GCHR Gulf Coast Historical Review

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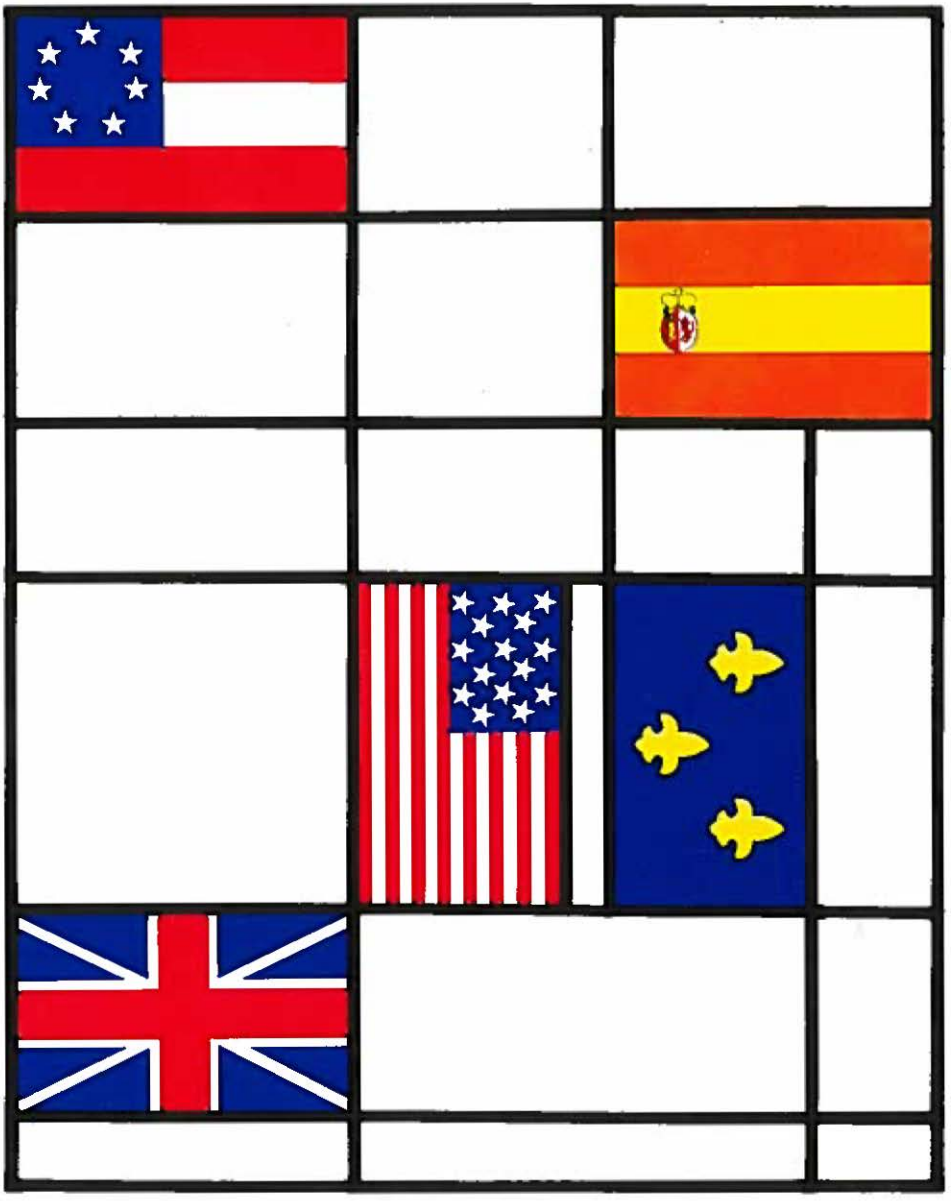

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Vol. 9 Fall 1993 No. 1

Cover design by
Marilyn Thomason

From the Editors . . .

Although it appears early in the pages of the journal, "From the Editors" is the last thing to be written. Nevertheless it is always in the back of our minds as we assemble an issue. What do we write to whet our readers' appetites for the articles that follow? Some issues are more thematic than others, whether by accident or design, but most range widely across the intellectual map of Gulf Coast history. This one is no exception and it brings you five articles by authors who have not appeared previously in our pages. Not all are young in years, though some are, but each one does bring a fresh approach to a Gulf Coast topic. With a selection from *Voices from Alabama*, we are continuing our tradition of printing an excerpt from a forthcoming university press book. This volume should appeal to people everywhere who are interested in regional history, folk culture, or just some good stories. We have a fascinating examination of colonial and antebellum Creole culture along the coast and a fresh analysis of the siege of Fort Pickens in Pensacola which very nearly started the Civil War three months before Fort Sumter. Just as Reconstruction followed that conflict so an article on post war era in Mobile is next. The author, impressed by the work of an earlier contribution to the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* resolved to carry the story forward into the period of military rule over the city. Finally we turn to what we hope will be the first of a series of "urban biographies." This article is on Tarpon Springs, the Florida community world-renowned for its sponge fishing industry.

Following the articles are reviews of twenty recently-published books on a wide range of coast topics. The range and quality of these reviews is more than worth the price of a subscription! The issue concludes with a visit to the busiest archives in the Mobile area. The Local History and Genealogy Division of the Mobile Public Library is always a lively and productive stop for serious researchers.

It is a good issue with a lot of historical twists and turns. We hope you find much to interest you in it.

Please remind friends and neighbors that it is already past time to renew their subscription and for new people to sign up. Contact us at the address below to find out your subscription status, or to make arrangements for gifts. Christmas is coming!

Finally we are looking forward to the Fourteenth Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference here in October. We hope to see many of our subscribers in Mobile for that meeting. Since the program and participants are all first rate it should be an exciting and enjoyable conference. The theme, "The Gilded Age on the Gulf Coast," has made possible a diverse

group of papers, many of which will be published in our next Proceedings issue. We have all sorts of plans for social activities so come prepared to learn a lot and have fun too.

Well, another issue is on the way. Now we can start worrying about "From the Editors . . ." for the next one. Any suggestions?

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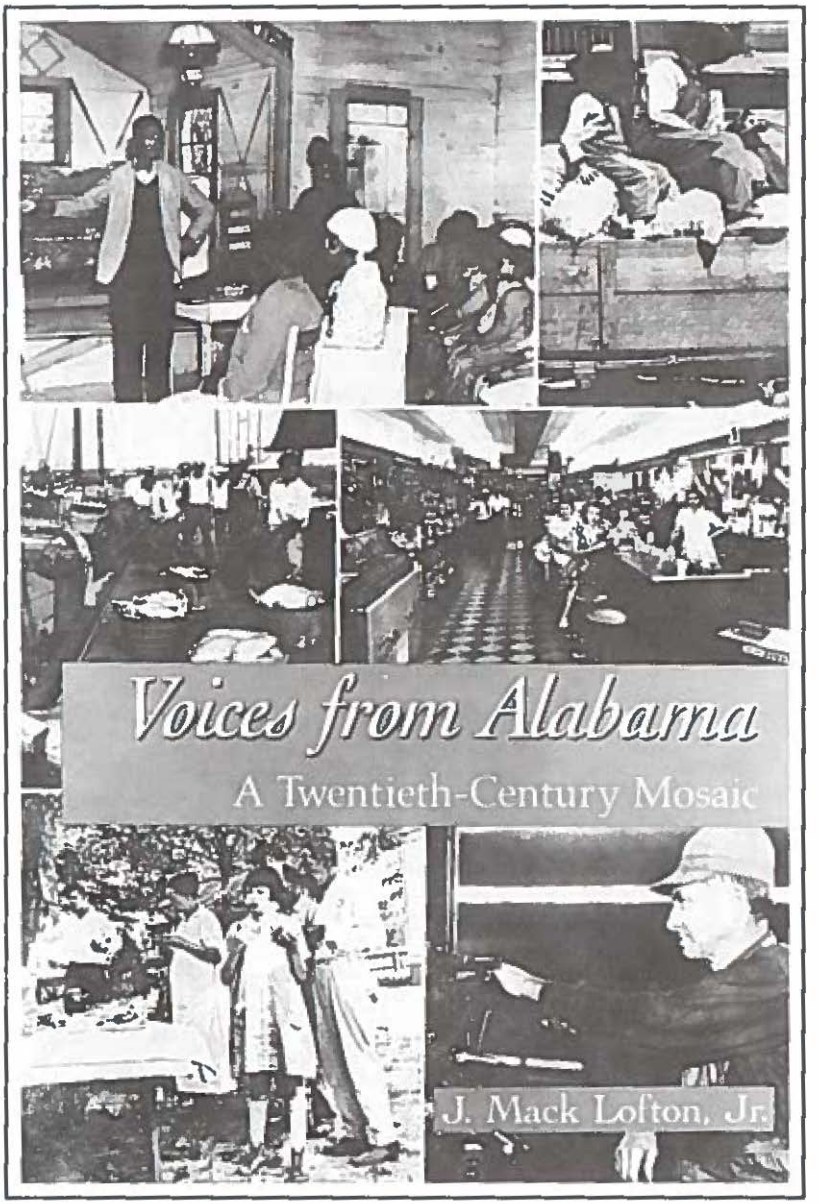

Voices from Alabama
A Twentieth-Century Mosaic
J. Mack Lofton, Jr.

Voices From Alabama: A Twentieth Century Mosaic

J. Mack Lofton, Jr.

The following are excerpts from *Voices From Alabama* which has just been published by the University of Alabama Press ISBN 0-8173-0684-6. Its compiler, J. Mack Lofton, Jr., describes the work as "a memory book" which provides us with "a feeling of where we came from and a sense of the bedrock foundation of our past."

The *Gulf Coast Historical Review* has selected a few of the south Alabama examples from the dozens of interviews Mr. Lofton conducted to give our readers a taste of this extraordinary work. This portion of *Voices From Alabama* • The University of Alabama Press is reproduced here by permission.

The Fields

Willie David Jenkins, Hale County

I was born in Hale County, in Greensboro, Alabama, and my parents farmed, yeah, that's all we ever did was farm. In them days, all the black chillun had to go to the fields, you see. You didn't see nothing black around the house unless it was a chicken or cow or something 'nother like that. But all us chillun had to go to the fields. I been going to the fields since before I been big enough to walk 'cause they carried us to the fields 'cause everybody went, and if they was a baby, he had to go 'cause they wasn't nobody to take care of that baby at home. Ever since I know myself, I was working. I had five sisters and three brothers. I started picking cotton when I was seven years old. I wasn't big enough to pull a sack so I had to pick and put the cotton in my mama's sack.

The two chillun what was younger than me, why we had to take them to the field in a basket and set them under a shade tree, and if they wasn't no shade tree, we had to find a sassafras bush and put that basket down under that sassafras bush for shade for them chillun. And then we would come by and see about the babies and stuff like that, and Mama nursed the child and go right back to work. I ain't had nothing easy, but I enjoyed it 'cause I didn't know nothing else. So, I work, I work, I work, and when I got a little bigger, I be up about eight or nine years old, Daddy got the pneumonia and I had to do all the plowing and stuff like that. I was so

little I couldn't turn the plow around and the mule had to drag it around. I had the line around my neck but the mule had to drag the plow around.

Yeah, we went to school a little bit, but mostly we were in the fields. When we did go to school, we had five miles to walk. Well, see, when you working for somebody else, to get along, you had to do what they wanted you to do. Now, all the winter, we was cleaning up new ground and stuff like that, all around the edge of the pasture, sawing wood. I was the oldest one and I had to saw wood for myself and saw wood for Mr. James Clay, too. He was Route 1, Box 17, Akron, Alabama. That's where we got our mail at and he was our next-door neighbor. So, him and I was about the same age. I had to get wood for them and I had to milk cows for them and I had to feed their mules and stuff like that. When I was doing that, why they gave me three meals a day and fifty cents a day, and I was making some money then. Yes, sir. I guess I was about twelve. This was along about 1932.

Miss Mattie Clay learnt me how to drink milk. It's bad to say that, but they did. I didn't even know how to drink milk. What I would do is suck it up, you see, and they stopped me from sucking up that milk and coffee. They feed me in the kitchen and all the white folks they eat in the dining room and stuff like that, see. And so, I be back there in the kitchen just sucking up that milk and Miss Mattie Clay come back there and taught me how to drink that milk. Then, sometimes I work all month and didn't get nary a dime 'cause when they didn't pay no fifty cents a day, they paid eight dollars a month. Then when the end of the month come, he don't have the money and he say, "I ain't got none and if I get ahold of some, we'll pay you." Well, you had to keep on working 'cause you couldn't leave 'cause where you going? You go to 'nother one and he want to know why you comin' to him. I stayed there working around with Mr. James Clay 'til I got grown.

My mama learned me how to count. Mr. James Clay and all of them were going to school 'cause the had a school bus, but we played together anyhow. The only time we rode the school bus was to play ball. It sho' was. When Miss Mattie Clay would go out, she leave Mr. James over there with us, and when we couldn't go with my mama and 'em, we went over and played with the white chillun. But we couldn't go to school with 'em 'cause we had to work. We worked all the time, even when it was raining we had to work. We had to shell corn. We had to shuck corn. We had to kill rats out of the crib. We had to pick off peanuts and stuff like that. That's what we did all wintertime. Now, in the summertime, it didn't get too bad to work. You know these gloves people have now? We didn't have none of that. We plowed out there bare-hand. We had one pair of

shoes in the wintertime. Got one pair of shoes in the summertime, and that's all. They would give us a pair of overalls, a new pair of slipover underwear—you know what they was—one jumper, and a cap with the ears on them and them big glasses on them.

We played ball, though. That's all we did was work and play ball and I could play ball. We were good on playing ball 'cause we didn't have nothing else to do. And I could pitch a ball and we would ride over to Eutaw on that school bus to play ball. And down there in Sipsey to play them boys over there and they come over here to play us. Yeah, I'm talking about baseball, 'cause there wasn't no football for us, 'cause we could play baseball down in them big pastures. That's the reason we grow so. We just run and played and work. One time we were playing across the Sipsey River and we were winning and The Man from the other team come up to me—I was pitching, see—and he say to me, "Goddam, you let my man hit that ball." We had to do it, we had to lose. And Mr. James Clay, he say to me, "David"—he called me David—he say, ah, "David, let 'em win." I kind of lightened up on my pitching, kind of lobbing up there. We get away from here, we won't be coming back. And then we let 'em win, but it didn't do no bit of good. Most times, you do something bad enough, they kill you and throw you in the Sipsey River and you never be found. We come along on that bus and they all down there on the side of the road shooting those shotguns at that school bus, and Mr. James Clay say, "You-all hit the floor! Hit the floor!" Well, they ain't going to shoot Mr. James Clay. They want to shoot us, even though we let them win.

