

Jeff Yalkman

G/S
HR

Gulf South Historical Review

Vol. 21

No. 1

The Journal of the Gulf South Historical Association





Gulf South Historical Review

Vol. 21

Fall 2005

No. 1

Editorial Advisory Board

Dr. Bradley G. Bond
University of Southern Mississippi

Dr. Carl Brasseaux
University of Louisiana at Lafayette

Dr. Jane Dysart
University of West Florida

Dr. John D. W. Guice
University of Southern Mississippi

Dr. Roman Heleniak
Southeastern Louisiana University

Dr. Harvey H. Jackson
Jacksonville State University

Dr. Tennant McWilliams
University of Alabama at Birmingham

Dr. Robert Snyder
University of South Florida

Dr. Kenneth R. Stevens
Texas Christian University

Dr. Lewis N. Wynne
Florida Historical Society

From the Editor . . .

The Confederate submarine *Hunley* has been in the news a great deal over the last couple of years. Archeologists discovered where it sank, recovered it, and examined its contents in great detail. Few warships have been so closely inspected, but until this issue of the *GSHR* we did not know where the *Hunley* was built. Oh, we knew it was built in Mobile, and for years we thought we knew where, until a biologist with a historical itch began asking questions. Dr. Jack O'Brien Jr. soon found all sorts of contradictions in what we thought we knew, and, like the proverbial dog with a bone, he went to work to solve the mystery. His article serves to remind us all that there are many kinds of historians, and not all of them work in college history departments! His article is a masterful detective story with a happy ending, no less. It has been my privilege to watch as this story unfolded and to share in Jack's delight as he solved the puzzle, piece by piece. It reminded me just how exciting historical research can be, and how lucky those of us who get paid to do it really are!

The issue begins with last year's Coker Prize winning essay by Mike Mansfield on the difficulties that non-white seamen experienced in antebellum Mobile and in ports elsewhere in the South. Mr. Mansfield is completing his PhD. in History at the University of Alabama. He received his M.A. from the University of South Alabama, and we share the University's pride in his growth as a historian.

As always, we have a wide-ranging selection of books on our region in this issue, thanks to the continuing work of our Book Review Editor, Dr. Jim McSwain. Jim does his job as editor while teaching a full load at Tuskegee University and pursuing his own research agenda. For several years he has investigated the development of the sea-borne shipment of petroleum in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. His article, "Urban Government and Environmental Policies: Regulating the Storage and Distribution of Fuel Oil in Houston, Texas, 1901-1915," just appeared in the May 2005 issue of the prestigious *Journal of Southern History*. It is a signal honor to be published in the *JSH*, and though not unexpected in this case, we wish to congratulate our colleague on his fine scholarship.

Congratulations of another sort are in order for our Associate Editor, Elisa Baldwin, as she will have retired from the University of South Alabama by the time this issue reaches you. While she will not have to shoulder the burdens of the University Archives any more, she has agreed to continue to serve as Associate Editor of this journal. This assures you, the reader, that the journal will continue to appear on schedule and in readable form. There are no words to express how important her work is to the production of the *GSHR*, and we wish her a happy retirement from all her other duties and truly appreciate her willingness to stay on with us.

Once again we take pride in bringing you another issue of the *Gulf South Historical Review*, and hope that you enjoy reading it.

Editorial Staff

Clarence L. Mohr, Executive Editor
Michael V. Thomason, Managing Editor
Elisa Baldwin, Associate Editor
Margaret Istre, Editorial Assistant
Michelle Cagle, Administrative Assistant

Book Review Editor
James McSwain, Tuskegee University

Cover Photo: *Detail of mural by John Augustus Walter, ca. 1934, commemorating the construction of the Hunley. Museum of Mobile.*

The *Gulf South Historical Review* is the journal of the Gulf South History and Humanities Conference. It is published biannually in the fall and spring by the History Department of the University of South Alabama. The subscription price is \$20.00 per year with payment to accompany order. Inquiries about subscriptions should be sent to the History Department of the University of South Alabama, HUMB 344, Mobile, AL 36688-0002. Manuscripts may be submitted to Dr. Thomason. E-mail communications may be sent to Dr. Thomason at thomason@jaguar1.usouthal.edu. Further information about the *GSHR* can be found on the web at www.southalabama.edu/archives. Click on publications. Authors should consult the *GSHR* style sheet before submitting a manuscript. All submissions are subject to the blind peer review process. Any claims for lost or missing issues must be made within six months of that issue's publication. The *Gulf South Historical Review* is not responsible for statements or opinions of fact made by its contributors. The *GSHR* is indexed and abstracted in *America: History and Life*. Readers will also find a subject index at www.southalabama.edu/archives/gshrindex.htm. This journal is printed on acid-free paper.

© Copyright 2005
Gulf South Historical Review
ISSN 0892-9025

Table of Contents

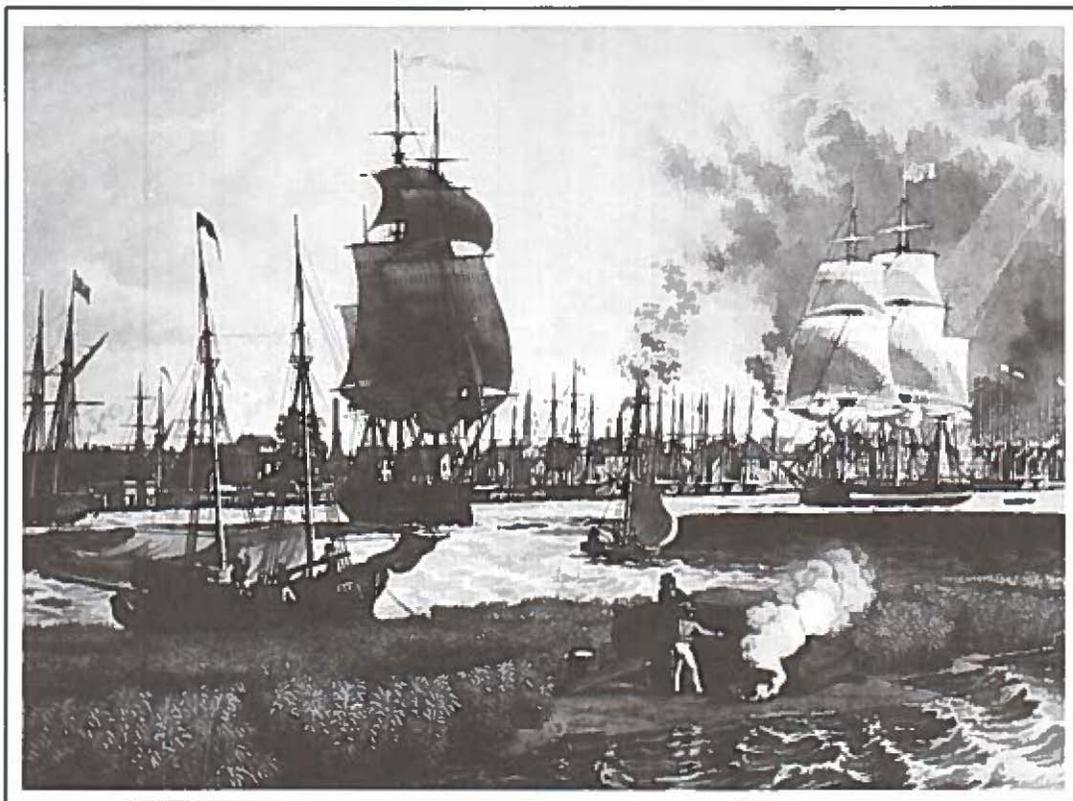
Vol. 21

Fall 2005

No. 1

Articles:	Page
"An Onerous and Unnecessary Burden": Mobile and the Negro Seaman Acts Mike Mansfield	6
Where was the <i>Hunley</i> Built? Jack O'Brien Jr.	29
Book Reviews:	
Glen C. Altschuler. <i>All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America</i> Michael T. Bertrand	57
Judith A. Bense, ed. <i>Presidio Santa Maria de Galve: A Struggle for Survival in Colonial Spanish Pensacola</i> Angela Thompson	59
Michael J. Crawford and William S. Dudley, eds. <i>Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History, 1814-1815</i> Mary L. Fehler	61
John Ernest. <i>Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History</i> Steve Estes	62
Barney Farley. <i>Fishing Yesterday's Gulf Coast</i> Tina Cannon	64
James E. Fickle. <i>Mississippi Forests and Forestry</i> David Benac	66
James E. Fickle. <i>Timber: A Photographic History of Mississippi Forestry</i> David Benac	66
Wayne Flynt. <i>Alabama in the Twentieth Century</i> John Shelton Reed	69
James R. Goff. <i>Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel</i> Paul Harvey	49
David Goldfield. <i>Southern Histories: Public, Personal, and Sacred</i> Benjamin E. Wise	72
Philip Gould. <i>Natchitoches and Louisiana's Timeless Cane River</i> Charles Elliott	74
Michael P. Graves and David Fillingim, eds. <i>More Than 'Precious Memories': The Rhetoric of Southern Gospel Music</i> Paul Harvey	49

Robert W. Halli, ed. <i>An Alabama Songbook: Ballads, Folksongs, and Spirituals</i>	Kenneth J. Bindas	77
Susan Wiley Hardwick. <i>Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America's Third Coast</i>	Tina Cannon	79
Rosalyn Howard. <i>Black Seminoles in the Bahamas</i>	Canter Brown Jr.	81
Charles M. Hudson. <i>Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa</i>	Steven C. Hahn	83
Lucy Anne Hurston and the Estate of Zora Neale Hurston. <i>Speak, So You Can Speak Again: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston</i>	Barbara A. Baker	85
Mark Kemp. <i>Dixie Lullaby: A Story of Music, Race and New Beginnings in a New South</i>	Charles Belcher Jr.	88
Robert Rodgers Korstad. <i>Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South</i>	Eric Fure-Slocum	89
Jeffrey J. Lange. <i>Smile When You Call Me a Hillbilly: Country Music's Struggle for Respectability</i>	Paul Harvey	49
John and Mary Lou Missal. <i>The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict</i>	Julie Anne Sweet	92
Maureen Ogle. <i>Key West: History of an Island of Dreams</i>	Jim Fraiser	94
Barbara Ransby. <i>Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision</i>	Mark Newman	96
William L. Shea and Terrence J. Winschel. <i>Vicksburg is Key: The Struggle for the Mississippi</i>	Lesley J. Gordon	98
Charles D. Spornick, Alan R. Cattier, and Robert J. Green. <i>An Outdoor Guide to Bartram's Travels</i>	Carolyn Baker Lewis	101
Margaret M. Storey. <i>Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction</i>	Jonathan Daniel Wells	103
Morton D. Winsberg. <i>Florida Weather</i>	Bernard Mergen	105



Engraved print of Mobile by William Bennett looking at the port from across the Mobile River, 1841. Museum of Mobile.

“An Onerous and Unnecessary Burden”: Mobile and the Negro Seamen Acts

Mike Mansfield

It is trifling and ridiculous to make war upon the poor trembling free blacks, who come here far more frightened at us terrible slaveholders, and more in of offending, than intent on doing mischief. *Mobile Daily Register*¹

In early February 1856, a group of concerned ship captains and owners met in Mobile, Alabama, to protest the harbor master's enforcement of a little-known state law that required the filing of passenger and crew manifests with local authorities. Although a similar ordinance had been in effect in the city since 1819, its enforcement had been erratic, limited to only the most egregious of cases. During that winter, however, local authorities had begun actively enforcing the law, leveling heavy fines on those ship masters not in compliance, triggering a passionate response from some of the city's oldest and most prominent citizens.²

At the root of the protest was the requirement that the manifest must include a listing of any “free negroes and persons of color” on board incoming ships, posted with the sheriff following three days of arrival. While a seemingly innocuous requirement, noncompliance was costly, resulting in cash fines of up to one thousand dollars and six-month imprisonment in the county jail. Acquiescence was even more expensive, requiring the posting of a cash bond, payable to the State of Alabama, of a sum not less than two thousand dollars, ensuring that “free colored persons shall remain on board the vessel” at least three miles offshore, out of the range of communication with any slave or “free persons of color within the state.” Violations not only resulted in bond forfeiture, but the possible incarceration of passengers and crew in the local jail, where they were held until debarkation. As a final insult, the prisoners were charged for any costs relating to their arrest and confinement.³

Based in the fear that free black mariners were a dangerous and destabilizing element, the law was designed to prohibit their interaction with Alabama's slave population, a concern shared by the other southern states. Fearing that free blacks would contaminate slaves with abolitionist thought and propaganda, during the 1830s and 1840s every state in the lower South enacted similar legislation, limiting the

activities and movements of free black mariners. Although at odds with both national and foreign regulations governing international trade and commerce, these laws, collectively known as the Negro Seamen Acts, remained in effect until removed from the books by the American Civil War.⁴

It is the purpose of this article to examine these acts as they affected one southern seaport, Mobile, Alabama. As the state's only major harbor, Mobile bore the brunt of the legislation, finding itself chafing under its restrictive provisions. Traditionally at odds with the state's upcountry-dominated legislature, Mobilians had long resisted legislative actions aimed more at protecting slavery than in promoting maritime commerce. Even within the city itself, there was a conflict between those concerned in ridding themselves of the potentially destabilizing influence of alien black mariners, and those maritime interests affected by the restrictive provisions of the act. As a result, enforcement was sporadic, more than not tied to political vendettas than to any other reason.⁵

Motivated by fear and uncertainty, the Negro Seamen Acts were the harbingers of the Jim Crow laws of the postwar South. As such, by examining the Mobile Harbor Act, exploring the motivations behind its enactment, a statement can be made of a region's misguided, and often contradictory efforts, to segregate a people, laying the ground-work for the later era of the Jim Crow South.⁶

The Negro Seaman Acts were first enacted in 1822 by South Carolina in the aftermath of Denmark Vesey's conspiracy. Vesey, an ex-slave who had purchased his freedom after winning a lottery, was a leading figure in Charleston's black church life. During 1821 to 1822, Vesey, along with a group of house servants and artisans, recruited rural slaves for an armed attack on the city. Although the conspiracy was betrayed before its implementation, the terror surrounding its discovery prompted a wave of restrictive legislation aimed at limiting the activities and movements of free blacks. When it was discovered that Vesey had planned to seize merchant vessels for the purpose of fleeing to Haiti, state legislators passed the Negro Seamen Act, requiring the imprisonment of any black mariner entering the state's coastal waters⁷

While there is no firm estimate of their numbers, blacks, both freed and enslaved, had long been a fixture on Charleston's waterfront. Having sailed in large numbers on American merchant vessels from colonial times until the eve of the Civil War, blacks had been an important component in both the overseas and domestic maritime trade. Serving as able seamen, deck hands, cooks, cabin boys, stewards,

firemen, or engineers, blacks sailed on every type of ship, ranging from a smallest coastal schooner to the most impressive ship-of-the-line. Most American merchants sailed with at least one black hand on board, with a few ships actually having all black crews commanded by a white officer. While the available evidence is sketchy, estimates of their numbers place their strength as at least 10 percent and as high as 20 percent of all American seamen during the period 1789 to 1860. While there are no figures available for Charleston, the percentages of African Americans sailing in ships from Savannah, Georgia, a city similar in both size and geographical location, ranged from 13 percent in 1803 to 15 percent in 1829.⁸

Having long feared the influence of black mariners, South Carolina enacted harsh provisions limiting their movements. In addition to authorizing the seizure and confinement of any "free negroes, or persons of color," the law also required that they, or their captain, pay any expenses relating to their arrest and detention. Failure to pay these costs, or if the captain of the vessel failed to make the proper report to local authorities, was punishable by a fine of not less than one thousand dollars, and a jail term of no less than two months. If the captain refused to pay, the punishment was particularly draconian, allowing for his black crew members to be deemed "absolute slaves" and sold at a public auction.⁹

The law was quickly put to test in federal courts. Following the imprisonment of Henry Elkison, a free black mariner and British citizen, the British counsel in Charleston applied to Judge William Johnston, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, then sitting in Circuit Court in Charleston, South Carolina, for relief. Despite Johnson's ruling that the law was "clearly unconstitutional and void," South Carolina continued detaining black seamen. A direct appeal from President James Monroe was ignored, prompting John L. Wilson, the Governor of South Carolina, to reply that the state had "the right to interdict the entrance of such persons into her port, whose organization of mind, habits, and association, render them peculiarly calculated to disturb the peace and tranquility of the State, in the same manner she can prohibit those afflicted with infectious diseases, to touch her shores." While the state legislature would later abolish the provision concerning enslavement, and exempt those free blacks serving on both American and foreign war ships, imprisonment of seamen would continue.¹⁰

Although closely following events in South Carolina, other southern states were hesitant to follow its lead. Heavily dependent on

the overseas cotton trade, southern ports were leery of antagonizing foreign shipping interests. This attitude would change, however, in 1829 with the publication of David Walker's inflammatory pamphlet, *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*. Walker, an ardent black nationalist who owned a used clothing store near the Boston wharfs, actively recruited black mariners as a means to distribute the pamphlet with astounding success. First published in Boston, the pamphlet quickly circulated throughout southern ports, making its way as far south as Louisiana within weeks of its initial release. This success, however, came with a heavy price. Calling for slaves to rise up and slay "our cruel oppressors and murderers," the pamphlet horrified a population with the memory of Denmark Vesey still fresh in their minds. When copies of the *Appeal* were found circulating among blacks in Savannah, Georgia, authorities were quick to act. Realizing that the pamphlet could have only come from one source, Georgia imposed a forty-day quarantine on all vessels carrying free black seamen, requiring the imprisonment of any black mariner who left his vessel, or had contact with slaves. North Carolina quickly followed suit, passing similar legislation.¹¹

In 1831 news of Nat Turner's Rebellion prompted Florida to enact its own legislation. In August of that year, Turner, a black preacher in Southampton County, Virginia, led a band of slaves in a bloody rampage, killing more than sixty white men, women, and children. Although himself a slave, Turner had frequent contact with Southampton County's sizable free black population. As a result, free blacks bore the brunt of the retribution, despite the fact that only a few were actually implicated for being involved in the rebellion. In Florida, the legislature, already leery due to the inflammatory nature of Walker's *Appeal*, quickly moved to enact its own version of the Negro Seamen Acts, greatly limiting the movements of African-American seamen. In addition to requiring the expulsion of any free black who voluntarily entered the territory, Florida's law included the provision that should they return, they were to be sold as a slave to the highest bidder for a period of five years.¹²

Authorities on the Gulf Coast were slower to act. Because of the region's history of racial amalgamation and the more liberal attitudes of its French-Spanish heritage, the coastal areas of Alabama and Louisiana were more tolerant of free blacks than any other southern seaports. This is not to imply, however, that blacks enjoyed rights on a par with their white counterparts. In both Mobile and New Orleans, free black mariners were met with suspicion by both local authorities

and the region's sizable racially-mixed population. The product of sexual intermingling between the region's early French, Spanish, and African inhabitants, the Creole population of both cities viewed themselves as a separate community, distinct from blacks in terms of culture and heritage. As such, alien blacks, either free or enslaved, were treated with both disdain and resentment.¹³

The resentment of Mobile's Creoles was heightened by their proximity to the maroon communities of Louisiana and West Florida. During the period of Spanish rule, the region to the east of Pensacola had become a haven for runaway slaves seeking sanctuary with the area's large Seminole Indian population. Settling along the lower Apalachicola River, runaway slaves, many of whom still maintained a strong sense of their African identity, formed communities from which they raided white homesteads and settlements with impunity. While the threat would decline with the destruction in 1816 of their main encampment on the Apalachicola River, maroon bands continued operating throughout northern Florida until expelled during the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842.¹⁴

Louisiana also had a long history of maroon activity. With its miles of bayous and vast cypress swamps, Louisiana offered excellent opportunities for runaways and unsupervised slaves to form loose-knit networks of communities and settlements. Although widely denounced as murderers and thieves, Louisiana's maroons were less prone toward brigandage than their West Florida counterparts. There were, however, several highly publicized incidents of violence. The first was the massacre in 1729 of the French settlement at Natchez, an attack that was infamous in areas of French colonial influence. Promised their freedom by tribal chiefs, a group of newly arrived slaves from the African Kingdom of Bambara joined with local Natchez Indians to slaughter more than 230 French men, women and children. The Bambara, who arrived in Louisiana in large numbers in the early 1720s, then joined the Natchez, developing important kinship bonds with the tribe. These ties would later be instrumental in thwarting white attempts to drive a wedge between the colony's Indian and black populations. Later, in 1795, a group of slaves in Point Coupee Parish was arrested for plotting to kill their owners. In the trial that followed fifty-seven slaves and three whites were convicted of planning the attack. While there is some debate over what role local Indians played in the conspiracy, early reports were that the conspirators had counted on their support.¹⁵

Despite the brutal retribution of colonial authorities, a rash of slave conspiracies was uncovered throughout Louisiana during the late

1790s. While authorities were quick to quash these conspiracies, unrest among Louisiana's slave and maroon populations continued. The most prominent of these plots was the Deslondes rebellion in 1811. In January of that year a group of blacks led by a mulatto slave named Charles Deslondes killed the son of a local plantation owner. Joined by an unknown number of maroons, Deslondes soon gathered a force estimated at between 150 to 500 men for an attack on New Orleans. As whites fled before them, the force turned toward New Orleans, intent on besieging the city. Met by a hastily-gathered force of Louisiana militiamen backed by thirty federal troops, the rebellious slaves were resoundingly defeated, resulting in the death of Deslondes. While reports put the death toll at sixty-six bodies, patrols reported finding "beaucoup de cadavres" for days following the battle. As in the earlier Point Coupee conspiracy, an additional twenty-one slaves were later shot and beheaded, their heads being nailed to the posts marking the way to New Orleans.¹⁶

While there are few documented reports of maroon activity in Alabama, officials in Mobile had long feared that the delta area north of the city would become a haven for runaway slaves.¹⁷ Formed by the confluence of the Mobile, Tensaw, and Alabama river systems, the delta was a trackless landscape of sloughs, bayous, and swamps that effectively isolated the city from the rest of the state. Segregated and surrounded, in their minds, by maroon bands in both Florida and Louisiana, Mobilians developed a siege mentality of sorts, a sentiment that was only heightened by news of the Fort Mims massacre in the summer of 1813.¹⁸ Reports that British officials in Pensacola were furnishing both runaway slaves and the area's Creek Indians with arms and supplies further raised tensions, leading city leaders to search for ways to control and isolate their sizable free black and Creole populations from outside intervention.¹⁹

City officials took the first tentative steps toward controlling immigration shortly after the adoption of statehood in 1819. Using authority granted by the state legislature to "to restrain and prohibit the nightly and other meetings or disorderly assemblies of slaves, free Negroes and mulattoes," local authorities passed an ordinance requiring that ship captains report the names and description of "all passengers on board his said vessel, together with a description of the same." Declaring that its purpose was to limit the numbers of "sick, infirm or vagrant persons" brought into the city, the ordinance required the posting of a five hundred-dollar bond to cover any expenses "incurred by the maintenance of any passenger or passengers." Failure to do so

resulted in a twenty-five dollar fine for the captain with the said person being brought before a magistrate to be "dealt with as a vagrant."²⁰

Designed to limit the numbers of undesirables on the public roll, the rule also required that ship captains report the presence on board of "any free negro, mulatto or person of color," who hailed from "the state of Louisiana, Pensacola, or any part of the intermediate sea coast, or from the west side of Mobile bay." This specific geographical reference is indicative of local officials' fears of spread of maroon activity into the Mobile area, specifically the delta. At the very least, their motivation was to prevent free blacks from influencing local slaves to runaway to nearby areas where conditions were such that their recapture would be doubtful. Whatever its basis, the ordinance is the earliest example of local attempts to limit the movement of free blacks or persons of color along the city's waterfront.²¹

While the ordinance does not specifically mention African-American seamen or mariners, city records reflect an increased number of Seamen's Protection Certificates being filed with the City Court. Beginning in 1796, the federal government had begun issuing certificates to free African-American mariners that defined them as citizens of the United States. Designed to protect free blacks from being seized as runaway slaves, the certificates were often probated with local courts or filed with custom authorities in southern ports, especially after South Carolina passed its version of the Negro Seaman Act in 1822. Like other southern ports, Mobile witnessed a rash of filings throughout the early 1820s, as mariners, wanting to avoid either detention or fines, sought some protection from the courts. There is no evidence, however, that these certificates were ever filed in Mobile to avoid prosecution under the 1819 ordinance.²²

The ordinance aside, Alabama was slower than other southern states to adopt legislation limiting the movements of free black mariners. In the aftermath of Nat Turner's Rebellion, however, the state legislature did enact a law prohibiting "any free person of color to settle within" the state after January 1, 1833. The law, the Anti-Immigration Act of 1832, required that free blacks arriving in the state after this date were given thirty days to leave. Failure to comply was punishable by thirty-nine lashes. If free blacks remained in the state for more than twenty days after having received this punishment, or if they tried to return, they were to be arrested and sold into slavery for a period of one year. In the unlikely event they still refused to move within twenty days of being released from their one year sentence, they were to be sold into permanent slavery.²³

The thirty-day grace period mandated by the act effectively prevented it to being applied to black mariners. Given the high volume of trade during this period, it was rare that a ship exceeded more than a few days in port. With cotton exports booming, the city's waterfront was a constant bustle of activity as merchant ships, seeking a quick turnaround, jockeyed for space. A review of shipping taken from a single day over a period of years, reveals that from 1835 to 1841 the city averaged at least thirty-two ships being in port, a figure that does not include smaller vessels involved in either the river and coastal trade.²⁴ Furthermore, since shallow water made it virtually impossible for large ships to reach city wharves, most vessels anchored at Mobile Point in the lower bay, lightering their cargoes to the docks.²⁵ As result, merchant crews spent little time in the city, lessening the problems for local officials.

