by research interest in this work. Thus, in the hands of interested readers, this work has both didactic and research value.

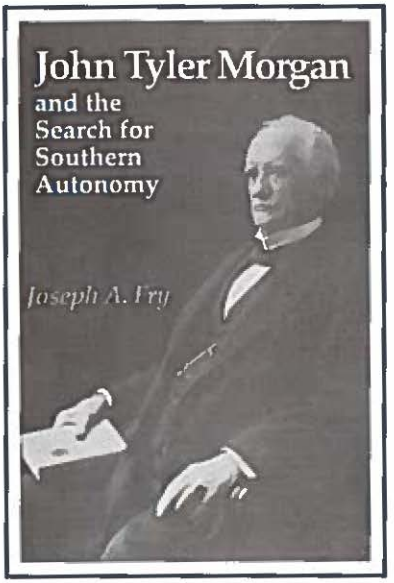
Although these two volumes prove useful in a number of ways, they have an odd quality about them. The articles are grouped somewhat randomly, especially with regard to time periods and related—or what should be related—themes. Moreover, some of the articles are so lengthy that they suggest minor monographic studies by themselves. Perhaps the major drawback to this collection is that it lacks a conceptual framework with which to approach, ingest, and digest such a wide array of articles on such an important subject. The editor would have been much better served to have introduced the work with his own overview essay succinctly identifying the critical themes and questions that follow and then complementing the one thousand-plus pages of solitary studies with his own meaningful recapitulation. As it stands, this work simply overwhelms the average reader with an intellectual shotgun approach to the critical topic of segregation and desegregation of the public schools. The subject deserves a better fate.

Irvin D. Solomon Edison Community College

Joseph A. Fry. *John Tyler Morgan and the Search for Southern Autonomy.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992, *xvi*, pp. 344. Cloth, $34.95. ISBN 0-87049-753-7

Joseph Fry's *John Tyler Morgan and the Search for Southern Autonomy* is the first book-length biography of this extraordinary Alabama Senator. Morgan was, in Mr. Fry's words, "unusual if not unique in being such a vigorous *southern commercial, territorial and political expansionist.*" Perhaps it is best to characterize Morgan as an *original*—a man who had a vision of the future South that often varied from that of his fellow Southerners, but a vision he pursued relentlessly, if not at all times effectively. Morgan's personality and political career are so fascinating it would be hard to imagine a biography of the man that would not be good reading. Mr. Fry's book comes with added pleasure, for it is exceedingly well written and well documented. This is compelling reading, for the author conveys a sense of the excitement that was so much a part of Senator Morgan's political life.

John Tyler Morgan's origins were inauspicious. He was born in 1824 in rural east Tennessee. At the age of nine, following his father's failure in business, he moved with his family to east central Alabama, then rugged frontier country. A childhood victim of scarlet fever, Morgan was left with a permanent



limp and a less than hearty constitution, although he managed to work throughout a life of assorted ailments and to continue in active political life until his death at age eighty-three. Gifted with a curious mind, a nearly photographic memory, and some fine tutors, including his mother, Morgan was a highly literate man with but three years of formal education. At the age of sixteen he undertook the study of law in the office of his sister's husband in Talladega County. Morgan passed the bar in 1845 and immediately made a name for himself in practice. He married the following year and in 1855 moved to Selma, where he established a law practice and the home he would keep for the remainder of his life. He applied his gifts at oratory to various political activities, and in 1861 found himself elected to the secessionist convention, where he was one of the voices of moderation and restraint.

During the war Morgan served in various capacities, advancing in rank to brigadier general. This biography is primarily a political one, not a personal or a military one, so we do not have a lot of detail about Morgan during the war years. However, his successes as a military commander were significant, and his rise to the rank of general laid a foundation for his later political successes.

The heart of Mr. Fry's biography begins with Morgan's emergence in the 1870s as one of the South's most prominent "Redeemers." In 1876 the Alabama legislature elected him to the United States Senate, where he would serve until his death in 1907.

In the Senate Morgan frequently voiced suspicions of the North, especially the Northeast, as well as of the Republican party and Great Britain. However, he was fiercely independent, and did not hesitate to vote with the Republicans when he felt it was in the interest of the South in general and Alabama in particular. Morgan's independence was reflected in his manner of living. He chose not to live in the fashionable area of Washington, and not to participate in its social life. He spent his evenings in his study at home "pouring over legislative business, drafting committee reports, and answering correspondence." His style was less that of compromise than of "lengthy, profusely detailed, closely argued presentations." He was in many ways less effective than respected. After thirty years in Washington "[n]o major piece of legislation bore

his name." If his influence was great, it was unfortunately largely negative. Above all he stood for states' rights, the free coinage of silver and inflation, and for the suppression of the rights of African Americans.

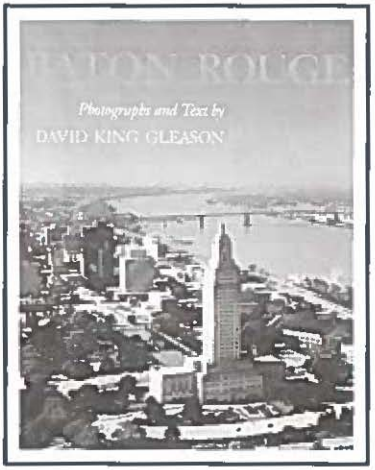
John Tyler Morgan often sided with Republicans in Washington in matters of foreign affairs, territorial expansion, and free trade. Morgan was strongly influential in the United States expansion in the Pacific (Hawaii and the Philippines) and in the Caribbean (Puerto Rico and Cuba) and stood alongside Albert J. Beveridge, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Alfred Thayer Mahan "in the nation's imperialist phalanx." Nevertheless, Morgan's motivations were entirely southern. He saw territorial expansion and free trade as opening new markets for southern cotton and the industrial products of the Birmingham area. Envisioning Alabama's participation in a global market economy, Morgan was instrumental in effecting improvements to waterways, especially the Tennessee River, and to the Port of Mobile.

Yet there was a dark, racist aspect to Senator Morgan's expansionist agenda. Morgan was convinced that the ultimate solution to the South's racial problems lay in the removal of the Negro from the South. He advocated African-American colonization of the Congo, and later in the Philippines, and he hoped that blacks would be induced to emigrate to Latin America and Hawaii. Although Senator Morgan's negrophobia seems the most tragic aspect of his political life, Mr. Fry argues that he was never so radical as "Cotton" Tom Heflin, Thomas Dixon, or Ben Tillman. In fact in 1877 Morgan voted to confirm the black abolitionist Frederick Douglass as United States Marshall for the District of Columbia, declaring that he could not "oppose the 'most eminent representative...of this race' simply on grounds of color."

If Morgan is remembered for anything in his three decades of Senate service it is as "the father of the isthmian canal," a title bestowed by his Senatorial colleague and frequent adversary John C. Spooner. In fact Morgan opposed the Panama route, and for twenty years fought doggedly for a canal through Nicaragua. While fanatical in his commitment to the more northern and expensive route, the old man did not "break down" as many thought he would when he lost, but was relatively gracious in defeat. Even in losing he could take pride in having convinced the nation of the need for a canal, although he did not live to see its completion. As "Dixie's preeminent imperialist," Morgan had a goal of open global markets for southern products that is even now being realized.

Timothy Hoff University of Alabama

David King Gleason. *Baton Rouge*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, pp. 152. $29.95. ISBN 0-8071-1570-3



Readers of the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* are no doubt familiar with the work of David King Gleason, the Baton Rouge based photographer who has provided us with some memorable photographs of ante-bellum plantation houses in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Georgia in his earlier books. For this, his most recent project, Gleason turns his camera on Baton Rouge. The result is perhaps a less consistently interesting book than are its predecessors.

Gleason has divided the book into three parts, the first of which focuses on the city and its suburbs. Effective use is made of historic views of the city, both engraved and photographic, which are contrasted with Gleason's contemporary photographs. The most painful of these, in terms of the changes that have been wrought on downtown Baton Rouge, are the two aerial views of the Old State Capitol, taken in 1924 and 1990. Historic preservationists delight in images like these, which clearly show us just how much damage we have done to the historic fabric of our cities, with whole blocks being lost to new office buildings and parking lots. The new color photographs of the Old State Capitol highlight the picturesque character of the exterior, as well as the glorious impact of the stained glass dome that dominates the interior. The photographs of the former House and Senate chambers are spoiled by the fact that they were taken when filled with members of the state legislature, who seem out of place in their folding metal chairs. The problems with this book surface in the pages devoted to the current State Capitol Building. In his text, Gleason fails to mention the architects of this very important structure, Weiss, Dreyfous, and Seiferth of New Orleans. The photographs of the interior are given pre-eminence over those of the exterior in terms of their size and quality. For some inexplicable reason, Gleason's view of the main facade of the building is obscured by the branches of one of the oaks in the park to the south, imposing a sort of southern romanticism to a structure that is emphatically a product of the New South. Both the old and current Governor's Mansions are featured, but once again Gleason fails to credit Weiss, Dreyfous, and Seiferth, Huey Long's favorite architects, with the design of the earlier mansion.

As Gleason continues his survey of the city, one begins to encounter some photographs which are, to this reviewer, hard to explain. Aerial views of the

Louisiana School for the Deaf, Baton Rouge General Medical Center, and the Jimmy Swaggart Ministries Complex, among others, serve to provide us with views of a collection of rather boring modern architecture, complete with their parking lots. Fortunately, these are countered by very good photographs of historic properties such as Magnolia Mound plantation, Mount Hope plantation, and the little-known Goodwood plantation house.