Ice and Eggs

Betty Crawford Ferguson, Hale County

I lived out in the country about ten miles from Greensboro, and in the thirties we didn't even have an icebox at our house. We would come into town on Saturday and my daddy had a car, but most of our neighbors didn't have a car, and we would haul ice in our car for our neighbors. When we got home from town, we would wrap our ice up in a blanket and bury it in a sawdust pile. Every morning about 11:30, our job was to go out to the sawdust pile and get a chunk of ice, wash it, and put it in the glasses for dinner. I was about ten years old when we got electricity. We had a lot of hands out there on the farm and my mother would have to fix dinner for the cotton pickers and cotton choppers, and as long as the ice lasted, we would put ice in their glasses, too. Another job we had was to

ring the dinner bell at 11:30 and all the hands would come in. We fed all the hands in the kitchen. Everybody had wood stoves back then for cooking and we used that wood stove for heating water and for washing dishes and taking baths.

The only day we came into town was on Saturday. Everybody came into town then and the stores would stay open way late, sometimes until midnight waiting on the trade. Our family always got home before dark, though. And we would go to the picture show on Saturday. We got in with two eggs. We would wait for the hens to lay, and if they didn't lay, we were in trouble. We put the eggs in a sack and carefully brought them into town. Down at the picture show, they had a tester to see if the eggs were rotten or not before we could get in. Instead of giving them a dime at the box office, we game them two eggs. The children would go to the picture show while Mama and Daddy did their shopping. My daddy also brought produce and eggs into town on Saturday and sold them.

Salt Water and Seafood

Joy Buskens, Baldwin County

All the people on my daddy's side have always been fishermen. When they first came down here to the Gulf Shores area, everything had to be brought in by boat. From the beach area, there were no roads coming in or out. The area was virtually uninhabited except by fishing people. Back in the old days before ice or refrigeration, a fisherman would go out, net his fish, and bring them back to shore in live wells. These wells were big boxes with holes in them which were towed off the bow of the boat. They would take these fish by horse and wagon down to the landing and another boat would transport them over to the mainland. If the wind was good, they got them over to Mobile all right, but if the wind was bad and they were delayed, they would have to shove the fish overboard. My great-grandfather, John Steiner, had a boat and he would anchor his boat out from the shore, and the other boats—like oystermen and shrimpers—would come up and unload in his boat. He would take these catches to Mobile or Bayou La Batre to sell. When engines began to come back in the twenties, they motorized those sailboats.

My father told that as a little boy, he was fishing with his dad and they got stranded down over on the bay side. On the gulf side, there was a huge boat that had foundered and washed up on the shore and they spent the night on this boat, sleeping on the sails. He said that for a long

Starfish and Oyster Company docks, 1930s

Overbey Collection, University of South Alabama Archives

time, a man stayed on the boat hoping they could refloat it, but they never could, and finally all the rigging and fittings were stripped. Lots of times, we had these bad storms and many boats washed up on shore.

Back in the twenties, if somebody got sick, you got on a boat and sailed over to Mobile. It took a day to go over there, and another day to go to the doctor, and you were sicker when you got home than when you left. There were no doctors over at what is now Gulf Shores. When my little sister was born in 1943, my dad went over to the old drawbridge near Mr. John Lewis's place to use the telephone to call a doctor. By the time the doctor got to our house, my little sister was being born. During the war years, our doctor in Foley went to the war and I was delivered by his wife. My mother told about a time my grandmother was expecting a baby and the lady—a midwife—was sitting there with her and they were tired of waiting for that baby come and my grandmother let out a deep breath—phewww—and blew that old kerosene lantern out.

When I was growing up, we had to be pretty much self-sufficient because we were cut off from the rest of the world. We had our own gardens and we had plenty of seafood: shrimp, crab, oysters, and fish, and we thought we were disadvantaged because we heard that people who lived in other places had steaks, pork chops, and ham, and we just didn't. We had a special treat on Saturday nights, because that was the night my grandmother brought hamburgers and Mama fixed hamburgers for all of us. When my grandfather was living, he had a record twelve-inch oyster shell and there were plenty of oysters then, but that is an era that is gone now. They used to have oyster planting grounds and it was just like your garden. Nobody fooled with your oyster planting ground, but that is a thing of the past.

My husband's family moved down to the Gulf Shores area in 1947. There was an old hotel down there built by George Meyer and it was called Gulf Shores Hotel. There was a long pier down there, and then there was Bibb Graves who was governor of Alabama who had a cottage, and Dr. Holmes had a cottage, and there were maybe five or six others and that was it. People who always lived here wouldn't build on the beach because they were afraid of hurricanes. Sure enough, soon after that hotel was built, a hurricane came along and damaged it badly. In the forties, another hurricane came and filled the first floor with sand. They left the sand and moved to the second floor.

Mr. Meyer, who owned the hotel, made a deal with the state. The deal was if the state would build a road to Gulf Shores, he would donate some beachfront property to the state and that is the public beach and state park at the south end of Highway 59. Before the road was built,

though, my great-grandfather and other kinfolks would charge a quarter to take you across down here at Callaway's Landing. They would let you stay for a day, and when you got ready to come home, they would come get you. That was back in the twenties. My grandfather told about one time Mr. George Brown brought a bunch of people over to go across to the gulf, and that was when women wore bathing suits down to their ankles. One lady stepped in the boat and her ankles were showing, and my grandfather called Mr. Brown over to one side and told him, "Don't you ever bring anybody back over here to go in my boat with that little bit of clothes on." When we grew up, people were very modest. After Labor Day, it was just dead on the beach. Everything just shut down as far as beach activities.

When we were growing up, my dad being a family man, sometimes on Sunday afternoons we would get on his twenty-seven-foot shrimp boat and go across to the gulf and play on the sand dunes. The sand dunes were very high back in the forties and it would take everything you had just to get to the top. Now, there are very few high sand dunes on the beaches. We thought we lived at the end of the world because we didn't have any sidewalks so there were no skates, and there were no picture shows. We had to drive twelve miles on a school bus to Foley to see anything, because everything went on in Foley. We thought we were underprivileged down here because there was nothing to do but go swimming. First full moon in June, most everybody would go over to the beach and hunt for turtle eggs. That was one of the things we did as kids—look for turtle eggs. We didn't find them too often, but that was one of the things we did. I was the middle child and the middle child was usually the one who stays in trouble, and I was the one who got to go shrimping with my dad in the summertime. It was really good for me, because I learned how to run a boat and he told me a lot of good stories out there on the gulf, taught me how to pick and head the shrimp, and how to clean crabs. Daddy didn't have any boys so I went along with him.

My daddy was real strict with us on morals, on dating, and we always heard, "What will the neighbors think?" and "Don't ever do anything to shame the family." I married my husband when I was seventeen. He was our neighbor and my daddy was concerned some because he said that my husband-to-be wouldn't stick to a job. But later on, my daddy thought the world of him. I still had one year left to go in high school when I got married. Up until then, the farthest I had been away from home was the county fair, Mobile, Bayou La Batre, Biloxi, and Panama City.

My dad liked to tell stories about hurricanes. His grandparents had a home on the lagoon. And in 1906, there was no way of knowing when

a hurricane was coming, and the thing was, when the water got real high in the lagoon, old-timers would open up the mouth of the lagoon to let the water level go down. The reason for this was that they wanted to use the artesian wells up and down the lagoon. They used these wells for drinking water, and when the tide was up, they were covered. When this hurricane came up one night, my grandmother Callaway was like most women, worried about the weather, and was sitting there reading her Bible and listening to the storm making up. She heard this little thump out front and the dog started barking. When she went out to look, the water was already up to the gallery. All she had time to do was wake the family up and put the barrel of flour and my grandfather's violin on top of the kitchen table and they waded out in the night through waist-deep water, waded about half a mile until they got to the ridge where her brother, Bill Wallace, lived. They had to go over and under the blown-down trees to the ridge where they sat out the night. The next morning, they went back home and the house was gone and fish nets were fourteen feet up in the trees. They found the family clock down the beach and it had stopped at two o'clock in the morning. My grandfather said that he looked across the lagoon to the beach and the trees that had been on the beach looked like umbrellas where the wind had turned them wrong-side out.

When I was a girl, my dad's big concern was what would happen to his boat during a hurricane. When he thought a storm was coming, he would move his boat as far as he could up to the east end of the lagoon where it would be sheltered. The mouth of the lagoon was closed and thousands of pounds of fish were in there, but now it is hard to catch a mess of mullet because the pass is open all the time. You could catch flounder. My grandfather told about the first time he went floundering and they had what they called a jack pan which was a pan they put in front of the boat. They would put wood in the pan and light it so they could see the flounder on the bottom. When they spotted a flounder, they could gig him. When I was a girl, that's how all the young men made their money. My husband would go out, and catching a hundred pounds of flounder was nothing. In the forties, there were three fish houses on the lagoon.

When I was growing up, everybody made a living in the seafood business. We would go up to the seafood shed and head shrimp. They would pay us so much a pound for deheading them, and this is what I did some when I was in high school. Then, my mother ran Callaway's Store over on the beach which was the first store going to the beach. There was a little store on the curb there called Callaway's that Uncle Calvin had. You could buy ice and gas and basic necessities like that. My mama ran

that store over on the beach and we worked in that store with her, and my husband ran the fish house. But basically, people made their living from the water. Years ago, there was some farming down here, like oranges, and that's where Orange Beach got its name, and they shipped the oranges out by the schooner load, but that was before the land became so poor.

In the old days, my grandmother had a garden and my mother had a garden, but the land is so poor down here that you had to really build it up. We had to go to Foley to buy our main supplies when I was a girl. And isolated? We were so isolated that when the country had the Spanish influenza epidemic in 1918, we didn't have any deaths down here. Really, Gulf Shores was not an island until the thirties when they dug a canal from Mobile Bay to Perdido Bay. Back then, my dad decided that he was going to quit fishing and he went up there and got a job when they were digging the Gulf Intercostal Waterway. He worked one day, made fifty cents, and quit. There were several boys who worked on the towboat who married local girls, but mostly, there was a lot of intermarrying of cousins because we were so isolated. They were worried at one time because cousins were marrying cousins and there was some fear that children would be born with birth defects. Everybody down here was some kind of kin, intermarrying and all. If you weren't kin when you came down here, you were before you left.

My daddy was not what you call materially well off being a fisherman, but when he died, there were over 450 people at his funeral. He was successful in that way, but I can't say he was a successful fisherman after the seine crew disbanded because it always seemed that he was too late. He hoped he would catch them, but they were hardly ever there. It never seemed to get him down because he thought, well, tomorrow I'll get them. My mother made all our clothes except hand-me-downs from cousins. She worked twelve hours a day at that store over on the beach and made seventy dollars a week. While she was working, my sisters and I took care of the house. One time when my mother was working, we were having a hard time with money. We had pancakes for breakfast every morning and that didn't seem bad to me. We never knew we were bad off because we had a nice house and a car and not all our friends had a car.

Road Building

Buster Hall, Clarke County

In the spring of 1922 after school was out for the summer, A. L. Payne, who was about twelve years old, went down to the Tompkins School area to visit his "country cousin" Forest Lee Mathews. At that time, a road crew was reworking the Grove Hill-Jackson dirt road. They were getting gravel from a pit on the property of D. C. Mathews and had been storing their picks, shovels, hoes, and dynamite in his barn. Two or three times a day the crew would set off a stick of dynamite to loosen the gravel so that it could be shoveled onto the wagons.

One Saturday morning when the crew was not working, A. L. and Forest Lee decided they would help out on the job by removing a big stump on the edge of the bank where the crew had been working the day before. The boys went over to the barn and slipped out several sticks of dynamite and the punch to make a hole with and headed for the gravel pit. They spent most of the morning getting four deep holes dug, two on each side of the stump, and attached the fuses. They had forgotten that they had to have caps to set off the dynamite.

They couldn't make the thing go off so they left the four sticks of dynamite under the stump and went over to their uncle Monroe Halford's home while the Halfords were in town and whitewashed Uncle Tom's old black plow mule. They were mad at Uncle Tom because he had cussed them out at Christmastime for hunting on his land and this was a good way to get back at him. Uncle Tom did a lot of cussing the next day about what some so-and-so had done to his mule. A. L. and Forest Lee spent Sunday fishing and went to sleep Sunday night worn out and resting good.

They were blasted from their sound sleep early Monday morning by the greatest explosion that had ever happened in the quiet and peaceful Tompkins School community. Stuff was still coming down out of the sky when the two boys got to the front porch. Parts of the lot fence were knocked down, the top of the chimney was knocked off, and Mr. Dave's two fine horses, Woodrow and Pat, were racing madly around in the lot.

Neighbors started gathering and the man in charge of the work crew was telling everybody that he couldn't explain why there was such a tremendous explosion. He was telling that the first thing his crew did when they came to work was to place two sticks of dynamite under the big stump that had to be moved before the crew could begin moving gravel, and when they set it off, the whole world seemed to blow up. About this time, Mr. Dave Mathews came flying up in his Model T Ford and, seeing

his family was unhurt, began showing Uncle Monroe what professional-type cussing sounded like.

Later in the day, A. L. and Forest Lee had a little conference and decided that it was time for A. L. to go home and it wouldn't be a bad idea if A. L. invited Forest Lee to go with him. It was okay with Forest Lee's mother. Forty years later, the boys were still afraid to talk about helping out with road building.

German Spoken Here

John Haupt, Baldwin County

In 1904, there was no such thing as downtown Elberta, but ten years later, there was a new town. The L & N Railroad, in order to encourage settlers to come down to the Elberta area when they built the railroad from Bay Minette to Foley, worked with the Baldwin County Colonization Company who had bought 55,000 acres of land from the Southern States Lumber Company. The lumber company clean-cut off all of the virgin timber from this huge tract of land and practically gave the land away because it was no longer profitable to hold on to it. The colonization company, which was based in Chicago, ran a lot of ads in German-language newspapers in the North, talking about the land of milk and honey in southern Alabama. They would sell the tracts at fifteen dollars an acre and the colonists could buy the land on time. These ads would run in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and St. Louis and other northern cities, and only in German-language papers. Ads were run in German newspapers and some of the settlers emigrated directly from Germany to Elberta. These ads ran from about 1904 through 1930.