This changed in 1835 with the arrival of the steamship Warsaw. Sailing from New York City, the Warsaw's passenger manifest included four free blacks, who, in accordance with the 1819 ordinance, were taken into custody by local authorities. A search of their baggage and personal effects discovered a package of "incendiary newspapers," published by the abolitionist philanthropist, Arthur Tappan. Already fearful of an abolitionist conspiracy, local whites quickly assembled a "Committee of Vigilance," escorting the "accredited agents of this fiend of mischief [Tappan]," to the city jail, where they remained until the Warsaw left harbor. Although one newspaper reported that one of the offenders was lynched, most accounts have them remaining in "safe custody" for the two weeks that the Warsaw remained in port.²⁶

In the wake of the Warsaw incident, the legislature moved to strengthen the Anti-Immigration Act, closing the thirty-day loophole with restrictions aimed specifically at African-American mariners. While it would take more than three years after the Warsaw for the new legislation to be finalized, a request made by the Alabama General Assembly during its 1839-1840 session to then-Governor A.P. Bagby concerning the spread of abolitionist literature suggests the incident remained fresh in the minds of lawmakers. Concerned over the spread of such pamphlets and newspapers, legislators requested Bagby to open correspondence with the governors of states from which these tracts were originating for the purposes of enlisting help in stopping the publication or distribution of subversive literature destined for Alabama. While the Warsaw was never mentioned, the circumstances surrounding it, namely the presence on board of abolitionist literature, were undoubtedly in the minds of legislators.²⁷

Later that same session, the state legislature enacted what became known as the Mobile Harbor Act, drastically limiting the movements of free black mariners. Closely modeled on South Carolina's legislation, the law made it the duty of harbor masters to inform the sheriff of the arrival of any vessel carrying "free negroes and persons of color" on board, including "cooks, stewards, mariners, or in any other employment." It was then the duty of the sheriff to "apprehend such free negro or person of color" until the time their vessel shall be "hauled off away from the wharf, and be ready for sea." Any costs incurred in either their arrest or detention were to be paid by the ship's captain according to a fee schedule established by the state. Failure to comply, or neglecting to notify the harbor master, could lead to indictment, making a captain liable for a fine of up to one thousand dollars and imprisonment for up to six months. To ensure that the fines were paid, the act required the posting of a two thousand-dollar cash bond, payable to the state, to cover any costs relating to the arrest and detention of their crew. If the captain left without his crew or paying court costs, the bond was forfeited, with any remaining crewmen being forced to leave the state under the provisions of the state's 1832 Anti-Immigration Act.²⁸

The law's final provision authorized that "any person" could "seize upon and make a slave for life to his own use any free person of color" who had entered the state since February 1, 1832, providing that the seizure was made after August 1, 1839. Drawn from the earlier Anti-Immigration Act, this section quickly drew harsh criticism from both local and international officials. Ultimately, the controversy quickly subsided with the ruling of the state's judiciary committee that the provision's "ex post-facto character" made it illegal. The ruling, read by the committee's chairman to the assembled House, reported that while it protected Mobile from the "introduction of fanatical opinion and publications," the law, as written, "took away liberty without crime." Following the committee's recommendations, the legislature later repealed the offending sections.²⁹

The law was further modified in 1841, requiring that each ship master include in his report a "complete and correct list of every person who arrived with him in said vessel, distinctly stating...the color and sex of each person," including "whether they be free or otherwise." Jurisdiction was also extended "for the apprehension of free negroes and persons of color, to any vessel within the Bay of Mobile." This last provision was added to prevent ships from sitting offshore to avoid posting the required bond, including those unloading their cargoes at

Mobile Point. More importantly, the act authorized a reward to be paid to "any individual who may lodge information" of the presence in the Bay of any free black or person of color not previously reported, a provision that, while standard, would ultimately become a major area of contention.³⁰

While reaction in Mobile was mixed, the law, and those like it, drew stinging denunciations in Washington. Even as Alabama was modifying the Mobile Harbor Law, the issue came up before the United States House of Representatives. Concerned over the acts' harmful effect on maritime commerce, in 1842 a representative from Massachusetts presented the House with a petition signed by Boston merchants denouncing the imprisonment of black mariners in southern ports as contributing "greatly to the prejudice and detriment of their interests, and of the commerce of the nation." Referred to the House's Committee on Commerce, the petition was included as part of the Committee's majority report, signed by seven of its nine voting members. Although asserting that the acts were in "direct, positive, and permanent conflict with the express provisions or fundamental principles" of the Constitution, the resolution was tabled without debate by a vote of eighty-six to fifty-nine. By refusing to accept the report, the House effectively killed the measure, avoiding a public show of disapproval.³¹

Internationally, the reaction to the Mobile Harbor Act was relatively muted, at least in comparison with the outcry generated by South Carolina's Negro Seaman Act. Outside of one case reported in a letter to a London newspaper in 1848, there was little outcry from either the British press or its diplomatic community. In this particular instance, reported by an unidentified British citizen, "two of Her Majesty's subjects" were imprisoned in the "gaol" (jail) of Mobile, their only offense "being that they are free persons of color." While noting that enforcement of the law had been in "abeyance," the correspondent challenged British leaders to take action, arguing that if they allowed their "coloured [*sic*] people to be thus treated, the boasted liberty of the British subject" would be but a "mere farce." Although there is no mention of such an event in the city records, this situation might be related to an incident reported to the British Foreign Office by its consul in Mobile, Robert Grigg. In letters dated January 1848, Grigg reported that three "colored subjects from Great Britain" had been taken from their ships and placed in jail. Even then, Grigg admitted that he would have been disinclined to even forward the matter had not a jailer made insulting remarks to one of the jailed parties, a stewardess.

Outside of this possible connection, the paucity of information makes it difficult to determine the exact circumstances behind the reported incident.³²

The lack of information is largely part due to haphazard enforcement. With the exception of a few cases mentioned in local newspapers, the law was seldom enforced, with only a few documented cases. The earliest such mention is found in a 1847 newspaper article, when it was announced that a local judge had jailed eleven "free men of color, comprising the crew of the ship *Ambassador*" for failure to post a bond. The article also noted that the same judge had earlier committed two other crews to jail—"the whole number of men in the three cases comprising twenty-nine"—and had warned that "heavy penalties will, according to law, be inflicted on these men, if they return to the state." In another case before the same judge, charges were brought against a white captain who allegedly brought two free men of color into the city. Outside of these few cases, however, the evidence is sketchy concerning the scope of enforcement.³³

In March 1848, the state legislature did relax its stance toward black mariners. Prompted, at least in part, by the lobbying of a group of prominent Mobile businessmen, the new law allowed free blacks to remain on board their vessels provided that their ship master posted a cash bond of not less than two thousand dollars, and that the vessel remained at least three miles away from the city of Mobile. This particular provision was added as a means of preserving crews, since white sailors, lured by higher wages, often jumped ship in Mobile, leaving vessels woefully undermanned. On the other hand, black mariners, concerned as they were over the "penalties of the law," usually stayed onboard, saving owners the expense of recovering or replacing their seamen. One petition, signed by twenty-four of the city's wealthiest merchants and business leaders, argued that by confining blacks to their ships—thereby making them easier to control—the law increased both safety and profits, as captains no longer had to worry about their crews going ashore. As evidence, the petition cited an incident when a cotton merchant, crewed by African Americans, had been saved from an "accident" while at anchor. If the crew had been white, the petitioners argued, the vessel "would have probably have been deserted," resulting in the loss of the ship and its "valuable property."³⁴ Addressing other concerns, the law also modified its earlier prohibitions, allowing a vessel to approach within one mile of shore, provided that no communication was to be "suffered between such negroes and persons of color with the negroes and persons of color of

this State.” The one mile exception, however, was meant to be temporary, dictating that while at anchor, a vessel was to remain at least three miles offshore. Furthermore, the law made an exception in case of “dangerous or serious sickness” among the crew, allowing sick crewmen to “be conveyed to the Hospital of the United States.” Once discharged, however, crewmen were to “immediately” return to their vessel.³⁵

Even with these modifications, the Harbor Law was capable of arousing strong passions. As early as 1842, newspapers in Mobile carried a lively debate between those interested in protecting the city’s profitable Caribbean trade and those concerned over the disruptive influences of free blacks. Unhappy over non enforcement, proponents of the law were critical of city authorities, forcing Blanton McAlpin, Mobile’s representative to the state legislature, to clarify his position in local newspapers. Separating himself from the controversy, McAlpin wrote a letter to a local newspaper defending his actions, blaming the lack of arrests on city officials. Writing that it was “for the citizens who are interested in its provisions” to enforce the law, McAlpin placed blame on the city’s mayor, as it was his duty to “issue his warrant upon information to apprehend all offenders to be found in the Bay.” As the state representative, McAlpin defended his position, writing that his duty had “ceased with its [the Harbor Law] passage.”³⁶

McAlpin’s disclaimer may have been related more to his impending campaign for mayor than it was to any other factor. In the midst of an election, local politicians turned the enforcement question into a campaign issue. Two days after McAlpin’s letter, another newspaper editorial criticized local officials for their inaction, and called for their ouster. Published under the nom de plume of “Equal Rights,” the letter questioned the motivations of “those among us who believe that no steps should be taken to prohibit that which has in days gone, been so injurious to our slave population.” The writer noted that non enforcement was due to the “defiance” of local officials, intent on “assailing” the will of the people, and obeying the law “only when it suits their convenience.” In the aftermath of the election, however, enforcement became a dead issue.³⁷

In the mid-1850s, the Harbor Law once again became a hotly debated topic within the city. Prompted by the growing sectional debate, throughout much of the decade city politics were colored by a succession of crises, including the rise of the Know-Nothings in 1855.³⁸ Emblematic of the tide of nativism and anti-Catholicism that was sweeping the nation during this period, the Know-Nothings,

officially known as the American Party, found a ready audience in Mobile, quickly gaining support among the city's native-born elite. Largely Protestant and fearful of Mobile's large and growing immigrant population and its affiliation with the Catholic Church, city leaders began searching for ways of countering the disruptive political potential of naturalized citizens.³⁹ Exploiting a division within the city's Democratic Party over issues relating to the Compromise of 1850 at a time when anti-Catholic sentiment was high, the Know-Nothings used their control of the Mobile Daily Advertiser to launch attacks on the "evils" of "wholesale immigration," denouncing immigrants for being "the scum of Europe." This last point reflects the central tenet of Know-Nothingism, the need to disenfranchise immigrant voters. While publicly supporting the southern rights platform of John C. Calhoun, most Know-Nothings believed that sectional differences could still be settled short of secession. Believing such, and fearful that the Democrats would sway naturalized voters to support disunion, the party sought to disenfranchise immigrants, thereby denying their support "to [the] vilest uses in the uses in the hands of corrupt and designing partizans [*sic*]."⁴⁰

Capitalizing on anti-Catholic bias, the Know-Nothings swept to victory in the 1855 municipal elections, gaining control of the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council, the Mayor's Office, and the representative of the First Congressional District.⁴¹ Their success, however, proved short-lived. In effect a single-issue party, the Know-Nothings' success reunited a divided Democratic Party, opening themselves to attacks for being the equivalent of latter-day "Puritan witch-hunters." Recognizing the need to recruit immigrant voters, the Democrat used the Know-Nothings' support of voting restrictions to discredit the movement for being both undemocratic and un-American, pillaring their opponents for being "Southern men [who allowed] their hatred of this Democracy to induce them to embrace the tenets of Know-Nothing proscription and wage a relentless war on our adopted citizens."⁴²

As part of this campaign, the Democrats began redefining citizenship along racial lines, influencing immigrant voting not by manipulating property qualifications, but by raising racial consciousness, convincing whites that they shared a common interest in perpetuating slavery. Playing on the resentment of white workers, many of whom competed with blacks for jobs along the city's waterfront, officials took steps to limit black employment. Having long turned a blind eye to the practice of allowing slaves to live away from their

British Consulate, Mobile.



I, WYNDHAM HORTON DEEB, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty's
 Consul for the States of Alabama and the Florida, Do Herby
 Certify, That Personally appeared before me this day William

their master of the Ship *Hilda* who made oath and stated that
 and their entire crew of fifteen in the port listed out the following
 persons on board, viz

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------|--|
| William their master | Thomas Thompson | James Jones | |
| George Wilson | Charles Spaulding | Arthur Walker | |
| Henry Mack | James H. Green | Will. Lancaster | |
| Thomas Mack | Richard Lydin | Samuel Graham | |
| Thomas Mack | John Williams | David Green | |
| Thomas Mack | David Christian | David Johnson | |
| 15 free men of color (15) | W. Livingston a messenger
had them here on all told
sixteen | | |

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and
 official seal of Office, this *twentieth* day
 of *April* in the year of our Lord and
 thousand eight hundred and *forty seven*



W. Horton Deeb
 Consul

In 1857 the captain of the British ship *Hilda* posted a five thousand dollar bond to ensure that black members of his crew did not come ashore. This is the last known instance of compliance with the Mobile Harbor Act. Mobile Municipal Archives.

masters, hiring out their own labor, city officials passed ordinances intended to end the custom, and curtailing the ability of slaves to work on the city's waterfront. The fortunate few who retained their jobs were forced to wear identification badges, visual reminders of their degraded status that helped local authorities limit slave gatherings and prevent fraternization with free blacks.⁴³

As part of this effort, local officials began once again targeting free mariners, actively enforcing the Harbor Law.⁴⁴ Yet, if the Democrats had hoped to undercut their opponents, they had seriously overestimated their support, prompting an outburst in the local press. In December 1855, the Register, the Democrats' former ally in their battle against the Know-Nothings, printed a lengthy newspaper editorial denouncing the law for being a "serious drawback to the commerce of the port." Noting that ship captains, having entered a port "already difficult enough of access," faced the further threat of having their vessel stripped of her crew "as soon as she touches the dock," the writer blasted the law for operating "onerously on ship masters, prejudicially to the commerce of Mobile, and in our judgement, without the corresponding benefit as a measure of police protection." Blaming the law for shutting "out from this port a large trade with the West India Islands" since their crews "are generally colored," the writer appealed to "intelligent legislators" that the "advantages of free trade" outweighed any "police protection" the law offered. Furthermore, as "a mark of reproach and opprobrium," the law demonstrated to "our abolitionist enemies" that Alabamians feared "our domestics, and go to bed nightly as all old women in New England believe, with pistols under our pillows and in moral terror that we shall wake up with cut throats in the morning."⁴⁵

Pointing out that other southern states had already modified their codes in the realization that such "provisions are no longer necessary," the editorial noted that "it was trifling and ridiculous to make war on the poor trembling free blacks who come here far more frightened at us terrible slaveholders, and more in offending, than intent on doing mischief." After all, if the Charleston Mercury, a newspaper "never accused of indifference on questions of Southern interests," recommended that the law was "no longer necessary," the editorial questioned was it not the time for state legislators to "release our shipping trade from this onerous and unnecessary burden."⁴⁶

When port officials continued enforcing the act, prompted, at least, in part by its provision that informants would receive half of any fee collected as a result their information, the Harbor Law became

the subject of a heated public controversy. Apparently motivated by an unnamed informer seeking payment, enforcement quickly raised the ire of ship masters, many of whom knew little of the requirement. Egged on by a series of inflammatory editorials that complained that the two hundred dollar fine was unfair since, "an act that has so long been a dead letter on the statue book" was now being enforced, ship masters quickly noted that the current actions were being undertaken for "no other apparent object than to recover the penalty, one half of which goes to the informer." While there is no evidence concerning the numbers of ships affected, the outcry was such that city officials quickly ordered the harbor master to distribute handbills of the ordinance "to every master of vessels" entering Mobile Bay.⁴⁷

If city officials thought handbills were going to satisfy ship masters, events quickly proved otherwise. On February 17, a newspaper column questioned the wisdom of enforcement at this time, noting that "had this been done before, or had the law continued to be enforced, as it ought to have been, the innocent ship masters would not now be compelled to pay \$200 each for not performing a duty which had not for the last few years been required of them." While noting that "justice to the authorities," compelled him to admit the "enforcement of the penalty does not come from them," but rather from informers "eager for money," the columnist warned that ship masters were "determined to resist...this attempt at extortion."⁴⁸

And ship masters did resist. In a gathering described by reporters as "well attended," a group of ship captains and concerned citizens met at the local Temperance Hall to register their displeasure over the recent enforcement. Adamant in their denunciations of local authorities for enforcing a law that had been for "so long a dead letter," the crowd reserved its harshest criticism for the "informer" who had initiated the crackdown. After several speeches loosely described for being "vigorous," a committee was formed for the purposes of drafting a resolution to be sent to the Governor denouncing both the law and its authorization of rewards. While a resolution was published in the newspaper the following day, there is no evidence that it was ever forwarded to Montgomery.⁴⁹

On February 22, the ship masters met again. By this time they had put a face on their tormentor, an informer by the name of "Wm. S. Payne," an employee in the Sheriff's office.⁵⁰ In what was described as a "little amusement," the group took "great gusto" in marching through the streets, carrying an effigy of Mr. Payne on a pole, "surrounded with flambeaux, accompanied by drums and fifes, and

chored with the shouts of the assembled people.” While there was no mention of Payne’s whereabouts that night, he was resoundingly denounced as a “nuisance to the public, a meddler in other people’s business, a base informer, & c, & c [sic].” In a city known for its parades, the exhibit received a glowing review, moving a correspondent to note that far from being a simple “hole and corner affair,” the demonstrators marched to drums beating “an imitation of the rouge’s march, amidst the flare of torches and the shouts of bystanders.”⁵¹

While Payne’s faith is unknown, the demonstration effectively ended active enforcement of the Mobile Harbor Law. Although city officials carried through with the distribution of handbills, there is no further record of either seizures or the levying of fines in conjunction with the law. The only mention of the law in the aftermath of the demonstration is the posting of a five thousand dollar bond in 1857 by the captain of British ship *Hilda*, ensuring that the black members of his crew would not come ashore. Although the lack of evidence might be better explained as related to the lost of relevant materials, the public outcry and negative tone of newspaper articles and editorials leads to the conclusion that city officials stopped enforcing the law in light of rising public pressure.⁵²

Ultimately, the history of the Mobile Harbor Law is one of contradictory political aims and public desires. Enacted to protect the interests of a slave state, the law’s restrictive provisions collided with the maritime concerns of the very city it was written to protect. As such, it illustrates that pecuniary interests did, at times, override racial anxieties and concerns for public safety. Part reactionary, part prohibitive, motivated by fear and crass self-interest, the Mobile Harbor Law, and the Negro Seamen Acts of which it was a part, were harbingers of the Jim Crow laws of the postwar South.

Notes

¹*Mobile Daily Register*, December 19, 1855.

²*Ibid.*, February 20, 1856; and *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, February 20, 1856. Although the first of what came to be known as the Negro Seamen Acts was not passed by the state legislature until 1838, Mobile had as early as 1819 adopted a local ordinance limiting the movement of “any free negro, mulatto, or person of color” brought into port. *Mobile Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, April 6, 1819.

³John J. Ormond, Arthur P. Bagby, and George Goldthwaite, *The Code of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1852), 242-43.

⁴Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters* (New York, 1974), 215-16; and Philip M. Hamer, "Great Britain, the United States, and the Negro Seamen Acts, 1822-1848," *Journal of Southern History* 1 (1935): 3.

⁵William Warren Rodgers, Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins, and Wayne Flynt, *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1994), 77; and Julia Smith, "Racial Attitudes in the Old Southwest," *The Americanization of the Gulf Coast, 1803-1850*, ed. Lucius F. Ellsworth (Pensacola, FL, 1974), 70-71.

⁶The association of Jim Crow with the nation's hardening racial attitudes towards black mariners is made in W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 215-16.

⁷Donald R. Wright, *African Americans in the Early Republic* (Arlington Heights, IL, 1993), 100-106; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, (Columbia, SC, 1998), 328; and William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854* (New York, 1990), 79-81. The slave rebellion on Saint-Domingue, the French colony on the island that is present-day Haiti, had long terrorized white Charlestonians. Having been the major port of entry for slaveowners fleeing the colony, the city's leaders had feared that word of the rebellion would influence its sizable slave and free black population to take similar actions. When they learned of the plot through a slave who had overheard it being discussed on Charleston's fish wharf, they saw their worst fears being confirmed. Richard C. Wade, "The Vesey Plot: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Southern History* 30 (1964): 143-44.

⁸Gaddis Smith, "Black Seamen and the Federal Court," *Ships, Seafaring and Society: Essays in American History*, ed. Timothy J. Runyan, (Detroit, 1987), 322; Ira Dye, "Early American Merchant Seafarers," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, no. 5 (October 1976): 339-51; and Martha S. Putney, "Black Seamen of Newport, 1803-1865: A Case Study in Foreign Commerce," *Journal of Negro History* 57 (1972): 163-64. The figures for Savannah are found in Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 236-37.

⁹Act cited in Smith, "Black Seamen and the Federal Court," 325-26; and Hamer, "Great Britain, the United States, and the Negro Seamen Acts," 3-5. There is no evidence that any free black was ever sold in South Carolina for failure to comply.

¹⁰"The Opinion of the Hon. William Johnson, delivered on the 7th August, 1823, in the case of the arrest of the British Seaman under the 3d section of the State Act, entitled, 'An Act for the better Regulation of Free Negroes and Persons of Colour, and for other Purposes,' passed in December last," Paul Finkelman, ed., *Free Blacks, Slaves, and Slaveowners in Civil and Criminal Courts: The Pamphlet Series*, vol. 1, *Slavery, Race, and the American Legal System, 1700-1872* (New York, 1988), 285-99; and Helen Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1929), 2:323-24. Wilson cited in Hamer, 11.

¹¹Smith, 327; Bolster, 197-98; and Clement Eaton, "A Dangerous Pamphlet in the Old South," *Journal of Southern History*, 2 (1936): 323-28.

¹²Stephen B. Oates, *The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion* (New York, 1975), 137-41; and Hamer, 16-18. In 1835, William Forster, a free black mariner from Nassau, was seized off an American schooner and sold into slavery for a period of five years. Having been expelled from the state on an earlier voyage, Forster was sentenced as a repeat offender. Fortunately for Forster, his employer purchased him from his "master," and set him free. *Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹³Virginia Gould, "In Defense of their Creole Culture: The Free Creoles of Color in New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 9 (1993): 27-32; Smith, "Racial Attitudes in the Old Southwest," 69-71; and Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1992), 238, 239-49. Considered by both France and Spain as the region's *ancienne population*, Creoles' rights of citizenship were technically protected under the provisions of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803, and the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819. Unfortunately, however, the hardening racial climates of the 1820s and 1830s witnessed an erosion of these rights. Gould, "In Defense of their Creole Culture," 37-38.

¹⁴Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1978), 70-73; John D. Milligan, "Slave Rebelliousness and the Florida Maroon," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 6 (1974): 5-11; and Kenneth W. Porter, "Negroes and the Seminole War, 1935-1842," *Journal of Southern History* 30 (1964): 427-28.

¹⁵Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1983), 215-16; Genovese, 73-74; and Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 99-105. Following their trial twenty-three slaves were hung and decapitated. Their heads were then nailed to the poles marking the road to New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 344-45.

¹⁶James H. Dorman, "The Persistent Specter: Slave Rebellion in Territorial Louisiana," *Louisiana History* 18 (1977): 393-97; and Tommy R. Young, "The United States Army and the Institution of Slavery in Louisiana, 1803-1815," *Louisiana Studies* 13 (1974): 207-10.

¹⁷The only documented incident of maroon activity in the Mobile area occurred in 1827, when the group of "armed slaveholders of Mobile County" staged a "three-day attack" on a "maroon community consisting of men, women and children." After "fighting like Spartans," three blacks were killed. Herbert Aptheker, "Maroons within the Present Limits of the United States," *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, ed. by Richard Price, 2^d ed. (Baltimore, 1979), 160-61. There were other reports of a runaway slave gang operating in the cypress swamps of Montgomery County. James Benson Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1950), 283.

¹⁸At Fort Mims, a band of Creek Indians led by William Weatherford took advantage of a lackadaisical defense to infiltrate the garrison, slaughtering over 250 people. News that Weatherford planned that attack on the basis of information provided by a captured slave only heightened tensions throughout south Alabama. Benjamin W. Griffith Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford: Creek Indian Leaders* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1988), 102-3.

¹⁹Mobile's free black population in 1805 was listed at 205 persons, a small number that none the less comprised over thirty percent of the city's free population. Cited in Gould, 29.

²⁰*Acts Passed at the First Session of the First General Assembly*, 128; *Mobile Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, April 6, 1819; and Christopher A. Nordmann, "Free Negroes in Mobile County, Alabama," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1990), 144. In a related issue, another ordinance was passed requiring ship captains to request written permission from city officials before allowing "sick and disabled" seamen to disembark their vessels. As a condition of the request, ship captains pledged that they would cover the costs of any expenses relating to medical treatment. *Mobile Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, May 26, 1819.

²¹*Mobile Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, April 6, 1819. During the late 1820s and early 1830s, the ordinance did result in the convictions of several free blacks for vagrancy. Their punishments ranged from small fines to hard labor. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1820; and Mayor's Court Records, December 26, 1828, April 6, 1829, April 13, 1830, microfilm reel 8, Record Group 18, Series 1, City of Mobile Municipal Archives, Mobile, Alabama. Hereafter all references to record groups will be RG, references to series will be S, and references to the Mobile Municipal Archives will be MMA.

²²Bolster, 1-2, 5. For selected examples of Seamen's Protection Certificates filed in Mobile see Miscellaneous Book A, 196, 215, Mobile County Probate Court Records, Mobile County Courthouse; Miscellaneous Book B, 122, 193, Mobile County Records, Mobile County Courthouse.

²³*Acts Passed at the Thirteenth Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, Begun and Held in the Town of Tuscaloosa, on the Third Monday in November, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-one*, (Tuscaloosa, 1832), 15-16.

²⁴The average is based on information for December 31, taken from the *Mobile Register and Journal*, January 2, 1842.

²⁵Lightening involves transferring cargo to smaller vessels with shallow drafts.

²⁶*Mobile Daily Commercial Register and Patriot*, August 21, September 2, 1835; Harriet E. Amos [Doss], *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile*, (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1985), 147-48; and Nordmann, "Free Negroes in Mobile County," 68-70. Although the *Mobile Daily Commercial Register and Patriot* reported that the four were allowed to leave, an unconfirmed story attributed to the *Niles' Register* reported that angry whites lynched one black. Interestingly, the *Niles's* article congratulated city authorities for their handling of the affair, downplaying the lynching. *Niles' Register*, October 5, 1835; and Amos [Doss], *Cotton City*, 147-48.

²⁷*Flag of the Union*, December 4, 1839; and Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 367.

²⁸*Acts Passed at the Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, Begun and Held in the Town of Tuscaloosa, on the First Monday in December, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-Eight*, (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1838), 134-36; and *Mobile Daily Commercial Register and Patriot*, February 4, 1839. The fee scheduled the following rates for officials: harbormaster, \$2; sheriff, \$3; justice of the peace, \$2; solicitor, \$20.

²⁹*Acts Passed at the Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, 1838*, 136; *Mobile Commercial Register and Patriot*, December 18, 1839; *Flag of the Union*, December 18, 1839; and *Acts Passed at the Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, 1839*, 16.

³⁰*Acts Passed at the Annual Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, 1841*, 11-12; and *Mobile Register and Journal*, January 11, 1842.

³¹U.S., Congress, House, *Free Colored Seamen—Majority and Minority Reports*, Rep. 80, 27th Cong., 3d sess., 1843, 1; and *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 3d sess., 384. Louisiana enacted its version of the Negro Seamen's Act in 1842. Hamer, 23.