As one leafs through the second part of the book, devoted to the environs of Baton Rouge, the inconsistencies noted earlier become more apparent. Here one finds such notable sites as Oak Alley and Nottoway plantations, but in photographs that are notably inferior to images that have appeared in his earlier book on Louisiana plantations. Perhaps the best aerial photograph in the book is found here, a fine view of Rosedown plantation that clearly shows the relationship of the house to its magnificent landscaped gardens. The insertion of aerial views of such depressing sites as the River Bend Nuclear Power Plant and assorted petrochemical plants along the banks of the Mississippi merely serve to remind us of the terrible toll that industry has taken on the landscape of the state.

The final section of the book, devoted to leisure and entertainment, looks more like a chamber of commerce project, with views of such diverse elements as a table full of boiled crawfish to three photographs of the Great River Road Run.

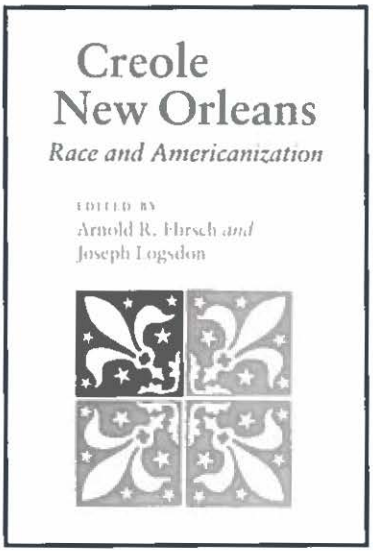
This reviewer has generally enjoyed Mr. Gleason's earlier efforts, which have been better written and photographed than is *Baton Rouge.* The book seems to have been difficult to fill with images and text, with every effort being made to balance the history of the city and its region with more modern additions to the landscape. As an architectural historian and photographer, I was pleased with some of the images in the book, disappointed by just as many others. Mr. Gleason could have provided us with some stunning views of the fine architectural sculpture of the current State Capitol Building, but he includes only two photographs which are so small as to show us little of the character of this aspect of the building. In sum, this is a book that appears to have been undertaken with the best intentions, yet the end product does not live up to the standards established by the author's previous efforts.

John Ferguson University of Delaware

Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds. *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, *xiii*, pp. 334. Cloth, $42.50. ISBN 0-8071-1708-0 / Paper, $16.95. ISBN 0-8071-1774-9

Creole New Orleans, edited by Joseph Logsdon and Arnold Hirsch, is a book of major significance. Although only two of the essays deal with the

colonial period, the volume is, from the perspective of an early American historian, arguably the most important collection to appear since the publication in 1979 of *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century* (eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman). Subsequent shifting of scholarly interest southward demonstrated divergent patterns of development in the Anglophone colonies of the North American mainland. Apart from a handful of notable works on the antebellum period, the Francophone South has not, until recently, received a share of scholarly attention proportionate to its historical significance. *Creole New Orleans* brings it into focus as a region. It provides the basis for a broader, more comparative approach to the study of multiracial plantation systems in the Anglophone and Francophone colonies of mainland America.



The volume is divided into three parts, each of which contains two lengthy essays. Each part is preceded by a long and thoughtful introductory essay by the editors. Part one deals with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when New Orleans was economically, culturally, and demographically part of the French and Spanish empires. Parts two and three focus on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the city was legally and institutionally part of the United States. Despite the long chronological reach, the emphasis on social and demographic patterns, on the evolution of the meaning and use of the term creole, and on the concept of assimilation, which run through each essay, gives unity and coherence to the volume.

The editors of *Creole New Orleans* describe the work as a study in ethnogenesis, simply put, the process of assimilation. The two essays on the colonial period describe New Orleans as a fairly open society, which Jerah Johnson attributes to French assimilationist policy. In place of the traditional interpretation of Louisiana history as a "circum-Caribbean plantation society," Johnson maintains that the fundamental patterns took shape during the French colonial period. Despite the Hispanicizing efforts of Spanish colonial officials, New Orleans remained "a peculiarly eighteenth-century French colonial city." Gwendolyn Midlo Hall agrees that colonial New Orleans was a culturally open society, but she sees survival rather than the French assimilationist ethic as the key to interracial cooperation. Socially chaotic conditions and the peculiar demographic makeup of the population made for "an unusually cohesive and

heavily Africanized slave culture—arguably the most African slave culture in the United States."

The central theme of part two is the process of Americanization after 1803. Paul F. LaChance and Joseph Treigle examine the massive migration of whites to New Orleans during the nineteenth century, which culminated in a dramatic struggle between American migrants and white creole natives over political control of the city. According to LaChance the persistence of the Gallic community for thirty years after the Louisiana Purchase was due to reinforcement by racially and socially heterogeneous French-speaking immigrants from St. Domingue and Europe. Without them, LaChance concludes, the Gallic community would have been a minority in the total population as early as 1820. The alliance between the creole and the "foreign French" against the mounting numbers of Americans produced profound ethnic strife that lasted for decades and culminated eventually in the displacement of the creoles in the American ascendancy. Ironically the Americanization of New Orleans was marked by the abandonment of the traditional or flexible racial order in favor of the bipolar racial culture that characterized Anglophone America.

Treigle's searching "Creoles and Americans" analyzes changes in New Orleans ethnic relations from the relatively open society produced by the French assimilationist ethnic, to the rigid conventions that characterized race relations following Americanization. The snarl of ethnic politics before 1840 produced the first ethnic polarities in New Orleans. The coming of the Civil War, followed by the collapse of the Confederacy led to a "recrudescence of Gallic nationalism," which increasingly took shape around a virulent negrophobia. The exacerbation of racial fears during Reconstruction transformed the meaning and use of the term "creole" from the original meaning to distinguish between those born in the New World from those born in the Old, to its nineteenth-century usage to describe a native Louisianian of pure white blood of Spanish or French descent. The emergence in the 1890s of a "hardened orthodoxy" based on the notion of "core race purity, revolutionized traditional concepts of creole identity" and transformed traditional race relations.

The Americanization of New Orleans was "more than just a struggle between Americans and creoles," as the editors remind us in the introduction to part three. It also involved "the curious coexistence of a three-tiered Caribbean racial structure alongside its two-tiered American counterpart in an ethnically divided city." The essay by Joseph Logsdon and Caryn Cosse Bell analyzes the character of the black community of New Orleans. They discover in it a "cultural duality" similar to the ethnic divisions that characterized the white community: French-speaking free black creoles vs. English-speaking Protestant free American blacks. Shaped by the divergent racial policies of France and the United States, the two communities held different values, goals, and aspirations.

Black creoles resisted Americanization and drew on French intellectual traditions to create a strain of creole radicalism that survived into the twentieth century. Acculturated African Americans were more given to strategies of accommodation and acceptance. Faced with rising discrimination in the 1850s they sought refuge in racially segregated institutions. Black creole leaders like Homer Plessy rejected the new color line in Louisiana and in America and asserted claims for black equality that "set the entire national agenda" during Reconstruction.

The final essay by Arnold Hirsch traces the history of these divergent tendencies within New Orleans' black community through the maze of the twentieth-century politics of segregation and the civil rights era. The same "persistent divisiveness of ethnicity" characterized black resistance to Jim Crow and the civil rights revolution. Hirsch finds in black organizations like COUP and SOUL, which accepted American racial dualism and willingly worked within its framework, and the local NAACP, which struggled against the race-conscious social order and sought to create a caste-free society, the remnants of the American accommodationist tradition and the creole protest tradition. Ernest Morial, the first black mayor of New Orleans and "the most prominent legatee" of creole radicalism, was the last to challenge the "fanaticism of caste."

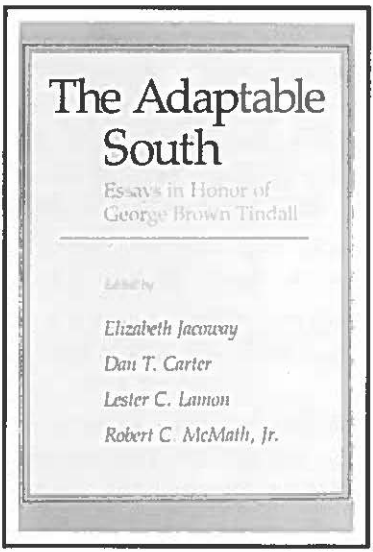
Creole New Orleans deserves a wide readership for a number of reasons. It asks important questions and offers thoughtful analysis. It illuminates the fundamentally different cultures that developed in Francophone and Anglophone areas of the United States. Last but by no means least, it provides a strong basis for a more systematic comparative approach to the study of multiracial plantation societies.

Sylvia R. Oney Tulane University

Elizabeth Jacoway, Dan T. Carter, Lester C. Lamon, and Robert C. McMath, Jr., eds. *The Adaptable South: Essays in Honor of George Brown Tindall.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, *x*, pp. 306. $35.00. ISBN 0-8071-1678-5

This *festschrift* by former students of George Brown Tindall, professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a scholar familiar to all students of southern history, examines selected events and themes in the South since the Civil War. Edited by Elizabeth Jacoway, Dan T. Carter, Lester C. Lamon, and Robert C. McMath, Jr., the volume of nine essays, as Carter phrased it in his informative introduction, focuses "on the process of adaptation" to forces that have changed the South while reinforcing "links of continuity with the past." Lamon and McMath contributed two of the essays, and Jacoway and

Carter wrote the preface and introduction respectively. Additionally, the editors, absent Lamon, conducted an interview with Tindall in which he reveals much about his personal social philosophy as well as his philosophy of history, especially the old paradigm of continuity and change. Tindall's responses are often couched in humor, but he unmistakenly commits himself squarely to both sides of the continuity-change debate. While rejecting the idea of total revolution in human history that eliminates the remembered past, except in the event of genocide, Tindall believes that significant economic, political, and social changes have been accompanied by persistent cultural continuity, as the past has interacted with and shaped the present. The essays in this volume reflect the process by which the South has accommodated itself to the necessity of change.