After the lumber company had stripped the land, the entire 55,000 acres was totally bare of people. The cutover timberland was hard to clear for settling, much debris having been leftover from the logging operation. When people came down to look over the place, the corporation had temporary living quarters for them to stay in, and there were all manner of professions represented—farmers, businessmen, artists, and musicians. Around the turn of the century there were no towns in this area at all. Magnolia Springs had a settlement of sorts on the river, but otherwise there was nothing. Many people came and left after four or five years, disappointed that they didn't really find the promised land of milk and honey. They had to learn how to farm in Elberta. They had been told that

the land was rich, but in reality it was sandy and porous and had to be fertilized every year.

The corporation organized excursions to come down to the property all during the year from all of the northern cities. They would bring these families down in Pullman cars, and on the sides of the railroad cars were these big signs proclaiming, "Excursions to Elberta, Alabama, the land of milk and honey, and we're going to make our money." They would park in stations awhile on the way down, and everybody would see the signs. They would take the prospects out to the farms and show them what could be done. At one time, there were a lot of Satsuma orange farms which were shown to great advantage. Most of the people would come down from the North with German as their only language and very few could speak English.

During some of this migration, I was about ten years old and could speak German as well as English, and the agent would get me to talk to the prospects and show them around our farm. This was in the early twenties, and the agent would bring all the prospects out to our farm in caravans of Model T Fords. I would take them out to the watermelon patch the first thing. I always carried a knife and would cut a melon and give them a rasher of melon and sometimes a slice of cantaloupe. I would get a nickel, a dime, or maybe a quarter from the people being shown around, but the agent in charge of the group would slip me a dollar, and that was a lot of money in the early 1900s.

You would go to town on Saturday night with a dime, and my father would want to see a nickel the next morning. My father was a miller by trade, but there was no wheat down here, so he had to farm. The main crops in Elberta during the big migration in the twenties were sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cucumbers, corn, and cowpeas. There was an indirect market for these crops, like feeding this produce to hogs and cattle, and there was a market for this meat in Pensacola and Mobile.

When my father came down and bought the forty acres we were supposed to settle on, he was told that it was three miles south of Elberta. There were no roads in the area, just dirt trails. After my father had come down and bought his forty acres, he brought my mother down to see the place. They arrived one evening, and early the next morning the agent picked up my father and mother in a surrey. They started following a trail, and after about a half-hour my mother said that we should be getting to the farm pretty soon since it was supposed to be only three miles from Elberta. The agent said, "It won't be long now, and isn't it romantic riding around in this surrey and seeing all these trees and the pretty land?" They traveled some more, and after about an hour my mother said again that we

ought to be there surely by now. She turned to the driver and asked him how far it was from Elberta, and the driver said seven miles, and this didn't make my mother too happy.

By and by, they reached the forty acres and the agent explained that the company would clear five acres of the forty as part of the deal. They discovered a wandering stream coming through and the agent said that when it rained, they would have a good trout stream. My mother rebelled and they all went back to town and my mother started looking around for a trade. They found an established farm about three miles from town and traded the land they had bought for the farm closer in. We moved in, my father, mother, and six children. I think my father must have gone through some torment for the mistake he had made, but my mother was a good trader.

After many people had moved in, there was very little to do in the way of entertainment. Between 1910 and 1920, there was an enterprising man named Captain Bob Foley who owned a landing at Hammock Creek and he offered overnight excursions down to Wolf Bay and the Gulf of Mexico. He would get up a party of about twenty people and sail on a Saturday morning, spend the night on the beach, and return on Sunday afternoon. He was so organized that he even took care of his customers' mules and wagons at the landing while they were gone. The trip down to the gulf took about three hours and the captain's customers would set up tents on the beach where they went crabbing, swam, and fished. They used dip nets for the crabs, and crabs were so plentiful they caught them as fast as they could pull them in. They caught mullet in the bay and fried them on big campfires on the beach. Sometimes they would find turtle eggs on moonlit nights and eat them regardless of the rubbery texture. There was always plenty of food, and liquid refreshment depended on the customer. Some were dry as powderhorns while others liked a little stronger stuff.

Most of these excursions were uneventful, but on one occasion, something happened that caused much apprehension back at Elberta. Captain Foley had found a piece of heart pine that was about thirty feet long, a rare treasure, and attempted to pull it back to his landing. He hitched the big log to the back of his boat, started back, and sheared a pin which disabled the boat. It took an extra day to get the boat fixed, an extra day on the beach for his customers.

When I was a boy back in the twenties, one of the ways I made extra money was catching terrapins and gophers and selling them to the peddlers who had regular routes through Elberta. The peddlers would usually come through the community on a Thursday and buy surplus produce and the gophers and terrapins and take them down to Pensacola

Coffee County, 1941

John Collier/FSA Photo,
Library of Congress

on the weekend and sell house to house. What they couldn't sell this way, they would trade with the mom and pop stores. Almost every little store in Pensacola had gopher cages and the demand was good since many people considered gopher meat a delicacy. To get my gophers, I could dig them out of their burrows—a tough job—or trap them. They were fairly plentiful, so I usually had eight to ten to sell to the peddler when he made his weekly rounds. The peddler had a scale and paid me five cents a pound, and since the gophers weighed from three to eight pounds each, I could get from fifteen to forty cents for each gopher. When I had accumulated five or ten dollars in my piggy bank, my father and I would go down and make a deposit in my savings account which paid 3 percent interest. I ran a regular route catching my gophers and carried those gophers in that gunny sack back home, saving up for the peddler.

Seven Miles Behind the Jail

Leon Davis, Coffee County

Well, Elba was built on a square with a courthouse in the middle with a flowing well right there on the square. In fact, they call Elba the city of flowing wells. There was a flowing well in one corner of the court square that had a pool around it and it had a water fountain where people could go and get a drink. Artesian wells. The swimming pool was fed by one of the artesian wells and the water was always just freezing cold all the time. They put plants around the pool in town and they put fish in the pools like goldfish, but they were bigger than goldfish, colored red and orange and so on.

I was born in 1931, and all my life, when people talk about 1929, most people around the country would say that was the year of the big stock market crash and the big problems around the country. Well, around Elba, Alabama, the big thing down there was the flood, and that was the first time that the Pea River and the Whitewater Creek which converge right there within three hundred yards of the high school building showed serious high water. This was the first flood Elba ever had and, of course, it just washed away the town. In Elba, everything is dated from 1929 with the flood. After the flood, there were some weird stories. They say that one of my uncles spent the night in a tree with a rooster.

Following the flood, my daddy laid by his crops that summer, and found out that the WPA was building a levee. The WPA came in and just encircled the town, up above the town and around it and come down by

the Whitewater Creek where it met the Pea River, and on down by the river past the town, and then on around the south side of the town. Roughly three sides of the town were enclosed. This was to keep the floodwaters from coming back through. It worked, I guess. The farmers, in late July and August, took the mules and scrapes and hired out to help build the levee. My daddy did that to make some money.

As I grew up, that levee was there and we didn't think much about it. It held the water off pretty good. Some water got into the town in 1985, but not a whole lot. Now, in 1990, we were down visiting in Geneva which is further down the Pea River near the Florida line and my stepdaughter called me early in the morning and said, "You might want to call your folks in Elba. They're evacuating up there." So, I thought about where my brothers and sisters lived and they lived out from town a little and I didn't think they would be affected. But later on that day, I saw the courthouse in Elba on TV. You know that the town is built on a square. The whole town was flooded, the water coming up to the second floor of the courthouse. Now, that's a sight to see—your whole hometown under water.

Of course, Geneva has a levee around it, too, and the people down there were sandbagging and so on and my wife and other folks were making sandwiches to help out. There was quite a stir there. It turns out that what happened in Elba was that the water came in on one side of the town, the water just rushed in, and it just flooded into the town. If they had not built that levee all around the south side back in the WPA days, the water would have continued on downstream. They had created a collecting tank there that just held the water. A lot of people feel that if they hadn't built those levees in Elba that Geneva would have caught the brunt of it. But the dam held the water in Elba and it just stayed there. I tell people I grew up in Elba behind the jail...about seven miles behind the jail, so I never worried about flooding when I was a boy.

I played baseball and basketball in high school, but no football. I went to high school in 1946, and in those days Coffee County, Alabama, had a bunch of junior high schools and four high schools. As long as I can remember, those junior highs had basketball teams. We played basketball all the time. It was like that old Jerry Clower story where Marcel Ledbetter was asked why he wasn't in school that day and he said wasn't no use in going because the basketball was flat, didn't have no air in it. I had played basketball three years before I went to high school and I don't believe Elba had won a basketball game through the war years. We had three people who came in from the junior highs who made the first team in the tenth grade. I played basketball three years in high school and we just had two

people who lived in the city limits who played basketball. See, we played good because we hadn't been contaminated by football.

I went out for football in 1946 and I was probably about five-ten and weighed about 130 pounds—wiry as they say—and I went out there and I guess I was about fourth-team right end. What I really was was cannon fodder for the first teams. I remember two people very distinctly on that team. One of 'em's name was Pete Martin and the other'ns was Earl Twilly who played tackle. The thing I remember was the impression those two guys made on me. Both of them weighed about 190 pounds apiece and they had just gotten back out of the army. We had several people who had been in the army. Pete's brother played in the backfield and he had been in the military. They discouraged me considerably and I just went out for football one year.

One day we were having tackling drill and I was paired off with a kid about my size. You tried to get somebody your size so you wouldn't get killed. We were bumping each other around and I turned my ankle. Now, the football coach was also the basketball coach and he knew I was a pretty good basketball player, so he just told me to forget football for the rest of the year.

One night during the middle of the football season, both football coaches went up to Troy to scout a game. On the way back, a drunk hit them and they were hospitalized a long time. There was an engineer there in town named Stanley Clark and he had played football at Mississippi State and they got him to take the football team for the rest of the year. Now, Stanley Clark got up one of the gosh awfulest ideas I ever hear of anybody having. He took the football team from Elba High School to Starkville to see Mississippi State play Hardin-Simmons. That's when Shorty McWilliams was playing at State. Somebody said they saw Shorty come around a corner in his car and it was so long that it had hinges in the middle to get around the corner. The crazy thing was that the football team went to Starkville in a trailer truck, if you can believe that, a flatbed trailer truck. The deal was that Dorsey Trailers, the biggest deal in town, donated the services of the truck for that trip. I remember we came through Montgomery and stopped at the *Montgomery Advertiser* building and they came out and took a picture of all the boys on the back of that big flatbed trailer. We must have had about forty boys on the back of that truck. We went over on Friday and stayed in the old gym on the State campus, supposed to sleep on the floor, but I don't think any of the boys slept any at all. We watched the game the next day, and since Stanley Clark was from Greenwood or Greenville or one of those towns in the Delta, somehow we wound up going to Stanley's hometown to spend

Saturday night. People in Elba gave us crates of apples and crates of oranges to take along on the trip. I'm sure there were a bunch of worried mamas when that truck left town, and I still don't know why my mama let me go. It was a crazy trip.

Guarding the Coast

Joy Buskens, Baldwin County

During World War II, my mother washed uniforms for people who were renting up around the canal when they activated Barin Field, a navy training base for flyers. My dad would always pick up hitchhikers, soldier boys, during the war. Some of the local girls would marry some of those boys.

The training planes would practice up here on the canal all day long—plenty loud—but we didn't realize they were training for war. Right at the end of the old bridge there at Gulf Shores, mines were loaded on boats there to go on to other places. We had blackouts then, and if you lived within so many miles of the water, you had to have blackout curtains in case the enemy was out there. There were stories that the Germans did come ashore at certain places and people found little brochures that came from the theaters in Pensacola, thinking maybe the Germans had been into town.

There was a war camp up about halfway to Foley, a prisoner of war camp, and I can remember seeing those boys marching, German soldiers. I had a friend, and her dad would go out to that camp and get the slop for his pigs from that place. She would go out there sometimes with her dad and her little brothers. Those German prisoners couldn't speak English, but they would just hug her little brothers. They would get pictures out of their wallets and show the pictures of their little boys and girls and try to communicate.

When we were growing up during the war, there were these cans of milk that washed up on shore, and instead of spelling "milk," it was "klim," five-gallon cans, and everybody picked them up and had milk for awhile. My dad went out on his fishing boat one time and those boys in the navy planes would shoot at his boat—target practice—and he got hit. I saw his scar where a bullet had grazed his ear. Those boys were just pranking around and using his boat for target practice. He reported it, but nothing was done. It happened to Mrs. Frances Gainer, too. She had a little cabana down at the beach and they came down and shot at her in their plane.

My mother told about the Episcopal preacher in Foley who found one of those targets they towed behind those planes and he had some red pajamas made from the material. Little boys had silk underwear made from those targets, too.

There was an old cannery here that was partitioned off for the military people over at Fort Morgan to live in because there was a real housing shortage on the coast. There was nothing to rent. They had military people who rode on horseback guarding the coast, and my dad said when commercial fishermen fished at night, they had to keep the lights out.

In the forties, we had to catch a school bus and go twelve miles away to Foley to school. I cried every morning when I caught that bus and Mama would tell me that if I went today, I didn't have to go tomorrow. I got a book for perfect attendance that year in the first grade. During the war, we had an elementary school down here at Fort Morgan for the children of the soldiers.