³²*Times* (London), February 15, 1848; Nordmann, 71-72; and Grigg, cited in Hamer, "Negro Seamen Acts," 26. The best sources for British reaction to the Negro Seamen's Acts are the aforementioned article by Philip M. Hamer, "Great Britain, the United

States, and the Negro Seamen Acts, 1822-1848," *Journal of Southern History* 1 (1935): 3-28; Hamer, "British Consuls and the Negro Seamen Acts, 1850-1860," *ibid.*, 138-68; and Laura A. White, "The South in 1850's as Seen by British Consuls," *ibid.*, 29-48.

³³*Alabama Planter*, August 2, 1847; and *Mobile Register and Journal*, January 10, 1848. Unfortunately, a review of city records dating from this period did not find any mention of either the conviction or the imprisonment of black seamen for violating the law. Given the scope and variety of Mobile's archival records, however, it is possible that such documentation remains undiscovered. Mayor's Court, RG 16, S 1, MMA; Admiralty Minute Books, County Court Records, University of South Alabama Archives, Mobile, Alabama, 1828-1870; and the Final Record and Judgement Books, Criminal Cases, City Court Records, University of South Alabama Archives.

³⁴The petitioners noted that their objections were based on economic, not political, reasons, noting that they were not "dwell[ing] upon the hardships...inflicted upon such class of persons by subjecting them to confinement to secure any public interest." Marshall Rachleff, ed., "Economic Self Interest versus Racial Control: Mobile's Protest Against the Jailing of Black Seamen," *Civil War History*, 25 (1979): 87.

³⁵*Acts Passed at the First Biennial Session of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama, Begun and Held in the City of Montgomery on the First Monday in December, 1847*, (Montgomery, 1848), 130-31. The "Hospital of the United States" is a reference to Mobile's Marine Hospital, an institution owned and administrated by the federal government. Founded in 1817, the hospital was created to provide for the care and treatment of sick and disabled seamen. Mobile County Health Department, *Program for 150 Year Celebration of the U.S. Marine Hospital/Mobile County Health Department*, (1993), 3.

³⁶*Mobile Register Journal*, January 18, 1842.

³⁷*Ibid.*, January 20, 1842.

³⁸While not specifically discussed here, during the early 1850s the southern rights issue had surfaced in Mobile thanks to the formation of a local chapter of the Southern Rights Association, an organization, that while not advocating secession, attempted to alert southerners to the need to protect the region's influence in national politics. A good summary of their efforts is found in Henry M. McKiven, Jr., "Secession, War, and Reconstruction, 1850-1874," *Mobile: The New History of Alabama's First City*, ed. Michael V. R. Thomason, (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2001), 95-125.

³⁹Throughout the 1850s, foreigners comprised 50 percent of Mobile's total free male population, representing 33 percent of its total free population. Of these, approximately 50 percent were Irish with an additional 20 percent being German. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, Population Schedule for Mobile County, Alabama, (Washington, 1864), 31: 9.

⁴⁰*Mobile Daily Advertiser*, July 20, August 1, 1855. Two good sources for the material relating to the rise-and fall-of the Know-Nothings in Mobile are Alan S. Thompson, "Southern Rights and Nativism as Issues in Mobile Politics, 1850-1861," *Alabama Review* 35 (1982): 127-41; and Jeff Frederick, "Unintended Consequences: The Rise and Fall of the Know-Nothing Party in Alabama," *Alabama Review* 55 (2002): 3-33.

⁴¹*Mobile Daily Register*, December 4, 1855; and *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, December 4, 1855.

⁴²Thompson, "Southern Rights," 138-39; Frederick, "Unintended Consequences," 16-17; and *Mobile Daily Register*, December 4, 21, 30, 1855. These tactics worked. By the next round of municipal elections in 1856, the Know-Nothings had disappeared as a force in city and state politics.

⁴³Amos [Doss], 146-47; and Alexander McKinstry, comp., *The Code of Ordinances of the City of Mobile, with the Charter, and an Appendix* (Mobile, 1859), 171-74. The Democrats were aided in their efforts by one of Mobile's most controversial sons, Dr. Josiah Nott, a prominent local physician and author of *Types of Mankind* (1854), a pseudo-scientific defense of slavery. A natural showman, Nott never missed an opportunity to preach his gospel of white racial superiority. Reginald Horsman, *Josiah Nott of Mobile: Southerner, Physician, and Racial Theorist* (Baton Rouge, 1987), 222-23.

⁴⁴As early as 1853, Mobile officials had pondered enforcement, asking the city attorney for an opinion over who was liable—the state or the city—for any expenses incurred in enforcing the law. After researching the question, the attorney determined the state was responsible for all un-recouped costs. City Attorney to the Common Council of the City of Mobile, December 8, 1853, RG 3, S 1, MMA.

⁴⁵*Mobile Daily Register*, December 19, 1855.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, February 16, 1856; Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, February 14, 1856, microfilm reel 3, RG 3, S 3, MMA; Minutes of the Board of the Common Council, February 16, 1856, microfilm reel 29, RG 3, S 5, MMA.; and *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, February 16, 1856.

⁴⁸*Mobile Daily Register*, February 17, 1856.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, February 20, 1856; *Mobile Daily Advertiser*, February 20, 1856; and *Mobile Daily Register*, February 21, 1856.

⁵⁰*Mobile City Directory, 1855-1866* (Mobile, AL, 1855), 90.

⁵¹*Mobile Daily Register*, February 22, 1856.

⁵²*Mobile Daily Advertiser*, March 9, 1856; and "Free Negroes Can't Land from Bay," Works Progress Administration, *Interesting Transcriptions from the City Documents of the City of Mobile for 1815-1859*, (1939).

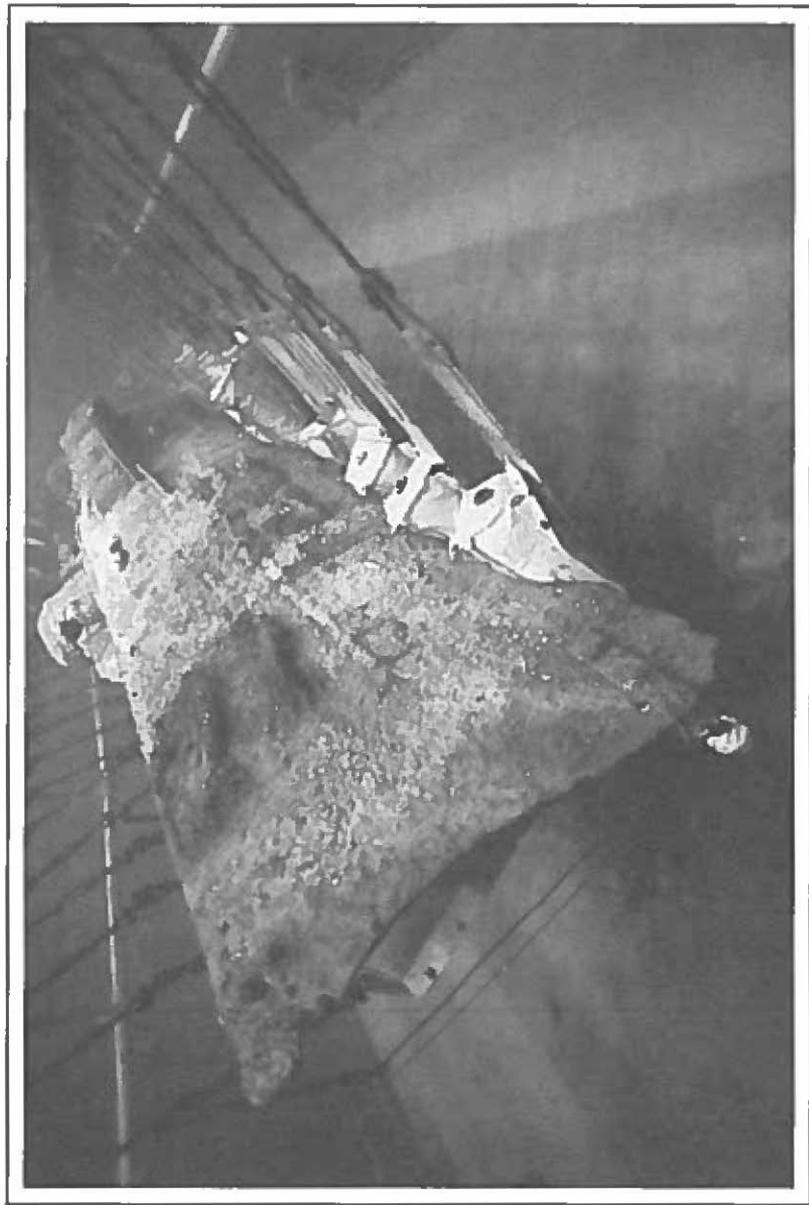
Mike Mansfield was the 2004 winner of the William Coker award for the best graduate paper given at the Gulf South History and Humanities Conference held in Mobile, Alabama. He is a Ph.D. candidate in History at the University of Alabama.

Where was the *Hunley* Built?

Jack O'Brien Jr.

On August 8, 2000, salvage crews carefully raised the first submarine to sink an enemy warship in combat, the *H. L. Hunley*, from the anoxic waters outside Charleston Harbor where she had lain for almost a century and a half. Escorted by a colorful flotilla of local watercraft, a barge carried the Confederate submarine to the Warren Lasch Conservation Center where archaeologists began painstaking efforts to excavate, identify, and conserve her relics and the remains of her crew.¹ Six hundred miles to the west, Mobile, Alabama, was preparing its tricentennial celebration, and *Hunley* stories were headline news. It was here that the submarine had been designed, built, and tested, and where families remembered ancestors who had participated in the *Hunley* saga. This investigation will attempt to resolve some ninety years of confusion concerning where in Mobile the revolutionary underwater war-machine had been assembled. One possibility is a building presently located on the campus of the University of South Alabama now housing that institution's honors program.

The story of the *Hunley*, like so many stories from the American Civil War, was both tragic and glorious.² Soon after the outbreak of hostilities, Horace L. Hunley, a wealthy lawyer, politician, and cotton exporter, financially backed the construction of a submarine in New Orleans. He scuttled that vessel, the *Pioneer*, in Lake Pontchartrain to prevent its capture by Union forces following the surrender of the port in 1862. He then moved his enterprise to Mobile where, with other financial backers, the Hunley group continued to build submarines. After the loss of a second prototype (called either the *Pioneer II* and/or the *American Diver*), the persevering innovators built a third vessel that came to be known as the *H. L. Hunley*.³ Within days following its successful test in Mobile Bay, this submarine was shipped by rail to Charleston whose defenders were willing to try new weapons that might break the Union blockade of their city. Almost every man who served on the *Hunley* died in her. On August 29, 1863, she had been swamped by a passing vessel. Her commander, naval Lieutenant John A. Payne survived, but five crewmen did not. Five weeks later the *Hunley* sank again, this time costing the lives of men who had built her including Thomas Park, co-owner of the Mobile foundry where her parts had been forged, and H. L. Hunley, himself. On February 17, 1864, under the command of another Mobilian, army

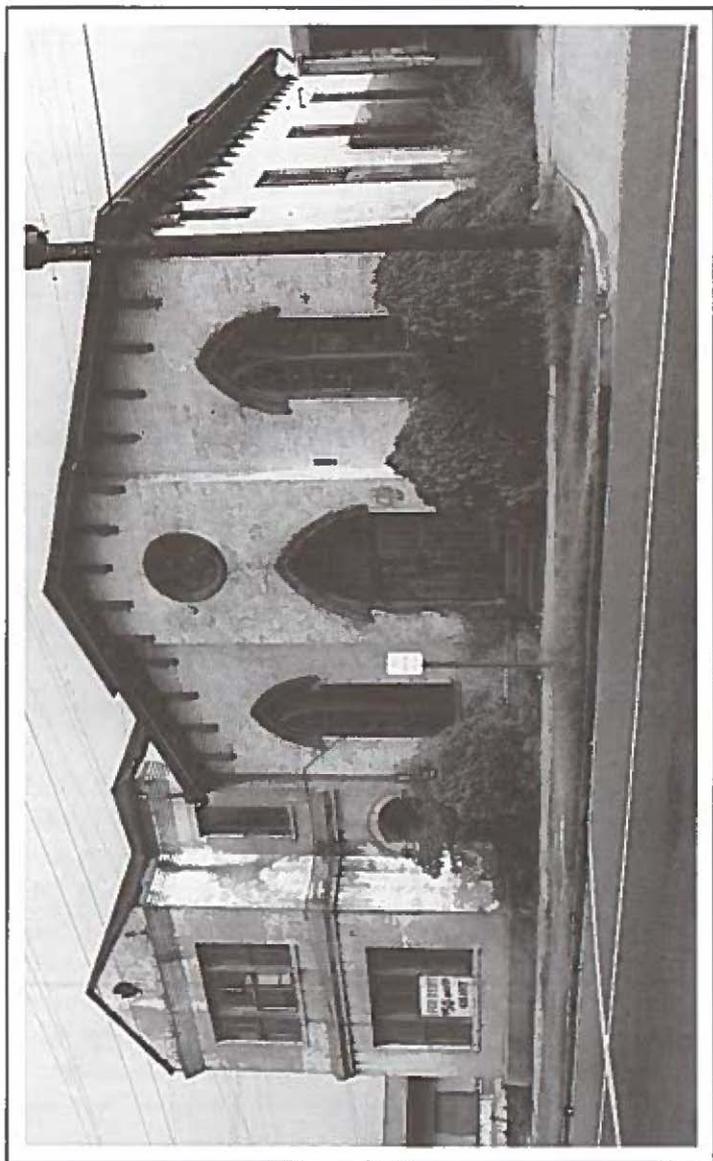


The Hunley in a refrigerated storage tank at the Warren Lasch Conservation Center. Friends of the Hunley.

Lieutenant George Dixon, the *Hunley* made history by successfully detonating an explosive device under the hull of the USS *Housatonic*. The formidable 1,200-ton warship went down in minutes, but success was costly. For reasons as yet unknown, sometime after the explosion the Confederate submarine settled onto the benthic silt seaward of her victim where she served as an iron coffin for her crew. With the turn of the twenty-first century, the mystery of where the *Hunley* underwent her death-throes had been solved, but exactly where she had been born still remained unclear.

In the decades following the Civil War, three buildings were identified by four people as the construction site of the *Hunley*. The most well-known of these is the Park and Lyons Foundry (or machine shop) that was located on the corner of State and Water streets in Mobile. Modern-day book and newspaper accounts of the *Hunley* typically include a photograph of a building that had stood on the southeast corner of that intersection during the first half of the twentieth century.⁴ There is also a representation of the foundry in a depression-era mural in the anteroom of the city's Museum of History.⁵ The fame of this building is due to the writings and speeches of Lt. William Alexander at the beginning of the twentieth century who claimed, "...the Confederate authorities...ordered the boat to be built in the machine shop of Park & Lyons, Mobile, Ala."⁶ The Lieutenant was a knowledgeable authority. One of his official duties as an engineer in the Confederate Army had been to facilitate the construction of the *Hunley* and he served on her as well. Following the war Alexander became a co-owner with Thomas Lyons of the foundry of which he had referred.⁷

Toward the end of the twentieth century, two Mobile historians uncovered evidence that two different Bethel churches had also been used to build submarines. In 1971, Caldwell Delaney, the former Director of the Museum of the City of Mobile, wrote in a caption to a photograph of Mr. H. L. Hunley, "Famous, third, boat [the *Hunley*] built in old Bethel Church on Water Street between Theatre and Monroe streets. Moved to foundry of Park and Lyons, where mechanical parts made and installed."⁸ This church is referred to as the "first Bethel" in this article. Delaney did not cite his sources, but he may have relied on the firsthand accounts of Benjamin B. Cox.⁹ Cox grew up near the Bethel churches and worked for the federal courts, the post office, and a local newspaper in Mobile.¹⁰ He published two long, rambling articles in 1914 and 1916 that were filled with anecdotes from his childhood in Mobile during the Civil War. The following was taken from the 1914 contribution:



The Second Bethel Church on Church Street, ca. 1968. Elizabeth Gould photo, University of South Alabama Archives.

The building of the submarine torpedo boat Hundley [sic] has been a subject of much discussion. It has been claimed by some that she was built at Park & Lyons' foundry, on the corner of St. Anthony [sic] and Water streets. This may be a fact. If so she was finished in the old Bethel, an old sailors' church that had been deserted. This building was located on the west side of Water street second north of Monroe, where now stands part of the Zimmern Feed Company building, opposite the Louisville and Nashville freight depot. Next north of the Bethel was located the boiler works of Mr. Michael Hines, where the riveting of the iron of the Hundley [sic] was done.

Launching of the Hundley [sic]

I was a small boy at the time and would go every evening with the boys in the neighborhood to witness this part of the construction and to play about the boat. I was present when this little torpedo boat was placed upon a wagon and taken to the slip at the foot of Theatre street where she was launched into the Mobile river....¹¹

In his second narrative, Cox corrected some errors that had appeared in the first article, but continued to insist that the Bethel Church near Monroe Street was the construction site. He went on to imply that there were witnesses who would support this assertion. "There are yet living one or two citizens who in company with myself, played about this boat [the *Hunley*] when we were boys."¹²

Finally there is the work of Elizabeth Barrett Gould who, in 1997, identified a third site, "...the little iron vessel [the *Hunley*] was built in the...machine shop on Water Street at the foot of Church Street."¹³ Unfortunately, as did Delaney, Gould did not cite sources, but she may have relied upon statements made by Major Palmer J. Pillans, the city surveyor of Mobile prior to and during the Civil War and those of his son, Harry, who had been a teenager during the war and eventually became Mayor of Mobile.¹⁴ These men said that the *Hunley* was assembled in the Bethel Church that was on Church Street adjacent to the corner of Water Street. This building will be referred to as the "second Bethel." In 1895, Major Pillans was quoted in the Mobile newspaper as follows:

The boat [*Hunley*] was built in the Seamen's Bethel on Church street, the floor being taken up for the purpose. When the boat was finished it was found that she was too wide to take through the exit of the Bethel, so that pieces had to be cut out of each of the columns to get her out.¹⁵

Almost thirty years later, Harry Pillans responded to an error-filled article concerning the *Hunley* that had appeared in a regional



Detail from Robertson's 1852 map of Mobile. Reading from left to right, stars indicate the locations of the first and second Bethel churches and the Park and Lyons Foundry. Mobile City Directory.

newspaper.¹⁶ In his letter to the editor, he corroborated his father's statements that the construction site was the second Bethel.

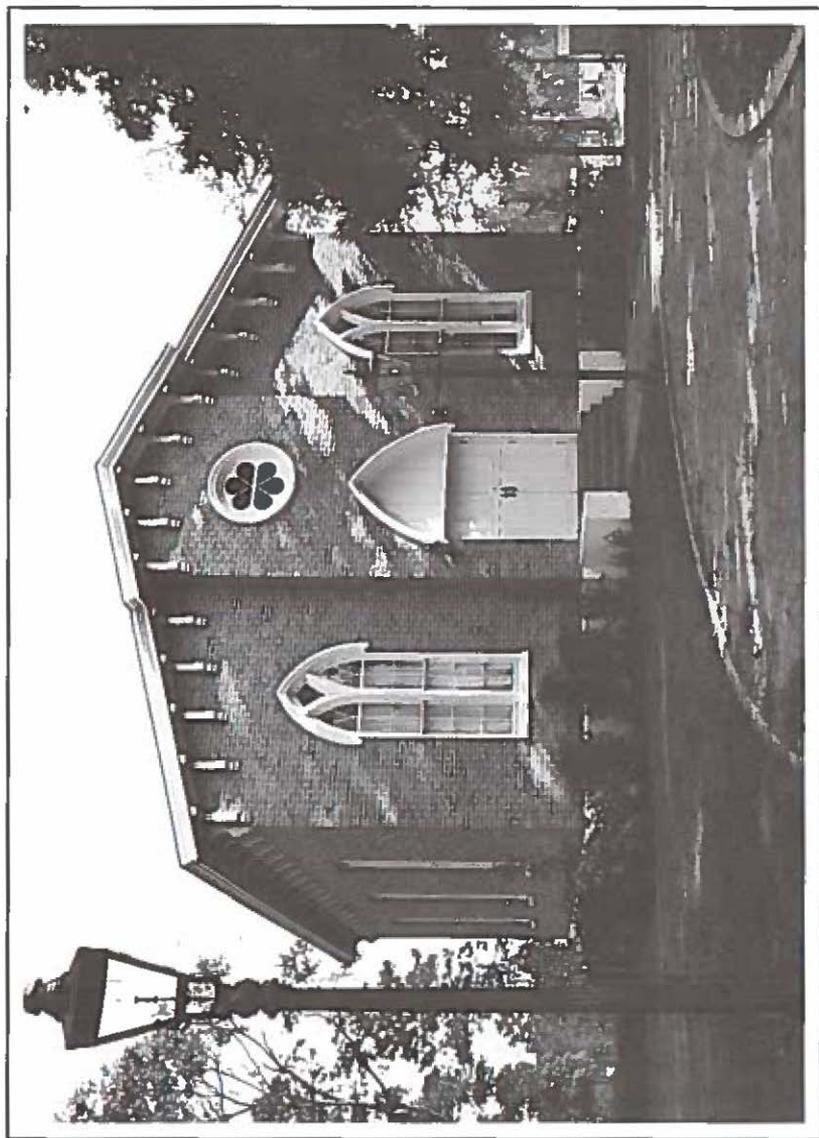
This vessel [the *Hunley*] was built in or at least was completed in the old Bethel, on Water Street, behind the old soldiers' home at the corner of Church street. There shortly before its launching, the writer saw and went over it within and without and though a youth presumed to criticize the spear carrying the torpedo, which projected from the comical [*sic*] bow centrally stopped so that it was as he thought and said if its torpedo should be fired by contact with the enemy vessel the spear would inevitably be driven end wise back into the boat to her possible destruction.¹⁷

Pillans's use of "old Bethel" referred to the second Bethel Church. When his letter was published in 1924, the Bethel Society had recently moved to the third site on St. Joseph's Street.¹⁸ Harry Pillans who was in his mid-seventies at this time had a penchant for convoluted grammatical structure. His use of the phrase, "on Water Street" is admittedly confusing for only the first Bethel Church had faced Water Street. Yet Harry Pillans pinpointed his location as being "...behind the old soldiers [Seaman's] home at the corner of Church street." The Seaman's Home was on Water Street at its intersection with Church Street. West (or "behind" if one is standing on Water Street) of the Sailor's Home was the second Bethel Church.

Erwin Craighead of the *Mobile Register* confirmed that Harry Pillans believed the assembly site was the second Bethel on Church Street in an article written about the *Hunley* just weeks before the publication of Pillans's letter. Craighead was familiar with Alexander's assertion that the submarine had been built in the Park and Lyons foundry and that Alexander's account did not exactly agree with Pillans's story.

The instructions were that the boat should be built in the machine shop of Parks [*sic*] and Lyons. Mr. Alexander does not in his account locate the shop. Mr. Harry Pillans, sometime Mayor of Mobile, says that as a boy he went with his father to see the boat which was on the stocks in the Old Bethel building on the west side of Water street, second south of Church street.¹⁹

To summarize, all the informants agreed that the *Hunley* was put together somewhere along Water Street. Lt. Alexander claimed it was in a foundry located where Water Street intersected with State Street, B. B. Cox said it was in the first Bethel Church between Theatre



The Second Bethel Church on the campus of the University of South Alabama, 1971. University of South Alabama Archives.

and Monroe streets, while Major Pillans and his son said it was in the second Bethel that was near the corner of Church and Water. There were two different Bethel churches and those churches as well as the foundry were all located either on or near different corners of Water Street. Fortunately, the solution to the puzzle is simple. The key lies in the credibility of Benjamin B. Cox who was a very young boy during the time period in question and who misinterpreted or mis-remembered some of what he had seen.

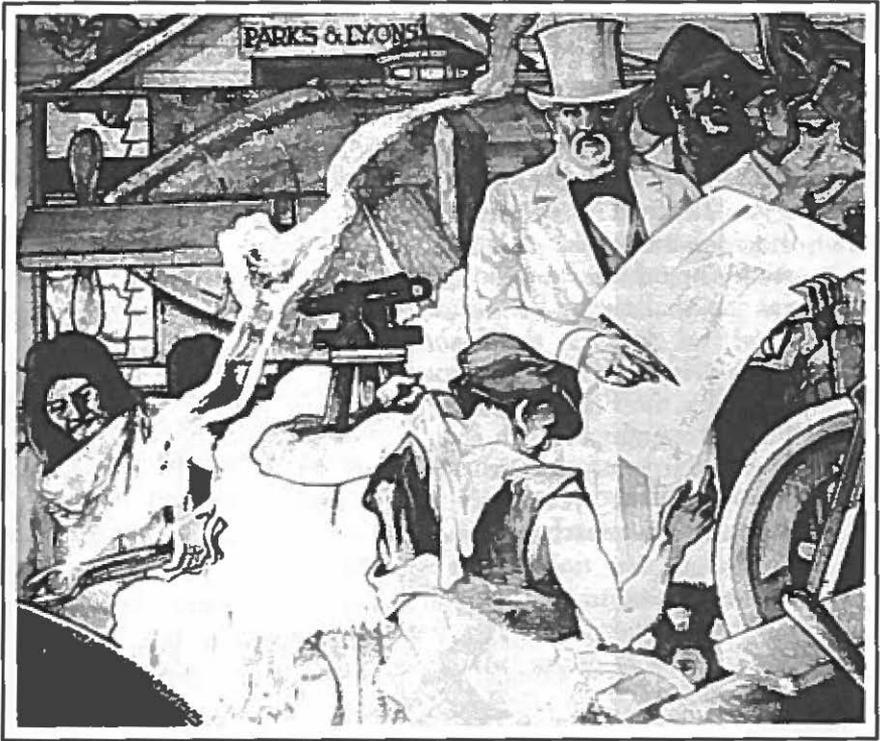
Throughout most of the nineteenth and continuing into the twentieth century, a series of Bethel churches and "Seaman's homes" were maintained by an ecumenical consortium of Mobile's Protestant churches for the sailors who temporarily found themselves in the port city.²⁰ In the early 1800s, deep-draft, ocean vessels commonly loaded and unloaded cargo in the lower bay rather than risk running aground in the shallows of the bay's upper reaches. Worship services for the crews of these ships were conducted on the "floating (Sailors) church," formerly the *Queen of the Ocean*, that was permanently anchored at the mouth of the bay.²¹ In 1845, the Alabama legislature approved the incorporation of the Trustees of the Seaman's Home.²² This organization built the first Bethel Church located on South Water Street between Theatre and Monroe streets.²³ In July 1860, the trustees purchased a larger piece of property facing Church Street that extended westward from the southwest corner of Church and Water streets.²⁴ On this property, a Seaman's Home and the second Bethel Church was constructed. Six weeks later, the trustees sold the first Bethel property for \$2,500 to Michael Hines while "reserving the Interior Carpentry Work of the Building."²⁵ Decades later, in June 1923, the Seaman's Bethel program would relocate to a third site on St. Joseph's Street and a theater group would purchase the second Bethel from the Trustees.²⁶ From the mid-1930s until the state of Alabama purchased it, the second Bethel was owned by J. W. Hooge who also owned the adjacent Marine Junk Company. The upstairs was used for storage and the downstairs for union meetings.²⁷ The first Bethel church no longer exists, but the second was relocated to the campus of the University of South Alabama in 1968 where it currently serves as the Center for the University Honors Program.²⁸

A footnote to the 1860 deed of sale of the first Bethel to Michael Hines contained the names of the trustees.²⁹ These were C. H. Minge (President), Walter Smith (Secretary), Thos. W. McCoy, Hugh Monroe, Wm. Stewart, and Daniel Wheeler. Most of the trustees were staunch supporters of the Confederate cause. The son of the President

was one of the cadets at the Virginia Military Institute who fought at the Battle of New Market.³⁰ Thomas McCoy had been Major General of the 4th Division of the Alabama Militia.³¹ Walter Smith petitioned citizens to donate winter clothing for Confederate soldiers and served with Daniel Wheeler on the Committee of Safety for the City of Mobile.³² Wheeler also chaired the Volunteer Relief Committee and was elected to the Board of Trustees of the City on January 9, 1864.³³

There was no direct familial, social, nor business connections between any of the trustees and men known to have been involved with subsequent submarine construction.³⁴ Major Pillans had stated that the floor of the Bethel had been removed and that the columns had been damaged in order to get the vessel out of the building. If the construction site of the submarine, had been the second Bethel, extensive repairs would have been required before religious services could be conducted within its walls again.