The essayists—Jack Maddex, Gary R. Freeze, Lamon, Walter B. Weare, Wayne Mixon, Jerrold Hirsch, Julian Pleasants, Charles W. Eagles, and McMath—touch on many of the themes emphasized in their mentor's work. They emphasize how groups—southern Presbyterians, New South industrialists, the new black bourgeoisie, and members of the New Deal's Federal Writers' Project—and individuals—Amelie Rives, Frank Porter Graham, and Jimmy Carter—not only sought to adapt but also struggled to retain and to redefine their past as they accommodated themselves to a new emerging order. Eagles's article on the civil rights movement in Lowndes County, Alabama, reflects that conflict.

Most Americans came to know Lowndes County because of the 1965 murder of white civil rights workers Viola Liuzzo and Jonathan Daniels. The fear and hatred that seems to have been a consuming continuum in nineteenth- and twentieth-century southern history intensified with the post World War II movement for desegregation. By the 1960s the United States Supreme Court, under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren, sought to expand Bill of Rights protection for the individual by imposing restrictions upon state governments. Those efforts directly challenged white control of the county power structure which sanctioned the use of violence.

Lowndes was labeled "bloody" because of its history of oppressive violence employed to intimidate blacks, to enforce segregation, and to retain white supremacy. Whites applied their violence effectively when blacks were striped of the vote in 1903. The violence accompanied a shifting agricultural economy

marked by falling cotton production, population decline, and the reduced need for tenants. Poverty became the rule in Lowndes, and in the 1950s it resembled more a Third World society than a part of the world's most powerful nation.

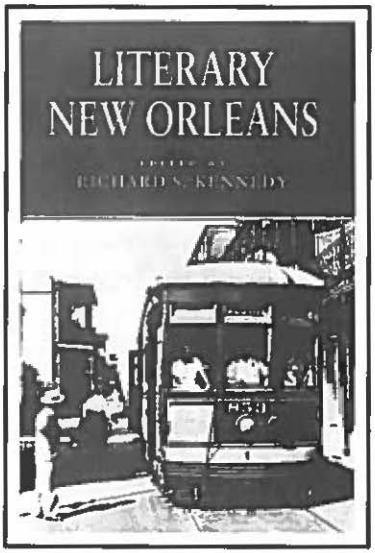
As the civil rights movement gained momentum, Lowndes' white citizens stiffened their resistance. With the assistance of outside forces, including Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and the United States Justice Department, blacks pressed a voter registration campaign. Simultaneously, King led the Selma-to Montgomery march, and Klansmen shot Liuzzo as she transported marchers between Montgomery and Selma. Although the all white jury refused to convict the accused Klansman, the voter registration campaign pressures mounted as the Justice Department entered Lowndes, attacking not only the denial of the vote but also segregation itself. Then the county and nation witnessed another brutal murder. This time Daniels, a white seminarian from New Hampshire who helped with the registration drive, was shot at point-blank range by an irate white Lowndes native. Again a white jury refused to convict the assailant. Slow progress gradually gave way to rapid increases in black registration. At the same time other battles yielded victories. In 1966 the first black candidates filed for public offices, but they failed to win election. Persistence paid off, and by the end of 1970 blacks controlled the government of Lowndes County and were freely admitted to the public school. Whites, however, fled public education for private schools, and political power has not been translated into economic gains. In 1980 the county still ranked near the economic bottom of the nation's counties.

The civil rights movement produced a revolution in Lowndes County, but it was limited and in many respects still unfulfilled, Eagles notes. One important gain has been achieved, however. The county lost its description as "bloody" Lowndes. With the shift in power the sense of fear that griped blacks for generations has now subsided as blacks and whites adapt to each other in a new relationship.

Taken as a whole essays such as these help clarify the ongoing struggle between the South's past and present. And they do more. George Brown Tindall sought for over forty years to illuminate the clash between tradition and change, and these essays add significantly to that continuing dialogue and reflect admirably upon him.

Fred Ragan East Carolina University

Richard S. Kennedy, ed. *Literary New Orleans: Essays and Meditations*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, pp. 91. $19.95. ISBN 0-8071-1732-3



"In no city in the United States, with the possible exception of New York, is the sense of place stronger and more consequential than in New Orleans, shrouded as this city is in a literary mystique that for many, both residents and outsiders, has replaced the reality," writes W. Kenneth Holditch in an essay on Tennessee Williams in this collection. Holditch, research professor at the University of New Orleans, continues, "The image of the most foreign of all North American cities that has for two centuries prevailed in the consciousness of most Americans is largely a result of what authors have written about it."

Holditch, as well as other essayists Lewis P. Simpson, Lewis Lawson, Robert Bush, Alice Hall Petry, Anne Rowe, and Hephzibah Roskelly, try to determine the specific relationship between New Orleans as literary setting, influence on, or inspiration of the author. The subtitle of the book, explains Editor Richard S. Kennedy, was chosen "because most of the essayists have fallen under the spell of the New Orleans atmosphere and written in a ruminative, speculative way about the authors whom they are considering." Thus there is no real consensus of what the New Orleans mystique is, but all the writers have been touched by it.

Literary New Orleans has essays on seven writers considered separately: George Washington Cable, Grace King, Lafcadio Hearn, Kate Chopin, William Faulkner, Walker Percy, and Tennessee Williams. Other writers, such as John Kennedy Toole, are treated more briefly in "New Orleans as a Literary Center: Some Problems" by Lewis P. Simpson.

Simpson, contrasting New Orleans with Boston and New York City, believes that conditions have never been right for the Louisiana city to become a literary center of consequence. Between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, Simpson writes that New Orleans' commercial development was an impediment, with the city obsessed with becoming "a great national and international marketplace." Noting the success of commercial journals in antebellum New Orleans, Simpson finds few literary writers since the time of Cable and Chopin

who have escaped what he terms "literary colonization of Louisiana." He writes that only Percy and Toole seem "convincingly to redeem New Orleans from exoticism." His point is interesting, but no doubt will prove controversial among readers of modern fiction.

Alice Petry delineates the many ironies in the life and career of George Washington Cable (1844-1925), a native of New Orleans who seemed an outsider in his views and a writer whose reputation has ranged from being termed "no mere talented writer," (but) "a genius in his way," to being placed in the rank of a minor American writer in today's world of literary criticism. Petry, author of a book on Cable's *Old Creole Days*, comments that "Cable was just enough of an outsider to be able to see New Orleans objectively—or at least with more objectivity than the average city resident." The result was that he offended not only Grace King but many others as well, thereby risking alienation and often enduring financial hardship. Cable moved to New England in 1884, never returning to live in New Orleans, and she states, becoming even more forthright in his advocacy of human rights.

In "The Patrician Voice: Grace King," Robert Bush credits King, historian and novelist, with contributing "as much to the city's culture as anyone in her time." The essay does not reveal anything new, but is a graceful retelling of important facets of the life of this southern woman of letters.

The imprint of New Orleans and Louisiana on Kate Chopin is discussed by Anne Rowe in "New Orleans as Metaphor," especially as seen in *The Awakening*. Although she lived in New Orleans less than nine years, Chopin depicts the city and Grand Isle so vividly that readers accept these settings as true in spirit as well as in physical details. Rowe points to the ways in which the author's vision is transformed into metaphor to illustrate her own philosophy and to enhance the story of Edna Pontellier.

In writing of Lafcadio Hearn, Hephzibah Roskelly utilizes a personal memoir of her grandmother helping to research facts of Hearn's stay in the city. In his ten years in New Orleans, she writes, Hearn was fascinated by the paradoxes of "conflicting pulls of progress and traditions, beauty and decadence, youth and death, reality and fantasy." Although several notes indicate use of *Lafcadio Hearn: Life and Letters by Elizabeth Bisland*, Hearn's first biographer and personal friend, no mention of her is made in the text of the essay.

W. Kenneth Holditch, who has written many times on William Faulkner and Tennessee Williams, not only provides sound scholarship once again in the two essays in this volume but also enlivens these with quotations from many acquaintances of these two stellar American writers. New Orleans, Holditch states convincingly, was pivotal in both careers. Of Faulkner he says, "the city..., redolent of the past, of mystery and romance, intrigued and inspired one of the great American novelists." Tennessee Williams not only gained a spiritual home

in New Orleans, but also Holditch writes, "New Orleans would not be quite the place it is today" without Tennessee Williams.

Steeped in the ethos of the Old South, but very much a part of the modern New South, Walker Percy has earned a place of importance in world literature, which Lewis Larson comments upon in "Pilgrim in the City: Walker Percy." Although quite brief, the essay is a useful guide to the author's works and beliefs.