Woman of Color of New Orleans
by François Fleischbein, 1837

Historic New Orleans
Collection, 1985.212

In Defense of their Creole Culture: The Free Creoles of Color of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola

Virginia Gould

The free Creoles of color of the antebellum Gulf ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola were a natural expression of the world around them. Political and economic realities during the colonial period encouraged the intermingling of the French, Spanish, and African inhabitants of the region and offered their racially-mixed descendants an important place in the day-to-day life of the colony. Indeed, by the end of the colonial period, the region's free people of color far outstripped any other racially-mixed freed population in North America, in size as well as social position. Yet, the conditions that were supportive to the region's free people of color during the colonial period were to change with the antebellum period and the consolidation of the social system of slavery.[1]

The origins of the free Creoles of color can be traced to the turbulent colonial years during which Spain, France, and Great Britain struggled for dominance in the region. The Spanish laid claim to the entire region, from the Rio Grande to the Cape of Florida in 1528, but their effort failed and the central Gulf Coast remained unsettled by Europeans until the Spanish successfully established a fort at Pensacola in 1698. Even as the Spanish laid claim to Florida, however, France was sending explorers and missionaries to the great territory of Louisiana. The French placed a settlement at Mobile in January 1702. New Orleans was settled a few years later.[2]

The geopolitical struggle over the region did not end with settlement. The ports and the region around them were bartered back and forth between the Spanish, the French, and the English throughout the eighteenth century. Colonial powers valued the region for its geographic position, not its economic possibilities. The Spanish laid claim to Florida in order to protect its more valuable property to the South and West. France occupied the Mississippi Valley in an attempt to stop the march of the British across the Alleghenies. Of Louisiana, Marcel Giraud has written that "no other French colony in America was born in such difficult circumstances, nor experienced such a painful growth because of a crisis in the homeland." Louisiana was the only settlement, he concluded, that was settled "when France had neither the people capable of conceiving a bold program of colonial expansion nor the material resources and moral forces necessary for its implementation." Giraud overstated his point, the Spanish were no more able or successful in Florida.[3]

The Spanish fought to hold on to Pensacola because they recognized its position as the best natural port on the Gulf. Don Tristan De Luna wrote in 1559 that the bay at Pensacola was one of the "best ports to be found in the discovered parts of the Indies." After establishing an outpost there, however, the Spanish virtually ignored the little settlement, leaving the inhabitants to deal with starvation, disease, and attacks from the local Indians. While France was incapable of providing much support for its colonists, it had higher hopes for Louisiana than Spain did for Florida. Both New Orleans and Mobile were military posts, but French administrators sought to stabilize the region by populating it with white laborers whom they hoped would establish a farm-based economy.[4]

French settlers, however, had other ideas. They deplored agricultural work, expressing hostility at officials who attempted to force them to engage in it. Facing resistance from white laborers, planters first enslaved local Indians and then insisted on the importation of African slaves. Slave labor began in earnest in the region a few years after settlement. Census data, which should always be interpreted with care, show that the slave population in the ports grew steadily. Pensacola's slave population was consistently very small. There were only 184 slaves in the little outpost in 1784, but the white population had only grown to include 381. By 1819 Pensacola's slave population had nearly doubled to 343.[5]

The most consistent data is available for New Orleans. According to a census taker, there were 94 slaves in the post in 1721. The next report, the census of 1771, lists 1,288 slaves. The 1785 record lists 1,631. By 1806 there were 8,378 slaves counted there. The number of slaves in the ports was consistently small compared to those found in the plantation region that surrounded them. The census that Bishop Peñalver y Cardenas ordered in 1795 reported that there were twenty-five thousand slaves occupying the region governed by the Spanish. It is unlikely that the number is correct, but it is more than likely reasonable and demonstrates the continued commitment of planters to slavery.[6]

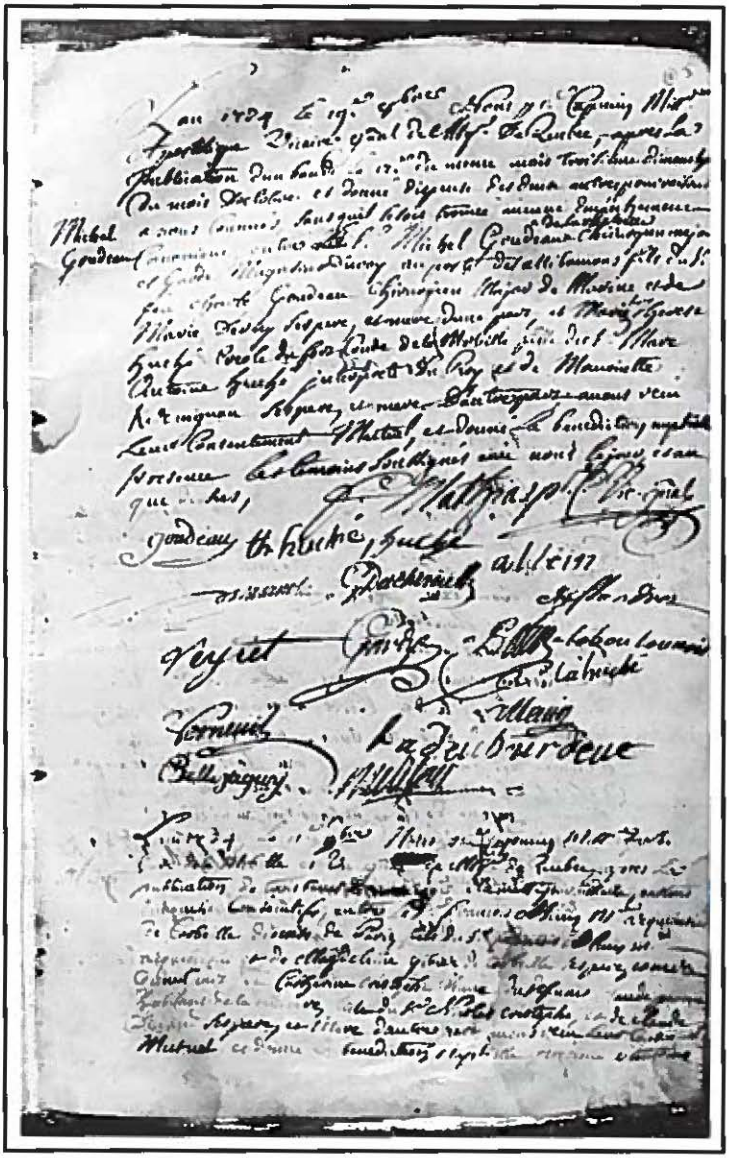
Despite their commitment to slavery, however, eighteenth century planters were unable to achieve a stable or profitable plantation system. At various times, they based their hopes on producing large export crops of indigo, sugar cane, tobacco, and rice. None of the crops proved consistently successful. Without a viable plantation system, the inhabitants of the regions were forced to rely on subsistence farming, the abundance of natural resources, and trade with the Indians in order to survive. Planters, white laborers, free people of color, and slaves created face-to-face networks of exchange with local Indians and with each other. Subsistence

farming and trade in clay, lumber, and deer hides, not plantation slavery, dominated the economy of the region.[7]

The failure of plantation agriculture had a definitive effect on the social system of slavery that evolved in the region. Without economic control, colonial planters and merchants were unable to dominate and fractionalize the diverse population of whites, slaves, free people of color, and Indians. And as Gwendolyn Hall demonstrates in *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, it was within those networks of contact and trade that racial lines were blurred. "The population of this face-to-face community, living in danger and isolation much of the time," she writes, "adapted by creating a flexible, permeable world where human talents and abilities were at a premium." It was in that world that racial identity was subordinate to survival that racial mixing was tolerated, or even encouraged.[8]

The population that emerged as a consequence of the particular conditions in the region was more racially-mixed than any other population in North America. Racial mixing began as soon as Africans began to redefine the region with their presence. The freed population grew steadily throughout the colonial period. Its growth during the Spanish period, however, is the most obvious. The 1778 census for New Orleans enumerates 601 free people of color. By 1805 their numbers had increased to 1,556, or approximately thirty percent of the population. The 1788 census for Mobile includes eighty-eight free people of color. They constituted approximately twenty percent of the free population. By 1805 Mobile's freed population had grown to 205, a small number but one that included more than thirty percent of the free population. The free colored population in Pensacola grew from 27 in 1784 to 252 in 1820 when the Spanish conducted their final census. The increase in Pensacola was nearly ten-fold. By 1820 free people of color in Pensacola represented thirty-six percent of the free population.[9]

The increase in the freed population came from several sources. Many slaves simply went free, blending into the Indian populations or forming communities of Maroons in the swamps around the ports. Others slipped into freedom in the confusion of the busy port environment. Most slaves, however, were legally freed by masters or mistresses in return for their outstanding or faithful service. The majority of those freed were women who cohabited with white men and their racially-mixed offspring. In just one example of thousands, Jean Chastang of Mobile cohabited with and then freed a family slave, Louison, with whom he later fathered ten children. Chastang acknowledged his children in the baptism records of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. He also acknowledged his



Marriage of Michel Goudeau and Marie Thérèse Huché, "a Creole of Ft. Condé de la Mobile," October 19, 1734

Mobile Marriage Book I
Archives of the Archdiocese of Mobile

liasion with Louison in his will when he bequeathed to his "beloved friend and companion, Louison, a free negro woman, who has resided with me for twenty years past and has been my sole attendant in health and particularly in sickness," his entire estate and dwellings, which were considerable. Louison's alliance with Jean would not have been one that would have been accepted by all slave women. But some slave women tolerated or even welcomed such liaisons. After all, it was customary for men to free their slave cohabitants and their racially-mixed children.[10]

Conditions in the ports encouraged racial mixing. Interracial liaisons were abetted by the demographic imbalance of the population. In New Orleans in 1771 there were 1,034 white males in a community that had only 769 females. The sex ratio for free people of color and slaves was reversed. Of the ninety-nine free people of color listed by the census taker in New Orleans in 1771, sixty-seven were women while only thirty-two were men. Mobile and Pensacola had similar population profiles. The sex ratio for Mobile's white population in 1805 was 76. That of the free people of color was 104.9. Pensacola's white population had a sex ratio in 1784 of 68.7. That of the free-colored population was 170. African women and European men often had few other choices than to cohabit with one another.[11]

Notwithstanding necessity, many of the inhabitants preferred interracial liaisons. Nowhere else, wrote C. C. Robin, who was an early commentator of social conditions in Louisiana, was racial "tolerance more extended." Furthermore, there is striking evidence that white men often preferred to form liaisons with slave or free women of color. C. C. Robin wrote in his description of Louisiana that it was the "cohabitation of whites with women of color more than anything else that contributes to the multiplication of colored people at a higher rate than that of the whites. Everyone, according to Robin, "forms alliances with these colored women and many have children with them." This tradition, he continued, extended to the rural region where "the Creoles prefer to live with these women rather than give to a white woman the title of spouse."[12]

This large population of free people of color did not recognize themselves as a culturally coherent group until after the region had been ceded to the United States. That is not to suggest that none of the inhabitants were identified as Creoles, but rather that during the eighteenth century, *creole* had a different connotation. Inhabitants and lay and religious administrators in the colonial period used the term *creole* to designate the origin of anyone, black, white, or racially-mixed, but not Indian, born in the New World. *Creole* was originally derived from the Portuguese terms *crioula* which designated slaves born in the New World.

By the eighteenth century it implied anyone of European and African descent born in the New World. In the records, *creole of this Colony*, during the early formative years on the Gulf Coast, was used interchangeably with the designation *native of this Colony*.[13]

According to extant records, the first person to be officially recognized as a Creole was Robert Talon. Talon appears to have been born in Louisiana about the turn of the eighteenth century. His records are incomplete; however, his death record which is dated May 23, 1745 describes him as the "first Creole in this colony." Talon was also identified in a baptism record of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception at Mobile dated June 15, 1717 as the godfather to a child born "née Marie Margarite de Jean Colon habitant de l'isle Dauphine and Marg. Prau." He had to be more than seven years old before he could serve as a godfather. If his death record is correct, he was most probably the first person of either European or African descent to be born in the colony. But Talon's identity as a Creole only denoted his place of birth, it said nothing of his cultural or racial heritage.[14]

It was only later, during the nineteenth century, that *creole* began to imply a cultural identity that transcended race and class. That shift in meaning occurred as economic and political changes threatened the original inhabitants, or *ancienne population* as they identified themselves. The initial threats to the *ancienne population* began as planters in the region found success in monocrop agriculture. The first economic success occurred in 1796 in the region of New Orleans when Etienne de Boré discovered a viable type of sugar cane. A few years later planters around Mobile found their fortunes in the production of cotton. The port of Pensacola, located amidst a large plain of sandy soil, experienced some profit from the more fertile lands that lay to its north. Economic prosperity of plantations in the hinterlands brought prosperity to the ports.[15]

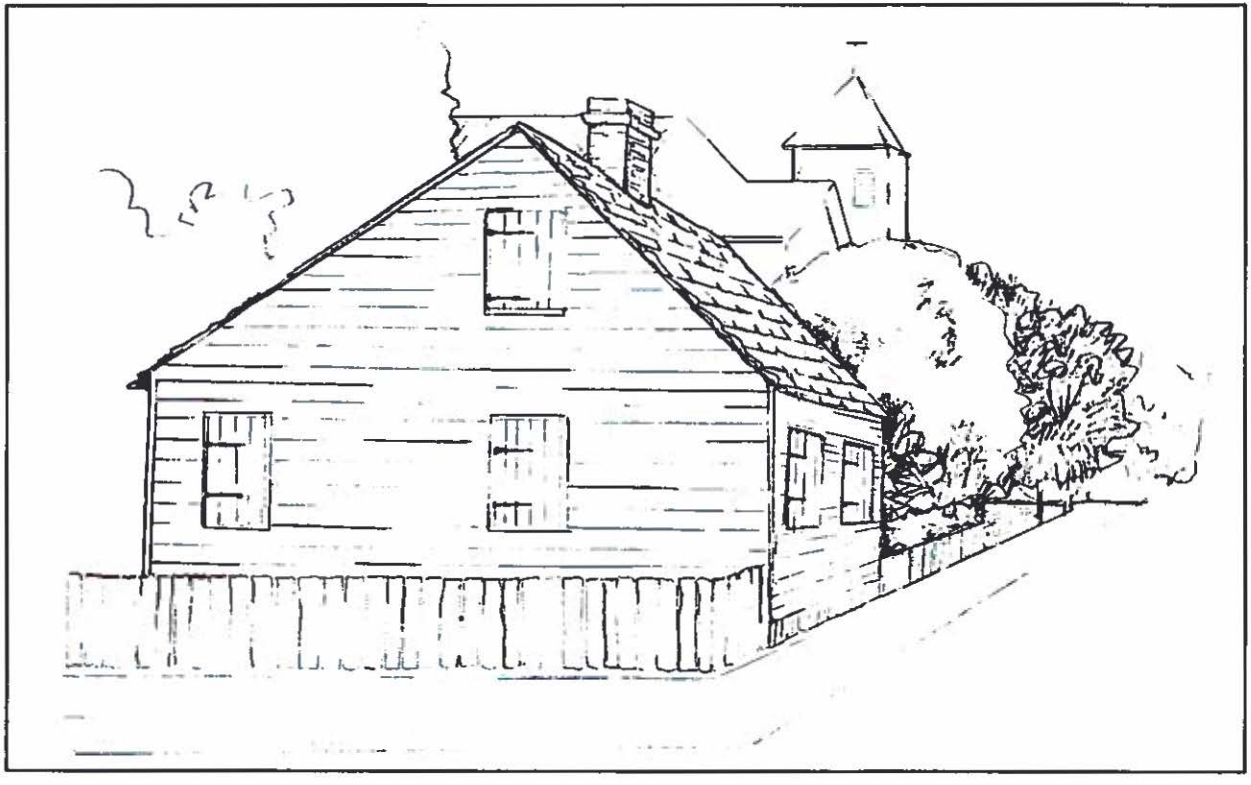
The prosperity of plantation agriculture spurred political change. Planters who had previously had little power began to consolidate their positions. One of their acts was to press for more stringent slave codes. Planters pressed Spanish administrators to tighten slave codes before the region was ceded to the United States. But they were only successful in implementing more stringent laws after the territorial governments were in place. The first codes to offer planters more control over their slaves were the regulations that were adopted in Louisiana in 1806-07. Those codes were unprecedented in their restrictions. Planters in Alabama and Florida were not far behind. The codes enacted by the territorial and later by the state governments of Louisiana, Alabama, and Florida aimed to more fully subjugate the slaves in the region. Legislation in all three states

followed a pattern. First, the governing bodies began the process of limiting manumission. Private acts of manumission were prohibited soon after each port was ceded to the Americans. That meant that masters could neither manumit his or her slave nor allow them to purchase their freedom without official permission from either the court or the legislature. Age limits were soon added to the restrictions and then freed slaves were ordered to leave their respective states. By 1860 lawmakers in all three states had enacted laws that prohibited manumission completely.[16]