It does seem that the Hunley group utilized the facilities and expertise at the foundry of Park and Lyons. This foundry (formerly known as the Southern Iron Works) was located on the northwest corner of State and Water streets.³⁵ Designing and forging the components within a foundry was one thing; but providing secure space for the riveting together of a forty-foot-long war machine was another. Although there are no contemporary photos of the Park and Lyons Foundry, there is a representation of the facility on an 1873 map of Mobile.³⁶ It depicts numerous roofed, but wall-less buildings and open yards on the northwest corner of State and Water streets. Mobile summers are hot and humid with frequent thunderstorms. To make iron malleable, foundry workers had to heat the material before bending it to the desired shape. During the Civil War, this was done almost entirely by human muscle power. Using hoists and pulleys, massive weights would be lifted and dropped on metal plates while detailed shaping would be done with heavy hammers. Labor conditions surely were oppressive, but open-air structures would have provided some relief. This also must have been a security nightmare during a time of war. Mobile was a cosmopolitan city; not every passerby could be trusted to be a believer in the Confederate cause.³⁷ Indeed some of what we know about the *Hunley* comes from the testimonies of deserters.³⁸ There may have been concern as well about business competitors who might copy structural designs. The Hunley group expected the Confederate government to reimburse them as much as 50 percent of the value of any war ship that their vessel could destroy.³⁹ A large enclosed building, such as an unused church (the last European merchant ships



Detail of mural by John Augustus Walter, ca. 1934, commemorating the construction of the Hunley. The Park and Lyons Foundry name is misspelled. Museum of Mobile.

departed Mobile at the end of May, 1861) would have been a logical solution to the builders' security problem.⁴⁰ Since Cox never mentioned the second Bethel, it is apparent that the young boy and his playmates were unaware that anything interesting had gone on inside that building. If *Hunley* had been built within the second Bethel, her builders had, indeed, found a remarkably secure site for their operation.

The evidence suggests that sections of the *Hunley* were forged and perhaps machined at the Park and Lyons foundry and then transported eight to ten city blocks to an unused church building where riveting and internal outfitting would have taken place. But which church? Benjamin Cox stated categorically that he had seen the submarine being assembled in the Bethel Church that had been on Water Street.⁴¹ Both the Major and Harry Pillans positively identified the construction site of the *Hunley* as the second Bethel Church.⁴² Two informants referred to an "old" Bethel church, and all statements were given decades after the Civil War. Yet there were no errors concerning locations within any of the descriptions. Indeed, the three witnesses told the truth as they saw it. No one erred about where they had seen a submarine; the error was what submarine had been seen.

As the city surveyor, Palmer J. Pillans was familiar with the layout of downtown Mobile. He was also heavily involved the war effort.⁴³ He was in charge of city entrenchments, and Cox himself, stated that Pillans was a member of the commission that supervised construction of an iron gunboat and ram for the defense of Mobile.⁴⁴ In the 1895 interview, Pillans described how Lt. Dixon (who was the captain of the *Hunley* when she made her successful, but fatal last voyage) had received the Mobile Grays' colors in a ceremony at the Pillans household. Furthermore, two men associated with submarine construction in Mobile, Michael Hines (who was identified by Cox) and Thomas Lyons (who worked with Lt. Alexander), were on the Board of Aldermen.⁴⁵ All were pillars of the community.

Young Harry Pillans also makes a credible witness. After the Civil War, he worked as an Assistant City Engineer. In his off-hours, the young man took it upon himself to construct a city map documenting the ownership and showing the location of every piece of property on every block in downtown Mobile. It was an impressive labor of love and he devoted almost two years of his life to its completion.

So as my duty hours extended from Eight to three o'clock, I sought and obtained permission to use the Engineers room and in it install, and in my own time after hours work on a great

table at producing a true and accurate new City map on a large scale...I purchased india ink colors then installed my gas heater and went to work; and about twenty months later in 1868 completed my map. It took me so long because I could only work after office hours, at it, and though I seldom went to dinner or home, but contrived with the baker's products a tin of Goshen butter and an occasional slice of cheese to stay my hunger until supper time at home I had to do much of the work by flickering gas light and frequently had to work late in the field with tape and instrument supplying needed and missing data.⁴⁶

In this map each city block is illustrated on a separate sheet, every lot has been hand-colored, and adjacent to each sheet is a list of the owners of each piece of property. It is hard to imagine how someone who had painstakingly assembled all this information could have confused the locations of two churches.

The Cox family owned property adjacent to the second Bethel church. Cox not only provided an impressive amount of accurate detail in his description of the submarine assembly site, but made the point that he was not the only one who played under the submarine.⁴⁷ Much of what Cox stated can be verified. Period maps and Mobile Probate Court records show that Cox accurately described a piece of real estate as it was during the Civil War. Michael Hines did purchase the first Bethel church and owned the adjacent property where he ran a boilermaker business.⁴⁸

All three men knew their buildings, but suppose Cox and the Pillanses had observed the construction of two different submarines? Between 1862 and 1864 Mobile launched a number of such revolutionary craft.⁴⁹ Either Cox or the Pillanses could have mistakenly assumed that "their" submarine had been the *Hunley*. When did the name *Hunley* first come into use? It does not appear in either of the Pillanses accounts and Cox misspelled it in his first (1914) article. The majority of contemporary references to the *Hunley* were phrases such as: "the submarine," "the torpedo boat," or "the cigar boat." Even a deserter who claimed to have worked at the construction site in Mobile, referred to the submarine we know as the *Hunley* as the *American Diver*.⁵⁰ No record using the name *Hunley* in any document survives from the period when the vessel was in Mobile. Its first usage appears to have been in a handwritten letter by H. L. Hunley dated September 19, 1863, just after the first sinking in Charleston. Hunley asserted, "I am part-owner of the torpedo boat the *Hunley*," and requested permission from Gen. Beauregard to take command of the vessel.⁵¹ It is quite possible that during the construction and testing period in

I, John A. Payne, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears from the records of the Court of Probate for Mobile County, Ala.
Geo. W. Daniels
Judge

I, John Payne, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears from the records of the Court of Probate for Mobile County, Ala.
Geo. W. Daniels
Judge

Mobile, no one referred to the vessel as the *Hunley*. In fact, officials were as likely to have called the *Hunley* "Whitney's submarine boat," in reference to another financial backer.⁵² Certainly the name *Hunley* would not have been used by children who played in the area and others not involved with the boat's construction.

Who was most likely to have been confused over the identity of the vessel that they saw being built? Unlike the other witnesses, B. B. Cox was a boy during the Civil War and wrote his memoirs some sixty years after the events he described.⁵³ The reliability of Cox as an informant lies at the crux of the puzzle. Was he someone likely to verify "facts" before committing words to print, or was he a teller of tales of dubious accuracy? Fortunately, Cox made statements about another participant in the *Hunley* story that allows an evaluation of his credibility as a witness.

She [*Hunley*] was then placed in charge of Lieut. John A. Payne who handled the boat around Mobile until it was decided to send her to operate around Charleston Harbor.... Some have written that Lieut. John A. Payne was with this boat in Charleston Harbor, but such is not the fact. John Payne was second lieutenant of the gunboat *Gaines* and helped to fight that ship in the battle of Mobile Bay.⁵⁴

Official records show that John A. Payne served as acting master at Richmond Station, as master mate on the CSS *Raleigh*, and as Lieutenant on the CSS *Chicora*.⁵⁵ Without question, Cox erred here. A fellow officer on the CSS *Chicora* published his account of the activities of Lt. Payne in Charleston.⁵⁶ Cox's confusion can be explained. Lt. John A. Payne did participate in the Battle of Mobile Bay as executive officer of the CSS *Gaines* and lived in Mobile after the Civil War.⁵⁷ He also was known to the younger (Harry) Pillans "as the writer learned from John Payne, commander on one of her [the *Hunley*'s] fatal trials...she [the *Hunley*] again sank in Charleston waters, Lieut. Payne being in command and as the writer's recollection is, only Payne and one other escaped death."⁵⁸

Interestingly, there was an ordinary seaman named John Payne who was on the CSS *Morgan* which served with the CSS *Gaines* during the Battle of Mobile Bay. During Reconstruction, men who had served in the Confederate forces had to sign an amnesty oath before they were allowed to vote. The city records of Mobile contain such an oath signed by John A. Payne on November 4, 1865, and another one signed by John Payne on August 1, 1865.⁵⁹ The signatures are clearly not the same. John A. Payne signed with firm, flourished lines typical of

someone at ease with paperwork. Cox had confused Lieutenant Payne with another veteran of the same name who did not serve in Charleston.

By contrast, the other two sources about the Hunley's construction site were adults who had discharged professional duties to the city during the war. The promoter of the first Bethel was a youngster and a more careless observer who had been on the periphery of the events he described. Benjamin Cox misspelled *Hunley*, misstated the location of the Park and Lyons Foundry, and confused Seaman John Payne, who had not served in Charleston, with Lt. John A. Payne who had done so. The Hunley was assembled in the second Bethel Church on Church Street. This is the Seaman's Bethel that was saved from demolition and relocated to the campus of the University of South Alabama.

The answer to one question leads to another. If the submarine that Cox and his friends had seen as children was not the *Hunley*, what submarine was it? One submarine active in Mobile Bay at this time was known as "the Frenchman's boat."⁶⁰ According to city records, on December 2, 1844, Michael Hines, the owner of the foundry Cox had used as a playground, renounced "all allegiance and fidelity...to Louis Phillippe King of France" and became a citizen of the United States.⁶¹ Hines had been a Frenchman. Cox witnessed Hines's construction of "the Frenchman's boat" and later erroneously incorporated the name *Hunley* into his childhood memories.

The *Hunley* has been located, and now her place of construction has also been found. Both discoveries have raised many new questions while laying old ones to rest.

Notes

Many people helped me unravel this puzzle. I wish to thank the museum, archive, and history professionals as a group and the following individuals: Sid Schell, Philipp Nassar, Mary Elizabeth (Pillans) Van Antwerp, Shea McLean, Augusta Tapia, Vera Norden, Wolfgang and Brigitte Boos, Murray Benson, David Toifel, Christ Coumanis, and Joe Cameron. Thanks also to my family for their patience and support.

¹Brian Hicks and Schuyler Kropf, *Raising the Hunley: The Remarkable History and Recovery of the Lost Confederate Submarine* (New York, NY, 2002), 6-9.

²This synopsis was based upon the investigations of Mark K. Ragan, *The Hunley: Submarines, Sacrifice, and Success in the Civil War* (Charleston, SC, 1999); Hicks & Kropf, *Raising the Hunley*; Mark K. Ragan, *Submarine Warfare in the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

³Although the builders of the *Hunley* received assistance from the Confederate government and during its short life-time, the vessel had been commanded by officers of both the Confederate Army and Navy, technically it had been a privately owned vessel. Consequently, it never was officially registered as a Confederate States Ship.

⁴Richard Bak, *The CSS Hunley, The Greatest Undersea Adventure of the Civil War* (Dallas, TX, 1999), 39; Ragan, *Submarine Warfare*, 82; Ragan, *The Hunley*, 26; Milton F. Perry, *Infernal Machines, The Story of Confederate Submarine and Mine Warfare*, (Baton Rouge, LA, 1965), 96.

⁵Caldwell Delaney, *The Story of Mobile*, (Mobile, AL, 1999), 125.

⁶William A. Alexander, "The True Stories of the Confederate Submarine Boats," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), June 29, 1902.

⁷W. A. Alexander, "George E. Dixon's Submarine. Details of How Brave Man Lost His Life—Sons of Mobile Veterans Honor Him," *Mobile Daily Item*, April 26, 1910; *Mobile City Directory*, 1870.

⁸Caldwell Delaney, *Confederate Mobile, A Pictorial History*, (Mobile, AL, 1971), 136.

⁹B. B. Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," *Mobile Register*, November 1, 1914, 5A; Cox, "Mobile in the War between the States," *Confederate Veteran*, 24, No. 5 (May 1916): 210.

¹⁰*Mobile Register*, February 26, 1926, 2.

¹¹Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," *Mobile Register*, November 1, 1914, 5A.

¹²Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

¹³Elizabeth Barrett Gould, *From Builders to Architects, The Hobart-Hutchisson Six* (Montgomery, AL, 1997), 68.

¹⁴*Farrow & Dennett's City Directory of Mobile*, 1861, Appendix, 17; Harry Pillans, personal memoirs; transcribed by and in possession of Mr. Chuck Torrey reproduced with the permission of Mr. Torrey and Ms. Mary Elizabeth Pillans Van Antwerp. Personal interview with Mr. Terry, whose grandfather was the nephew of H. Pillans.

¹⁵"The Submarine Boat," *Mobile Daily Register*, February 8, 1895.

¹⁶"Captain McElroy Gives History of U Boat Used in Confederate Navy," *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1924, 11. Among the errors were references to the *Hundley*, claims that she had sunk a total of five times, that one sinking had occurred in Mobile, and that she had been discovered lying 100 feet from the wreck of the *Housatonic*.

¹⁷Was this a misprint of "conical?" The bow of the submarine recovered from Charleston is decidedly tapered and anything but conical. Yet, to describe the bow as "comical" seems unusual. H. Pillans, "Story of CSN Submarine. Mr Pillans Recalls Misfortunes Which Attended Undersea Boat," Letters to Editor, *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1924.

¹⁸*Mobile Register*, June 10, 1923, 2A.

¹⁹Erwin Craighead, "Dropped Stitches from Mobile's Past The Hunley," *Mobile Register*, September 14, 1924. Craighead was disoriented here. The "Old" Bethel that H. Pillans referred to was not "on the west side of Water street, second south of Church," rather it was on the south side of Church Street, second west of Water. See Figure 2.

²⁰Harriet E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile* (University, AL, 1985), 175-76.

²¹*Mobile Register and Journal*, "Bethel Notice," January 5, 1844, 2; *Directory for the City of Mobile*, 1856, 20.

²²*Mobile Register and Journal*, "Bethel," February 7, 1845, 2; Amos, *Cotton City*, 176.

²³*Mobile Register and Journal*, "The new Bethel Church," December 20, 1845, 2.

²⁴Deed Book 15 NS, 538-39, Mobile County Probate Court.

²⁵Deed Book 15 NS, 368-69, Mobile County Probate Court.

²⁶*Mobile Register*, June 6, 1971, 14B; *Mobile Register*, June 10, 1923, 2A.

²⁷In personal interviews with the author, Augusta (Norden) Tapia said that her grandfather, J. W. Hooge, owner of the Marine Junk Co., had purchased the second Bethel and used the upstairs area for storage. When the church was purchased by the state of Alabama prior to being moved to the campus of the University of South Alabama, it had been her grandmother, Vera England Hooge, who had insisted that the sale proceed only on the condition that the Bethel church would not be demolished. Ms. Tapia's mother, Mrs. Norden remembered collecting rent for her father from the CIO who had rented the church for their meetings.

²⁸Robert Gamble, 1987, *The Alabama Catalogue: Historic American Buildings Survey, A Guide to the Early Architecture of the State* (University, AL, 1987), 313.

²⁹Deed Book 15 NS, 368-69, Mobile County Probate Court.

³⁰Girdler, L. Tracy, *An Antebellum Life at Sea* (Montgomery, AL, 1997), 165.

³¹*Mobile Advertiser & Register*, June 9, 1861, 2.

³²*Mobile Advertiser & Register*, June 26, 1861, 2.

³³*Mobile Advertiser and Register*, June 9, 1861, 2; Minutes of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Mobile, 181, Mobile Municipal Archives (MMA).

³⁴Marriage License Book, 319, Mobile County Probate Court. On June 15, 1852, foundry owner Thomas B. Lyons married Susan Ann McCoy. She may have been the niece of trustee Gen. Thomas McCoy.

³⁵*Directory for the City of Mobile* (Eichar, Park & Co., 1860), 21. Thomas Park and Thomas Lyons actually owned two lots near the corner of State and Water Streets during the Civil War. On December 11, 1862 the two men purchased a lot "Beginning at a Point One hundred and Twenty feet South of the South East Corner of State and Water Streets. Running South along Water Street...." (Mortgage Book 8, 563, Mobile County Probate Court) and on July 20, 1863 with

a third partner they purchased property on the northwest corner of that intersection (Mortgage Book 8, 639.) The fact that the latter date was just eleven days before the *Hunley* was successfully tested in Mobile Bay does not preclude the possibility that the site had been used in the vessel's construction. The 1860 City Directory citation indicates that Park had a business interest at that location. Certainly Park and Lyons could have rented the property before they purchased it.

³⁶Krebs Map, 1873, University of South Alabama Archives.

³⁷William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, ed. E. H. Berwanger (Baton Rouge, LA, 2001), 136-37.

³⁸*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion (ORN)*, 32 vols. (Washington D.C., 1894-1927), Series 1, 19: 268; *ORN*, Series 1, 15: 229.

³⁹Ragan, *The Hunley: Submarines, Sacrifice, and Success*, 36.

⁴⁰Arthur W. Bergeron Jr., *Confederate Mobile* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1991), 117.

⁴¹B. B. Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," 5A; Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁴²Major Palmer J. Pillans interviewed by an anonymous correspondent, *Mobile Daily Register*, "The Submarine Boat," February 8, 1895; Harry Pillans, Letter to the Editor, *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 5, 1924.

⁴³*City Directory of Mobile*, 1861, Appendix, 17; He was re-nominated March 3, 1862 by Councilman Moulton, Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, 62, MMA.

⁴⁴Bergeron, *Confederate Mobile*, 67, citing the Leadbetter papers, Dr. Thomas McMillan Collection, Museum of Mobile; Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁴⁵*Mobile City Directory*, 1861, Appendix, 17.

⁴⁶Personal memoirs of Harry Pillans; transcribed by and in possession of Mr. Chuck Torrey reproduced with the permission of Mr. Torrey and Ms. Mary Elizabeth Pillans Van Antwerp. The map, contained in eight bound volumes, is housed at the Mobile Municipal Archives.

⁴⁷Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁴⁸Deed Book 15 NS, 368-69, Mobile County Probate Court; *Mobile City Directory*, 1861.

⁴⁹*ORN*, Series 1, 19: 268. James Carr, a deserter, asserted during his interrogation that in 1863 "three or four" submarines had been active in Mobile Bay." Sidney H. Schell, "Submarine Weapons Tested at Mobile During the Civil War," *The Alabama Review* 45 (July 1992): 163-83. Schell documented that as many as five submarines had been active in Mobile Bay.

⁵⁰*ORN*, Series 1, 15: 229.

⁵¹Ragan, *The Hunley*, 81.

⁵²Bak, *The CSS Hunley, The Greatest Undersea Adventure*, 52.

⁵³Cox, "This City in Civil War Days," *Mobile Register*, November 1, 1914, 5A.

⁵⁴Cox, *Confederate Veteran*, 210.

⁵⁵ORN, Series 2, 1: 322, 301, 283

⁵⁶C. L. Stanton, "Submarines and Torpedo Boats," *Confederate Veteran* 22 (April 1914): 398-99, as cited by Ragan in *The Hunley*, 64 and note 77, 236.

⁵⁷ORN, Series I, 21: 593-94; Thomas T. Moebs, *Confederate States Navy Research Guide* (Williamsburg, VA, 1991), 248; Jack Friend, *West Wind, Flood Tide, The Battle of Mobile Bay* (Annapolis, MD, 2004), 210-11.

⁵⁸Harry Pillans, "Story of CSN Submarine, Mr. Pillans Recalls Misfortune Which Attended Undersea Boat," Letters to Editor, *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 8, 1924.

⁵⁹Mobile County Probate Court, Archives Dept. File 36, 3073, November 4, 1865, no. 1873; Mobile Probate Court, Archives Dept. File 36, 3072, August 1, 1865, no. 169.

⁶⁰ORN, Series 1, 19: 268.

⁶¹Minute Book 10, 38, Mobile County Circuit Court, University of South Alabama Archives. For comments on the possible identity of "the Frenchman" see M. K. Ragan, *Submarine Warfare in the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 100 and note 5; Schell, "Submarine Weapons Tested," 168-72.

Jack O'Brien is Assistant Professor in the Biology Department at the University of South Alabama.

Book Reviews

The Country Gospel

Michael P. Graves and David Fillingim, eds. *More than 'Precious Memories': The Rhetoric of Southern Gospel Music*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2004, 310 pp. Cloth, \$45.00, ISBN 0-86554-857-9.

James R. Goff. *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, 394 pp. Cloth, \$45.00, ISBN 0-8078-2681-2; Paper, \$24.95, ISBN 0-8078-5346-1.

Jeffrey J. Lange. *Smile When You Call Me a Hillbilly: Country Music's Struggle for Respectability, 1939-1954*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004, 313 pp. Paper, \$25.95, ISBN 0-8203-2623-2; Cloth, \$54.95, ISBN 0-82030-2622-4.

Culturally and musically, Dixie is still rising. The "Dixiefication" of America, noted by *New York Times* Peter Applebome some years back, the ascendancy of NASCAR to third place in the list of money-grossing sports in America, the surge of the Southern Republicans in the 1990s and their triumphs in recent elections (most notably in November 2004), the persuasive power of the "values" coalition in setting America's national political agenda, and the financial swagger of the country music industry (and its religious counterpart, the genre here denoted as Southern Gospel Music), all set the stage for these three significant works. These books are about the musical accompaniment to the "red states" and to George W. Bush's America. The authors provide historical and textual analysis of white rural and working-class southern sacred and secular music from the nineteenth-century "singing schools" and shape-note harmonies to the modern world of country and gospel in their various sub-genres.

James R. Goff's extremely informative *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel* work traces the origins, rise, and diversification of a form of gospel music usually associated with traveling quartets of white southern men (the Vaughan quartets, the Blackwood Quartet, and more recently the Oak Ridge Boys and their imitators) singing evangelical music with close four-part harmonies, generally featuring a gruff bass and at least one high-pitched tenor part—in short, white southern gospel. With its humble roots in the shape-note singing schools of the nineteenth-century South, white southern gospel is today

a \$600-million-a-year business and is closely tied into the conservative politics of contemporary white southern evangelicalism.

Southern gospel's roots were in the rural southern religious world of the nineteenth century. Musical education through instruction in the shape-note method spread rapidly through the South after the Civil War through the efforts of Aldine Kieffer, grandson of a shape-note singing school pioneer, and his brother-in-law Ephraim Ruebush. Combatants on opposite sides of the Civil War, Kieffer and Ruebush reunited in the 1870s to found the Shenandoah Training School, a singing normal institute in Dayton, Virginia. The two also collaborated in publishing the *Musical Million*, a journal sent to some ten thousand subscribers. Kieffer and Ruebush's Shenandoah Normal School in Virginia trained numerous students and imitators, who formed a variety of schools and music publishing companies throughout the South. The most widely influential graduate of the Kieffer-Ruebush school, and the most important white musical educator and promoter of the early twentieth century, was James D. Vaughan. After years of teaching school and singing with his siblings, Vaughan established a normal school of music, launched his own publishing company, and hired promotional touring singers. Vaughan also produced early phonograph recordings and broadcast his music on one of the first radio stations in Tennessee, WOAN. Through the 1930s, Vaughan continued to sell 200,000 songbooks a year, and sent his publication *Vaughan's Family Visitor* to subscribers throughout the country. One of Vaughan's star pupils, Virgil O. Stamps, worked lumber in rural Texas prior to founding the most important gospel music publishing company of the twentieth century. He worked for the Vaughan company until, in a dramatic break with his mentor in 1924, he set up a rival enterprise in Dallas. Two years later, Jesse R. Baxter, another singing school recruit, joined forces with Stamps. Together, the two possessed the expertise and venture capital needed to form the Stamps-Baxter Company, which became the dominant market leader in southern gospel music through the middle decades of the twentieth century. By World War II, Stamps-Baxter had overtaken Vaughan as the leading gospel music publishing house in the region. The Stamps-Baxter firm also hired black songwriters such as Cleavant Derricks, a Baptist minister from Chattanooga, to produce tunes for black quartets and churches that would find their way onto race records.

By the 1930s, successive generations spawned first by the Sacred Harp and Southern Harmony tradition, shape-note writers, and the original Kieffer-Ruebush singing schools had formed a variety of competing gospel publishing firms. Each supported its own touring

quartets that hawked songbooks in a variety of venues from church services to radio programs, uniting what had been a diverse set of intra-regional musical styles. The original idea of singing schools and musical conventions, to train the masses to read simple music and vocalize harmoniously, was metamorphosing into what became the entertainment conglomerate of southern gospel.

Since the 1960s, southern gospel has established itself as big business, and the latter portion of Goff's work—the part where his status as fan as well as insider shows most clearly—details the biographies of significant individuals and groups who have been instrumental in the growing commercial empire of southern gospel. Goff also documents the increasing ties of southern gospel to conservative politics, a point obvious to anyone who watched any television evangelism or CBN broadcasts during the years of the rise of the religious-political right. While the latter portion of Goff's book is more encyclopedic than analytical, and will appeal to fans more than academic historians, *Close Harmony* should become the standard starting point for historical studies of the subject.