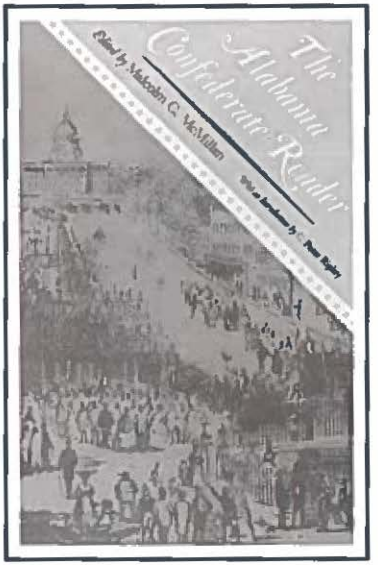
This book generally is a good read and would make a fine gift, especially for someone just becoming acquainted with the region's writers. Several of the essays are quite strong, giving one the sense of familiar territory being mined once again but with added detail or a focus perhaps missing from earlier commentaries. The many black and white illustrations are a nice touch.

Dorothy H. Brown Loyola University

Malcolm C. McMillan. *The Alabama Confederate Reader*. New introduction by C. Peter Ripley. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992, *xxviii*, pp. 512. $24.95. ISBN 0-8173-0595-5

Professor McMillan's *The Alabama Confederate Reader*, reissued after nearly thirty years, is a valuable addition to any library. Whenever any book is reprinted, one needs to question whether that work has been updated to reflect current research and the inevitable changes in historiography, or, more ideally, whether it has stood the test of time on its own, original merit. *The Alabama Confederate Reader* satisfactorily reflects the latter circumstance. Other than a new introduction by Professor of History and Black Studies at The Florida State University, C. Peter Ripley, the 1963 edition and the most current release are identical.

McMillan carefully selected over one hundred primary accounts, including extracts from the *Official Records*, diary entries, newspapers, editorials, popular magazines, day-to-day journals, personal memoirs, and official correspondence, and wove them into an interesting and altogether logical anthology. Books of this genre are all too often poorly conceived and make for rather dull reading, but not in this case. McMillan expertly introduces each extract with great skill, reflecting both his extraordinary knowledge of America's most tragic era and his talent for presenting a holistic portrayal of Alabama's history during that period. Moreover, the author's narrative clarifies each of the readings and places them in their proper historical context. Without McMillan's direction, the entries would have little meaning other than a jumble of seemingly unrelated accounts.



The Alabama Confederate Reader contains many stories of much interest to nearly all Civil War enthusiasts. It opens with "The Gathering Storm," which includes speeches from the fire-eating William Lowndes Yancey and an extract from Joseph Hodgson's *The Cradle of the Confederacy* (1876), which chronicles various Alabamians' reactions to Abraham Lincoln's election and the jubilation many people expressed during the secession crisis. One gains a sense of the relief numerous Alabamians felt when the "inevitable" split in the Union had finally been achieved after decades of sectional discord, growing distrust, and mounting hatred. Contemporary readers thus gain a far better understanding of why Alabamians, including many with little political or financial stake in the matter, felt that there was no alternative to secession and why so many of them rushed to fill the ranks of the fledgling Confederate Army.

Of course not all Alabamians were enthusiastic about leaving the Union. In fact many believed it to be treasonous. There was prolonged and often heated debate during the Alabama secession convention which opened on January 7, 1861. Yancey, the quintessential force behind the secession movement, who had earlier accused those opposed to immediate secession of unpatriotic sympathies, sat in bewildered disgust and white-knuckled silence as Robert Jemison, a representative from north Alabama, forcefully reminded the fire-eater that other opinions about disunion existed "in certain sections of the State where there is strong opposition to the Ordinance of Secession..." "Will the gentleman [Yancey]," Jemison asked,

> go into those sections of the State and hang all who are opposed to Secession? Will he hang them by families, by neighborhoods, by towns, by counties, by Congressional Districts? Who, sir, will give the bloody order? Who will be your executioner? Is this the spirit of Southern chivalry? Are these the sentiments of the boasted champions of Southern Rights? Are these to be the first fruits of a Southern Republic?...For the interest of our common country, I would drop the curtain over the scene; and palsied be the hand that ever attempts to lift it.

Such words well reflected the growing rift among different sections of Alabama, particularly the schism between several northern counties and those

further south. Disagreement over secession and civil war pervaded Alabama during those years so much that members from the same family were often fighting on opposite sides.

What makes this book especially valuable is that it covers many different features of Alabama's Civil War experience. Not only does the reader follow Alabamians onto the battlefields of Bull Run, Shiloh, and Gettysburg, but one also gains an appreciation of the hardships and many heroic activities which occurred on the homefront. For instance, there is the account of Emma Sansom leading Nathan Bedford Forrest's forces to a ford across Black Creek near Gadsden, Alabama. Her actions enabled Forrest to maintain his pursuit of Abel D. Streight's Federal forces which were conducting an expedition through North Alabama. McMillan also includes extracts detailing less idealistic aspects of Alabama history such as the bread riots in Mobile, prison life at Cahaba, opposition to conscription, and Croxton's burning of the University of Alabama.

The final section of the work is devoted to the waning of the Confederacy and the Federal raids into Alabama. There is the account by J. P. Cannon of the Twenty-seventh Alabama who participated in the bloody Battles of Franklin and Nashville where he witnessed the nearly complete decimation of his division. "I am Company C," he wrote—with good reason—for of the original 112 members of his company, only Cannon and two officers remained unharmed. Especially moving are the words of James O. Andrew, senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, who advised after the final surrender that it was a time for healing between the sections. "The stars and stripes again wave over us," he wrote, "—'tis now our national flag, and by us should be respected accordingly."

This work, of course, is not the definitive study of Alabama during the Civil War. But it serves as a wonderful beginning for those who want to read further into Alabama's history during those four tragic years. By providing the reader with the words of those who actually participated in those momentous events, McMillan's work is highly commendable. Perhaps footnotes would have been of more use than those listed at the end of the text, but even this trivial complaint is offset by the drama and interest this book generates.

Robert S. Saunders, Jr. Auburn, Alabama

Grady McWhiney. *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat.* Vol. 1. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1991, *xiv*, pp. 440. Cloth, $19.95. ISBN 0-8173-0545-9

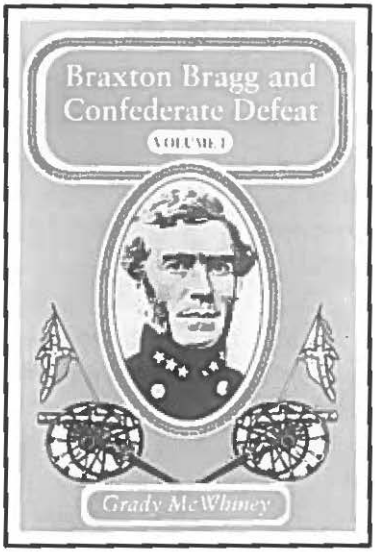
Judith Lee Hallock. *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat.* Vol. 2. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1991, *xii*, pp. 312. $29.95. ISBN 0-8173-0543-2

The re-publication of Grady McWhiney's 1969 biography of Braxton Bragg, along with Judith Hallock's recent work, has finally resulted in a complete biography of the Confederate general that will be definitive for years to come. Bragg emerges from the pages of the two biographers as a tragically flawed, quarrelsome, and narrowly focused man who was quick to blame other for his misfortunes and professional failures. Both authors also believe that his personal traits kept him from joining the pantheon of Confederate generals. His personality may be partially explained by the fact that throughout much of his life he was plagued with rheumatism, dyspepsia, and chronic migraine headaches which left him in an almost constant state of nervous anxiety devoid of personal warmth. He looked and acted older than he actually was and died at age fifty-nine.

Born into a North Carolina family of moderate means but with political connections, Bragg attended West Point where he absorbed Dennis H. Mahan's teachings of bold offensive maneuvers and professional military standards. As a young army officer he soon gained a reputation for a bad temper and a tendency to criticize superiors and subordinates alike. However, his battlefield bravery and iron sense of duty as an artillery officer in the Mexican War won him national acclaim and quick promotion. Yet McWhiney believes that Bragg learned little about the tactical changes that the rifle had brought to the battlefield, particularly in the hands of entrenched troops. Instead, he admiringly remembered Zachary Taylor's reckless and costly infantry assaults.

After the war Bragg continued to criticize his superiors' decisions and policies. He clashed with his military superior, the powerful Winfield Scott, and with Secretary of War Jefferson Davis about the War Department's replacement of light artillery with the long range rifle. In 1855 Davis gladly accepted the brash officer's resignation. Bragg moved to Louisiana and, financed by his wealthy and beautiful wife, he became a slaveholding planter and a local Democratic officeholder. He also assisted old army friend, William T. Sherman, in running his military academy in Louisiana.

Bragg viewed the secessionist movement with apprehension, but on the eve of the conflict he quickly became an ardent supporter of the Confederacy. After Sumter he served briefly as commander of Louisiana's troops before accepting



a commission as brigadier general in the Confederate army and assignment as departmental commander at Pensacola opposite Fort Pickens. He worked assiduously to train and to discipline his inexperienced troops for a planned attack on the Union-held fort and to protect the southeastern coast. After the fall of forts Henry and Donelson, Bragg urged President Davis to adopt an offensive strategy in the West. The Confederate President was impressed with Bragg's ideas and efforts and in early 1862 ordered him to reinforce Pierre G. T. Beauregard's command in Tennessee. After General Albert S. Johnston replaced Beauregard, Bragg became his chief of staff and concentrated on improving the administration, training, and discipline of the volunteer troops and conscripts whom he thought far below necessary professional standards. On the first day at Shiloh, he audaciously but unwisely directed troops in piecemeal bayonet assaults against the Hornet's Nest and objected to Beauregard's precipitous withdrawal order. On the second day Bragg again demonstrated personal bravery but suddenly decided that the changing situation on the battlefield dictated a Confederate retreat. In spite of reports of his merciless disciplinary methods, including a strict ban on liquor, and his declining popularity among the officers and men, Davis decided to appoint Bragg to replace Beauregard and to command the Western Department as a full general.