Migration patterns also reinforced the consolidation of the social system of slavery. Throughout the eighteenth century, migrants from the western world regularly moved into and out of the region. A glance at any census record that includes place of origin reveals the diverse nature of the population. The 1820 census of Pensacola is a good example. In that year, the census taker found inhabitants in Pensacola who were originally from Spain, France, Africa, Mexico, Italy, Morocco, Germany, Canada, Portugal, Great Britain, the Caribbean, the Canary Islands, and the United States. A considerable movement of the population also occurred between the ports.[17]

Descriptions of the ports always include comments on the diverse population that was found there. Lieutenant George McCall, stationed in Pensacola with the United States Army shortly after it had been ceded to the United States, offers a telling description of the population in a letter he wrote home to his sister in 1820. McCall described the "motley multitude of grave and gay, aged and young, wending their way towards the house of worship" as he watched "one bright Sabbath morning, standing at the corner of the Plaza." The first person described by McCall was an "elderly Spanish lady, whose thick veil descends in ample folds about her person." She is followed, "at a respectful distance, by the neatly-dressed slave, carrying her chair and cushion; the first of these articles being inverted in such a way that the bottom rests on the gay cotton handkerchief with which the girl's head is decorated, and the back descending behind, leaves one hand free for salutation, while the other clasps the cushion." Next came a group of young men, loitering indolently along; these are followed by an old Frenchman, "all complaisance, bowing to all he meets." Then finally, came "the feminine, black-eyed, naive young Creole, whose air and carriage are as striking and attractive as her dress is simple and modest."[18]

As McCall unwittingly suggests, the diverse immigrants who moved into the region existed comfortably side-by-side, depending on one another for their livelihoods. Migration into the region in the nineteenth century,



The Julie Cottage, Pensacola,
home of a Creole woman of color

Historic Pensacola
Preservation Board

however, brought a group whose very presence affronted the *ancienne population*. Americans who were seeking their fortunes began to move across the Appalachians and down the Mississippi River before the region was ceded to the United States. After its cession, however, Americans poured into the region. Of the ports, New Orleans experienced the most growth. The population had reached 8,222 in 1805, but by 1810, just seven years after cession to the United States, it had increased to 17,242. By 1850, the population had increased to 116,395. Mobile's population was never that of New Orleans, but it experienced the same kind of increase. The census taken in 1805 shows that the population had reached 3,105. By 1850 it had climbed to 20,515. Pensacola knew the least growth. The final Spanish census taken in 1820, which does not include slaves, demonstrates that there were more than 695 free persons residing there. By 1850 the population had grown to only 2,164. Pensacola's small growth demonstrates the marginal success that plantation agriculture found in its hinterland; and thus, its lack of appeal for Americans.[19]

The Americans who swarmed into the region soon began to numerically overwhelm and threaten the *ancienne population*. Joseph Tregle writes in "Creoles and Americans" that for several decades at the beginning of the nineteenth century Americans and Creoles engaged in a battle for control of the society. Each group, he writes, struggled to "mold the whole to its particular design." Issues dividing the factions ran so deep, Tregle asserts, "that those involved in the contest not unreasonably thought of themselves as engaged in struggle for the very soul of the community." It was during that process, as Tregle points out, that the older residents recognized the threats posed by the Americans and asserted privilege in the only way they could, by claiming that their origin in the soil naturally endowed them with a native identity that was superior. It was the identification of native origin with status that the *ancienne population* translated into a cultural identity. Creole, which had previously connoted place of birth, was reinterpreted into Creole, which connoted the culturally cohesive population that was tied to the region through heritage.[20]

Americans did not understand the culture of the Creoles any more than did the Creoles understand that of the Americans. Commentators rarely failed to write of the divisiveness between the Americans and Creoles. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach commented on the enmity between the two groups in his description of New Orleans. "The aversion of the French Creoles to the Americans," he wrote, "is notable." Harriett Martineau noticed the same thing. In her commentary, she noted that the division between the Americans and the Creoles was "visible even in the

drawing room." The French complained, she wrote, that the "Americans will not speak French; will not meet their neighbors even half way in accommodation of speech." The Americans, on the other hand, "ridicule the toilet practices of the French ladies; their liberal use of rouge and pearl powder." Creoles and Americans even segregated themselves into separate neighborhoods. Eugene Macarty, a prominent white Creole rarely stayed at his own house because, as he told a friend, Americans whom he detested had moved in next door.[21]

Threatened at being overwhelmed by Americans and American ways, the *ancienne population* recognized their similar interests and culture in response to the other, American culture, and identified with each other across boundaries of race and class. Lieutenant George McCall captures the process of acculturation and identification in a letter he wrote home to his sister in 1821 from Pensacola. McCall described the *ancienne population* as fragmented and yet cohesive. The inhabitants who identified themselves as *Creoles*, he noticed, formed "something like a distinct provincial character; their prominent traits wearing a coloring peculiarly their own, the effect of climate, mode of life, and the decidedly local causes." As McCall suggests, the cultural evolution of the original population that inhabited the region was a dynamic process in which diverse groups had come together and begun to share a common style.[22]

Black, white, and racially-mixed Creoles recognized that they shared a unique culture that had evolved over generations of mutual experience. They realized that their identities were knit together by kinship, common interest, and culture. Creoles of color took great pride in the heritage they shared with the white Creoles. Nowhere is the pride of the Creole of color more evident than in Rodolphe Desdunes' *Our People and Our History*. Desdunes, who was a Creole of color himself, described Armand Lanusse, the director of the Institution Catholique des Orphelins Indigents, by writing that he had never been to France, except in his imagination, but that "his pride at being a Creole was more dear to him than being a Louisianian, or to anything else pertaining to his origin."[23]

Ties between the white and racially-mixed elements of the population are demonstrated in the sacramental records of the St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans and the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Mobile. The clearest examples are the baptism records. White Creoles often served as the godparents to the infants of the Creoles of color. In Mobile, for instance, the white Hilare Dubroca served as godfather to Josephine Dubroca, the racially-mixed daughter of his brother Maximillian and his free Creole of color cohabitant Euphrosine Andry. Euphrosine's siblings also served as godparents to several of their children. This example, as

countless others, serves to demonstrate the ties that existed between family members, regardless of racial heritage.[24]

Written and unwritten commitments between the racially-mixed free Creoles and the white Creoles became especially important during the decades that led to the War. Free Creoles of color depended on their white kin and neighbors for protection from the increasingly hostile attitudes and restrictions that threatened to overwhelm them. Americans, but especially Southerners, brought different attitudes about race with them. The social system of slavery that evolved in the South was based on presumptions about race that were similar to those of the Gulf Coast region, but the assumptions in the South were adhered to more literally. Where colonists in Louisiana found themselves in a world in which racial classification could be overlooked, slaveholders in the southern colonies reinforced a rigid racist hierarchy. Racial mixing was taboo in the Anglo-American colonies. Certainly miscegenation occurred there, but it remained secret, hidden from view. Racially-mixed slave children were denied by their fathers who knew that their reputations would be ruined if the truth were known. Withal, the racially-mixed population in colonial Louisiana and Florida flourished compared to that in the southern colonies.[25]

Free Creoles of color recognized that they shared ties of kinship and culture with white and Creole slaves. But they also knew that within that culture they were unique, separated from the others by race or condition. *Creoles of color* who recognized that they were neither slaves, nor wholly free cultivated discreet identities that reflected both their African and European heritage and that also reflected the political and social world around them. Their safety depended on their ability to separate themselves away from slavery and even away from other free people of color who were not protected by the same privilege they were.

As governance changed with the cession of the region to the United States, the identities of the Creoles of color took on added significance. The treaties of cession that were negotiated between the United States and France and Spain as the region was ceded to the United States guaranteed the rights of citizenship to the *ancienne population*. The treaty that protected the rights of the original inhabitants in Louisiana was the Louisiana Purchase Treaty of 1803. The one that protected the inhabitants of Mobile and Pensacola was the Adams-Onis Treaty. The language of the treaties was meant to protect the entire population that France and then Spain left behind. But the free Creoles of color were especially protected under the conditions of the treaties.[26]

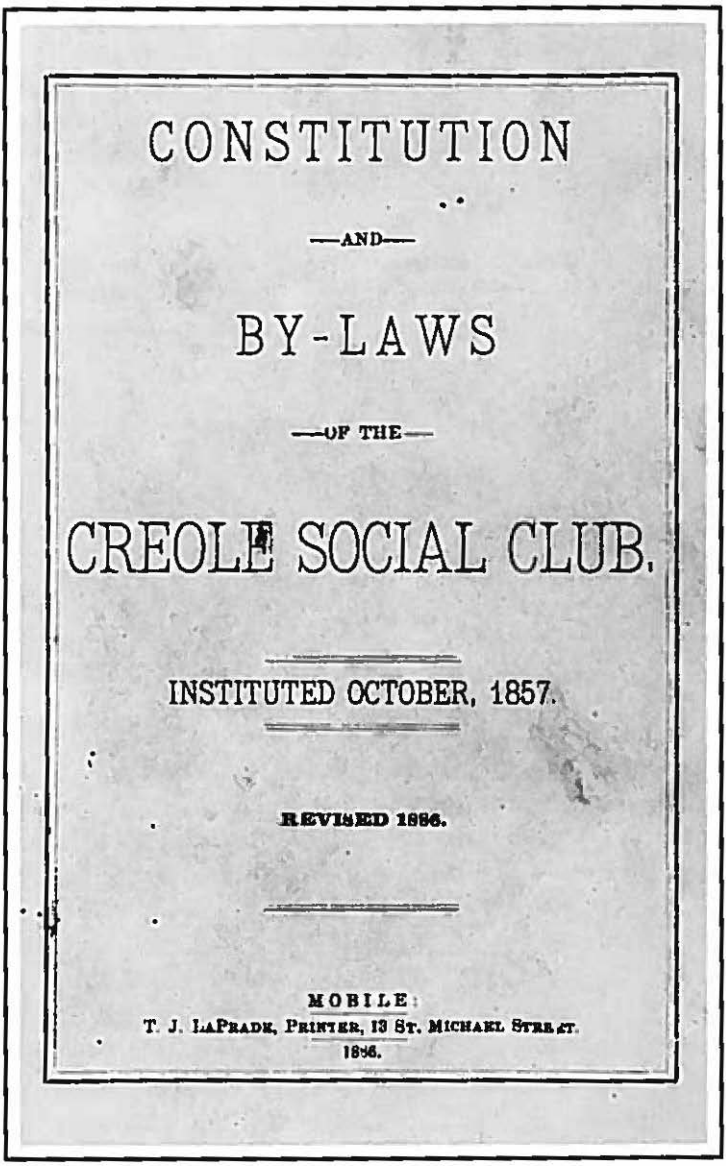
For instance, a law was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Alabama in 1822 that prohibited "any free negro or

mulatto, either directly or indirectly, to retain any kind of spirituous liquors within this state." The same act provided, however, that the prohibition should not affect those "free negro, mulatto, or other person, who, by the treaty between the United States and Spain, became citizens of the United States, or the descendants of any such person." In 1828 a law was enacted by the territorial council in Florida that prohibited free people of color from owning weapons without first obtaining a license from the justice of the peace. The law specifically exempted the free Creoles of color of Pensacola from the restriction.[27]

Recognizing that their status depended on their identities as Creoles, the free Creoles of color of the Gulf ports sought to protect and maintain their distinctiveness. They knew their world as that of the urban Gulf ports, but they also knew themselves to be members of the exclusive community of free Creoles of color that was tied together by heritage, kinship, religion, and common interest. Their exclusive community spanned all three ports and the hinterlands between. The sacramental records of the St. Louis Cathedral and the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception reveal the networks. Besides marriage and cohabitation, free Creoles of color regularly acted as godparents to the children of other Creoles of color. Networks that enforced identify, ones that could be verified by the Church, were especially significant in a society in which one's identity could be brought into question.[28]

Creoles of color also protected their identities through endogamous marriage. Sacramental records of the St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans and the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Mobile demonstrate that by the nineteenth century nearly all of the marriages of free Creoles of color were to other Creoles of color. The Catholic Church which was central to the identities of the free Creoles of color reinforced endogamous marriage by mandating that its parishioners marry inside the Church. Catholics, who were for the most part the original population, followed the mandate by only marrying Catholics. Restricted by law from marrying outside their legal status, free Creoles married other free Creoles of color.

Besides family ties, free Creoles of color organized themselves into exclusive organizations. The only extant records are those for Mobile, but those records mention fraternal organizations in New Orleans and Pensacola. Free Creole of color associations in Mobile included the Creole Fire Company, and the Creole Social Club. The Creole Fire Company was founded in 1819 as one of the fire companies in Mobile. The Creole Fire Company held regular meetings which were often attended by one of the local priests. They paraded at Mardi Gras, organized balls, picnics, and other social functions to raise money for their company and their



CONSTITUTION

—AND—

BY-LAWS

—OF THE—

CREOLE SOCIAL CLUB.