Southern Gospel Music coalesced during the same years as did country music as a genre; both rose from rural southern roots and became national and commercial forms. For depth of research and historical analysis, Jeffrey Lange's *Smile While You Call Me a Hillbilly*, which concentrates on the rise and fortunes of various country music genres during the formative years of its establishment as a commercial presence and Nashville as its major purveyor, is a fine counterpart to Goff's work. Lange studies the "modernization of country music" and finds there a "reflection of sociocultural changes in southern society and of the genre's transformation from regional peculiarity to national acceptance." Like Goff's work, too, one unrealistically yearns for an accompanying sampler CD, especially for some of the more obscure artists and genres that even those who appreciate and collect recordings of this music may not have in their collection. Lange's book would make an ideal very long liner note to such a CD, for he accomplishes not just coverage of artists, trends, and genres, but also places the music in its historic and economic contexts.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Lange explains, a rural and communal music "became steadily less participatory as audiences became more introspective." This is not a jeremiad about the decline of authenticity, however, for Lange meticulously documents the interaction of artists and audiences: "Country music not only captures the dichotomies of the South and its inhabitants, it thrives on it.... The dynamic nature of country music in the 1940s and early 1950s allowed

it to adapt to cultural developments while retaining its authenticity," including both those "who embraced changes in musical and lyrical styles and those who resisted prevailing trends." Also, much like Goff's passages about the influences of black gospel writers such as Thomas Dorsey and Cleavant Derricks, Lange analyzes the influence of African-American rural musicians on early country performers. As one country performer reminisced, "Back in those days we didn't know what integration was, because we was raised up around black people. We worked together, played together, and often ate at each other's houses.... I've seen many a time when black people would come to the white church. So I went to the black church to learn their spiritual singing." The classic example, of course, was Jimmie Rodgers, who absorbed a range of musical influences growing up in Mississippi and working with African Americans on the railroads.

Through Rogers and others, country music developed from the rural string band sound into a variety of budding genres through the 1930s. An instrumentally-oriented genre originally, country became increasingly identified with the human voice, while mandolins and dobros displaced fiddles and banjos as lead instruments in many country music bands (later neo-traditional bands would try to counteract that trend). Most importantly, radio provided an outlet for musicians, and served groups as aural advertisements for their live appearances, the mainstay of their income in an era before recorded music became central to their lives and livelihoods. World War II was a turning point in the national acceptance of country music, as Southerners migrated across the country in huge numbers. Western swing, for example, developed as a dance hall music concentrated west of the Mississippi, in distinct contrast to the rural string bands that continued to prevail in the older Southeast.

After the war, country music was a national rather than a regional form, signified by the self-conscious effort to replace the term "hillbilly" with the term "country" music. That transition was complete with the adoption of the term "country" and retirement of "hillbilly" on the *Billboard* magazine record charts in 1949. Radio disk jockeys played important roles in defining what listeners would hear and who would have a hit. Various genres—traditional and neotraditional string bands, honky-tonk belters, western swing orchestras, country blues performers (among whom Lange numbers Elvis Presley), innovative bluegrass bands playing "folk music in overdrive," and more saccharine pop country (the roots of what became the "Nashville sound") crisscrossed the countryside and the airwaves. Artists, performers, and

songwriters constantly experimented with means to hook up with their audiences. The alienation felt by working-class migrant Southerners found a perfect counterpart in the social commentary of honky-tonk, which addressed real issues of divorce, infidelity, and the consequences of substance addictions. Western swing bands, now trimmed down in size to meet the economic realities of touring, drew diverse audiences to energetic and entertaining live shows. The growing southern middle class took refuge in that era's equivalent of easy listening hits, increasingly produced on cue by Nashville publishers and record companies. Traditionalists, meanwhile, still had a huge number of older string instrumentalists to listen to, while Bill Monroe led the charge of those interested in traditional music but desiring to take it to new heights of instrumental virtuosity. Through it all, gospel music retained its central place in the southern psyche. As Johnny Cash said of his upbringing in the Pentecostal church, "I learned to sit through the scary sermon just to hear the music: mandolins, fiddles, bass, banjo, and flat top guitars. Hell might be on the horizon, but the wonderful gospel-spiritual songs carried me above it." Many, including Cash and most famously Hank Williams, expressed their inner turmoil between the sacred and the sinful in their songs. Williams, moreover, "brought to plain view the torments of southerners at odds with the twin blades of urbanization and industrialization. Wracked by inner demons and the enervating consequences of his own success, Williams ultimately lost his personal battle with the debilitating forces of the Bulldozer Revolution."

As Lange writes, country music "reflected the struggle of its performers and listeners trying to come to terms with the modernizing forces pushing and pulling them away from their folk roots." Country music listeners were scattering across the country, and the "flexibility and dynamism" of the music responded to their varied lives and concerns. The coming of Elvis, rockabilly, and rock-n-roll confronted country with a crossroads, "forced to choose between accommodating a new audience (and renouncing its adult orientation) or following through on its commitment to moving closer to the American mainstream (thereby risking the loss of its folk individuality)." Ultimately, the latter course prevailed. The folk tradition of country provided the basis for the competing subgenres of the music, which then "became traditions themselves, the musical pillars of all country music that followed." Through the 1940s and 1950s, country retained its loyal base of rural white working-class Southerners who were coping with new realities of life, while attracting a broader national middle-class audience. The country music "industry" came up during

this period; it “succeeded in its pursuit of profitability and respectability” while maintaining its “lyrical unpretentiousness and musical simplicity that initially gave it life in the rural South. Striking a delicate balance between folk art form and commercial product, country music proved itself a source of communal ethos, an exponent of southern culture, and a musical genre perfectly suited to encapsulating the universality of the human condition.”

Goff and Lange’s straightforward historical narratives, at once fact-filled and synthetically interpretive and closely attuned to socio-economic contexts of southern gospel and country, will remain standard volumes for reference and argumentation for years to come. Both represent entries in scholarship that is fairly young and very much ongoing. Unlike these two largely historical studies, the anthology *More than ‘Precious Memories’* focuses on contemporary Southern Gospel Music (officially acronymed SGM, in contrast to African-American Gospel Music, or AAGM, and Contemporary Christian Music, or CCM). Some of this volume—too much, in my opinion—is taken up by essay-length studies which deploy heavy doses of academic jargon to demonstrate pretty obvious points. These essays throw about critical theories drawn from rhetoric, communication studies, and postmodernist theory and come up with unstartling revelations such as, for example, that “Mama” is important in Southern Gospel Music families; that the concept of Heaven is central to southern gospel songs and “offers an escape from the pains and woes of this life with the promise of eternal youth and bliss”; that sinners within the Southern Gospel Music fold, including prison recidivists, are offered the chance to come back to the “family” once they show sufficient repentance and contrition; that the black gospel songwriter Thomas Dorsey’s classic songs “Precious Lord, Take My Hand” and “Peace in the Valley” have “crossed over” to the SGM world and retained enduring popularity there; and that SGM memorial websites dedicated to the greats in the music’s history (several of the Blackwood brothers, J. D. Sumner, Rex Nelson, and others) are “dominated by the metanarrative of going home to heaven,” and that the websites themselves help to shape the memories of these performers in a manner not unlike, for example, Dale Earnhardt fan sites as well as the recent ESPN biopic “3” shape the history and memory of the legendary stock car racer. These essays have value and are informative; livelier prose and some more analytical bite to the arguments would enhance their value further.

David Fillingim, one of the editors and previously the author of the fine book *Redneck Liberation: Country Music as Theology*,

contributes two significant essays; both of which cut through excessive theorizing and drive home lucid arguments that stick with the reader. The first, "Oft Made to Wonder: Southern Gospel Music as Theodicy" gives a brief and extremely helpful summary of historic Christian arguments from St. Augustine forward on the nature of and explanation for why a perfectly good and omnipotent God permits evil in the world. He finds that the "two theodical strategies in Southern Gospel Music are in tension—if not outright contradiction—with one another." The first holds that the problem of evil is not a problem, for earthly life is short and "eternity in heaven more than compensates for any suffering one might encounter as one passes through this proverbial vale of tears." A second, typified in Kris Kristofferson's "Why Me Lord?" and Andrae Crouch's "Through It All," places "positive value on earthly life and the suffering it entails," for the "daily relationship with God is reward enough." Ultimately, though, SGM "responds to suffering at the existential, experiential level, not at the level of theological abstraction," which helps Christians to hold together contradictory notions (such as free will and Calvinistic determinism) because both express genuine beliefs as well as reflect the messy experience of life. Fillingim's second contribution, a well-known article here reprinted as an appendix, explores the concept of "home" in country and gospel music. This is possibly the most lucid single short piece ever published in work on SGM, and one of the most interesting pieces in the history of American popular music I've ever read. In particular, Fillingim's challenges Cecelia Tichi's well-known thesis in *High Lonesome*, that country music expresses a "romantic nostalgia for an idealized past" and a "longing for Emersonian nature as an escape from modern culture." For embattled working-class Southerners, self-styled rednecks and hillbillies, who have represented the core of country music's historic audience and constituency, "home" has always been "more eschatological than nostalgic." The "image of home as a permanent residence represents an end to the turmoil of a liminal existence at the economic margins." Songs about home in gospel music, as well, "express a longing for a life that *does* matter, a longing for a place with some permanence." In sum, the "eschatological longing is for a home which transcends both the economically depressed rural countryside and the economically abusive big city." Lange's discussion of honky-tonk songs in his work, which stresses the way in which their themes dealt with the economic and social marginality of the migratory urban southern working class, parallels Fillingim's sensitive analysis here. More recent suburban country has lost the sense of bitter irony explored in country music history: "As country music becomes the

music of the upwardly mobile, it ceases to be the voice of the liminally stuck.... A musical tradition once referred to as the poor white man's blues comes to more closely resemble a series of suburban sitcom theme songs." There's much more in this short essay; suffice to say here that, despite my occasional exasperation during some other parts of this volume, there's enough good material in this anthology to make the effort worth it, and Fillingim's contributions alone are worth the price of admission.

After surveying this literature, and using Fillingim's trenchant critique as an end point, we are left with the question about country music and authenticity, is there a there there? Is there a breach between what represents musically the authentic sentiments/hopes/dreams/desires of a particular people that is associated with that musical form, and the commercialism that inevitably is part of the marketing and distribution of that music? This is a battle every musical generation or genre that reaches popular status goes through. Most recently, scholarship on the blues has addressed this point quite directly, as blues historians and writers contest the image of authenticity derived from Robert Johnson and the folk blues, and in their place find "commercial" artists, most especially urban blues women such as Bessie Smith, to be at the root of "real" blues—in large part because they were so open about their theatricality and artifice and self-invention. Even the country blues of Robert Johnson and his generation of Mississippi Delta bluesmen is best seen through their own self-understanding, that they were entertainers who would play whatever best inspired audience enjoyment and, therefore, a good night of tips at the juke joint or the country store. "Authenticity," these scholars suggest, *is* artifice; the play is the thing itself. A parallel here might be found in the success of Southern Gospel Music's most famous groups in vocal pyrotechnical showmanship—the novelty item of the low low bass singer humorously punching up a line, the soaring tenor associated with the Blackwood groups exciting an audience, the choreographed precision of Andrae Crouch and the Disciples. Lange's volume makes a useful start in questioning the juxtaposition between the presumably pure on the one hand, and the merely commercial on the other. Studies of the music of the white southern and rural urban working class should go further in breaking down false dichotomies between the "authentic" and the popular.

Paul Harvey

University of Colorado, Colorado Springs

Glenn C. Altschuler. *All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, xiv, 226 pp. \$28.00. ISBN 0-19-513943-7.

At one time, and not very long ago, serious scholars of American popular music would have been overjoyed at the inclusion of rock 'n' roll in the "Pivotal Moments in American History" series of Oxford University Press. Indeed, such an occasion would have trumpeted the music's coming of age as a significant historical topic. Yet while the publication of Glenn Altschuler's *All Shook Up* at first glance may appear to be revolutionary within the hallowed halls of the history profession (after all, academia has long considered rock 'n' roll of the Elvis Presley, Little Richard, Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, and Buddy Holly variety to be a tasteless fad that need not apply for admission), this is no ground-breaking work. It is in many ways, using today's vernacular, past its sell date. Given the ever-growing list of professional historians who are earnestly and innovatively interrogating popular music's relationship to social change, Altschuler's rather pedestrian effort may well go the way of the countless one-hit wonders that disappeared into 1950s obscurity.

Altschuler, the Thomas and Dorothy Litwin Professor of American Studies and Dean of the School of Continuing Education and Summer Sessions at Cornell University, would probably not be surprised by this assessment. As he acknowledged early in the work, rock 'n' roll had never really impressed him one way or the other. At no time, either as an adolescent or as an adult, did he ever consider it to have represented a "pivotal moment." Born in 1950, Altschuler, who has authored or co-authored seven books, none of which is even vaguely connected to popular music, revealingly claimed that this manuscript project allowed him to revisit the 1950s and "discover some phenomenal music about which I have been only dimly aware." While he does not say how he came to the project or indicate how long he was involved with it, he does take great pains to thank the many students, former students, and friends who served as his research assistants. Consequently, the impression one gets from the acknowledgements and ensuing text and bibliography is that Altschuler may never have fully engaged the subject matter upon which he was writing.

The unfortunate byproduct of this approach is the common yet erroneous belief that anyone who has ever listened to popular music is a popular music historian. Yet as serious students of popular music

and culture can attest, the subject demands a greater commitment than simply switching on the CD player and discovering some phenomenal music. Representative of both commercial forces and consumer choices, popular culture and music are complex entities that require sophisticated analyses, dynamic methodologies, and a deep immersion in various primary materials. The best recent scholarship has established high standards in this regard, if only because it is difficult to connect what people consume to the way they think and behave. Constantly encountering colleagues who are skeptical of their subject's legitimacy, scholars of the popular arts have learned to present their evidence and arguments in a manner that is beyond reproach. Anything less threatens to undermine the academic integrity of what they do and reiterates the long-held assumption that popular music is inconsequential to understanding the larger historical environment from which it emerged.

Altschuler's story of rock 'n' roll is a conventional one that probably could have been written fifteen years ago. Accordingly, it is not so much that what he writes is wrong as it is trite. His work is derivative, and much of what he imparts has been presented more convincingly elsewhere. Indeed, he relies heavily on secondary sources, and the primary material he does utilize appears to have been sporadically collected without comprehensive attention to contextual detail. There are eight thematic chapters (segments devoted to a brief history of rock 'n' roll's evolution, rock 'n' roll's relationship to race, sexuality, and generational conflict, efforts to tame the music, and rock 'n' roll's ultimate decline and eventual resurrection by the Beatles) and an epilogue that races (literally, in less than seven pages) to connect the rebellious mayhem of rock 'n' roll to Woodstock and Bruce Springsteen. Such a connection, or perhaps Altschuler's superficial attempts to make it, implies that rock 'n' roll on its own lacked genuine substance, that it was only important when linked to an overtly political music of a later era. Perhaps if the author had provided a deeper analysis informed by class, gender, regional and (stronger) racial perspectives, such a linkage would have been unnecessary.

At best, *All Shook Up* simply recapitulates the narrative created by music journalists and later conveyed in history survey textbooks; at worst, it trivializes a subject that deserves a better fate. Granted the OUP imprimatur, there is little doubt the book will end up on countless library shelves and university course lists. This will probably be enough for many traditional historians, some of whom may find the book satisfying. Yet as history has shown, such academics have generally expected very little from the incorporation of popular music into their

interpretations of the past. Many who have followed the vibrant growth of popular music scholarship over the last decade or so, however, will be disappointed. Given the exciting and significant subject matter, Altschuler could have done so much more. He could have produced a work that would have created a truly pivotal moment in American historiography. He could have proclaimed that, after all, it was not *only* rock 'n' roll.

Michael T. Bertrand

Tennessee State University

Judith A. Bense, ed. *Presidio Santa Maria de Galve: A Struggle for Survival in Colonial Spanish Pensacola*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003, 492 pp., figures, tables, appendices. \$75.00. ISBN 08130-2660-1.

This hefty tome is one of several works on the archaeology and history of Pensacola by a group of researchers from the University of West Florida and other Florida research institutions. Judith Bense, editor and major contributor, is Chair of Anthropology at the University as well as the director of its Archaeology Institute.

The Presidio Santa Maria de Galve, with its fort and settlement, was a short-lived defensive outpost that the Spanish established in 1698 to secure the northwestern flank of its colony La Florida from encroachments by the British to the north and the French to the west. After twenty-one years, the Spanish abandoned the presidio, and the neighboring French from Mobile occupied it, only to abandon it a few years later. Just a short time earlier, the French and Spanish had been allies in the War of the Spanish Succession, and settlers in the region in the colonies of both countries had depended on each other through trade, but the year 1719 found Spain and France at odds in yet another of the European imperial wars of the eighteenth century.

Even when the neighboring French were not threatening the colony, the Presidio of Santa Maria de Galve was barely surviving, so the authors of this book argue. Living conditions imposed a constant "struggle for survival" on the ill-equipped settlers, mainly convicts and soldiers, and mostly from semi-arid Mexico City. Their urban background provided little experience for making homes in a rural, isolated, and humid coastal environment or for fending off attacks by Native Americans, mostly from the Creek allies of the English, that forced the settlers into the limited confines of the fort for long periods

of time. Even when it was safe to live outside the fort's walls, the settlers had little success in cultivating enough food, forcing them to rely on constant shipments from Mexico and on trade with their neighbors, exchanging various European and Mexican goods with the regional natives for corn and beans and with the French at Mobile for wheat and other foods. But these neighbors were not always reliable sources, and the shipments from Mexico, if they arrived at all, often came late and with the foodstuffs spoiled; consequently, malnutrition-related diseases, like scurvy and rickets, were prevalent. These factors, combined with environmental hazards such as mosquitoes that caused yellow-fever and with frequent storms, created exceeding high mortality among the settlers. Meanwhile, in addition to malnourishment, disease, and attacks, the settlers had to work constantly to prevent the infrastructure of the fort and settlement from rotting away, for the local timber, their principal construction material, decayed rapidly in the humid climate. The people who established this outpost had never intended to provide for themselves but to depend on trade with local Native Americans, yet their ill-chosen site was located near no permanent Native American villages, a fact they should have known from their visits to the region prior to 1698. In the end, the presidio was a very expensive undertaking that repaid little for the empire.

Just as the Spanish settlers had a tough time surviving in the difficult environment of the Pensacola region, so did the archaeologists struggle to recover the fragile and perishable artifacts they had left behind. Despite abundant difficulties, they have done a remarkable job of reclaiming archaeological evidence—Native American and European pottery, metal objects including jewelry, tools, weapons, and religious icons, structural elements, and even zoological and botanical remains—to test against and supplement the documentary evidence. Ironically, the artifacts from the presidio were excavated from what is now another military establishment, a United States naval station. The historical documents, located primarily in the Archive of the Indies, are mostly reports and requests for supplies directed to the viceregal office in Mexico City. In her introductory and final chapters, Bense explains the methods and sources used in the investigation and synthesizes the information. Two chapters by historians on the project relate the presidio's founding and fate, and put it into historical context. The five chapters that present the archaeological data include analyses of the architecture of the settlement and fort, the material and domestic culture of the inhabitants, the plant and animal foods they consumed

or were in contact with, and the Native Americans and French with whom they interacted.

While the archaeologists successfully integrated the written evidence into their work, the historians did little with the archaeological data. Combining the two historical chapters into one, as well as integrating the archaeological evidence, would have provided a richer, more coherent story. But for those interested in a comparative analysis of frontier experience, this book provides a wealth of information in the analyses, extensive graphs, lists and descriptions of artifacts, drawings, photographs, and selected documents.

Angela Thompson

East Carolina University

Michael J. Crawford and William S. Dudley, eds. *Naval War of 1812: A Documentary History, 1814-1815*. Volume 3. Washington, D.C.: Naval Historical Center, 2002, xlvii, 874 pp. \$70.00. ISBN 0945274-47-5.

The collection of primary documents in *The Naval War of 1812* creates a broad historical context for the conflict as it also presents a vivid picture of the events and men who fought in it. This third volume, in a projected four volume series, covers the years 1814-1815, a period when the American navy faced an aggressive and stronger enemy. The wide selection of letters and documents illustrates the quandaries both the American and British navies faced on the seas and on the lakes. These individual accounts show how commanders and their superiors confronted the challenges of the war with unwavering determination and courage.

The sources in this volume are comprehensive and astounding in the breadth of their coverage. The selection of letters includes those from naval officers, as well their correspondence with political leaders. The letters cover issues from strategic planning to where the two navies intended to send particular vessels and commanders. This volume addresses the practical assessment of supplies and naval stores. Also included in this wide array of records are case studies from individual ships. For example, the correspondence between U.S. Secretary of the Navy William Jones and Master Commandant Charles G. Ridgely, who led a commerce-raiding mission from the North Atlantic to South America to the Gulf of Mexico, is included. By adding these individual studies in the wider spectrum of national strategy, the volume presents a broader overview of the war and its affects on specific operational

theaters. Moreover, this collection includes more British sources than the previous two volumes.

Volume 3, as in the first two books, arranges its documents in a coherent and logical order. It contains three chapters divided geographically. The first section recounts activity in the Chesapeake Bay; the second reviews the Northern Lakes region; the last chapter covers the Pacific. The Chesapeake Bay chapter also includes several of Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane's references to the Gulf of Mexico. In one such letter, Cochrane informs Rear Admiral George Cockburn that the frigate *Orpheus*, two sloops *Sophia* and *Childers*, and two schooners *Shelburn* and *Cockchafer* would patrol the Gulf to the Tropic of Cancer. A last allusion to the Gulf appears in a letter from Cochrane to first Lord of Admiralty Viscount Melville, announcing Captain James A. Gordon's command of that region.

The editors also included illustrations to enhance the historical appeal of the book's valuable sources. Maps and diagrams clarify the regional position of naval engagements and activities. There are paintings of important naval figures and images of ships and battles. Although they are reproduced in black and white, which lessens the clarity and intensity of the paintings, this undoubtedly reduced the book's price. Despite this minor criticism, the inclusion of illustrations enlivens the textual descriptions and representations of the war.

The Naval War of 1812 provides those interested in that war with an invaluable and convenient collection of primary documents. Certainly this volume benefits the established scholar, yet it is also useful to the novice naval historian. Each chapter has a review of the historical context supplemented by explanatory introductions that precede individual documents. This volume definitely belongs in the library of anyone studying early American naval history or the War of 1812.

Mary L. Fehler

Texas Christian University

John Ernest. *Liberation Historiography: African American Writers and the Challenge of History, 1794-1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004, 426 pp. \$21.95. ISBN 0-8078-5521-9.

Writing about the Haitian Revolution in 1857, James Theodore Holly hoped to harness "the undoubted facts of history to cast back the vile aspersions and foul calumnies that have been heaped upon my race for the last four centuries." Holly, the first black bishop in the

Episcopal Church, aimed to encourage African-American migration to Haiti, but this proved less successful than his efforts to reclaim African-American history.

John Ernest's book *Liberation Historiography* takes as its subjects Holly and other black writers investigating African-American history in the years before the Civil War. Ernest covers an impressive array of writers and orators—from Richard Allen to David Walker, Frederick Douglass to Harriet Jacobs—in chapters that focus on varying modes of nonfiction writing, including history, biography, autobiography, and journalism. The diversity of writers under consideration enables Ernest to make the broad claim that liberation historiography is comparable to liberation theology. Both use a dominant discourse to challenge the very dominance on which that discourse rests.

Ernest argues that the African-American writers before the Civil War identified the “historical, ideological, and theological grounds for resistance” to the master narratives of white supremacy and American nationalism. He creatively compares African-Americans’ understanding and uses of history to the leading white historian of the period, George Bancroft. While both Bancroft and his black peers saw Providence and faith as central to the task of writing American history, black writers told “a sacred story about a secular world” to build African-American identity and community.

Liberation Historiography benefits from the unique intellectual vision of its author, which comes more from the discipline of literary criticism than from history. The book’s thematic organization and postmodern analysis allow Ernest to draw connections that scholars and students unfamiliar with literary criticism might not see. For instance, Ernest supplements the scholarship of Marcus Wood, Toni Morrison, and Henry Louis Gates Jr. in exploring the relationship between white readers and the texts of slave narratives, arguing that many ex-slave writers were accepted, in part, because they “fit white notions of blackness” in revealing the unspeakable horrors of southern slavery while they “reaffirmed the status of white northern readers as benevolent white friends of the oppressed.” Similarly, Ernest uses the tools of literary criticism to deconstruct the “trickster narratives” of William Wells Brown, an abolitionist, novelist, playwright, and historian. Ernest reads Brown’s selective use of sources and retelling of “ridiculous stories” in both his fiction and nonfiction writings as something akin to a postmodern critique of the white supremacist historical discourse that dominated the antebellum world.

Yet historians and history students may struggle with the postmodern literary criticism in this book for a number of reasons. First, historians might question the lack of historical context and a linear chronology that could have shown how these early black scholars were influenced by the times and places in which they wrote. Second, a fuller explanation of this chronology could have illuminated the ways that liberation historiography evolved from the Early Republic to the Antebellum Period. Third, postmodern jargon—terms like “orthopraxis” and “heteroglossia”—weighs down much of this text, limiting its readership significantly. Still, some professors and graduate students will find many important insights about African-American intellectual history here.

Though the discursive analysis is dense, there are passages in this book that are inspired and inspiring. “Black is a verb,” Ernest concludes, almost mystically. It is “a historically contextualized performance, the process of life.” *Liberation Historiography* looks to the black writers of the past to guide future historical scholarship. The black scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries began a process of intellectual inquiry that challenged white supremacy and buttressed black communities. Clearly, Ernest hopes that future historians will live up to their ancestors’ powerful intellectual legacies.

Steve Estes

Sonoma State University

Barney Farley. *Fishing Yesterday's Gulf Coast*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2002, xiv, 149 pp. \$22.95. ISBN 1-58544-165-1.

This reviewer grew up fishing and duck hunting in Matagorda Bay, nearly 150 miles north of Port Aransas on the Texas Gulf Coast. A heavily smoking, leather-tanned man named Doc, ironically, a local dentist, often took us fishing off the Gulf shores and along the Colorado River for redfish. He seemed to have an almost magical knack for knowing how temperature, wind velocity, and water level would determine the redfish’s hiding spots. He could captivate a roomfull of people with stories of fishing Matagorda as a boy, before shrimp trawlers, tug boats, and cargo ships dominated the bay. A well-told fishing tale always reminds me of sitting in a river house kitchen at night, sunburned, listening to Doc talk about the best holes and his experiences, as the smell of salt water and frying fish permeate the house. The allure of good fish stories attracted me to *Fishing*

Yesterday's Gulf Coast, a nostalgic glimpse of pre-trawlers Gulf Coast fishing written by fishing guide Barney Farley. The Harvey Weil Sportsman Conservationist Award Trust, an organization based in Corpus Christi that funds marine research and wildlife management education, supported this effort.