According to McWhiney, Bragg's move into Tennessee to check Buell's advance toward Confederate-held Chattanooga and to maneuver his forces between the Union army and its supply base at Nashville was a well-planned operation that could have regained critical lost ground. Bragg also launched a bold offensive into Kentucky to obtain volunteers, to bring the "neutral" state into the Confederacy, and to drive Buell back to the Ohio River. His feint towards Grant's forces farther west, and his skillful utilization of the railroad enabled him to execute a gigantic turning movement that threatened Buell's line of communications. However, after he was unable to secure an adequate supply base area and to bring on a decisive struggle with the Union forces, Bragg began a general withdrawal that ended in an unwanted battle at Perryville, where he employed only a portion of his troops and fought without sufficient knowledge of enemy strength and dispositions. Thus, his once-bold offensive ended in little more than an abortive raid. However, McWhiney, as have more recently Thomas

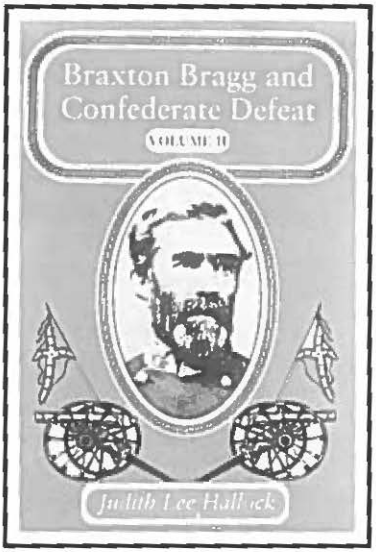
Connelly, Steven Woodworth, Edward Hagerman, Herman Hattaway, and Archer Jones, credits Bragg for having maneuvered Buell out of Tennesee and for accomplishing more than Lee did in his invasion of Maryland.

Bragg's abandonment of his strategy of concentration and withdrawal into east Tennessee was due in part to incompetent and disobedient subordinates, including Polk, Hardee, and Breckinridge. He also had found it difficult to secure new recruits for the depleted ranks of what then was the Army of the Tennessee. In spite of these conditions, Bragg and his army were in good spirits until Murfreesboro where he failed to select good defensive positions, to entrench his men, and to devise a workable tactical plan for a battle. After a bloody, inconclusive struggle during which the Confederates repeatedly made rash and uncoordinated attacks, and Bragg's generals disobeyed or failed to execute his orders, he withdrew. He had changed, McWhiney feels, "from a bold and aggressive attacker to a hesitant and cautious retreater."

Bragg's actions rejuvenated his critics. Military officers, influential southern politicians, and newspaper editors charged that the stern disciplinarian and meticulous organizer did not possess the qualities of a successful field commander. Bragg's halfhearted offer to resign, after receiving a highly negative evaluation from his sullen subordinates, would have been accepted had Davis been able to persuade Joe E. Johnston to replace him. However, Davis was forced to keep a man McWhiney describes as an enfeebled, distracted, and ineffective general at the head of the South's second-largest army. It was, McWhiney believes, an ironic blunder on the part of the Confederate leader who prided himself on his ability to select outstanding generals, and it was a disaster for the Confederacy. Bragg had learned little from his mistakes, and his reckless style of committing men to battle without adequate preparation had contributed greatly to the Confederacy's growing loss of manpower. Recently, however, Steven Woodworth has given Bragg better marks and suggests that Davis should have relieved his insubordinate generals.

Hallock recounts Bragg's continuing emotional and professional decline in 1863, his retreat from Tullahoma and abandonment of Middle Tennessee, and his inadequate defensive preparations around Chattanooga. She concludes that Bragg was more intent on purging his unfaithful subordinates and rounding up and punishing deserters than he was in facing Rosecrans's offensive. However, in spite of the turbulent situation within his command structure and a flawed tactical plan, Bragg managed to win the biggest victory of his career by striking the Union Army at Chickamagua. In a bit of overstatement Hallock credits Bragg instead of Longstreet for breaking the Union center and causing the Northern withdrawal. However, she faults him, as others do, for not pursuing the disorganized Union forces after his strategic victory. Subsequently, the organized opposition of his generals, the unwise transfer of Longstreet to the Knoxville

expedition, the misfortunes encountered in the siege of Chattanooga, and the successive debacles at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge sealed his fate. Even his own soldiers derisively shouted at their despondent general as he rode among them on the withdrawal from Missionary Ridge. Hallock maintains that Bragg's second offer to resign was again halfhearted and that he was dismayed when Davis accepted it and relegated him to the post of military advisor to the president.



Hallock concludes that Bragg made some notable contributions in his new post that, in effect, made him the unofficial Confederate chief of staff. He accomplished some central planning, promoted the concepts of the Western Concentration bloc, and partially reformed the conscription administration. She states, however, that Bragg also committed "the most ignoble incident of his career" when he plotted Johnston's removal from command in Georgia. He also continued his vendetta against his old enemies in the Army of the Tennessee. When Davis returned him to a field command in North Carolina in late 1864, Bragg failed to hold Fort Fisher and Wilmington but, characteristically, blamed others and rationalized these losses as meaning nothing more than that the South would no longer have blockade-running problems!

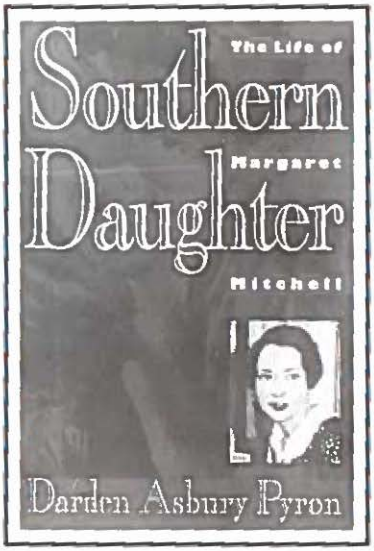
Both McWhiney and Hallock join an emerging school of Civil War scholars who believe that the great conflict should not be viewed as an entertaining game and that Union and Confederate generals should not be evaluated for their dash and daring and their personal colorfulness. The older tradition, which includes Shelby Foote's exaggerated praise of Nathan B. Forrest, and Douglas S. Freeman's idolatrous biography of Lee, is giving way to a new historical realization that most Civil War generals were neither unique nor brilliant, and that they often made unwise decisions that resulted in death and disaster. (What commander today would be excused for sending thirteen thousand men across open terrain at Gettysburg against strongly entrenched troops supported by well-emplaced artillery?) Colorful performance often obscured strategical blunders and logistical failures, and, as McWhiney and Hallock demonstrate, Bragg should not be singled out for failure. Connelly, Hagerman, Woodworth, and others also believe that Bragg had some successes. Connelly observed that he operated over larger areas without the resources and men allocated to Lee and his Army of

Northern Virginia. Nevertheless, all agree that Bragg's conception was narrowly focused on Tennessee and Kentucky, and that he never formulated a comprehensive strategy to preserve Confederate control of the Mississippi Valley.

Undoubtedly Bragg was a troubled man throughout the war. According to McWhiney, he suffered from a malignant loss of confidence after Murfreesboro. Hallock somewhat bizarrely speculates that he may have frequently been in an "opium fog" as the result of his search for ways to relieve himself of his physical afflictions and mental miseries. Bragg's fortunes were no better after the war. The Braggs lost their property and money and could not find stability and happiness before his death. Bragg marched into history as a discredited general, but McWhiney and Hallock have objectively explained the reasons for the actions and failures of this curious and controversial soldier.

Marvin R. Cain — University of Missouri-Rolla

Darden Asbury Pyron. *Southern Daughter: The Life of Margaret Mitchell.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, *xix*, pp. 533. $26.00. ISBN 0-19-505276-5



Darden Asbury Pyron, professor of history at Florida International University and author of *Recasting: "Gone With The Wind" in American Culture*, concludes his biography of Margaret Mitchell with the words "She lived in the realm of myth and mystery." Pyron's book does much to dispel the myth and clear up the mystery. It is quite clear that the author, not only finds Margaret Mitchell "worthy of study" (unlike academics until the 1970s), but considers the Georgian at least an important writer.

The biography focuses on her genealogy, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, but it is not limited to Margaret Mitchell or her family. Much of Pyron's book obviously is concerned with *Gone With the Wind* and the machinations over its metamorphosis into a motion picture. It is clear that Pyron admires Mitchell and her writing, and he believes that she was entitled to more respect as a writer in the 1930s and, similarly, deserves more respect today. The reader of *Southern*

Daughter, however, does not find Pyron's admiration for his subject distorting his analysis of Peggy Mitchell or her craft.

What the reader first encounters in *Southern Daughter* is a lengthy preface with innumerable acknowledgements. This is only preparatory, however, to a Mitchell genealogy that is as perplexing as a Russian novel, but it is necessary and worthwhile in order to understand Mitchell and her family. There is no doubt that she is well-bred and "aristocratic," but she also claimed an Irish Catholic background, which Pyron notes was atypical for the South. Clearly, all of this affected her as a young girl and woman. Mitchell's mother, May Belle, though there was some distance between them, also shaped Margaret. May Belle was a champion of women's rights and a crusader against Tom Watson's anti-Catholicism. Margaret also inherited, Pyron notes, the southern oral sense of history and the importance of family.