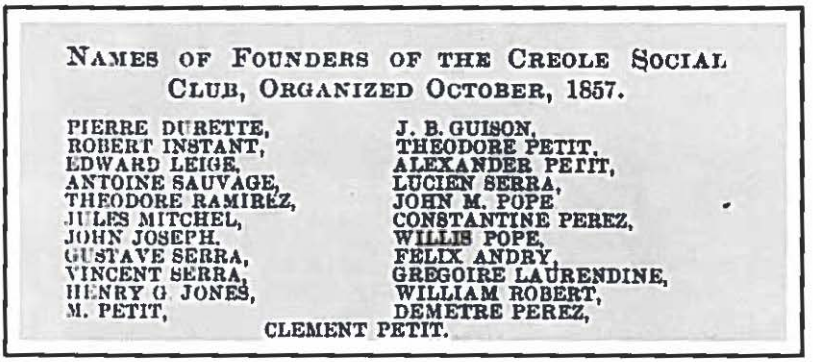
INSTITUTED OCTOBER, 1857.

REVISED 1886.

MOBILE:
T. J. LaPrade, Printer, 13 St. Michael Street.
1886.

Museum of the City of Mobile

equipment. The other organization for which there are records was the Creole Social Club and its auxiliary for women. These organizations, like the Creole Fire Company held regular meetings. Their main purpose was to provide insurance for their members. Any member who got sick could appeal to the organization for living expenses, or burial expenses when necessary. Both organizations offered their members protection against a society that was closing in around them.[29]



NAMES OF FOUNDERS OF THE CREOLE SOCIAL CLUB, ORGANIZED OCTOBER, 1857.

PIERRE DURETTE,
ROBERT INSTANT,
EDWARD LEIGE,
ANTOINE SAUVAGE,
THEODORE RAMIREZ,
JULES MITCHEL,
JOHN JOSEPH.
GUSTAVE SERRA,
VINCENT SERRA,
HENRY G. JONES,
M. PETIT,
J. B. GUISON,
THEODORE PETIT,
ALEXANDER PETIT,
LUCIEN SERRA,
JOHN M. POPE
CONSTANTINE PEREZ,
WILLIS POPE,
FELIX ANDRY,
GREGOIRE LAURENDINE,
WILLIAM ROBERT,
DEMETRE PEREZ,
CLEMENT PETIT.

Museum of the City of Mobile

Education also separated free Creoles of color from slaves and from other free people of color. It was unlawful for slaves to be educated. Only a few managed to find ways to educate themselves. But free Creoles of color were often tutored in private schools set up in homes or educated by the Catholic churches of the region. Donald Everette argues that in many cases in New Orleans the schools reinforced the social cleavage in the free colored community by only allowing the more "respectable" children whose physical appearance included prominent Caucasian features. Several schools for the children were established by the 1820s in New Orleans and in 1837 Marie Bernard Convent, a free Negress, bequeathed her sizable legacy for the foundation of a Creole colored school which was established in 1848 under the patronage of "La Société Catholique pour l'instruction des orphelins dans l'indigence."[30]

The legislature of the state of Alabama officially recognized the unique status of the Creoles of color in several acts in which that population was exempt from restrictive laws aimed at free people of color throughout the state. But the legislature passed an act in 1833 that was more than a tacit acknowledgement of the status of the free Creole population. In that act, the legislature directed that the mayor and aldermen of the city of Mobile

authorize and license teachers to educate the free Creole children who were residents of Mobile and Baldwin counties. The legislature clearly intended only for those children who were the "descendants of those persons who were residents of the said city or counties, at the time they treaty made between the French republic and the United States of America, in April 1803." Other children of free people of color were not to be educated by the city. And in order to assure that only Creole children were educated the law stipulated that "none of the colored children shall be so taught or instructed, until they shall first have the permission of the said mayor and alderman of the city of Mobile and they shall have recorded the names of such children in a book to be kept by them for that purpose."[31]

Despite the treaties and their efforts to protect their discreet identities, however, the free Creoles of color began experiencing overwhelming threats to their status and their safety during the final decades before the War. In the 1840s and 50s all three states began passing laws that did not specifically exclude the Creoles of color. In a set of laws that were aimed directly at restricting and controlling the free people of color, all three states enacted guardianship laws in the 1840s and 50s. According to the intent of the laws, free people of color were to identify a white man to act as their guardian, have him sign a certificate of guardianship, and register that certificate with the court. A guardianship law was passed in Alabama in 1851-1852 which provided that the county judges of probate were given authority to appoint guardians for free people of color. Guardians were to enter into bonds with the judges and to take charge of all goods and money of his charge.[32]

In Florida guardianship laws specified that all free Negroes and mulattoes over twelve years of age who failed to secure a guardian as provided by the act of 1848 were subject to a fine of not less than $10.00. If the fine were not paid, the judge of the probate court was authorized to commit the offender to jail until the fine and all of the court proceedings were paid. By the intent of the law, free people of color were prohibited from buying or selling property without the written permission of his or her guardian, a restriction that was hauntingly similar to the restrictions that forbade slaves the right to buy or sell without the permission of their owner. The penalty for buying or selling property without first securing a guardian's permission was a fine from $100.00 to $500.00. According to the law, white men were to be chosen or appointed as a "guardian of the person and property of the said person, with all rights, and powers, and privileges granted to guardians in such cases made and provided by the law."[33]

One woman who felt the full brunt of the legislation was Euphrosina Hisnard. Although she spent most of her life in Pensacola, Euphrosina was born in New Orleans in 1786. The natural daughter of Don Francisco Hisnard and Mariana Grondel, a free *morena*, Euphrosina was *plaçeed* to Don Nicolás Maria Vidal, the *auditor de querra* of Spanish Louisiana in 1790 when she was fourteen years old. During the time that Hisnard cohabited with Vidal, she bore him two daughters: Maria de la Merced and Carolina. After she left New Orleans, Hisnard lived in Mobile for several years and then she moved to Pensacola. Records in all three ports trace her business activities. Indeed, Hisnard's business acumen was especially known in Pensacola where she owned a brick yard and speculated in real estate and slaves. She is particularly remembered, however, for her attitude toward slavery. Hisnard was a slaveholder who was circumscribed by state of Florida slave codes, but her actions demonstrate that she continued to hold the Spanish view of slavery. Hisnard owned slaves but offered them opportunities to work and purchase their way out of slavery. In one example, she signed a note with one of her slaves who went free until he earned his purchase price, with interest of course.

Hisnard's relations with her free white and black slave neighbors changed, however, during the 1850s, when she was forced by law to choose a white guardian in order to continue her business activity. Evidently, she could no longer avoid the law because in 1857 she registered Zenon Souchet as her guardian. In the document, Souchet consented to her "buying from and selling to any person or persons any real, personal, or chattel property in the country aforesaid for the term of twelve months from date." Even though the free white Creoles stood behind the free Creoles of color, having to choose a guardian must have been agonizing to Hisnard.[34]

Free Creoles of color on the Gulf Coast recognized themselves as a natural expression of the world around them. Their place in the world order, however, was increasingly restricted and threatened during the antebellum period by attitudes and laws that sought to consolidate the social system of slavery. Antebellum slave law and racist attitudes changed forever the world they had known as colonial subjects. Despite their legal exclusion from the harshest measures that were guaranteed by the Louisiana Purchase and Adams-Onis Treaties, their political and economic status declined significantly before the Civil War. During that time, many left. But most stayed on, relying on their unique identities, their ties to white Creoles, and group cohesiveness to protect them. The war years and their aftermath released them from threats of reenslavement, but emancipation brought new challenges to their unique status.

Notes

[1] This paper examines the population of free Creoles of color in the three Gulf ports in order to widen the view. If taken individually, the population of each port would tell a slightly different story. But taken together, as a regional phenomenon, the story becomes richer and more detailed.

[2] For a history of the settlement of the region see James Thomas McGowan, "Creation of a Slave Society," (Ph.D. diss., Rochester University, 1976); Daniel Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1981); Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, ed. Charles G. Summersell (1910, reprint, Tuscaloosa, 1976); Harriett E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 1985); William Coker and Thomas Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Panton & Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1874* (Gainesville, FL, 1986). Also see, Bennett H. Wall, ed., *Louisiana: A History* (Arlington Heights, IL, 1984). Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida* (1904, reprint, Deland, FL, 1924-25); Albert James Picket, *History of Alabama; and Incidently of Georgia and Mississippi, From the Earliest Period* (Sheffield, AL, 1896); Charles Gayarré, *The History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (New Orleans, 1879).

[3] Marcel Giraud, "France and Louisiana in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 36 (1950): 657.

[4] De Luna's remarks can be found in Herbert I. Priestley, *The Luna Papers* (Deland, FL, 1928), 2: 275. For the preference of the French in Louisiana see Archives of the Ministry of Colonies, Archives Nationales, Paris, transcriptions in the Library of Congress, C 13, 1: 462-74. Bienville's Memoir on Louisiana, 362. Library of Congress microfilm, *Records of the States of the United States of America: Louisiana 1678-1810* (1949). LePage DuPratz, *History of Louisiana* (London, 1763), vol 1.

[5] The 1819 Pensacola census is in AGI PC legajo 1876-B, Mississippi Territorial Archives, Jackson, MS. The census can also be found in William S. Coker and G. Douglas Ingliss, *The Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820: A Genealogical Guide To Spanish Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1980).

[6] Archives des Colonies, G1, folio 464, transcriptions in the Library of Congress, Manuscript division. For the 1721 census data, see Jay K. Ditcht, "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 13 [1930]: 206 and 214. For 1771, see Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., "Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945* [Washington, DC, 1946], vol. 2, pt. 2, 196 and 290. The 1785 census is included in U.S. Congress, 2d sess., November 5, 1804-March 3, 1805, 1571-72. The 1805 census is in *New Orleans in 1805: A Directory and a Census Together with Resolutions Authorizing Same Now Printed for the First Time from the Original Manuscript*, introduction by Charles L. Thompson (New Orleans, 1936).

[7] For the best arguments on the economic development of the region see Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Mississippi Valley," Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, and Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*.

[8] William Edward Dunn, *The Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States 1678-1702* (Austin, TX, 1917); Lawrence Carroll Ford, *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739* (Washington, DC, 1939); Ernest F. Dibble and Earle W. Newton, eds., *Spain and Her Rivals on the Gulf Coast* (Pensacola,

1971). Records of Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576-1803, University of Notre Dame Archives; Usner, "Frontier Exchange in the Mississippi Valley." Gwendolyn Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 238, 239-49.

[9] The 1778 Census of New Orleans can be found in Kinnarid's "Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794"; *New Orleans in 1805: A Directory and Census* (New Orleans, 1936). A copy can be found in the New Orleans Public Library. Mobile's Spanish censuses include *General de la jurisdication de la Mobila del primero de enero del año de 1787*, legaho 206, Territorial Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives, Jackson, MS; Spanish District Recapitulation of 1788, legaho 1425; *Census de Mobila, septembre 12, 1805*, legaho 142, Territorial Papers, Jackson, MS. There are two widely used census records for Pensacola. The Spanish Census of 1784, May 31, 1784, *AGI PC* legaho 36 and The Final Spanish Census of Pensacola, or that of 1820 *AGI PC* legaho 1944. Both are translated and published in Coker and Inglis, *The Spanish Census of Pensacola, 1784-1920: A Genealogical Guide to Spanish Pensacola*.

[10] Chastang's will can be found in Will Book 2, 112, Mobile County Records, Mobile County Courthouse. Also see, Virginia Gould, "In Full Enjoyment of Their Liberty: The Free Women of Color of the Gulf Ports of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola, 1769-1860" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1991), Chapter 2; Kimberly S. Hanger, "Personas de varias clases y colores: Free People of Color in Spanish New Orleans, 1769-1803" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1991) and Christopher A. Nordmann, "Free Negroes in Mobile County, Alabama" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1990).

[11] Lawrence Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794* (Washington, DC, 1946-1949), 2: 196; *Census de Mobila, septembre 12, 1805*, legaho 1425; Spanish Census for Pensacola, 1784 in Coker and Inglis, *The Spanish Census of Pensacola*.

[12] C. C. Robin, *Voyage to Louisiana, 1803-1805* trans. and abridged, Stuart O. Landry (New Orleans, 1966), 249-50.

[13] Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 157-59; Virginia Domínguez, *White by Definition* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1986), 95-97. Sacramental records of the colonial population of New Orleans are located in the archives of the St. Louis Cathedral in the old Ursuline Convent in New Orleans. Those of Mobile are housed in the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Both collections are remarkably complete.

[14] Talon's death record is located in the records of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Mobile.

[15] John G. Clark, *New Orleans, 1718-1812: An Economic History* (Baton Rouge, 1970); James Thomas McGowan, "Creation of a Slave Society: Louisiana Plantations in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1976); Amos, *Cotton City*; Coker and Watson, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands*.

[16] See Carondolet's police code of 1795, translated at the New Orleans Public Library. It is also discussed in McGowan, "Creation of A Slave Society." Also see Virginia Gould, "Instability and Disorder in Colonial Louisiana: The Political and Legal Response to the Pointe Coupée Rebellion," a paper presented at the Conference for the OAH in March 1991. For the slave codes that also restricted the activities of the free people of color in Alabama, see Harry Toulmin, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama*; John P. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Passed Prior to 1840* (Tallahassee, 1839); Donald Everette, "Legislation Concerning Free Persons of Color in New

Orleans, 1840-1860" (M.A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1952) and "The Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1865" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1952).

[17] Coker and Inglis, *The Spanish Censuses of Pensacola, 1784-1820.*

[18] Major General George A. McCall, *Letters From the Frontiers*, a facsimile reproduction of the 1868 edition (Gainesville, 1974), 16.

[19] *New Orleans in 1805*; Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, vol. 2. *Third Census of the United States, or Inhabitants of the United States*, 3rd Federal Census. The population for New Orleans in 1850 is in the *Seventh Federal Census of the United States*, Louisiana. Mobile's early census records are included in the Territorial Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives, Jackson. *Census de Mobila septembre 12, 1805,* legaho 142. The 1850 figures are from the *Seventh Federal Census of the United States*, Alabama. Coker and Inglis, *The Spanish Census of Pensacola, 1784-1820. Seventh Census of the United States*, Florida.

[20] Joseph Tregle, Jr., "Creoles and Americans" in Arnold Hirsch and Joseph Logsden, *Creole New Orleans* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 131-85.

[21] The probate records of Jean Landry, Records of the Mobile Probate Court. Harriett Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (London, 1838), vol. 2. Hall describes the process of language formation and what it meant in her recent book, *Africans in Louisiana*. Bernhard Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *Travels through America during the Years: 1825-1826* (Philadelphia, 1828). Domínguez, *White by Definition*, chapt. 4.

[22] McCall, *Letters from the Frontier*, 13-15.

[23] Roldolphe Desdunes, *Our People and Our History* (Baton Rouge, 1973).