Barney Farley died in 1978, after serving in the United States military in France in World War I, guiding fishing tours for decades, writing a fishing column for the *Corpus Christi Caller*, and serving as the mayor of Port Aransas. After his death, a Port Aransas resident discovered a manuscript, composed of stories, fishing tips, and short stories he had written. Several friends and family members collaborated to provide photographs and drawings for the book and to edit Farley's recollections. *Fishing Yesterday's Gulf Coast*, his unofficial memoir, includes fishing tips, anecdotes, and data on species decline that serve as nuanced warnings concerning the consequences of overfishing.

President Franklin Roosevelt visited the Texas Gulf Coast while in office; Farley served as his fishing guide. He recounts Roosevelt's arrival in Port Aransas on a yacht accompanied by two destroyers. Obviously impressed with the president, Farley describes Roosevelt's attempts to catch a tarpon as well as his interactions with the media and Port Aransas residents.

Along with the story of Roosevelt's visit, *Fishing Yesterday's Gulf Coast* has Farley's theories on the consequences of over-shrimping, pollution, and speedboats, as well as suggestions regarding revitalizing marine life near Port Aransas. He recommends practicing catch and release sport fishing, which was an anomaly in the 1950s, and gives tips for fly-fishing in salt water. The book also contains accounts of Farley's dramatic encounters with sharks and his guide trips for wealthy Texas celebrities.

Fishing provides amusing stories and worthy advice, a work successful in its "readable and entertaining" intention. While *Fishing* idealizes the pre-industry Gulf Coast and downplays the conveniences of modern technology, such as off-shore fishing from motorboats rather than from skiffs, most readers may discern a certain charm to Farley's tales.

Tina Cannon

Texas Christian University

James E. Fickle. *Mississippi Forests and Forestry*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001, xiv, 347 pp. \$35.00. ISBN 1-57806-308-6.

James E. Fickle. *Timber: A Photographic History of Mississippi Forestry*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004, xv, 151 pp. \$35.00. ISBN 1-57806-710-3.

In 2001, James Fickle published *Mississippi Forests and Forestry*, with the release of *Timber: A Photographic History of Mississippi Forestry* in 2004, it is fitting to revisit the earlier work and introduce the newer one. In *Mississippi Forests and Forestry*, Fickle offers a serious study of the evolution and use of the state's forests. He begins in early prehistory and demonstrates the roles of Native Americans in shaping the forest encountered by Europeans. This was a forest and a culture those first Europeans spent a significant period of time adapting to. By the nineteenth century, Europeans held sway in the region, farming spread rapidly, and the forest and natives fell quickly as a new culture spread across the land. Fickle argues that early lumbermen took over for farmers as the most important element shaping the forest lands by the mid-nineteenth century. The early steam sawmill and similar technological innovations then entered the picture and allowed the timber industry to work on a previously-unheard-of scale.

Fickle identifies the early-twentieth century as crucial because it witnessed the arrival of bonanza logging. The story of the timber industry in the early-twentieth century, as railroads, giant mills, and company towns sprang up throughout the piney woods of the South, was the tale of rapid technological innovation and consequently rapid destruction of the forest. By the end of the Progressive Era, silva culture had achieved a level of acceptance in society, the federal government, and the timber industry, while at the same time depletion of forest resources had become undeniable. The rise of professional forestry and alternative products, such as Masonite, offered the South solutions to the problem of deforestation. Beginning with the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s, government and industry both began to work at restoring the forests of Mississippi and surrounding states. Government and industry both identified ending the generations-old behavior of woodburning as even more important than replanting in their efforts to bring Mississippi's forest back. After intense efforts to change locals' behavior, it was still decades before the quality of the

state's forests improved significantly. The combination of re-planting, natural regeneration, and fire fighting allowed Mississippi's forests to recover by the later, mid-twentieth century.

In an interesting parallel to the story of the timber industry at the beginning of the century, the industry's late-twentieth century incarnation is also about technological change and improvement. The primary difference is that at the end of the century timbermen are searching for the least damaging and most efficient ways of extracting trees from the forest rather than the fastest and cheapest ways. Also in recent years, the increasingly ecologically aware public has confronted industrialists and foresters over the wisdom of their harvest practices.

Timber, the more recent of Fickle's two offerings on the history of forestry in Mississippi is similar to the earlier book. In it, Fickle provides a three-page introduction that quickly and effectively traces forest use from Native-American patterns, through industrial exploitation, to modern environmentalism. The images which follow tell a chronological story of forest use and technological development. At each stage of the story Fickle returns to the themes of harvest, transportation, and milling, which illuminates some important and visible changes. Where images are available, Fickle shows the attitudes and activities of laborers, but technological change dominates the photographs. The author convincingly explains that this was determined by the biases of the original photographers. As Fickle presents the story of the 1930s and 1940s he explores the conservation movement, but thereafter shifts, once again, primarily to utilization rather than restoration of the forest. Text is sparse, but effective, as the author allows the images to speak for themselves. By the end of the book, any reader should be able to smell the sawdust and smoke, hear the ringing of saws and the chugging of engines, and feel the oppressive heat on his or her back.

Mississippi Forests and Forestry, now close to five years old, remains one of the most valuable treatments of a southern state's forest history. It holds answers to questions about the Mississippi pine forests ranging in scope from ecology to social and economic history. Ambitious from the beginning, Fickle states: "This book tells the story of the forest in Mississippi, particularly, how humans and society have interacted with that resource over generations." One of his main concerns early in the text seems to be the misconception that Europeans entered a "virgin" forest in the American South. He forcefully argues that Native Americans' use of the forest altered the ecosystem in ways

similar to the European Americans who followed. Approximately sixty pages into the text, Fickle transports the reader into the twentieth century, then spends close to two hundred pages considering the heart of his story, the manipulation of Mississippi's forest in the 1900s.

The author draws on a wide variety of sources to compile *Mississippi Forests and Forestry* including personal interviews, oral histories, state and federal publications, secondary sources, and a wide variety of archival materials. Unfortunately, there is no bibliography. Despite this, the sixty-plus pages of notes settle the concerns of any reader that the author exhausted every possible source in compiling his book.

Few readers could criticize Fickle for his analysis of subjects he covers. He thoroughly discusses the evolution and use of the dominant component of Mississippi's forest, longleaf pine, but the text is not comprehensive. There was, and is, another important component to the state's forests, hardwoods. Here the author falls short as Mississippi's hardwood forest is covered in less than twenty pages.

Another potential shortcoming some critics have noted is the author's perspective. Fickle clearly writes from the standpoint of industry and product-oriented forestry. Fickle's lumbermen are at the mercy of an impersonal and all-powerful combination of the market and technological evolution, forced to exploit and look for new and cheap resources until factors coalesce to force conservation on the industry. In the end, forestry evolves and saves the state's timberlands.

Who is Fickle writing for in *Mississippi Forests and Forestry*? The density of information suggests an audience familiar enough with the topic to ask well-formed questions and interested in thoroughgoing explanations. The state's active timber industry seems the logical and well-suited audience for the book. This is an audience which knows the issues and expects authoritative answers. As a reference volume on the development of the lumber industry in Mississippi and the surrounding states, *Mississippi Forests and Forestry* is peerless.

In 2004, the University Press of Mississippi released Fickle's second book on this subject, *Timber*, with a slightly different objective. This time around Fickle states: "It is my intention that the images in this volume will tell the story of how [Mississippi's] forests have been experienced, used, abused, and restored by humans over some four hundred years of the historic era and countless earlier eons before people began keeping written records." The author sets out to tell his readers the history (and prehistory) of forest use in the state through images rather than words.

In addition to the evolution of harvesting, manufacturing, and transportation technology, Fickle treats two issues of paramount importance, fire and reforestation, well. He makes sure that there is more to his story than humans destroying the forest through fire and cutting. Much of the second half of *Timber* is devoted to reforestation with the emphasis placed directly on replanting efforts. Humanity, while responsible for the devastation of Mississippi's forests, is helping to bring those forests back.

Fickle uses every available resource in *Timber*, locating pictures from archives, private collections, and even timber company offices. The pictures are outstanding (a few are repeated from the earlier book) and are placed in a logical sequence, but several lack effective citations and captions.

There are a few flaws in *Timber*. There is neither a table of contents or index. Path-breaking female foresters and women in the Civilian Conservation Corps offer the author an opportunity he seizes upon to introduce gender into the work, but race receives a less thorough treatment, despite several opportunities.

Timber is an outstanding coffee-table book for those interested in the technology and life of the lumber industry. The author claims that the book "is meant to stand on its own," but also notes, "this book will address some of the gaps in my earlier work." The two statements are not necessarily contradictory as both share the same numerous positive qualities and few minor problems. As a companion volume to *Mississippi Forests and Forestry*, *Timber* provides valuable additions and succeeds as a well-researched and prepared coffee-table book.

For those readers looking for a near-comprehensive history of a southern state's forest in two volumes there is nothing to match Fickle's work.

David Benac

Southeastern Louisiana State University

Wayne Flynt. *Alabama in the Twentieth Century*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004, xvii, 602 pp. \$39.95. ISBN 0-8173-1430-X.

Like the state it chronicles, this book is teeming with oversize personalities. The obvious public figures are here, of course: governors like "Kissing Jim" Folsom and the less lovable George Wallace, black leaders in the struggle for equal rights (Booker T. Washington, Rosa Parks, and Martin Luther King, just for starters), their white allies like

Judge Frank Johnson and Justice Hugo Black, and their formidable adversaries like Eugene "Bull" Connor. But less predictable characters also make appearances: Hank Williams, Helen Keller, Bear Bryant, Ralph Ellison, Bobby Allison, Werner von Braun, Tallulah Bankhead, Hank Aaron, W. C. Handy, Harper Lee, architect Samuel Mockbee, photographer William Christenberry, entomologist E. O. Wilson.... This baker's dozen of nationally recognized names, chosen almost at random, indicates how widely Wayne Flynt has cast his net in this magisterial overview of twentieth-century Alabama. He also introduces us to a great many Alabamians less well known outside their state who deserve wider recognition, or notoriety. Indeed, it looks as if the only eminent, infamous, or accomplished twentieth-century Alabamian who doesn't appear in this six hundred-page book is Ray Wilson Scott, the Godfather of competitive bass fishing. (There had to be *something* left out.)

But this isn't just an Alabama *Who's Who*. Flynt is an award-winning historian (recently the president of the Southern Historical Association) who has spent much of his career studying the South's poor whites, and he also gives us the results of his work with the letters and diaries of common folk who would otherwise be all but "perished, as if they had never been" (to borrow from the scriptural epigraph to *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*—a book Flynt discusses at some length. Nor is *Alabama in the Twentieth Century* merely a vast collection of colorful anecdotes. Flynt is a great southern storyteller, and his native state provides a wealth of great stories to tell, but threaded painlessly throughout them are telling statistics and sound generalizations about economic, demographic, and cultural trends.

The book begins with a chapter on Alabama's constitution, "the oldest, longest, and one of the most complex in the nation," adopted in 1901 and still in effect, albeit with more than seven hundred amendments that make it now forty times longer than the U.S. constitution. On his first page Flynt claims that "most if not all the state's formidable problems had their origins in [this] document," a bold assertion that he goes on amply to support. Chapters on Alabama's politics and the state's economy are next, followed by chapters on social class, education, Alabama women, African Americans, twentieth-century wars, sports, religion, and culture both high and low. Within each chapter, the narrative is basically chronological, a structure that lets chapters be read as stand-alone essays, read in just about any order, or skipped altogether (although that would be a mistake). It does make some repetition inevitable, although it is not obtrusive and can even

be informative. That race, religion, and football keep cropping up in chapters other than their own tells you something about the importance of these topics for understanding Alabama.

In *Dirt Tracks on a Dust Road* Zora Neale Hurston (born, Flynt observes, in Notasulga, Alabama) wrote a chapter with the exasperated title "My people, my people!" Flynt often seems to feel the same way about his people. As an active and conspicuous advocate of constitutional and tax reform, sometimes he can barely conceal his scorn for the politicians and power brokers who have, time after time, failed to rise to the occasion. Indeed, reading his book, one is struck that a people so passionate about politics should have a government so useless. Alabamians, it seems, love politics, hate government, but get a lot of it—often of the wrong kind. For example, this quote summarizing the achievements of one recent governor:

Fob James, while regularly denying that the state had an image problem, did more than any governor after George Wallace to create one. James reinstated chain gangs in state prisons, imitated a monkey at a State Board of Education meeting to demonstrate his opposition to textbook treatment of evolution, declared that the Bill of Rights did not apply to Alabama, sought to eliminate judicial review of legislative acts, purchased 900 copies of *Darwin on Trial* for state science teachers, threatened to use National Guard troops to prevent removal of a courtroom plaque containing the Ten Commandments, removed what he claimed were demonic portraits from the governor's mansion, and endorsed messianic prophecies of apocalypse beginning in Israel.

Fortunately for his readers Flynt has a keen eye for irony and absurdity, and he finds plenty of both, whether it's the Greater Birmingham Convention and Visitors Bureau's slogan "Birmingham: It's better than you think," or the fact that the presidents of Auburn and the University of Alabama, threatened with budget cuts, brought their football coaches to a press conference, the implication being "that in order to have college football it was necessary to have colleges."

It goes without saying that *Alabama in the Twentieth Century* will be of particular interest to Alabamians who want to know more about their state, and they will know more when they've read it. Outsiders will learn even more, of course, and learning has never been more pleasurable.

David Goldfield. *Southern Histories: Public, Personal, and Sacred*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 2003, 123 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 0-8203-2561-0.

The three essays in David Goldfield's new book were originally delivered as lectures, and they do what lectures do best: raise important questions, engage those questions in a compelling manner, and make provocative assertions for the listener/reader to consider. In this case, the important questions should concern not just southern historians, but all those interested in the historical enterprise. The relationship between race, memory, identity, and power; the role of religion in shaping culture and the role of culture in shaping religion; and the tensions involved in interpreting a past that continues to shape a fraught present—these are questions of common concern to historians, and Goldfield approaches them with sincerity and insight.

The first essay, "Whose Southern History is it Anyway," is an entertaining and articulate but mostly familiar essay on memory and southern history. With a few notable exceptions, both the narrative and the analysis echo too closely W. Fitzhugh Brundage's introduction to the 2000 collection of essays, *Where These Memories Grow*. One of the essays strengths, though, is the masterful way in which Goldfield synthesizes large chunks of historiography into short and concise phrasings. Students of southern history will recognize the arguments of, among others, Gaines Foster on the Lost Cause, James C. Cobb on southern identity, C. Vann Woodward on the South's similarities with the rest of the world, and George Tindall on history as myth, and will note the efficiency and subtlety of their inclusion. General readers may not recognize the historians but will find this information laid into the text like signposts, directing but not distracting them. Goldfield also gives rich new examples to demonstrate the ways in which history is often remembered in order to create and sustain identity in the present. The contested uses of Nathan Bedford Forrest in literature, the Montgomery city seal with its two slogans, "Cradle of the Confederacy" and "Birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement," and the placement of an Arthur Ashe statue on Richmond's Monument Avenue all show the ways in which Southerners are "reinterpreting southern history, not only in our textbooks but on our landscape, and in our consciousness."

In his second essay, "Faith of our Fathers," Goldfield argues that white evangelical religion in the South is historically intertwined with a culture of intolerance, racism, and conservatism, and that Southerners should work to sort out what is religion and what is

culture. He gives a brief narrative of southern religion from the Lost Cause to George Bush's proclamation that June 10, 2000, be "Jesus Day" in Texas, pointing out the ways that the South traditionally has been "an environment where the civic and spiritual were indistinguishable." Goldfield argues that this "culture-religion" has led to the heated debates surrounding desegregation, school prayer, abortion, religious displays, and homosexuality, and that often the passion the southern evangelical community has for these issues stems less from faith than from a siege mentality, an anxiety that cultural and political power is being wrested from Christians. The author connects the present efforts to promote religious orthodoxy in culture with the contemporaneous resurgence of neo-Confederate groups and battle-flag controversies—both reflect a culture under siege. The debates center around power (just as debates about historical memory center around power), and Goldfield suggests that Southerners need to abandon the desire for cultural hegemony and promote a "regional faith" that fosters independence, tolerance, and respect.

This essay is excellent religious history, and on the whole achieves the delicate balance that is a primary goal of the religious historian: to be at once respectful of religious faith and analytical about its presence in human affairs. However, while quite persuaded of his overall thesis, this reviewer was troubled by some of his conclusions. At the end of the piece, Goldfield's calls for tolerance and respect become yoked with belligerent metaphors—"take on the religious right," "launch offensives against evangelicals," and "manning the battlefields of tolerance and diversity" are a few examples—in such a way that makes the author's calls for tolerance and respect less credible. Goldfield states that religious orthodoxy is in tension with democratic and pluralistic society, and he explores this tension throughout the essay, but in his conclusions he stops just short of saying that it is religion and not society that needs to change: "We cannot have a merger of faith...but the attempt is progress enough." In his calls to evaluate the historical connections, both good and bad, between southern religion and southern culture, Goldfield is articulate and persuasive. In pointing out how anxieties about power can motivate certain religious and political battles, he provides fresh insight. In suggesting that certain machinations of the Christian Right have trivialized the mystery of faith, Goldfield is dead-on. But in his call for Southerners to do battle against evangelical hegemony and develop instead a "regional faith" and a "progressive religion," he seems to shift from historian to religious exhorter. Indeed, he appears to be doing

that which he so disdains among evangelicals—conflating political ideals with faith.

The final piece, “The Uses of Southern History,” provides an original and intriguing perspective on the ways the past can inform the present: original because Goldfield draws from his own experience outside of academia, and intriguing because he raises questions that nearly always make historians uncomfortable. To begin with, he makes this discomfiting statement: “In a region where evangelical demeanor is the norm, why not be an evangelist for southern history?” Surprisingly, this reviewer found himself saying, “Amen, brother” in the end. Goldfield tells of his experience as a consultant in a Supreme Court case concerning redistricting in North Carolina, a contributor to an environmental impact study on offshore drilling in the Gulf of Mexico, and as a mitigating witness in death penalty cases involving Haitian-American minorities in Florida. In each case, he was able to use his expertise in southern history to provide historical context to pressing—sometimes life or death—decisions being made in the present. He shows that the ability to research, synthesize, and communicate a story in plain terms in order to advocate change is not apostasy to the historical craft but an opportunity to use it for good; after all, “if we do not use our craft for what we believe in, some other professionals will, for good or ill.” This final piece is courageous and provocative, and on the whole the book demonstrates why David Goldfield is one of our leading historians. Subtle, insightful, and sincere, one wishes that all lectures did as much good work as these.

Benjamin E. Wise

Rice University

Philip Gould. *Natchitoches and Louisiana's Timeless Cane River*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002. \$39.95. ISBN 0-8071-2832-5.

Ever since April 9, 1682, when La Salle claimed, named, and delineated mid-continental America for Louis XIV's France, the vast territory and eventual state of Louisiana seem to be exclusively formed by the Mississippi River. *Natchitoches and Louisiana's Timeless Cane River* expands and develops that definition by presenting a lavish collection of 150 spectacular color photographs complemented by a trinity of texts authored by resident local historians. This richly appointed coffee-table book presents the reader with a delightful and detailed appreciation of an exotic town, valley, and people curiously

evidencing a Creole heart beating deep in the upland bosom of a pervasively Anglo North Louisiana.

If Clyde Lockwood remains the undisputed champion photographer of Louisiana's natural environment, Philip Gould reigns supreme as the king of documentary, architectural, and cultural imagery. His keen eye and skilled hand for recognizing and recording both setting and significance, easily apparent in his earlier *Louisiana Faces*, *The Louisiana Houses of A. Hays Town*, and *Cajun Music and Zydeco*, are powerfully evident in this latest study from the LSU Press. Gould, a master of black-and-white artistry, reveals in vibrant and well-reproduced color the tempos and tastes of a pleasantly insular community. By photographing the obvious and the obscure in a sensitive and dynamic mix, he masterfully depicts the oldest permanent settlement in the Louisiana territories, successfully teaching a visual lesson in the ability of traditions to survive and thrive over time.

Richard Seale's "The Town of Natchitoches" opens a trio of entertaining and illuminating chapters punctuated and promoted by Gould's exquisite photographs. Manager of Fort Jean Baptiste State Historical Site, an amazing full-sized and architecturally accurate recreation of the circa 1730s frontier stronghold, Seale begins his city's history with initial visits of French explorers to the namesake home of the Natchitoches, an expansive Native-American nation of the Caddo confederacy. His narrative follows successive French, Spanish, and American presences into a cotton-rich antebellum period ending with a debilitating environmental change in the 1840s and the wartime devastations of the 1860s. Colonial aficionados may hunger for more photographs of the fabulous fort, but all readers should enjoy Seale's recounts of Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, the city's founder and original developer, who made Natchitoches one of few true success stories in French Louisiana history. This section sets the stage for three signature regional themes: first, the peculiar evolution of colonial slavery which gave prominence to local Creoles of Color; second, the unfolding implications which arose from controversial claims to southwestern territories in the wake of a disputed Louisiana Purchase; finally, the natural calamity which resulted from Henry Miller Shreve's engineering good deed which unclogged the Red River Raft, a 160-mile-long upriver logjam, but forced the freed effluence to isolate Natchitoches in a smaller stretch of its abandoned Cane River channel.

Former mayor and ongoing historic district promoter Robert DeBlieux continues Natchitoches' history in "The Cane River Plantations." His assessment of the interplay of town and country

handily merges accounts from primary documents with a local's sense of continuity between a strong past and heritage-rich present. DeBlieux has a profound understanding of the nuances of a Creole culture loyal to European and African folkways yet firmly rooted in an American wilderness. His text and Gould's photographs create a virtual tour of representative plantations where, true to William Faulkner's old dictum, "the past is not dead; in fact, it's not even past." Cane River plantations, unlike the somewhat flamboyant excesses in Natchez and along the (Mississippi) River Road, have been lovingly maintained by descendants of original owners to present a spare and lived-in elegance of Natchitoches' backcountry Old South. All the expected amenities are here, but the oak alleys and fine interiors exist in relaxed proximity to comfortable front-porch rockers, slightly askew gates and carefully revealed under-structures where form naturally follows function. DeBlieux's segment examines three Melrose Plantation notables: the two cultural émigrés, art and literary patron Carmelite "Miss Cammie" Henry and the Louisiana regional writer Lyle Saxon, and the renowned black native and naive painter, Clementine Hunter. A four-page sojourn to neighboring Cloutierville rounds out the area's other literary contributor, Kate Chopin, famed for her early feminist novel, *The Awakening*.

Natchitoches historian and Houston physician Harlan Guidry's chapter on "The Creoles of Isle Brevelle" explores the shadowy worlds of parentage from the uncertainties of colonial and antebellum periods up to the dawning of racial pride and self-identity in today's Louisiana. Cane River *gens de couleur libres* represent a blending of white, black and red in a color-sensitive milieu. At once free but restrained, Creoles of Color retreated into discreet self-sufficiency, provident and prosperous within a rusticity where family and community values connected the past and present. Their most celebrated daughter, mother and matriarch, Marie Thereze, famously known to history as *Coincoin*, led a life of such great suffering and achievement as to justify a major motion picture. It would be capable of wresting Natchitoches' cinemagraphic fame away from *Steel Magnolias*. Her experiences as slave, freedwoman, and liberator, and the lives of her descendants at Isle Brevelle down the years, show that slaves did not submit to mean, impoverished, or insignificant lives. Guidry's story, played across Yucca and Melrose plantations, surely sparks a hunger to know and see more about where *Coincoin* loved and lived.

By combining the ambiguities of Creoles of Color with parallel contexts of town and countryside, this book introduces an area nominally known for its meat-pies and Christmas festivals to a far

greater audience. Photographer, writers, and press have enriched popular history, promoted historical tourism, and deepened our understanding of a racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse state. In a Gulf South peppered with many interesting sub-regions, *Natchitoches and Louisiana's Timeless Cane River* entices readers to experience a unique place and people.

Charles Elliott

Southeastern Louisiana University

Robert W. Halli, ed. *An Alabama Songbook: Ballads, Folksongs, and Spirituals*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004, 272 pp., introduction, appendix, index. \$49.95. ISBN 0-8173-1306-0.

We live in an increasingly interconnected world, where technology allows us to share stories, images, and ideas instantly. Within this new world order, distinctions between regions, their people and culture, are losing validity. Very soon the last blues player from the Mississippi Delta will pass, or the funeral march will sound for the last improvisational Jazz master. The same can be said for Appalachian music, bluegrass, and a host of other regional styles. Within each of these musical genres, organizations and festivals exist to pass the sounds on to another generation, but these new converts are not geographically connected to the music, but accept it for other social or cultural reasons. Regional folk music is very much a part of this process, except that fewer people do the work necessary to preserve this oral record of the past. "Alabama is a state rich in folksong tradition," writes Robert W. Halli in his introduction to *An Alabama Songbook*, which he hopes will spark renewed interest in the state's musical past.

In 1945, Byron Arnold, an assistant professor of music at the University of Alabama set out on a three-year quest to collect as many folk songs from the region as he could. The first year's results were published in 1950 as *The Folksongs of Alabama* and comprised of 153 of the nearly 258 songs he had collected. Over the next several years Arnold amassed nearly one thousand songs, now part of the Byron Arnold Collection of Folksongs at the University of Alabama. Halli became involved in the project in the early 1980s, complimenting the work by Robert Nicolosi and Deborah Harhai, who had the daunting task of organizing the donated collection in the mid 1970s. The project continued into the eighties with Halli as the sole editor, and this volume was finally published in 2004.

Most of the songs collected have not been published before. Halli does an excellent job of displaying the varieties sung by Alabama's people. The volume is very accessible, divided into specific topical sections like "The Civil War and After," or "Railroad Work Songs." It is quite a comprehensive compendium of folk songs and styles. The extended presentation of Spirituals, so much a part of rural southern life, but largely ignored by the first volume, is especially welcome. In fact, this *Songbook* is far more inclusive than its predecessor in terms of not only race, but of class and region as well. Songs from the distinct regions of Alabama detail the social and cultural history of the state, from the number of black spirituals collected from the western parts of the state to the resilience of English ballads in its eastern and northern regions.

Those interested in folksongs or folkways will learn a great deal from Halli's editing and organization. When Byron collected these songs in the forties, he did so by listening to people sing them and hand transcribing them as best he could. He would ask the singers, the majority of whom were women, if his notes were correct and go from there. For each of the singers he collected biographical information, much of which is presented in Halli's volume, as well as the description of the song provided by the singer. These vignettes are quite interesting and valuable, as they place the songs in context. In the descriptions of both their lives and the songs the reader can better understand some of the issues that were important to the performers. Most of the singers were from rural, hard-scrabble backgrounds. Songs detailing people who had the courage to do what is right, the righteous outlaw, drinking, carousing, love, hate, death, hard work, and God give the modern reader a portrait of life they lived. The values of rural southern life animate these songs, the rigidity of race relations is clear, and the difficulty of making a living is never forgotten.