Pyron recounts how the effects of Mitchell's early childhood and adolescence are evident in her early essays and short stories. In these early efforts, the author writes, Margaret examined the proper role of women in society, expressed her own views, which were often different from the norm if not rebellious (she described herself as a "wild woman"), and that her literary efforts were autobiographical. Mitchell, in many ways that Pyron makes clear, was not the quintessential southern women of the early twentieth century. He reports that she was interested in erotica and pornography, flirted with drugs, sex, and alcohol, and rejected pregnancy and mothering. According to Pyron, sex repulsed her, and she was ambivalent toward men, but at the same time, was fascinated by sexual violence.

From Peggy's (Margaret's name among friends and family) early writing, Pyron focuses on how autobiographical she was, even in *Gone With the Wind*. The epic is obviously central to Pyron's examination of this autobiographical trait, and he concludes that a large part of the novel is based on Mitchell's own family history. He even suggests that by 1929, when the basic work was finished, *Gone With the Wind* characters "tell their own stories about her (Mitchell's) life."

In addition to the autobiographical aspect of *Gone With the Wind*, it seems to Pyron, there are two other aspects about the novel which are important: first, the historiography and second, whether it should be considered serious literature. An important aspect of the latter consideration is, naturally, whether or not Mitchell should be judged a serious writer.

Regarding the historiography of the novel, Pyron claims Mitchell "plunged into primary and secondary sources to make her work as historically accurate as she knew how." Because of the influence of the traditional view of Reconstruction, Pyron believes the post-World War II revisionism of that era left

Mitchell open to academic criticism of the novel. Pyron also sees Mitchell's novel influenced by the economic histories of the Beards.

Pyron feels that Mitchell, despite her traditional view of Reconstruction, deserves more credit for her research. For example, she eschewed the plantation genre and wrote about the yeoman farmer, the "open and fluid social order," and presents an alternate southern social history. While this may be true, Mitchell, in one respect, is very much like those writers of plantation fiction. She never fully investigates blacks as real people. Even Pyron notices that "slavery is virtually non-existent" in *Gone With the Wind.* Mitchell's preference for yeoman farmers and her desire to "belittle the region's aristocratic pretense" may go along with her rebellious temperament, but she is no more willing to come to grips with the humanity of black southerners than John Pendleton Kennedy was one hundred years before. On the issue of race, Mitchell was typical of her time.

Who and what were responsible for the novel being considered too romantic were David Selznick and Hollywood screenwriters. In his section on Hollywood and Gone With the Wind, Pyron notes it was Selznick and numerous screenwriters who distorted the original novel into a romanticized version with all the stock plantation fiction characters. In the final analysis even though Mitchell avoids the aristocratic order of the plantation romance, the reader still questions whether or not she presents a historical account. Tara may be exaggerated by David Selznick, but Mitchell's Tara is hardly the residence of Frank L. Owsley's "Plain Folk."

It is evident that Mitchell deserves more attention from serious scholars, as does *Gone With the Wind.* However, as far as the novel being serious literature, F. Scott Fitzgerald, who Pyron quotes, and who was among the seventeen writers who played some role in converting the novel to the screen, probably says it best: *Gone With the Wind* was "...not very original....There are no new characters, new techniques...—none of the elements that make literature...."

While Margaret Mitchell's novel may come up short, Darden Pyron's biography does not. Well-written and thoroughly researched, Pyron uses a large number of primary sources, many new, to provide the serious scholar, as well as the general reader, with an entertaining and revealing account of a truly remarkable person. Even though Mitchell probably cannot be considered a serious literary figure (something which Pyron never claims), her impact on popular culture with *Gone With the Wind* was and is remarkable.

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Frank N. Samponaro and Paul J. Vanderwood. *War Scare on the Rio Grande: Robert Runyon's Photographs of the Border Conflict, 1913-1916.* Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1991, pp. 135. $29.95. ISBN 0-87611-0995

Frank N. Samponaro and Paul J. Vanderwood perform a real service to the public by presenting choice selections of the 12,595 unique photographic images in the Robert Runyon Photographic Collection of the Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas. Appropriately enough, the book begins with a well-written overview of the life and work of Robert Runyon whose sensitive camera work preserved for posterity "fleeting moments frozen in time." Scholars studying the early twentieth-century history of both sides of the Mexican border will derive valuable insight from the images and accompanying narrative of the social, economic, commercial, political, military, and ecological life of the border area in general and of Brownsville and Matamoros in particular.

The logistical and military importance of Matamoros to the various factions vying for power in the context of that tumultuous period of Mexican history known as the Mexican Revolution is highlighted with proper attention being paid to the effect on commerce and public opinion on the U.S. side of the border and to land distribution initiated by constitutionalist General Lucio Blanco on the Mexican side of the border. In the narrative portion of the book, the authors skillfully provide the reader with an overview of the highlights of the Mexican Revolution germane to the border region, which results in the reader's viewing the photographic images in the context of the times.

A portion of the book is devoted to a plot to ignite a far-reaching racial war in the United States based on the goals outlined in the Plan de San Diego. The Plan, which is duplicated in Appendix B, calls on the American Indians to join the Latin and Negro races in proclaiming the independence of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Upper California "of which states the Republic of Mexico was robbed in a most perfidious manner by North American imperialism." The effect of the Plan de San Diego on the Rio Grande Valley was to exacerbate the smuggling, cattle rustling, banditry, bold killings, robberies, plundering, and stealing that already existed in the valley before the declaration of the Plan on January 6, 1915. Although the authors allude to the

possibility of German complicity intended to keep the United States busy along the border and away from Europe's war, the authors favor the claim that the unrest was caused by the Mexican Constitutionalists under Venustiano Carranza whose motive was to force official U.S. diplomatic recognition of their cause. This interpretation is somewhat unconvincing given the propensity of the United States during this period of time to take over a country at the slightest provocation.

The photographs depicting atrocities committed by lawbreakers on both sides of the racial conflict illustrate this tumultuous period, which resulted in roughly seven thousand people abandoning their property and means of livelihood in the valley to escape from the ravages of lawlessness as well as from indiscriminate and unauthorized methods of law enforcement implemented by the Texas Rangers and vigilante groups which contributed to the social turmoil.

The photographic record of the one hundred thousand militiamen mobilized by President Woodrow Wilson along the border due to the aforementioned disturbances provides the reader with an increased appreciation for that particular chapter of United States military history immediately preceding the entrance of the United States into World War I.

This book is a tribute to the photographic artistry of Robert Runyon, the foresight of his family in preserving his life's work, and the authors whose analytical skills and perceptiveness made this book a true delight.

Manuel Urbina II College of the Mainland

Mary Martha Thomas. *The New Woman in Alabama: Social Reforms and Suffrage, 1890-1920.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992, pp. 269. $29.95. ISBN 0-8173-0564-5

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the role of southern women, both black and white, was beginning to change significantly. *The New Woman in Alabama: Social Reforms and Suffrage, 1890-1920* by Mary Martha Thomas addresses that important shift of focus which occurred in middle-class women's lives from the private to the public sphere. "Women moved steadily from the domestic sphere into the public sphere, changing both in the process." These "New Women" in the "New South" demanded a hearing in the political arena for issues that affected them and their families. As leaders nationwide confronted the problems raised by rapid industrialization, "the collective power of women reached its apex in a massive push for social reforms and woman suffrage." Thomas documents this shift in women's roles as it occurred in Alabama in the

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, adding to a growing body of literature on southern club women and the growth of the suffrage movement among them.

Beginning with the Alabama Woman's Christian Temperance Union formed at Tuscaloosa in 1884, Thomas charts the development of white women's associational life and the impact and implications for the society in which they lived. For black women, too, temperance work provided an opportunity to expand the contours of their lives, although in Alabama, as was true in other parts of the South, black and white temperance societies remained strictly separate. By about 1896 black women's temperance work was taken over by women's clubs. The number of middle-class blacks being relatively small, the choice was made to concentrate their efforts in club work in which, as Thomas explains, "they literally tried to do everything," meaning temperance, improvement of jails and prisons, better schools, prevention of juvenile delinquency, as well as suffrage.

While Thomas deals with blacks and whites in regard to temperance in the same chapter, she has chosen to separate the races when dealing with woman suffrage. Consequently, the impact of their different orientations on this subject is largely lost. And, curiously, Thomas does very little with the tragic death by suicide of Alabama's leading African-American suffrage advocate, Adella Hunt Logan. She does point out in a footnote that her action may well have been prompted by the difficulties of life in a racially hostile environment. However, Thomas makes no attempt to deal with the implications such an action had concerning the added burden race presented to black women who were challenging society's mores and established practices. Were activist black women affected in ways different from white women? Are there elements in the black woman's experience which are distinct from and, perhaps, more difficult than whites? Or, did Logan have problems peculiar to herself?

Thomas points out that club women were quite visible in their support of such causes as child labor reform, improved education, establishment of an industrial school for boys, and various other causes concerning the improvement of conditions for families and children. Such interests were viewed as an extension of the home, providing women with an avenue to public life without challenging their traditional role as wives and mothers. Except for the statement

that club women's husbands "expected their wives to devote themselves to their homes and children," there is no indication of male response to women's clubs. Yet Thomas concludes that what really defeated woman suffrage in Alabama (the state legislature voted against ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment) was the perceived threat to gender roles. Other than stating this reason, Thomas provides no evidence. Clubwomen as a group did not endorse suffrage until quite late, (1918), when suffrage leaders "ceased to stress their view of women as atomistic individuals and instead stressed their role as wives and mothers." Nevertheless, it would seem that the attitudes of Alabama men toward women's reform activities of all shades is a topic deserving attention, since Thomas attributes the gender role threat as the major factor holding back change in women's position in Alabama.