[24] For example see, Baptisma Nigrorum, 1781-1805, entry 516, January 15, 1804 (Josephine): Baptisma Nigrorum, 1806-1828, entry 9, February 13, 1806 (Clara); ibid., entry 68, November 28, 1808 (Maximillian); ibid., entry 116, April 15, 1811 (Nesin); ibid., entry 216, March 28, 1814 (Sylvester); ibid., entry 320, December 16, 1816 (Felicia), Archives of the Diocese of Mobile. Christopher Nordmann has traced several of the relations between whites and slaves and free people of color in his dissertation, "Free Negroes in Mobile County, Alabama."

[25] There are several works that examine the differences that existed between the Gulf region and the rest of the South. One of the best remains, Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters* (New Yorks, 1974). For a view that more particularly discusses the social positions of free people of color in the South, see Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roard, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York, 1984).

[26] Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 112-13.

[27] W. MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926* (New York, 1926) 215. Harry Toulmin, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama Containing the Statutes and Resolutions in Force at the End of the General Assembly in January, 1823* (Cahawba: Ginn & Curtis, New York, 1823); C. C. Clay, comp. *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama: Containing All the Statutes of a Public and General Nature, in Force at the Close of the Session of the General Assembly, in February, 1843* (Tuscaloosa, 1843); John P. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts.*

[28] For a more complete discussion of the exclusivity of free Creoles of color see Gary Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge, 1977);

Nordmann, "The Free Negroes of Mobile County"; Gould, "In Full Enjoyment of Their Liberty."

[29] Creole Fire Company records and the records of the Creole Social Club and its auxiliary are housed at the Museum of the City of Mobile. Desdunes, *Our People and Our History*, 98; Gould, "In Full Enjoyment of Their Liberty," chapters 3 and 6.

[30] Everette, "Free Persons of Color in New Orleans," 257-59; Amos, *Cotton City*, 184-85; Amos, "Social Life in an Antebellum Cotton Port: Mobile, Alabama, 1820-1860" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1976) Marilyn Mannhard, "The Free People of Color in Antebellum Mobile County, Alabama" (M.A. Thesis, University of South Alabama, 1982); Willis G. Clark, *History of Education in Alabama 1702-1889* (Washington, DC, 1889); *Acts of Alabama*, Session of 1833-1834, 68; Aiken, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama*, 397; Carter Goodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, 1968); Nathan Willey, "Education of the Colored Population of Louisiana," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 33 (July 1866); for Florida, see Edwin L. Green, *School History of Florida* (Baltimore, 1898) and Russell Garvin, "The Free Negro in Florida before the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (July 1967).

[31] Toulmin, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Alabama*, 68-69.

[32] *Acts of the Third Biennial Session of the General Assembly of Alabama Held in the City of Montgomery, the Second Monday in November, 1851*, 49-53. Lewy Dorman, "The Free Negro in Alabama from 1819-1861" (M.A. Thesis, University of Alabama, 1916). The state census of 1855 reports that most of the free people of color in Mobile had chosen and registered guardians. Everette, "Legislation Concerning Free Persons of Color in New Orleans, 1803-1865."

[33] Ruth Barr and Modeste Hargis, "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 17: 3.

[34] Euphrosina Hisnard's life can be traced through property records and sacramental records in New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola. Specifically, see the books of colored baptisms in the sacramental records of the St. Louis Cathedral, the book of colored baptisms for Mobile in which she served as godmother to several children. Also see documents located in the Notarial Archives in New Orleans, Boom M., 22, the Mobile County Court House, and the Escambia County Court House.

Virginia Gould is an independent scholar living in Atlanta, Georgia.

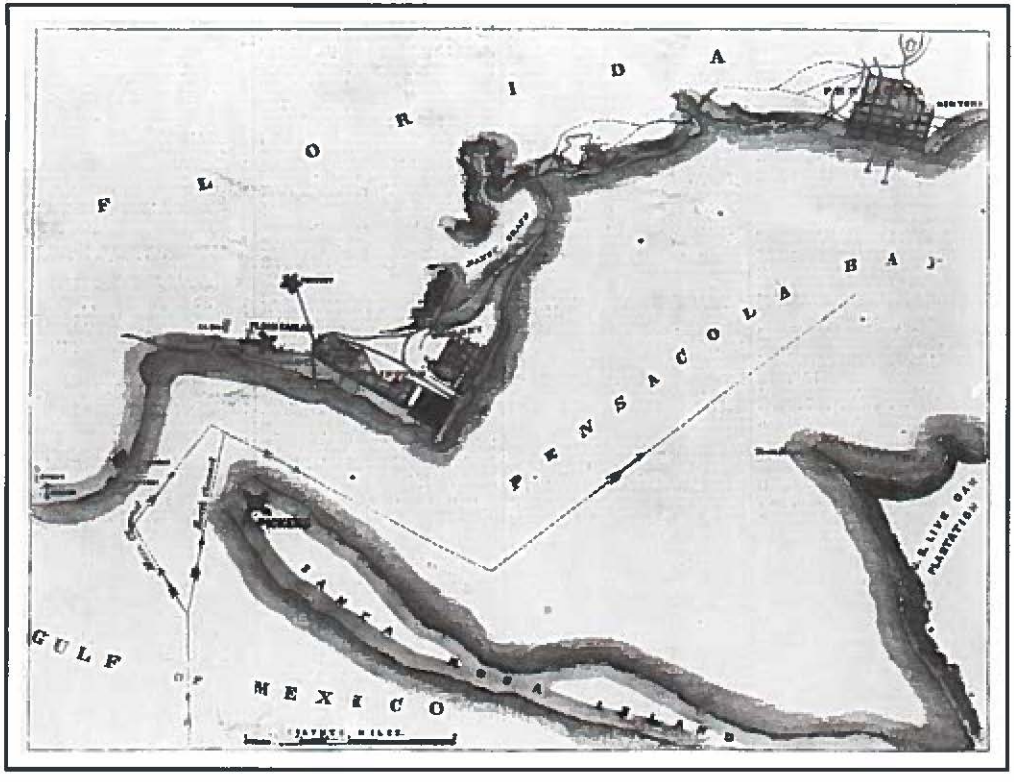
War Council in Pensacola, January 17, 1861

Charles L. Lufkin

The seizure of federal forts and arsenals by the seceding southern states in 1861 occurred for the most part without bloodshed or meaningful resistance. Serious confrontation, however, developed at two strongholds, Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor and Fort Pickens in the harbor of Pensacola. In both locations federal garrisons refused to surrender their positions. In mid-January, some three months before the Civil War began at Fort Sumter in April, hostilities nearly erupted at Fort Pickens. Newly-found evidence reveals that a bloody battle was narrowly averted, forestalled, strange as it may seem, by the votes of a few officers of relatively low rank gathered at a hastily convened council of war, which was called to decide on whether or not to assault Fort Pickens.[1]

Prior to the ordinances of secession passed by Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama on January 9, 10, and 11 respectively, the governors of these states hurriedly called forth local militia and volunteer companies to seize federal forts and arsenals within their borders. The secessionist governor of Florida, Madison S. Perry, supported by majorities in the state legislature and in the Secession Convention then meeting in Tallahassee, proceeded with great haste to seize Fort Marion in Saint Augustine and occupy the federal arsenal at Chattahoochee during the first week of January. The cooperationists, a conservative group who wanted to proceed cautiously and in concert with neighboring southern states before withdrawing from the Union were overwhelmed by the forces favoring immediate, unilateral secession. Florida, however, lacked the resources and manpower to occupy the vitally important forts and naval facilities at Pensacola. Recognizing the need for quick action, Governor Perry appealed to neighboring states for help. Mississippi responded at once as Governor John J. Pettus ordered state troops to rendezvous in preparation for march orders to Florida. In Montgomery, a city with close ties to Pensacola, the governor of Alabama alerted his forces to be ready to entrain southward to protect Alabama's interests on the Florida coast.[2]

Governor Andrew B. Moore of Alabama had already ordered the occupation of federal installations within his state. On January 3, Moore, acting on his responsibility and without the authority of law, commanded state troops to seize the federal arsenal at Mount Vernon and occupy Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan guarding the approaches to Mobile Bay.[3] On the following day Moore wrote the president of the United States, James Buchanan, justifying his actions as "self-defense." By anticipating a



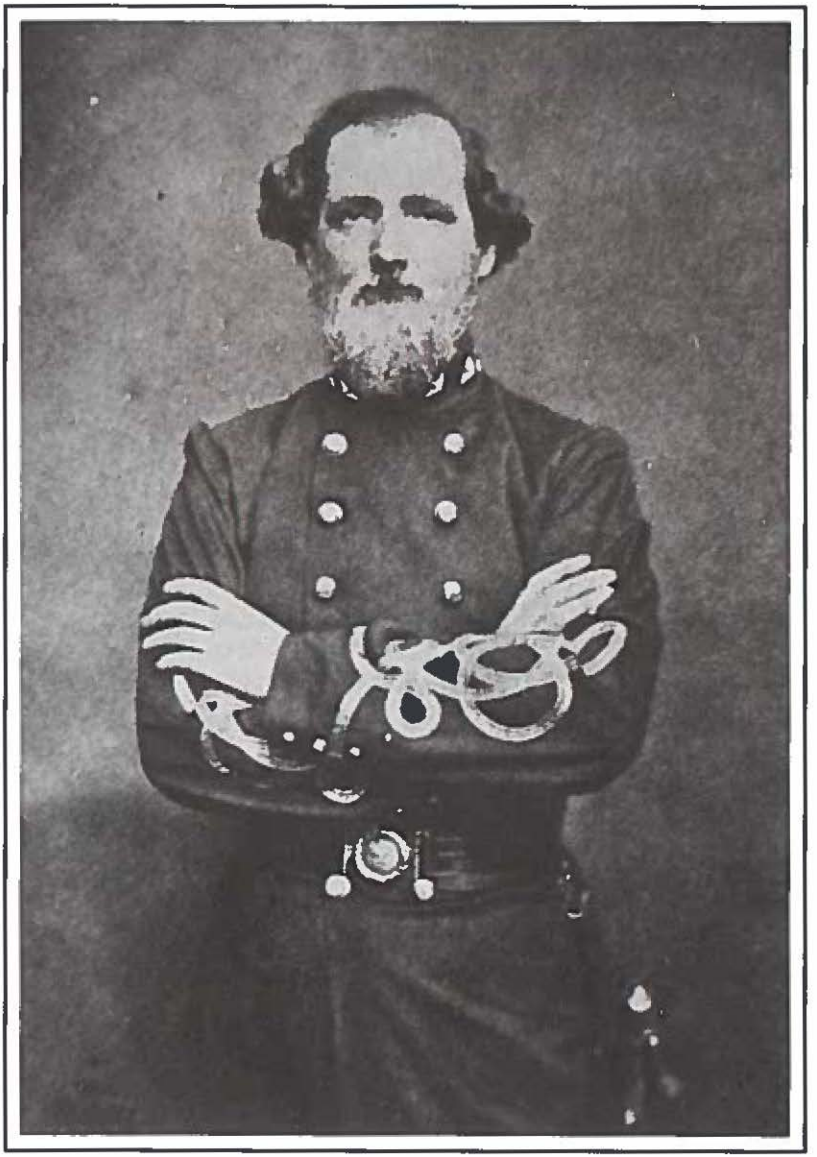
Map of Pensacola Harbor

Harper's Weekly, *February 9, 1861*

rumored flood of federal reinforcement, Moore contended that his peaceful occupations of these points avoided the possibility of later escalation and confrontation. An overwhelming force employed with speed and determination, he asserted, assured a bloodless transfer of the properties involved. On the other hand he told Buchanan that delay jeopardized the security of the people of Alabama who ardently desired peaceful secession and "amicable relations" with the government of the United States.[4] Within a week, driven by necessity and his belief that he performed his duties with "due regard to the public safety," Moore proposed that an Alabama regiment be dispatched to Florida with all possible haste. Convinced that no place on the Gulf was secure while United States forces retained "possession of the commanding fortifications at Pensacola," he went before the Alabama Convention, which had convened on January 7 in Montgomery to deliberate on the question of state secession, and asked for support for his proposal to send troops out of the state to bolster Florida's forces in Pensacola.[5]

Although a majority of the convention favored immediate secession and tended to support Governor Moore's emergency measures, a cooperationist minority remained unconvinced that immediate secession was the proper course for Alabama. The opposition also attempted to deny Moore's request to send troops to Pensacola. One cooperationist delegate asked his colleagues why Alabama should display such aggression when war had not actually commenced. "Why," he said, "exhaust our treasury, and cool the ardor of our soldiers, by quartering them in the sickly regions of Florida?"[6] Besides voicing practical objections, the opposition maintained that the request for troops preceded the Alabama Ordinance of Secession, and would constitute treason. Despite these telling arguments, Moore held his majority throughout the debates. Urged on by an excited, partisan gallery and influenced by events and the military pageantry displayed daily on the streets of Montgomery, the delegates voted on January 8 by the narrow margin of fifty-two to forty-five to send troops to Pensacola. Amid the rumors, reports, and messages that flooded the convention, a telegram from a Pensacola militia captain probably carried the most weight. E. A. Perry of the Pensacola Rifle Rangers wired desperately on January 8: "Send us five hundred men immediately." Excitement continued to grow on the following day, January 9 as word came that Florida's congressional delegation in Washington had telegraphed a warning of impending federal troop movements to Pensacola.[7]

After the convention approved the governor's expedition to Pensacola, hectic preparations ensued. The Second Alabama Regiment (organized in



Tennent Lomax

Alabama Department of Archives and History

1859 by Colonel Tennent Lomax after John Brown's raid) was ready for such an emergency. Leaving their families and jobs with only a few hours notice, volunteers from nearby Wetumpka and Tuskegee rendezvoused with the men of three Montgomery companies, the Metropolitan Guards, the Independent Rifles, and the True Blues, to go by rail to Pensacola. A huge crowd assembled to witness the departure of these "true and chivalrous Southrons," as the *Montgomery Advertiser* described them, "ready to meet the enemy hand to hand, face to face."[8]