Halli's volume is a welcome addition to the preservation of folk music. Interestingly, an art form with roots at the lowest end of the socio-economic ladder in the last century is now being preserved and disseminated by interested people with little actual connection to the themes and issues of the songs. So it has been with Jazz and the Blues, as one generation passes onto the next, the songs become either romantic recollections of a simpler day or texts for trying to better understand how our ancestors viewed their time. Either way, *An Alabama Songbook* is a valuable addition to remembering a culture passed by.

Susan Wiley Hardwick. *Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America's Third Coast*. Creating the North American Landscape Series. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, xii, 175 pp. \$45.00. ISBN 0-8018-6887-4.

During the years between the United States' annexation of Texas, the Civil War, and the 1920s, the city of Galveston competed with today's megalopolises Houston and Dallas for population and economic dominance. Galveston, along with Pensacola and New Orleans, served as a major Gulf Coast seaport and functioned for a few years as the "Ellis Island of the South." University of Oregon geographer Susan Wiley Hardwick recognizes Galveston's intrinsic importance to Texas's economic history and ethnic identity. Hardwick, author of *Russian Refuge: Religion, Migration, and Settlement in the North American Pacific Rim*, attempts a comparative analysis of immigrant settlement patterns and their experiences in Galveston. *Mythic Galveston* identifies one facet of contemporary Texas mythology: newly arrived immigrants and long-established Anglo island residents co-existed harmoniously from Galveston's establishment until the present day. Hardwick challenges that myth with her claims of discovery of a distinct class system based on socioeconomic, ethnic, and birthplace divisions. Although Hardwick's ambitious thesis and postulations regarding identity and space in Galveston promise new insight into the city's complex history and importance to Texas, she relies heavily on secondary sources, particularly Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov's considerable works on immigration in the state, and generally leaves her assumptions about Galveston's global identity unsubstantiated.

Mythic Galveston provides invaluable insight into migration patterns and push-pull factors for immigrants arriving at the port. Hardwick succinctly outlines the rise of the city's economic elite and their later political ascension. The book traces the initial wealth in Galveston to cotton merchants and ship agents who moved to the city with capital to invest. These investors gain power and more wealth, thereby creating an immense and still present schism between the wealthy and the laboring classes. Hardwick raises an interesting theory regarding Galveston's eventual decline as one of the state's economic competitors; she believes that the local leaders' stranglehold on Galveston's politics and industry provoked more long-term economic damage than the Great Storm of 1900. In her analysis of the storm, she concentrates on the Italian community, particularly focusing on a

comparative analysis of areas it destroyed and Italian residential patterns. Her research reveals the Great Storm had tragic consequences in the number of children and caretakers at Galveston's orphanages as well as its devastating impact on immigrant families.

The most insightful chapter focuses on the largely overlooked Galveston Movement, an effort to relocate Eastern European Jews suffering under Russia's pogroms to the United States. Using communiqués between the Jewish Territorial Organization (JTO) in Europe, Jewish leaders in the United States, and Rabbi Henry Cohen in Galveston, Hardwick follows Jewish immigrants from Russia, to Bremen, Germany, to Galveston, and finally to trains bound for municipalities in the U.S. interior. Obstacles introduced by Texas port authorities and the outbreak of World War I led to the end of the Galveston Movement, but for a short time the port served as an entry to the United States. In the process it saved roughly ten thousand Jews from the pogroms.

The book includes numerous valuable maps, including grids of Galveston depicting immigrant settlement patterns as well as immigrant-owned business, organized by ethnicity. Hardwick juxtaposes the settlement grids with areas of the Great Storm's most detrimental destruction, allowing readers to visualize the extent of devastation on Galveston's immigrant communities.

In spite of numerous successes and particularly the study of the Galveston Movement, *Mythic Galveston* contains some errors and missed opportunities. The author does not specify a time frame for her study, and its thesis is unclear. Hardwick introduces Galveston's three-fold identity as a Texas frontier town, a southern port, and as a part of the United States' distinct Third Coast region, but abandons a broader exploration of a distinct municipal identity.

Acknowledging her unfamiliarity with Texas history, the author repeatedly refers to Cabeza de Vaca's Moroccan companion as "Esteban" (rather than Estevanico) in the first chapter. A history of Galveston should contain some information regarding the economic consequences of Union blockade and the Confederate use of Matamoros and Bagdad in Mexico rather than shipping and receiving goods from Galveston, a study *Mythic Galveston* overlooks. She attempts to answer questions of ethnicity and identity without comparing regional voting patterns with immigrant settlement patterns, and endeavors a study of immigrant status in Galveston without mentioning Jim Crow restrictions. She refers to the enormous amount of material needed to build a seawall and elevate the island following the Great Storm's

destruction, but does not provide information about laborers' ethnicity or local immigrant business participation.

The most glaring absence of analysis occurs in Hardwick's treatment of post-Great Storm political organization. She briefly explores the Galveston Plan's implementation from inception to the seawall's completion. Although she mentions immigrant response to the plan, she characterizes it by saying, "in the aftermath of the storm they [immigrants and African Americans] faced survival issues of their own and so would have no time for involvement in politics." She never uses the word "progressive," in her assessment of the Galveston Plan and fails to evaluate the plan's significance nationally.

Hardwick's *Mythic Galveston* contributes an intriguing analysis of the Galveston Movement as well as numerous examples of well-organized data and maps. The book's greatest success lies in the questions and assumptions it raises. Is Galveston a southern port or a Third Coast city? Is she right in assuming immigrants, and particularly their children, "may have become Texans on the outside, [but] still German or Italian or African American or Irish when they returned home from work, attended church, or visited friends and family?" Historians interested in Galveston's diverse ethnic make-up should find Hardwick's data and maps valuable. *Mythic Galveston* raises interesting questions for Texas and Gulf Coast historians.

Tina Cannon

Texas Christian University

Rosalyn Howard. *Black Seminoles in the Bahamas*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002, 150 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$55.00, ISBN 0-8130-2559-1; Paper, \$24.95, ISBN 0-8130-2743-8.

Rosalyn Howard's *Black Seminoles in the Bahamas* has helped to revolutionize and personalize our understanding of Florida's—and, by inference, Gulf coast area—maroons and their connections with the Atlantic world. An anthropology professor at Orlando's University of Central Florida, Howard lived for a year, beginning in November 1996, within the black community at Red Bays, Andros Island, Bahamas. Since then, she has returned to the area on numerous occasions. Building trust over time while mining available documentary sources, she managed to overcome local mistrust of "the American," a fact that enabled her to gather a remarkable collection

of local lore projecting the ancestors of modern residents back to early nineteenth-century Florida.

Howard naturally erected her study on the basis of earlier scholarship at the hands of such historians, anthropologists, and archivists as Kenneth W. Porter, John M. Goggin, Harry A. Kersey, David E. Wood, and Jan Carew. To their contributions she has added her own gleanings plus work of others that, until publication of her book, has remained essentially unavailable. The sum of Howard's efforts certainly is impressive, and its impact already has been felt. Her insights and discoveries particularly have aided ongoing historical and archaeo-logical research regarding the town of Angola, a substantial maroon settlement that existed on the Manatee River near present-day Bradenton from 1812 until its destruction by Lower Creek raiders in 1821. Angola's destruction, as now can be understood with greater clarity, fueled the flight of refugee residents to British protection in the Bahamas and, ultimately, an Andros Island home.

The range of historically relevant information presented by Howard extends well beyond memories of travel to the Bahamas by refugee Black Seminoles. Few scholars interested in Florida's maroon community would have imagined up until now, for instance, having the opportunity to benefit so easily from recollections of the 1818 Battle of the Suwannee as told from the perspective of black combatants. "I heard 'bout the battle of Swanee against Stonewall [*sic*] Jackson," one aged descendant reflected, "my grandmother tell me 'bout it and her grandmother tell her 'bout it long before." The woman added as further preface to her family's saga, "Stories like that does come down to us with voices in the wind." Vivid memories of American slavery resonate, as well. "My mommy told me that daddy [Edward Miller] use to tell them, say that when they goes to work in slavery time, they have a white boss, like the master," Alma Miller informed Howard. "So they would go out and they work and they do all they master's work and sometime they be beaten," she declared. "Then when they master beat them, they used to lay down on they belly, face down," Miller added as she continued to relate her story.

The point should be made that the author conceived and wrote *Black Seminoles in the Bahamas* not as a historical narrative but as an anthropological study. As such, it carefully reviews the cultural context within which the Andros Island black community coalesced, the dynamics of maroon community building generally, the "social landscapes" of the Bahama Islands, and, among other topics, the political maturation of black Bahamians. Delving also into the

evolution of the Andros settlements, she discusses fully early perceptions and visitors' accounts, contemporary life, kinship and social structure, demographics and household composition, the culture of gender and sexuality, contemporary subsistence strategies, religion, folklore, and recreation. She concludes by examining the Bahamian Black Seminole identity, finding, in the process, that "Black Seminole heritage" has become "essentially a nonissue" at Red Bays in the modern era.

Black Seminoles in the Bahamas by no means represents the end of needed study of its subject, but it does offer a solid beginning at the hands of a determined professional anthropologist with an admirable sensitivity to historical context and issues. This reviewer hopes that Professor Howard will continue her works adding further substance to our understanding of Florida's and the Gulf coast's heritage of freedom as exemplified by maroon communities such as Fort Mose, the Negro Fort, and Angola.

Canter Brown Jr.

Florida A&M University

Charles M. Hudson. *Conversations with the High Priest of Coosa*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003, xx, 222 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$34.95, ISBN 0-8078-2753-3; Paper, \$17.95, ISBN 0-8078-5421-2.

Though it is said you can't teach an old dog new tricks, anthropologist Charles Hudson is the proverbial exception to the rule. Hudson's innovation, which he defines as "fictionalized ethnography," combines the expertise of the scholar and the artistry of the storyteller in an attempt to recover the elusive world of the late prehistoric Southeastern Indians. The story is set in the year 1560, during Spaniard Tristan de Luna's *entrada* into Coosa, a Mississippian town and chiefdom centered in present-day northwest Georgia. In this setting, Hudson recounts a series of imagined conversations between Father Domingo de la Anunciacion, a real life member of Luna's entourage, and a fictitious character, an elderly man known as The Raven, Coosa's "high priest" or resident expert in things spiritual. A young woman named Teresa (again, based upon a real-life member of Luna's entourage), who had been captured twenty years earlier by Hernando de Soto and brought to Spain, facilitates their conversations by serving as translator. Though the conversations are fictitious, they are nevertheless grounded upon a firm evidentiary basis and succeed more

than any work before it in capturing the inner workings of late prehistoric Southeastern Indian culture.

The Raven begins by introducing Father Anunciacion gradually to the Coosa belief system, first by relating "children's stories" involving anthropomorphic animals and the means by which each acquired its peculiar physical characteristics and habits. The Raven then proceeds to subjects of greater cosmological significance, such as the origins of the world and the clan system, instructing Anunciacion in the particulars of Coosa gender conventions along the way. After a crash course on Coosa rituals of divination and healing, The Raven then begins to reveal to Anunciacion the spiritual foundations of Coosa political organization and ceremonial life, the subject of the book's final chapters.

In these final chapters, arguably the best in the book and most original, Hudson brings all of his expertise to bear to recapture the lost world of the Mississippian chiefdoms, socially stratified societies that appear to have collapsed in the wake of the sixteenth-century Spanish *entradas*. Hudson's imaginative, yet disciplined, mythological reconstructions introduce readers to the Coosas' martial ethos in a story about Tastanake, the prototype for the ideal Coosa warrior. Coosa reverence for their political leaders can be gleaned from the story of the first "Sun Chief and Sun Woman," the mythic progenitors of Coosa's chiefly lineage.

Hudson saves his best for the next to last chapter, "Posketa," where, through the eyes of Father Anunciacion, the elements of Coosa worldview come to life in a re-enactment of the Green Corn ceremony. Hudson, drawing upon extant eighteenth-century accounts of Southeastern Indian ceremonial life and the archaeological record, reconstructs the ritual as it might have been practiced in Coosa two centuries earlier, when its paramount chief was yet the object of his people's veneration. For example, Anunciacion relates the prominent role the living "Sun Chief" plays in extinguishing then rekindling the Coosas' sacred fire and describes the chief's elaborately carved shell gorgets, which will be familiar to anyone who has seen museum displays of these ubiquitous Mississippian artifacts. The Coosas also make use of statuary relics akin to the famous Etowah statues, which they use to venerate the original Sun Chief and Sun Woman. What makes this chapter stand out is Hudson's ability to weave together the various threads that comprise the Coosa cosmology, introduced to readers by The Raven in previous chapters. We find that The Raven's stories, seemingly unconnected at first, provide a comprehensive view of the Coosa world.

In addition to exploring the Coosa worldview, Hudson develops his characters in a way that dramatizes the cultural conflict between the Coosas and the Spanish. The interpreter Teresa, back in Coosa after twenty years living among the Spanish, constantly wrestles with her conflicted identity. Initially chastised by her own people for being a Christian, she gradually re-establishes herself as part of the Coosa community, facilitated by her marriage to a Coosa warrior. Though conflicted, she opts in the end to remain in the land of her birth rather than return to the Spanish. Father Anunciacion, too, seems a changed man. Though secure in his Catholic faith, the deeper understanding he gains of the Coosa worldview stimulates admiration, both for The Raven and his people. Toward the end, Anunciacion finds himself in a "conundrum." Though he laments the Coosas' unfamiliarity with the Christian gospel, he realizes that that the high priest of Coosa "is not a stupid man" and nor are the Coosas for seeking his spiritual wisdom.

It might be argued that Hudson's fictionalized ethnography can never replace the classic collections of Southeastern Indian myths previously compiled by James Mooney, John Swanton, and others. It might also be argued that Hudson relies more heavily than is necessary on Cherokee evidence to reconstruct the inner world of the Coosas, whose Muskogean traditions differed somewhat from that of the Cherokees. These potential shortcomings, however, do not mar Hudson's achievement. Readers will find that they, like Father Anunciacion, get drawn gradually into the Coosa world in a way that both informs and entertains, testimony to the synergy Hudson creates between scholarly expertise and artistic creativity. Hudson, who has done so much to inspire the study of Southeastern Indians, continues to challenge us by inventing a new genre of ethnohistorical writing that has much to offer both the professional scholar and the casual reader.

Steven C. Hahn

St. Olaf College

Lucy Anne Hurston and the Estate of Zora Neale Hurston. *Speak, So You Can Speak Again: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston*. New York: Doubleday, 2004, 36 pp. with audio CD. \$29.95. ISBN 0-385-49375-4.

Ardent fans of Zora Neale Hurston, and there are many, will deeply appreciate the intimacy of *Speak, So You Can Speak Again*, a scrapbook-style portrait of the author assembled by her niece, Lucy Anne Hurston, and endorsed by the Hurston family. To Hurston

aficionados, she is more than the sum of her work, more than the novelist, folklorist, anthropologist, and genius of the South she was so deemed by one such fan, Alice Walker, who helped re-establish Hurston as a major American literary figure and has written about the unique and powerful spiritual bond that Hurston's life and work evokes.

A mystic and hoodoo conjurer who had vivid premonitions and snapped a photograph of a zombie, Hurston often attracts admirers who claim to experience a metaphysical connection to her, and it is this cosmic quality that warrants such a collection of artifacts as are found within this scrapbook. Readers can hold life-like facsimiles of Hurston's personal papers: handwritten poems, homemade Christmas cards, rough drafts, programs, maps, letters, all manner of private, public, and precious paraphernalia that give the illusion that they may have been hidden in a box tucked neatly under her bed when Hurston died poverty stricken in Florida in 1960 with all of her works out of print. This collection offers the possibility for connection to and reflection on the details of a full, sometimes harsh, and always guarded life that nourished Hurston's novels, plays, and folklore.

Most moving among the facsimiles enclosed within the pages are the charred remains of draft notes to *Seraph and the Suwanee* (1948). Typed, yellowed, and burned around the edges, the pages seem like a treasure rescued in the nick of time before Hurston's papers were completely lost when her humble home was cleared out by hired hands after her death at the Saint Lucie County welfare home. The penciled cross-outs and re-writes show the mind of a serious writer at work, but the condition of the pages suggests the fragility of the artist's predicament.

Similarly evocative is a handwritten draft of the first chapter of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) with the famous opening line scratched out. Hurston claimed to have written the manuscript in six weeks, and this draft, probably for the typist, is penciled in tiny longhand replete with arrows, check marks, and eraser smudges. All of the enclosures are painstakingly transcribed in the back of the book to aid those interested in further study of manuscript changes and her editing style.

Speak, So You Can Speak Again also contains one of the most complete photo journals of Hurston's life that is available in a single collection. The good-sized pictures frame the thirty-three pages of text and chronicle the changing faces of the artist as she matured. Particularly interesting is one of the last known photos of Hurston in Florida in the 1950s. One can observe what may be her somewhat

ramshackle dwelling in the background as she sits in a simple chair with a dog at her feet, probably telling “a lie,” as she liked to call her stories gleaned from years of serious collecting.

The text itself does not offer anything new to those who are familiar with her story. The narration reads like a brief summary of Robert Hemenway’s excellent *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (1977), and the serious Hurston scholar will be disappointed that Hurston’s family is unable (or unwilling) to shed more light on the particulars of a fascinating, difficult, and singular life in which many moments remain silent and unaccounted for. Even her so-called autobiography *Dust Tracks on a Road* (1942) is considered more interesting for what Hurston chose not to tell than for what she revealed about herself.

The accompanying audio CD begins with a 1943 interview with Mary Margaret McBride, which also leaves the listener curious as to why Hurston leaves out so much of the detail of how it was that she was able to bring herself from a penniless, homeless, wanderer to the self-described queen of the Harlem Renaissance’s “Niggeratti.” What does come through in the interview is her unwavering belief in herself; she believed that she was, in fact, special. The rest of the CD contains mostly work songs Hurston collected over the years and recorded in 1939. In these recordings, a forty-eight year old Hurston still sounds like the child at the gatepost who could not understand how anyone could resist the charm of her singing and storytelling. The songs and her performances are delightful for the character she expresses; however, the listener might lament (as she herself often did) that Hurston did not have a better singing voice.

In *Speak, So You Can Speak Again*, Lucy Hurston and the Hurston family have gifted us with a touching keepsake of a beloved artist and woman, to many, a true cultural hero who remains inexplicable and mysterious, varied and contrary, a life and soul that can be studied and admired but never completely possessed. Hurston left us what she wanted us to see, and like Janie in her most famous novel, she chose to forget what she did not want to remember or to be remembered. *Speak, So You Can Speak Again* is a fitting tribute to a writer who gathered the raw materials of her life and fashioned stories as she wanted them to be told.

Mark Kemp. *Dixie Lullaby: A Story of Music, Race and New Beginnings in a New South*. New York: Free Press, 2004, 296 pp., notes, bibliography, index. \$26.00. ISBN 0-7432-3794-3.

We have heard the baby boomer yuppie story so many times that it now seems to be *the* American story; it is such a dominant and hegemonic myth that no other stories seem to get told. Ironically, this tale is told mantra-like under the guise of political social inclusiveness, even as it pushes every experience but its own to the margins of the American consciousness. Mark Kemp's *Dixie Lullaby* is fascinating and provocative because it tells another story. It is about the boomer children and their wanderings in the confusing new world created for them by their parents.

Kemp weaves his own coming-of-age in the post civil rights South with the birth and development of Southern Rock, an enduring and pervasively influential branch of rock music born particularly in the Florida swamps and in Muscle Shoals, Alabama. From his home in Asheboro, North Carolina, in a drug-fueled high school in the seventies, to editing alternative rock magazine *Option*, to entertainment editor of *The Charlotte Observer*, Kemp chronicles his youthful Allman Brothers adoration, his subsequent shamed rejection of the South, and finally his repentant return. His book explains how Southern Rock was created out of the necessities resulting from the assassination of Dr. King in 1968. While the rest of society integrated, recording studios found themselves suddenly segregated. As guitarist Jimmy Johnson of the legendary Muscle Shoals studios tells it, "As soon as that happened, whites were immediately shut out of black music." The predominately white session players who had formerly backed Otis Redding, Aretha Franklin, and Wilson Pickett suddenly found themselves with nothing to do, so Southern Rock was born. Kemp covers most of the major players of Southern Rock from the point of view of an avid fan and as a music critic insider.

Dixie Lullaby is filled with cultural observations that need to be heard. For someone of the same generation as Kemp's, it is reassuring to hear that, for our generation, song lyrics were of primary importance to the shaping of our beliefs and values. The official version of reality as handed to us already digested by the media often did not match what we were experiencing in our daily lives; however, the song lyrics of the seventies addressed our concerns, often with incisive intelligence and insight. Kemp also confirms the class analysis of Bertrand's *Race, Rock, & Elvis*. Kemp writes, "It's tempting to see

the poor white man who expresses a racist feeling about his joblessness as the oppressor, but the poor white man by definition has no power to oppress. The oppressor is the wealthy system that drove the wedge, between poor whites and poor blacks in the first place, creating a space for racism to pickle.” In the last chapter, it is interesting to hear Kemp confess, that, along with most rock critics of the eighties and nineties, his progressive politics colored his reviews of recording artists. He writes, “As it turned out, ‘politically correct’ became more of a euphemism for cultural fascism than a rallying cry for cultural idealism or moralism.”

A key framing device for his narrative is a tour of the South the author and his dad take together in the Spring of 2002 for the purpose of doing research for the book. Formerly estranged because of the issues of drugs and rock music, as they together look up the facts and hunt down the key interviews, Kemp finds healing and a renewed relationship both with his father and with the South. Hopefully an intelligent and kind-hearted reading of *Dixie Lullaby* will heal a similar rift in the larger culture.

Charles Belcher Jr.

Austin Community College

Robert Rodgers Korstad. *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, xii, 556 pp. Cloth, \$55.00, ISBN 0-8078-2781-9; Paper, \$24.95, ISBN 0-8078-5454-9.

Robert Korstad's *Civil Rights Unionism* provides a rich account of tobacco workers' efforts to build a militant labor organization. This award-winning book teaches us about the possibilities and obstacles these workers and their allies encountered in seeking to change R. J. Reynolds, Winston-Salem, the South, and the nation during the 1940s. Korstad focuses especially on the black working-class women and men who formed this union, while also considering carefully how white workers, union organizers, southern progressives, liberals, company executives, city leaders, and other local and national actors shaped the union's prospects and the larger political climate. The fate of this union and its "broad-based challenge to economic exploitation, political disenfranchisement, and racial discrimination" mark a watershed in modern American history.

This book is built around an institutional history of Local 22 of the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America-CIO. Born during World War II in Winston-Salem's R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, this left-wing union lost its standing during the Cold War when it was narrowly defeated in a disputed election (1950). But Korstad, working in the vein of social and cultural history, takes us far beyond Local 22's rise and fall to explore what this movement meant to supporters and opponents and to investigate how it was organized. Most compellingly, *Civil Rights Unionism* gives readers a well-rounded view of black working-class life in Winston-Salem, while also offering a longer-term perspective on the dynamics of class politics and white supremacy in the city and workplace. We see the hardships women and men experienced in the workplace, at home, and in the community but also the joys they derived from collective action and daily encounters. Korstad pays particular attention to the role of churches and music in black workers' lives and the movement culture that Local 22 sought to build. While we might wish to learn more about white workers' daily lives and culture, this study points the way for such a project.

Korstad, who teaches history and public policy at Duke University, is co-author of two path-breaking oral history projects (*Like a Family* and *Remembering Jim Crow*). His mastery of oral history is evident throughout *Civil Rights Unionism*; this exemplary study illustrates how such sources can be used to enrich both the narrative and analysis. The lengthy excerpts from interviews that are woven into this story make the hopes, disappointments, and everyday challenges of this social movement palpable. The gripping account of organizing the Tobacco Workers Organizing Committee (1942-43) would not be possible without this material. Likewise, the fine-grained analysis of Local 22's aggressive shop steward system also relied on these oral accounts. The evidence Korstad gathered from interviews with female activists helped him to understand their central role in the union and the community, as well as the significance of complaints about sexual harassment and gender inequalities. While this study rests on extensive archival research, scores of interviews with participants (including Korstad's father, who had worked with Local 22) bring life and depth to this story.

This work maintains a clear focus on those who exercised power. Local 22 and its overwhelmingly black membership faced numerous opponents and obstacles. Union leaders sought to build a broad interracial organization, but had intermittent success organizing

white workers. Middle-class African Americans in Winston-Salem had a mixed relationship with Local 22. Some saw it as an engine for civil rights and respect; others felt that the union challenged their prerogatives of leadership in the community. Foremen in the plants resented the union's undermining of their authority. But the Reynolds management and other white elites in Winston-Salem most vigorously and effectively opposed the union, seeking to bolster the systems of racial capitalism and white supremacy from which they had long derived profits and benefits. Local 22 was a powerful organization that, at times, enlisted and mobilized a majority of the company's black workers and a smaller share of white workers in this racially segregated workplace. At its height, this union of low-waged workers threatened Reynolds' position and financial interests. At its lowest point, the union and its leaders faced race-baiting and anticommunism. In the late 1940s, Reynolds executives and other city leaders brought about a "metamorphosis of white supremacy" to undermine the union and strengthen their own grip on power. Korstad contends that corporate power, not white working-class racism, stands as the primary cause of civil rights unionism's demise.

Among its many important contributions, this book weighs in on labor historians' debate over the federal government's role in labor relations. Did the New Deal rearrangement of industrial relations bolster workers' power? Or did the bargain organized labor made with the New Deal and the Democratic Party lead to bureaucratic rigidity and political anemia? Korstad demonstrates that federal power was an "indispensable" ingredient for the success of black, low-wage workers in the South. The protections of the Wagner Act, especially, enabled black tobacco workers to take on the drive for unionization and challenge the localism and personalism that "lay at the heart of owners' power" in this southern city. Taft-Hartley and the federal government's role in Cold War anticommunism, on the other hand, left the union vulnerable. While Korstad notes that this interpretation applies particularly to the South, historians might use this example to re-engage the debate beyond this region.

Scholars and general readers interested in labor, Southern, African-American, and urban history will want to read and ponder *Civil Rights Unionism*. Like Stephen Meyer's *Stalin Over Wisconsin*, this book gives us a riveting account of mid-twentieth-century militant unionism. Along with Michael Honey's *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*, Korstad's study firmly establishes the crucial role that black working-class women and men played in mid-century civil rights, while

also illuminating how this legacy of organizing against the inequities of racial capitalism was lost to the later Civil Rights movement. This is a long, but important, inspiring, and sobering book.

Eric Fure-Slocum

St. Olaf College

John and Mary Lou Missal. *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004, xxii, 255 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, references, index. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8130-226-3822.