In addition to these shortcomings, there are also many instances of careless writing leading to confusion and ambiguity. On one page Thomas builds the case for widespread support for the child labor bill of 1901, including the quotation that "the press...gave columns to the discussion of it...and the society and religious lion lay down with the labor lamb." Yet on the next page the author points out that the "lack of newspaper coverage and public interest in the bill" convinced leaders that informing the public and arousing the people was essential if child labor was to be regulated.

Again, dealing with suffrage, Thomas says, "By 1913 equal suffrage had become a major issue in the state. Woman suffrage had more then [*sic*] a thousand advocates, whereas a few years earlier it had almost none." However, a few pages later the author says "Despite the brave talk and the newspaper publicity that the suffrage cause received, the statewide membership stood at barely one thousand..." (also referring to 1913).

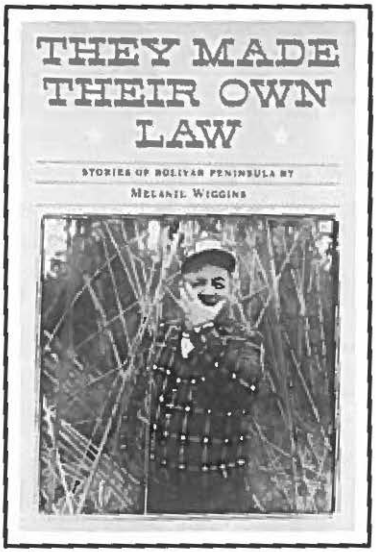
There is too much abrupt shifting of gears without providing adequate context or transition sentences. It is unfortunate that lack of attention in these areas has marred an otherwise very useful contribution to southern women's history.

Marsha Wedell Memphis, Tennessee

Melanie Wiggins. *They Made Their Own Law: Stories of Bolivar Peninsula.* Foreword by Ellen Rienstra. Portraits by Keith Carter. Houston: Rice University Press, 1990, pp. 284. Cloth, $24.00. ISBN 0-89263-307-7 / Paper, $12.95. ISBN 0-89263-308-5

The Bolivar Peninsula of southeast Texas, a strip of sand, marsh, and coastal grass first mapped by Piñeda in 1519, is bordered by the Gulf of Mexico

on the south and Galveston Bay on the north. The peninsula and its native inhabitants were probably first visited by Cabeza de Vaca in 1528 and by the Frenchman Simars de Bellisle in 1722, to the surprise of all involved. The harsh land and climate left this area unsettled by outsiders until the appearance of the filibusters on Galveston Island by 1815. Jean Laffite's occupation of Galveston Island from 1817-1821 resulted in several of his men becoming the first permanent settlers on the Bolivar Peninsula, and the revolutionary times left the peninsula its name, that of Simón Bolívar.



Author Melanie Wiggins's love of the area can be traced back to the arrival of her great-grandfather, Charles Taylor Cade, a Louisiana rancher and sheriff, in the 1880s. Cade bought a large part of the peninsula, ranched, searched for oil and gas, and built and operated the Sea View Hotel at High Island until his death in 1912. Her grandfather, Charlie Holt, operated the Bolivar ranch for fifty years, and that position was later inherited by Ms. Wiggins who studied art in her college years—interesting preparation for her unexpected career. She jumped into her new job with enthusiasm, and one of the offshoots is this book. *They Made Their Own Law* started as a biography of C. T. Cade, but evolved into a general examination of the history of the peninsula and a wonderful oral history of its inhabitants.

The first half of the book is an anecdotal history that grows increasingly sketchy after the 1915 hurricane devastated the peninsula, only fifteen years after a similar although less deadly experience with the 1900 hurricane that destroyed Galveston. The 1915 hurricane seems to have been a watershed in the history of the peninsula. Prior to that time, there was a dream that Port Bolivar, across the bay from Galveston, would become the major seaport, rather than Galveston or Houston. Energies of nineteenth-century residents, first to build farming and cattle ranching operations and then to develop the shipping industry with railroads and dock facilities, were blocked by the physical vulnerability of the area to those devastating hurricanes. The tourist and ranching industries have survived into the twentieth century, enhanced by oil discoveries made in 1931 on land explored by Cade unsuccessfully at the turn of the century, as bases for the peninsula's economy.

Ms. Wiggins does not attempt a comprehensive history. As her title indicates, this is a collection of stories of the Bolivar Peninsula. She has collected fascinating firsthand accounts from shortly after 1800 to the present. Her nineteenth-century accounts can be found in other sources, but she has performed a valuable service by gathering them in detail in this book. She chronicles the story of Jane Long, who, while pregnant, spent the winter of 1821 on the peninsula waiting for her filibuster husband, James Long. She was accompanied only by a small daughter and a thirteen-year-old servant. A new daughter arrived. Her husband did not for he was killed by a Mexican sentry and her account is one of the most interesting in early Bolivar history. The firsthand account of David Levi Kokernot's 1831 shipwreck transmits a real feeling for the isolation of Bolivar. All of his passengers were saved from drowning, but getting them off the peninsula was another matter. After a thirty-mile row up the Sabine River and a twenty-five mile trip up the Neches during which they saw no living soul, Kikernot and his men tried walking for help. Ultimately it came, but not without severe hardship and some deaths. This was an isolated place, good for smugglers, another Bolivar experience detailed by Ms. Wiggins.

However, her twentieth-century oral interviews in the second half of the book are Ms. Wiggins's real contribution to the historical record. She has taken an interesting group of peninsula residents, recorded their stories, and was lucky enough to be genuinely included in their lives. My personal favorite was the interview with Monroe "Uncle Pike" Kahla. Mr. Kahla's memories include the big 1915 storm and extend to the present, in which the eighty-eight-year-old island resident is still very actively involved. Among other things, he supervises the goat roundup on Goat Island. Participants swim the channel on their horses to round up the wild goats, and Ms. Wiggins was invited to join in. I was envious as could be when she caped off the round-up by being thrown in the intercostal canal by a bunch of goat ropers. It has become one of my new goals in life.

Ms. Wiggins does not write in the framework of state, national, or international trends, but the history of the people of Bolivar Peninsula is in part a reflection of those trends. At the same time they have lived apart. Electricity did not reach the peninsula until 1948, and in many ways the inhabitants' lives have been different from the mainstream American experience. It is a delightful book, and I recommend it.

Jo Ann Stiles Lamar University

From the Archives . . .

Southern Labor Archives, Georgia State University

Robert C. Dinwiddie

The Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University in Atlanta was established in 1970 as a result of an initiative of the Association of Southern Labor Historians (ASLH). This group developed during the 1966 meeting of the Southern Historical Association with the purpose of stimulating study of the southern trade-union movement and the southern working-class population. ASLH members sought to locate primary research materials and make plans for their preservation and to present research papers on southern working-class history at meetings concurrent with those of the Southern Historical Association.

As a direct outgrowth of this concern, the Southern Labor Archives (SLA) collects primary research materials from throughout the Southeast, and has also been named the official archival repository for the records of several unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Although the SLA does not have extensive holdings that pertain directly or solely to the Gulf Coast region, some of its holdings do illuminate trade-union activity in that region.[1] One of them in particular should be of great interest to scholars specializing in the history of black American workers, as well as to those whose focus is generally on the Gulf Coast region.

This brief article will describe this collection and attempt to provide a basis for understanding its importance to the fields of black history and working-class history.

The collection documents the interests and activities of members of the Associated Colored Trainmen of America (ACTA), based in Houston, Texas. The approximately 170 pieces are organized into twelve folders in a general chronological arrangement covering the two periods 1918-1923 and 1934-1936. Although small the collection provides scholars with a rare glimpse into the everyday concerns and actions of unionized black railroad workers for a time period when virtually no other written sources exist.

Historians attempting to determine the role of black workers in the larger trade union movement have always been greatly restricted by a near-total lack of first-hand documentary sources. A few scholars, most notably Philip S. Foner, Sterling Spero, and Abram Harris have produced significant investigations of black workers. Almost all of these efforts, however, have focused on the position (or lack of position) of black workers within the mainstream union movement.[2] Unions made up entirely of black workers have simply been left out of most traditional historical texts, in great measure because these organizations

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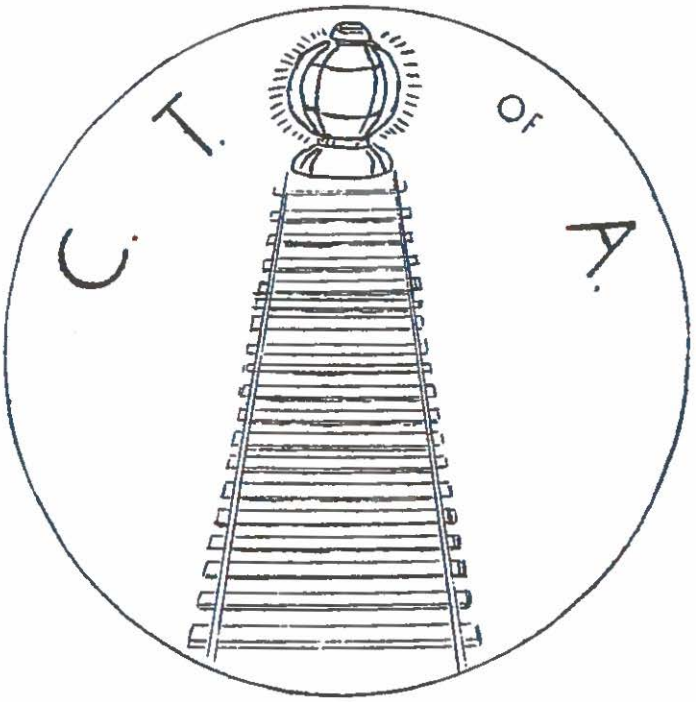
COLORED TRAINMEN OF AMERICA HELT AT .