John and Mary Lou Missal have undertaken to write a history of the Second Seminole War that does not rehash previous material; instead, they strive to produce a volume that “adequately covers all three wars and the years leading up to them” and that tries “to understand why the United States government and certain of its citizens acted as they did.” They also highlight two recurring themes that run through this event: that “the triumphs seemed less satisfying to the winners than they should have been” and that both Seminoles and Americans possessed “sheer determination” to prevail over their enemy. The Missals accomplish their basic objective, but they offer a less than satisfying presentation of this often forgotten conflict.

After a brief overview of the history of Florida and its Spanish, British, and Seminole occupants, the authors focus on their main subject of American desire to own the peninsula and to rid it of its native residents. American Indian policy in the Southeast was one of bloodshed and carnage, especially with Andrew Jackson in charge. His involvement in the First Seminole War “dealt [the Seminoles] a blow from which they were never able to recover,” and his unforgiving personality made compromise impossible. After this conflict, the United States acquired Florida from the Spanish and negotiated the Treaty of Moultrie Creek (1823) with the Seminoles requiring all Indians to reside on a reservation in central Florida. There, they suffered from starvation and harbored runaway slaves. With Jackson’s rise to the presidency and the passage of the Indian Removal Act (1830), all Indians’ days of living east of the Mississippi were numbered. Another series of talks led to the Treaty of Payne’s Landing (1832) requiring final removal of the Seminoles by 1835. Instead of leaving, however, they fought back, which began the Second Seminole War. The United States celebrated few victories and made many

changes in command in an attempt to find someone who would destroy the Seminoles once and for all even after the majority had moved to Indian Territory. An uneasy peace occurred in 1842 when the last group of Seminoles relocated to the southern portion of the peninsula, but it was broken in 1855 after a series of raids on neighboring homesteads. Upon the conclusion of this Third Seminole War three years later, the remnants of Seminoles left for the west, and Americans were free to take over the entire region in order to satisfy their expansionist appetite.

Besides presenting this history of the Seminole Wars with excellent details, especially the second one, the Missals also put forth several important contributions to this field of study. They reinterpret the roles played by the legendary figures of Osceola and Billy Bowlegs and demonstrate that while they were influential characters in the second and third conflicts respectively, they were by no means the only diplomats or combatants who participated in this struggle. The authors also discuss the crucial impact that runaway slaves had on the course of events. While they contend that the wars still would have occurred even without their presence, they show how their existence and activities affected the success and failure of diplomatic negotiations and military engagements.

One significant drawback to this text, however, is the absence of the Seminole perspective. Although the Missals caution their readers in the preface that this voice is missing, they offer unacceptable excuses such as the lack of written evidence or their personal inability to tell that side of the story. They dismiss the entire issue by simply stating "that is for the Seminoles themselves to do." The authors could have expressed Seminole opinions and attitudes using existing literature but instead chose to recount only the American side of the Seminole Wars. While they accomplish this task well, their text presents a decidedly flat account in an age when recovering and including the native point of view has become essential to all scholarly works. In addition, their lengthy and harsh condemnation of American policy and their links to present-day foreign affairs overshadow the more scholarly aspects of their work. For instance, they truthfully state that "Americans were intent on controlling (and selling) every square inch of the North American continent" yet take their insight one step further by asking "Are we really any different today?" They go on to reprimand all Americans for past injustices proclaiming "If we want to blame anyone, we might start with the person who stares back at us when we look in the mirror" and listing the past sins that future generations must

bear. Such judgmental conclusions undermine the good work that they had accomplished in the previous pages.

Thus, *The Seminole Wars* offers a basic overview of early Florida history but pays more attention to the maneuvers and mistakes made by Americans rather than presenting a more comprehensive and balanced account of its subject.

Julie Anne Sweet

Baylor University

Maureen Ogle. *Key West: History of an Island of Dreams*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003, 288 pp. \$24.95. ISBN 0-8130-2615-6.

There are undoubtedly hundreds of American locales which could not sustain a riveting historical treatment, even by the most able of historian/authors. Key West, Florida, is not one of those. With its pirates, rumrunners, bohemians, celebrities, hippies, and jet-setters, this island has more than earned its reputation as the Conch Republic. And yet, to a surprising extent, the Key West experience has, for some of its inhabitants, proved more akin to life in mainland America than many have heretofore imagined. All sides of this many-faceted region are explored by Maureen Ogle in her entertaining and comprehensive book, *Key West: History of An Island of Dreams*.

Ogle begins her account in 1819, when shipwrecked New Jersey businessman William Whitehead first envisioned a paradise lurking among the palm trees on this deserted, Spanish-owned island. Although generally described at the time as a "pestilential" refuge for pirates," Key West nevertheless proved irresistible to bustling capitalists and promoters such as Whitehead and naval officer John Porter. This was so, Ogle declares, because early-nineteenth-century America was "alive with the pioneering spirit," and reports of pirates and smugglers only added to the island's allure.

Once in American hands, the Key was soon home to lawyers and agents who "lounged about shady verandas in white linen suits and straw hats, smoking Cuban cigars, reading newspapers, and talking politics. Eating. Drinking. Playing billiards, piquet and whist." But new settlers from the Florida mainland, such as Catherine Hart, began fashioning their own version of Americana—"afternoon teas, sewing circles, and church gatherings...dinner parties and dances" with all "the other accoutrements of middle class life."

Through painstaking research, and with resort to numerous personal accounts, sketches by locals, and black and white archival photographs, Ogle allows the reader to visualize Key West as it develops from a frontier outpost on a "barren and desolate" island to the colorful melting pot it first becomes and remains to this day. Her conversational prose style, as unpretentious as it is informative, presents this story as a well-told-tale, rather than a dry, sun-baked history.

Especially interesting are her accounts of the various economic enterprises Key Westers forged through the years. After privateering faded, the island's second grand enterprise was wrecking, the pursuit of salvage claims for the half a million dollars per year of goods taken from nearby shipwrecks. Anecdotal tales of drinking, gambling and dueling abound, as do detailed accounts of the effects on the region of disease, hurricanes, and war.

Ogle demonstrates how Key Westers, like other Southerners, ballyhooed themselves into a Civil War they could not hope to win. But unlike other rebels, they bristled far less at Union occupation, being more accustomed to an economy propped up by local military bases. Surprisingly, incoming Union ships were cheered by the easygoing locals, who welcomed the Yankee occupiers with open arms. Life there was even more relaxed for the slaves, who had endured fewer horrors than most of their mainland counterparts prior to the war, hiring themselves out for day work, even residing outside the homes of their masters.

By the 1880s the wreckers and spongers had given way to the island's cigar barons, who produced forty-two million Cuban-leaf cigars annually. We see renowned visitors, painter Winslow Homer and writer James Henshall, mixing with the local Americans, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Cubans Bahamians, and Germans, and learning to "drink beer in seven languages." On Christmas Day 1891, revolutionary Cuban José Martí arrived, barely preceding the ill-fated Battleship *Maine*, and war's eventual return to the region.

Ogle details the planning, opposition, and eventual construction of the railroad and highway which linked Key West to mainland Florida, and lured celebrity writers Zane Grey, Robert Frost, John and Katy Dos Passos, Tennessee Williams, and Ernest Hemingway for fishing, drinking, brawling and sunbathing. She offers details of quirky happenings such as Coast Guard patrols seizing contraband liquor and selling it on their own, or the visiting judge who daily breakfasted at the beach on "eggs, fruits, herring, chops and pancakes."

t uncritical of Baker. In the early 1950s, Baker
e of the New York City NAACP that expelled
n she later regretted. Some of Baker's criticisms
g Jr., were "overly harsh and unforgiving" and
ous," motivated by strategic differences and anger
SCLC's ministers to treat her as an equal. Baker
ileged background, denied that he had earned the
used him of setting himself above the people. Yet,
g repeatedly faced danger and accepted the risks
izing a conference of student leaders and
form SNCC, Baker claimed that she prevented an
the SCLC to take over the student sit-in movement
ansby contends that Baker's "suspicions of King's
ve been fully warranted."

l half of the 1960s, SNCC divided over the issue
white participation. Without success, Baker tried
together as she had done in earlier crises. While
separatism and the aggressive, macho posturing
er advocates, Black Power's emphasis on armed
ommunity development, and alliances with other
orded with views she had long held. SNCC
s activist career continued through the 1970s. She
ngela Davis, a black Communist wrongly accused
attempted kidnap, co-chaired the socialist Mass
mmittee, and became involved in the Puerto Rican
ion.

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

nd Terrence J. Winschel. *Vicksburg is Key: The
Mississippi*. Lincoln and London: University of
03, pp. 232. \$35.00. ISBN 0-8032-4254-9.

ity of Nebraska Press' "Great Campaigns of the
luced a series of short, but highly readable studies
engagements in both the eastern and western
s Key is one of the most recent additions, offering
t complete overview of this complicated campaign
Mississippi River.

e transformation of
Key Westers feared
nto "an East Coast
hey need not have
hops and fast food
burden, the arrival
iffet devotees) and
wouldn't drown in

ible describing the
ne, struggles with
ant for handsome
d falling economy
t is both thorough
to experience Key
of *Dreams* tucked

ackson, Mississippi

om Movement: A
on: University of
ustrations, notes,

1903-86), which
ns and a host of
irs. Baker is best
dent Nonviolent
ption of a group-
American poor in
1960s. However,
f the civil rights
of the National
(NAACP) between
of the Southern
ing to form the
hern Conference

Authors William L. Shea and Terrence J. Winschel know Vicksburg well, and their careful study reflects their extensive knowledge. Chapters are short, but loaded with detail; maps are clear and frequent. Shea and Winschel contend that the Union's triumphant quest to control the Mississippi River dealt the Confederacy a "blow from which it would not, could not, recover." They argue that Vicksburg truly did mark *the* turning point of the Civil War.

They begin by explaining the Mississippi's crucial importance, militarily, politically and economically, to the Confederacy. Both sides recognized this of course, but the South's lack of a real navy made it nearly impossible to protect the river. Nor was Union victory inevitable. It took months of planning, numerous failed attempts, inter-command squabbles, and countless lives lost, to reach success.

Tracing the roots of the campaign to 1862, the authors view Ulysses S. Grant's dramatic attacks at Forts Henry and Donelson, and his desperate win at Shiloh, as setting the scene for his movement toward Vicksburg. The Confederates' devastating loss of New Orleans in April 1862 and their bloody offensive at Corinth six months later were also significant. By the fall of 1862, Grant had assumed command of the Department of Tennessee and began to formulate his plans. Of course, he had no idea how difficult it would be to take that bastion city. He tried ineffectively to advance directly from the north and east, and finally realized that he would need a combined force of sailors and soldiers to succeed.

Slowly, but surely, Grant moved closer. After the battle of Champion's Hill, some eighteen miles east of Vicksburg, Confederate John C. Pemberton concentrated his troops inside the city. The siege soon began, lasting nearly seven weeks. Meanwhile, Pemberton sent desperate pleas for help to President Jefferson Davis and to Joseph E. Johnston, commanding his "Army of Relief" stationed in nearby Jackson. No help came, and on July 4, 1863, Pemberton bitterly but helplessly, surrendered.

The authors highlight several of the main players involved in the campaign including Grant, Pemberton, Earl Van Dorn, William T. Sherman, Joseph E. Johnston, and Nathaniel Banks. Shea and Winschel clearly admire Grant whom they praise repeatedly for his aggressiveness, adaptability, and doggedness. They are also openly sympathetic to the beleaguered Pemberton whom they depict as honorable and personally brave, but ill-fated. Their scapegoat for the defeat, is Johnston. Accusing the Confederate of severe "lack of temerity" and implying that he failed to do his duty by not rescuing

Pemberton, the authors lash out at him mercilessly. One wonders if Johnston's arrival would have truly halted Grant, or only delayed surrender by a few more weeks.

Although this study is fairly traditional military history, there is some acknowledgment of the role politics played. The authors point out that Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln each had direct impact on the campaign. Davis, because he favored friendship and loyalty over competence, did not always select the best men as leaders. But Lincoln could make equally costly mistakes by trying to appease his political supporters and critics at home in appointing commanders and approving strategies. Still, common soldiers and civilians make only fleeting appearances in this study. Clearly, the authors are more interested in famous military leaders than everyday people, so readers wanting more social history will have to look elsewhere.

Nonetheless, this is a valuable and informative book. Its short chapters are crisp and generally well-written. Chapter Fourteen entitled "The Glorious Fourth" is by far the best one in the book. Narrating the final fall of Vicksburg, the authors dramatically describe civilian and soldier suffering, and the final hours leading up to Confederate surrender. They provide the absorbing details behind negotiations between Grant and Pemberton as Pemberton tried to avoid unconditional surrender. In the end, Grant's own men convinced him that taking Pemberton's entire 29,500 men prisoner was simply too impractical. Instead, Grant agreed to parole, but his success was hardly lessened. He had achieved the largest surrender in United States history. And in the words of the authors, "The capture of Vicksburg and its garrison was a strategic victory of almost incalculable proportions, the single greatest feat of arms achieved by either side during the entire Civil War."

The authors close by following the retreat of Johnston north, and the federal capture of Port Hudson, Louisiana, just a few days after Vicksburg. Their Epilogue reasserts their position that this campaign was the war's most complex and most significant. They also provide short summaries of the key personalities' fate after July 1863, noting that Vicksburg affirmed Grant's military prominence and dominance. Pemberton, in contrast, resigned his general's commission, serving the remainder of the war unimpressively as an artillery lieutenant-colonel. Johnston, the book's villain, ends his life writing a "self-serving" postwar memoir in which he refused to accept blame for the fall of Vicksburg.

Charles D. Spornick, Alan R. Cattier, and Robert J. Greene. *An Outdoor Guide to Bartram's Travels*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003, 432 pp., photographs, maps. Cloth, \$39.95, ISBN 0-8203-2437-X; Paper, \$19.95, ISBN 0-8203-2438-8.

Spornick, Cattier, and Greene's *An Outdoor Guide to Bartram's Travels* is two books rolled into one. First, it is a travel guide to some of the most interesting historical places and recreational trails in the American Southeast. Second, it is a compendium of information about the career of William Bartram (1739-1823), naturalist, ethnographer, and geographer. The authors have achieved a successful meld of historical and biographical treatise and field guide and have produced a work with wide application and appeal. Scholars as well as outdoor enthusiasts will find this book useful, informative, and entertaining.

An Outdoor Guide is based upon William Bartram's much venerated *Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws* (1773-1777). Since its publication in 1791, this iconic travelogue with the difficult title has captivated readers and inspired poets through its author's verve and imagination. Scholars too have continued to mine its wealth of data pertinent to many disciplines. Historians, archaeologists, and ethnographers have all consulted it as have ornithologists and botanists. The work's most thorough and influential interpreter, Francis Harper, who published his analyses in the mid-twentieth century, enjoys nearly the same degree of admiration among subsequent Bartram scholars. The authors acknowledge their debt to Harper as well as to the accomplishments of the Bartram Trail Conference, that in the 1970s began to create permanent memorials to Bartram's passage through the southeast. Their tours are based on the Bartram Trail Conference's trails and site markers, the Bartram National Recreation Trail running through the Sumter, Chattahoochee, Nantahala, and Tuskegee National Forests, and the Bartram Trail along Clarks Hill Lake near Augusta, Georgia.

Spornick, Cattier, and Greene furnish their readers with two introductions, one giving instruction to hikers on the use of the guide and the second summarizing Bartram's life and significance. They organized their guide by dividing Bartram's *Travels* into five sections, each devoted to a discrete trip. The five sections are subdivided into an introductory condensation of Bartram's route followed by four tours illustrative of his movements. The first, "Bartram's Initial Travels,"

covers his initiatory visits to coastal South Carolina and Georgia and the Cherokee Corners, near modern Athens, Georgia. The second, "Voyage to East Florida," includes his reports of the Lower and Upper St. Johns River and the Alachua Savanna, south of Gainesville. The third, "Journey to Cherokee Country," discusses his trip into the South Carolina backcountry and the Appalachian mountain region of north Georgia and North Carolina. The fourth, "Journey to the Gulf Coast," describes his exploration of central Georgia, southern Alabama, West Florida, and southeast Louisiana. The fifth section, "Return to Philadelphia," delineates his journey back to Savannah through the Upper Creek Nation in east central Alabama and north from Savannah along the South Carolina and North Carolina coast. At Wilmington, North Carolina he turned northwest following the Cape Fear River and proceeded to Kingsessing, the family home outside Philadelphia. This final section combines the tours associated with Bartram's progress toward home with an account of his later life and a brief assessment of the status he realized both in his day and afterwards. In a nod to Harper, the authors include as an appendix a list of flora from Bartram's *Travels* with updated names, reflecting their present classification.

A classic of American travel writing such as Bartram's *Travels* gathers its own bibliotheca of commentary and criticism as time passes. Spornick, Cattier, and Greene's tribute to Bartram is a particularly useful addition to the literature, and in *An Outdoor Guide* they do attain their goal of providing their readers, especially those who view the sites and walk, bike, or canoe the trails and streams discussed in the tours, with a "Bartram-like experience." Further, their concise presentation of the current status of Bartram scholarship is invaluable as both an introduction and a review. It is a well-balanced effort to present the landscape associated with William Bartram's late eighteenth-century southeastern plant hunting expedition to the modern world. Indeed, the single greatest contribution this book makes is its documentation of the current condition of specific places William Bartram visited and the countryside through which he passed. In this, *An Outdoor Guide* performs the much-needed service of updating Francis Harper's notations.

The time now seems ripe for a historical atlas, based largely if not exclusively on William Bartram's travel accounts and the results of research conducted over the last half of the twentieth century. Such an atlas, focusing on representing the eighteenth-century landscape of the American Southeast as interpreted by William Bartram, his father,

and other contemporary scientists and travelers, would be a desirable addition to the Bartram canon. Now that the fiftieth anniversary of Francis Harper's 1953 Naturalist Edition of *The Travels of William Bartram* has passed, a reassessment of the work's original contents, especially the geographical components, appears due. Since the weakest point of Harper's edition is its cartography, an atlas, conveying current information and opinions, would satisfy the most pressing need and provide the base for twentieth-century Bartram studies. *An Outdoor Guide to Bartram's Travels* has much to contribute to such a comprehensive historical atlas.

Carolyn Baker Lewis

Williamston, Michigan

Margaret M. Storey. *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004, 296 pp. Cloth, \$49.95, ISBN 0-8071-2935-6; Paper, \$22.95, ISBN 0-8071-3022-2.

In this well-crafted and interesting study, author Margaret Storey builds upon recent important work on southern unionism. By examining the ideology of white and black Alabamians who remained loyal to the United States from secession through Reconstruction, Storey adds valuable new information to our growing body of knowledge about southern Unionists and dissenters. Recent work by scholars such as James Alex Baggett, John Inscoe, Robert Kenzer, William Freehling, Daniel Crofts, and Thomas Dyer has shown clearly that while secessionists triumphed in their efforts to extricate the southern states from the Union, they did not speak for all Southerners. Like other historians, Storey demonstrates that Alabama's secessionists were more than willing to employ violent intimidation in their suppression of Unionists, and she shows as well that postwar political demagogues would succeed in redeeming the South from Republican control. Yet, she also establishes clearly that these victories came despite the objections of brave moderates in the state who struggled mightily, but ultimately vainly, to save their vision of the South.

Storey's loyalists believed strongly that they, too, were Southerners and that in defending the Union they were defending southern values. Utilizing the extensive records of the Southern Claims Commission, an agency established in 1871 to hear requests for compensation from black and white Southerners who remained loyal

to the United States, Storey estimates that the Unionists comprised 10 to 15 percent of the southern population. Despite their relatively small numbers, they found numerous ways to express their affinity for the United States and to chastise their Confederate neighbors. Many of them boldly spoke out against secession and war, though doing so meant being ostracized by former friends and relatives. Others took more dangerous routes to dissent by becoming spies, guides, or scouts for the Union, while some black and white Southerners even took up arms alongside U.S. soldiers.

Many loyalists, fearing the wrath of vigilante groups, decided to wait out the war by "lying-out" in forests or in the homes of sympathizers. Such loyalists had much to fear, particularly after the establishment of the Confederate draft in April 1862. Unionists in hiding were aided by friends and relatives who brought them food and other supplies. Indeed, one of Storey's central points is that kinship ties and informal networks between loyalists was the key reason why Unionists were able to survive the war. She denies the relevance of class-based explanations for Alabama's Unionists, and she agrees with J. Mills Thornton, whose *Politics and Power* (1978) rejected the simplistic division between northern and southern Alabamians on the question of secession. But Storey's own evidence seems to show that while Unionist Southerners hailed from a range of occupations from planters to artisans, many of them seem to have come from the middle classes. There are numerous examples of Unionist merchants, physicians, and factory owners attempting to resist the tide of secession. While family connections were undoubtedly vital to sustaining Alabama's Unionists during wartime, class does appear to have played some role in determining who would or would not remain loyal to United States.

It is not surprising that after the war loyalist Alabamians demanded the punishment of secessionists. In fact, they were bitterly disappointed when President Andrew Johnson elected to take a conciliatory approach to Reconstruction. Unionists who felt vindicated by the Union's triumph were disgusted when many former Confederate leaders were returned to power in the state elections held at the end of 1865. Republican gains after the passage of the Military Reconstructions Acts in 1867 offered renewed hope for loyalists, but such hope, as Storey shows, came at the high price of the rise of violent, repressive groups like the KKK. Like southern dissenters throughout the region's history, Unionists learned that they would face harsh reprisals because of their views.

Storey might have devoted greater efforts to placing Alabama's Unionists in the broader context of the history of dissent in the region. As Carl Degler proved in his seminal work on southern dissenters, *The Other South* (1974), and as numerous historians have shown since, the nineteenth-century South was a diverse region that harbored a range of opinions on secession, the Union, and Reconstruction. The archives are replete with the letters and diaries of Southerners who believed that in dissenting from popular political opinions they were defending their own ideas of what it meant to be southern. They believed that in defending the Union they were defending southern honor, family ties, and loyalty to country. Alas, Unionists were no more successful in turning their views into policy than other southern dissenters have been. As Storey eloquently puts it, "Like their Confederate neighbors, unionists and their children nurtured a Lost Cause, too."

Jonathan Daniel Wells

Johnson & Wales University

Morton D. Winsberg. *Florida Weather*, Second Edition. Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2003, xiv, 220 pp. \$16.95. ISBN 0-8130-2684-9.

Books for the general reader on the weather and climate of regions, states, and even single cities form a growing subcategory of weather books. They can be divided into two basic types, those that focus narrowly on weather disasters and those that attempt to place local weather in the context of meteorology. The former are usually lavishly illustrated and appeal to those interested in human drama as well as weather. The latter vary from little more than daily records of temperature, precipitation, and weather patterns to histories not only of weather, but also of its social and economic effects, and of forecasting and dissemination of weather information through the media.

Winsberg's book on Florida's weather falls in the middle range of the second type, focusing principally on patterns of temperature and precipitation with some historical analysis of major storms. The author is emeritus professor of geography at Florida State University, and his knowledge of the state and its weather shines on every page. The audience for his book are Floridians who want to know more about the causes of weather patterns in their state, those contemplating moving to the state for work or retirement, and its many thousands of visitors.

Winsberg organizes his book by the four seasons, which may come as a surprise to those accustomed to thinking that Florida weather lacks sufficient variety to have more than two—hurricane season and spring break. After a chapter in which he explains the factors—latitude, ocean currents, prevailing winds, El Niño and Southern Oscillation (ENSO)—controlling Florida's weather, and weather-related problems such as airborne allergens, pollution, and urban heat islands, Winsberg systematically discusses each season beginning with winter.

Winsberg defines each season by changes in temperature. Winter is the first week in which the average daily maximum temperature falls to 75°F or lower. By this definition, winter usually arrives the first week of November or earlier in the northwest panhandle and the first week of January or later in the southern tip and Florida Keys. Even with the arrival of winter, the temperature is above 75°F 60-70 percent of the days between December and February in the southern quarter of the Florida peninsula. Winter months are normally dry because of the prevailing winds of the Azores-Bermuda high-pressure system over the Atlantic. Winters in North Florida are more variable with minimum temperatures below 40°F almost half the time. Frosts, freezes, and snow, though measured in hours rather than days, can occur with devastating results to citrus growers and other farmers. Winsberg's capsule history of the citrus industry's struggle with weather is fascinating.

Spring, with average maximum temperatures above 75°F, arrives by the first week of February or earlier in Southern Florida, by the first week of March in Central Florida, and by the first week of April in Northern Florida, though winds from the Gulf may delay the arrival along the Southwestern coast of the panhandle. Spring weather is especially variable, however, and Winsberg uses this chapter to discuss some of the effects of the "Storm of the Century," March 1993, and the numerous droughts, floods, tornadoes, and waterspouts that have affected the state. One of the responses to droughts and floods has been to increase the authority of the South Florida Water Management District which has built a vast network of canals, pumping stations, and levees, often to the detriment of surrounding park lands and wildlife. Winsberg returns to this problem when discussing hurricane storm surges, but by dividing his discussion of the water control system between the chapters on Spring and Fall and skirting the issues raised by these efforts to control nature he misses an opportunity to inform the reader of the ways in which weather and climate, topics often neglected or taken for granted in environmental

histories, are important parts of the ecosystem. He concludes the chapter with a discussion of tornadoes and waterspouts, offering a list of ways to prepare for and to survive tornadoes.

Summer, when average daily temperatures rise to at least 88°F, arrives in most of the state between the first week of May and the first week of June. On the Atlantic and Southwestern panhandle beaches temperatures do not usually reach this average until the first week of June or later. Winsberg's discussion of heat leads to a brief explanation of cooling and heating degree-days (the number of degrees that the mean temperature is above or below 65° determines the number of cooling/heating degree-days), but ignores the question of why the benchmark temperature is set at a relatively cool 65°F. Summer is also the time of thunderstorms and lightning strikes, which Florida has more of than any other region of the United States. The chapter concludes with instructions for surviving a lightning storm.

Fall begins in northern Florida when the average daily temperature falls to 60°F or below in early to mid-October, reaching the southern tip by mid-December. Fall never arrives in the Keys, but hurricanes do. The state has experienced sixty-eight hurricanes between 1900 and 2002, causing over three thousand fatalities and billions of dollars in property damage. Although only 44 percent of the nation's hurricanes have struck Florida, the state has experienced more than its share of the most powerful storms. Winsberg discusses the Labor Day hurricane of 1935 and Andrew in 1992 in some detail, enumerating some the positive responses—building codes, emergency management plans, and shoreline zoning regulations—and mentioning some of the negative responses—building fraud, looting, and public misperception of the dangers. He concludes with a list of steps to be taken when a hurricane is approaching.

The last fifty pages of the book contain tables of weekly weather averages for selected Florida cities, data on hurricanes of the twentieth century, and other statistics on temperature, humidity, winds, fog, and other conditions, references, and an index. Overall, this is a book that serves as an introduction to subjects that deserve further study.

Bernard Mergen

The George Washington University