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HOUSTON TEXAS .

left no written records to document their activities. This lack is particularly surprising and distressing when one considers the importance of railway employment to black Americans from the 1880s to the 1940s.[3]

The railroads employed blacks as engineers, firemen, brakemen, switchmen, yardmen, and in several layers of service capacities as cooks, conductors, and porters. Due to the exclusionary racial practices of the American Federation of labor (AFL), virtually all of these workers were organized into all-black unions. When it was organized in 1886 the AFL adopted the practice of the existing Knights of Labor of organizing local unions without regard to race. It soon, however, succumbed to the rise of the new but already virulent Jim Crow mentality. By 1893 the AFL had practically given up organizing black workers. Those who were organized were placed in single-race locals.[4]

When Eugene Debs created the Great American Railway Union (ARU) in 1893, racial progressives were hopeful that this "one big union" in the railroad industry would be fully integrated. The constitution of even the ARU, however, limited membership only to white workers. This practice was later to be adopted by all the railroad brotherhoods.[5] These brotherhoods would also aggressively attempt to drive black workers out of railroad employment entirely.[6]

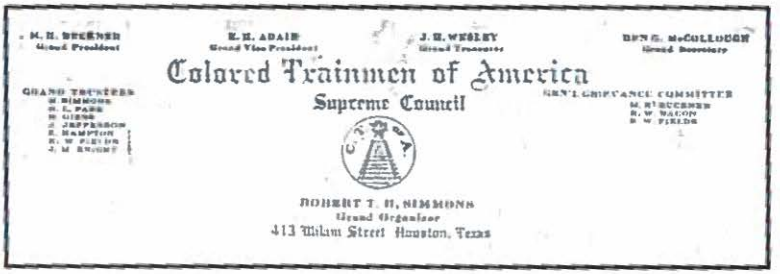
Black railroad workers sought to protect their jobs through the formation of their own brotherhoods. One of these, the ACTA, was formed in 1912. Several of these new brotherhoods joined together in 1915 to create the Railwaymen's International Benevolent and Industrial Association to serve them as a central coordinating body.[7]

Unfortunately practically nothing is known about these pioneer black railroad brotherhoods or their leaders. The ACTA does not appear in the standard encyclopedia of American trade unions, and nor does any of its officers appear in either of the two standard biographical dictionaries of American labor leaders.[8] With the notable but nonetheless limited exception of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), unions composed entirely of black workers have not appeared in either the traditional historical studies or the new "social history" produced during the last twenty years.

Even the activities of a union such as the Sleeping Car Porters, which is commonly considered to be the "most important African-American labor organization in American history," are so poorly documented that the best historical treatment of the BSCP is based almost entirely on audio tapes of speeches, meetings, and interviews.[9]

Once the historian moves beyond the BSCP and its leader A. Philip Randolph, the research materials for all practical purposes disappear. The Labor-Management Documentation Center (LMDC) of the Catherwood Library at Cornell University has specialized in acquiring the records of the labor brotherhoods and other records pertaining to the railroad industry. These

collections comprise approximately twenty-five hundred linear feet of paper files, hundreds of reels of microfilm, and hundreds of tapes of oral history interviews.[10] These vast and valuable research collections do not, however, include any of the black brotherhoods. In fact the Cornell holdings include only isolated items pertaining to these brotherhoods, such as the ACTA's 1919 convention proceedings and a 1948 constitution. This lack of documentation has inevitably led to the absence of black trade unionists from the historical record. The discovery of the few extant documents produced or preserved by the ACTA in a small way begins to fill this unfortunate void.


Colored Trainmen of America
Supreme Council
ROBERT T. H. SIMMONS
Grand Organizer
413 Milam Street Houston, Texas

Colored Trainmen of America letterhead

As noted earlier these documents of the ACTA are organized by date and occupy twelve folders. They were apparently the files of Mr. Ben G. McCullough, who begins in the records as chairman of the ACTA Grievance Committee, and by the later period, 1934-36, is grand president. McCullough, a brakeman by trade, was based in Kingsville, Texas.

Nine of the folders (approximately 120 pieces) contain grievance and disciplinary correspondence for 1918-1923 and 1934; notices of personnel actions taken by the company in 1934; and an exchange of correspondence between McCullough and Trainmaster J. W. Marshall of the St. Louis, Brownsville, and Mexico Railway Company on the adjustment of disputes between management and union.

As the head of the ACTA's Grievance Committee, McCullough was the recognized link between the rank-and-file workers and company officials. The union members submitted their grievances to McCullough, often in great written detail, and McCullough presented these cases to company personnel officers. The cases arose out of problems with seniority rights, the posting of job vacancies, crew reductions or composition, leaves of absence, and requests for re-hire following suspension or termination. The letters and notes from union members to McCullough and from company officials to McCullough are

originals, while the letters from McCullough to others are carbons. One folder contains three typed transcripts (ten leaves) of investigations into charges of misconduct made against union members and into the cause of an accident. These documents from 1934 present a rare look at the disciplinary procedures and mechanisms that the ACTA was able to establish with railroad management.

The contents of the remaining two folders provide what may well be the only surviving documentation of meetings held from 1934 through 1936 by representatives of the various black railway brotherhoods for the purpose of ending the erosion of black employment on the railroads during the depression.

This set of documents consists of an invitation to a "Get Together Gathering" to be held in Chicago on September 18, 1934. The first paragraph of this invitation illuminates the problem facing these black union members as follows:

> The Negro Train and Yard Service Employees throughout the entire South are rapidly losing their jobs and white men are taking their places. This transition has gone on so rapidly during the last few years, that if it keeps up at the present pace, it will only be a matter of a very short time, when there will not be a single colored train or yardman working on any of our American railroads.[11]

This invitation if followed by the "Recommendation of Procedure at Meeting," the twelve-page "Proceedings of the Get Together Gathering of Representatives of The Organized Groups of Colored Railway Workers of America," and the "Minutes of The Meeting of The Temporary Officers." The representatives at the "Get Together Gathering" elected delegates for a second meeting to be held in November of that year in Washington. The thirteen-page minutes of this second meeting indicate a great deal of organizational growth since the "Gathering" two months earlier. The organization developed a name, the National Association of Railway Employees (NARE), a constitution, and a strategy.

Two final documents in the collection are the minutes of a January 1935 meeting of the ACTA at which McCullough makes a plea for active support for NARE, and a "Convention Bulletin" announcing the Second Annual Convention of the national body, whose name has been changed to International Association of Railway Employees (IARE). This meeting was scheduled for St. Louis on May 18, 1936.

This handful of documents show that Ben McCullough made a major contribution to the formation of IARE. He represented the ACTA at the "Get Together Gathering," was elected one of the five temporary officers to carry on the organizing work of the group, and was later elected National Treasurer of IARE.

Mr. McCullough and his colleagues in ACTA and in the other black railroad brotherhoods have been excluded from the history of American workers just as their predecessors were excluded from equal membership in the American Federation of Labor and American Railway Union. These few documents, preserved for whatever reason by McCullough, present historians with a new opportunity to incorporate the concerns and aspirations of a hitherto silent segment of America's once-vast black railroad work force into their interpretations of ethnic, labor, and regional history.

Reading room, Southern Labor Archives

The Southern Labor Archives is located at Georgia State University in downtown Atlanta. The Archives is open Monday through Friday, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Evening or weekend visits for research can be arranged by contacting the Archives at (404) 651-2477. Prices for photocopying and other services are available upon request. Mail inquiries should be addressed to: Robert Dinwiddie, Archivist, Georgia State University, 100 Decatur St., S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Notes

[1] The holdings of the Southern Labor Archives have been described in the following two articles: Robert C. Dinwiddie and Leslie Hough, "The Southern Labor Archives," *Labor History* 23 (Fall 1982): 502-12; and *Labor History* 31 (Winter-Spring 1990): 124-32.

[2] See Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1981* (New York, 1981), and Foner, *The Black Worker: A Documentary History From Colonial Times to the Present* (Philadelphia, 1978). Also Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker* (New York, 1969).

[3] Black employment on the railroads was put at 100,000 in 1900, 120,000 in 1930, but then down to 88,000 by 1935: Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker*, 121; and "Convention Bulletin, International Association of Railway Employees," ACTA Records, Southern Labor Archives, Georgia State University.

[4] Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* (New Brunswick, 1949), 93.

[5] Ibid., 92-93.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ray Marshall, *Labor in the South* (Cambridge, 1967), 59.

[8] See Gary Fink, ed., *Labor Unions* (Westport, CT, 1977); *Biographical Dictionary of American Labor* (Westport, 1984); and *Who's Who in Labor* (New York, 1976).

[9] See Joseph W. Wilson, *Tearing Down the Color Bar: A Documentary History and Analysis of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters* (New York, 1989).

[10] Richard Strassberg, "Sources on Labor History in the Martin P. Catherwood Library," *Labor History* 31 (Winter-Spring 1990): 59-66.

[11] "Get Together Meeting in Chicago, Illinois," ACTA Records, Southern Labor Archives, Georgia State University.

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"The Roaring Twenties on the Gulf Coast"

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