Packed like sheep in the freight cars of the Alabama & Florida Railroad on the first leg of the trip and mired down by muddy roads on the uncompleted sections of the line, the regiment did not reach its destination until the evening of January 11. Footsore and hungry, the men arrived to find the streets crowded with people celebrating the secession of Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi by firing guns and illuminating the city. After things quieted down, the troops were finally billeted in public buildings in downtown Pensacola only to be roused at midnight by the sound of drums beating assembly. As they lined in ranks on the streets, Colonel Lomax rode up to make an unexpected announcement. He stated that when the expedition departed from Montgomery he assumed that he was in command, but the sealed letter from Governor Moore which he delivered to Major William H. Chase in Pensacola revealed that Chase had been given overall command. Chase, a northern-born convert to southern rights and Florida secession, had been appointed colonel of Florida state troops a few days earlier and now assumed command of all troops in the Pensacola area. Even at this initial stage of the Pensacola operation, Chase and Lomax had their differences. These differences grew later as each man took opposite positions on the attack on Fort Pickens—a decision to be made at a "Council of War." The Alabamians, disgruntled by the news that Colonel Lomax had been relegated to a secondary position, threatened to go back home. "They came to fight," they declared, "and not be humbugged by a d—d Yankee."[9]

The next morning, as the Alabamians formed their companies, people ran through the streets in a state of great excitement. The quiet little port city of Pensacola was in an uproar. About eleven o'clock, two companies, perhaps a hundred men, of Florida state troops joined the force. One company, the Pensacola Rifle Rangers, wearing uniforms and carrying muskets, projected an appearance of disciplined soldiers which was quite unlike that of their comrades, the Pensacola Guards, who were hardly distinguishable from the citizenry who came along to watch the fun. Just about everyone, soldier or citizen, had a weapon; some flourished pistols, others shouldered shotguns, or carried any old fowling piece they could

find that would load and fire. A few mounted men accompanied the foot soldiers as the procession started for Warrington and the navy yard, some seven miles distant from Pensacola. Although there was no artillery to encumber the men, they were soon exhausted as they trudged through the area's soft sand.[10]

Capt. James Armstrong
US Navy photograph

Ebenezer Farrand
ADAH

The contingent, perhaps four or five hundred strong, arrived at the east gate of the navy yard about noon. In a letter written a week later, an Alabama soldier told what happened next. He said that troops were ordered to load their muskets and be ready. They did the best they could considering the fatigue and apprehension that gripped them and made even a routine military exercise difficult to carry out. Colonel Lomax then rode into the yard as they all stood in breathless silence, no one joking or boasting or even griping in the grim atmosphere. In some twenty minutes, the colonel came out and the sentinels on the walls that protected the yard withdrew. Incredibly, the yard had surrendered. "How brave we felt," the Alabamian exclaimed, "we had taken a navy yard all by ourselves.[11]

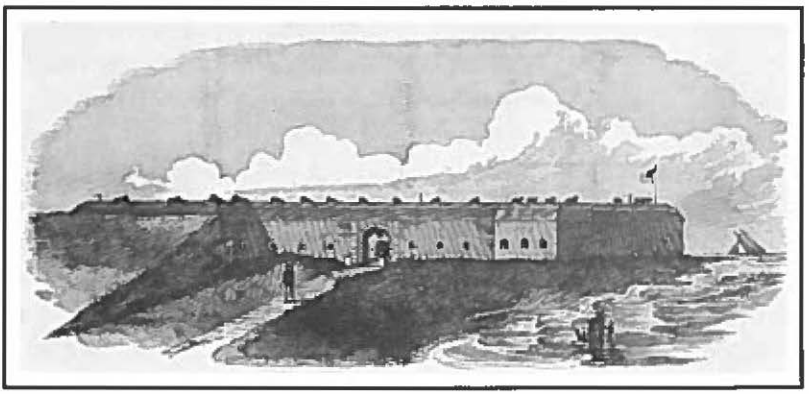
Why had the yard capitulated without a fight? The commanding officer, Commodore James Armstrong, a man with fifty years service in the United States Navy, surrendered his men, facilities, and stores quite meekly. Without clear orders from Washington or a realistic grasp of regional and local developments during the crisis, Armstrong had taken few

steps to improve the defenses of his post. He waited passively for the axe to fall, reduced to a befuddled state of mind by the councils of his own officers, who, in some cases, were conspiring with the secessionists. Most certainly, Commander Ebenezer Farrand, executive officer of the yard, advised against any and all meaningful plans to prevent a takeover by outside forces. Nevertheless, proposals were made and considered.[12]

One such plan, according to later newspaper reports, included a bold use of all the men, ships, and arms at Armstrong's disposal. "It was proposed to anchor the *Wyandotte* off the North Gate; to station a force of ordinary men [sailors] and marines in the Yard, with fieldpieces, and to place the steamship *Supply* off the Marine Barracks at the South Gate." Such a show of force, it was predicted, would deter an attack by the secessionists.

The plan was never adopted. Farrand managed to prevent its execution as he would any effort that might prove detrimental to the forces of Florida. An article in a Pensacola newspaper that appeared on the day after the yard surrendered indicated the depth of Farrand's complicity with secessionist forces.

> An effort was yesterday made to get stores from the yard to be put on board the United States store ship *Supply*, which was manfully resisted by Commander Farrand and Mr. [Samuel Z.] Gonzales, the storekeeper. They deserve the lasting gratitude of their country.[13]



Fort Pickens — *A. H. Guernsey,* Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War

In sharp contrast, the U. S. Army officers in the Pensacola area were not afflicted by indecision or divided loyalties during the crisis. The lieutenant in command, Adam J. Slemmer, anticipated trouble and prepared to resist any attempted takeover of the facilities under his authority, including Barrancas Barracks which housed his unit, Company G, the First U. S. Artillery. As early as January 7, he increased the guard and generally strengthened the defenses of unoccupied Fort Barrancas. His precautions proved to be prudent for on the following night one of the sentinels sounded the alarm after firing at some shadowy figures approaching the entrance to the fort. These shots were probably the first fired by a United States soldier in the Civil War.[14]

Some preliminary meetings between Slemmer, Armstrong, and other officers about coordinating defensive efforts came to nothing. On January 9, Slemmer received a message from General Winfield Scott in Washington ordering him to prevent the seizure of public property at Pensacola and to cooperate with the navy in this endeavor. In the ensuing conference with Armstrong, who had received a similar message, Slemmer proposed carrying out a previously discussed plan to move his company across the bay to Fort Pickens from Barrancas Barracks with the help of the two naval vessels in the harbor, the armed steamers *Wyandotte* and the *Supply*. With the addition of some sailors or marines, Slemmer hoped to concentrate a force sufficient to hold Fort Pickens. Situated as it was on the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island, it posed some formidable problems for green militia troops attempting an assault. Furthermore, the fort commanded access to the harbor and could be readily reinformed or evacuated if necessary. Despite delays and some reluctance on the part of Armstrong, on January 10 Slemmer managed to transport about fifty artillerymen, thirty sailors, and ample provisions to Fort Pickens.

Before leaving the mainland, Slemmer's men removed powder and ammunition from Fort Barrancas and then spiked the guns facing the harbor. Fort Pickens had not been occupied for ten years and was hardly in condition to withstand an assault or survive a siege or even comfortably quarter Slemmer's small contingent. The garrison, inadequate for the magnitude of the task, worked feverishly around the clock placing serviceable guns in positions that covered all approaches to the fort.[15]

Slemmer and his second in command, Lieutenant Jeremiah H. Gilman, anticipated an immediate attempt to take possession of the fort. They did not have long to wait. Just before sundown on January 12, a party of four men (three in uniform) landed at the wharf and were allowed to approach the gate where they were detained until Slemmer and Gilman appeared. Mr. S. Thayer Abert introduced the three uniformed emissaries: Major

Samuel B. Marks of the Second Alabama, Captain Victor M. Randolph, and Lieutenant Francis B. Renshaw, the latter two being former United States naval officers. Randolph, new commander of the navy yard, demanded by the authority of the governors of Florida and Alabama a peaceful surrender of the fort. Not intimidated, Slemmer replied that he was following the orders of the president of the United States and recognized no right of any governor to seize federal property. Irritated by the blunt language of the response, the foursome withdrew, obviously disappointed that they had not effected an easy surrender of the fort similar to that of the navy yard earlier in the day.[16]

A few days later, on January 15, Chase himself crossed the bay, intent on negotiating a surrender. After some preliminary discussions with Slemmer, he provided the young officer with a written statement which pointed out in polite terms the utter hopelessness of continued resistance to the demands for immediate surrender. The small garrison, Chase said, had performed gallantly and should not be sacrificed in a needless blood bath while defending an untenable position. Playing his trump card, Chase reminded Slemmer that he had supervised the construction of Fort Pickens when he had served in the United States Army as senior officer of engineers for the Gulf Coast. He knew every inch of the fort and its condition and had sufficient forces at his command to overwhelm the defenders.

Apparently unconvinced by the weight of the arguments, Slemmer asked how many men Chase had available to launch an attack. Chase replied that by evening he would have eight to nine hundred men and soon would have thousands to call into action.[17]

That evening the steamer *Oregon* from Mobile entered Pensacola harbor with about three hundred troops aboard, many of them seasick from the short voyage through heavy seas. As Slemmer's men at Fort Pickens manned the guns facing the ship channel, the soldiers on the deck of the flimsy side-wheeler feared the worst but they passed through without drawing fire. The new arrivals, part of a contingent of eight companies from the state of Mississippi, were called up from counties along the Mobile & Ohio Railroad. After rendezvousing at Enterprise, Mississippi, the volunteers proceeded to Mobile where they were merged with two companies from south Alabama.[18] With these reinforcements and others by rail from Montgomery, Chase probably had accumulated over a thousand men by January 16. The exact number of state troops at any given time in the Pensacola area is difficult to assess, since various Alabama units including the Tuskegee Zouaves, the Auburn, Conecuh, Haynesville, Crecent, and Greenville Guards arrived on different days

during the middle of January. Some companies came uninvited and at their own expense and were sent back to their points of origin because they were inadequately equipped. An Apalachicola unit which somehow reached Pensacola under adverse conditions was encouraged by Chase to go home.[19] Colonel Lomax had similar problems with some of the Alabama companies. Writing to Governor Moore's aide, he advised the return of the Crecent Guards because they arrived without even rudimentary equipment. "It is hardly necessary," Lomax said, "for me to say that troops thus provided are an incumbrance and not a help. In the name of humanity, how could you send men into service so unprovided." The troops here, he continued, "must have tents, blankets, provisions, clothing, and ammunition, before they can do any service" in the area. This "is the middle of winter" he noted "& we are on a bleak & barren coast."[20]

Despite the hardships and inconveniences endured by the troops surrounding Pickens, most of them were willing to stay in the region as long as an attack was planned. Basically, they wished to assault the fort or return home. Both the Mississippi and Alabama men had left their families and businesses on short notice and did not feel obligated to perform routine soldiering, i.e., drilling and filling sandbags until their superiors decided what to do. They considered themselves volunteers on temporary duty, not regulars dutifully committed to siege operations. Several Pensacola newspaper accounts, dated in the middle of January, indicated that the troops were not content to wait much longer. One soldier stated flatly that there would "be a revolt against the commanders" if nothing happened by the twenty-second of the month.[21]

Chase received most of the blame. It was said, perhaps humorously, that the colonel was either utterly bedazzled by the strength of his own handiwork, Fort Pickens, or perhaps afraid that a successful attack would reveal the renowned fortress to be quite pregnable. From the beginning, many of the soldiers from outside of Florida questioned Chase's right to command the multi-state operation. In particular, the Alabamians who provided a majority of the troops around Pensacola resented taking orders from a Floridian. In an interview with a newspaper correspondent, one soldier stated that there were so many Alabamians among the troops in the area that it was hard to believe that they were in another state. Surely, he added, when the crisis ended Alabama should demand the annexation of the portion of west Florida situated on the Gulf south of her border.[22]

Actually Chase delayed in order to amass a force large enough to convince Slemmer that resistance would be futile. He wanted to take Fort Pickens without a fight and without precipitating a civil war. These objectives conformed with his political and economic views about secession

which he professed in speeches and letters prior to the crisis. Only months before, in October 1860, he had stated in a letter to the editor of the *New York Express* that the South, the European trading nations, and the western region of the United States would reap "great commercial benefits" from southern secession if the process followed a determined, dignified, and peaceful course. Certainly an all out attack on Pickens would be neither dignified nor peaceful and might engender negative reactions in Europe, the western United States, and even in the border slave states of the upper South. War, he had maintained, would be ruinous to all concerned, disrupting free trade and the natural advantages derived from intercourse between agricultural and manufacturing nations.[23]

Military considerations also came under discussion. Were there sufficient boats, scaling ladders, and men trained in amphibious tactics to carry out a quick, successful attack? However, aggressiveness, dedication, and overwhelming numbers minimized such shortcomings. The defenders numbered only eighty-one men including thirty sailors who seemed reluctant to follow army commands. Even at the lowest estimate the surrounding troops outnumbered the Pickens garrison by ten to one.

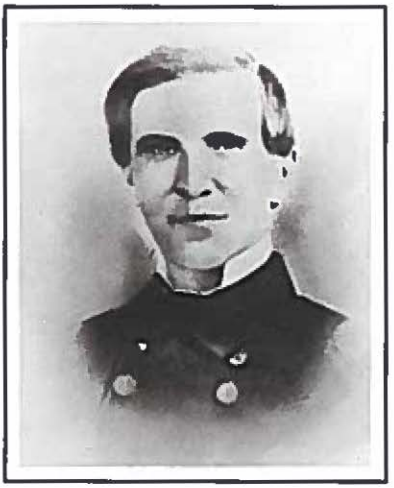
At the urging of Colonel John J. Seibels, aide to Governor Moore of Alabama, Colonel Lomax called for a council of war on January 17 to decide on when to launch such an attack. The Alabamians were anxious to get on with the work that brought them to Pensacola. Governor Moore, through Seibels, expressed full confidence in Lomax's "prudence, judgment and courage" and left the "method and manner" of the attack to him. Act carefully, Lomax was warned, but never lose sight of our objective which is to gain "possession of every fortified place in the harbor of Pensacola" even if it necessitated a "sacrifice" of men and equipment.[24]

Six officers were called to sit on the council of war, undoubtedly selected by Chase and Lomax after some preliminary haggling about each candidate's qualifications and predilections. Besides Lomax and Chase, who were the dominant figures in attendance, the following men completed the council: Victor M. Randolph, an ex-United States naval captain and newly appointed commandant of the Pensacola navy yard; William W. J. Kelly, an ex-paymaster in the United States Navy, who was at the time Chase's adjutant; Charles H. Abert, captain of the Columbus Rifles (Mississippi) and newly elected colonel of the Mississippi/Alabama regiment; and Major Samuel B. Marks, second in command of the Second Alabama.[25]

Once the council convened, Lomax offered his proposal which stated that upon "the arrival of 1,500 men Fort Pickens should be carried by assault." Lomax also wanted a commanding officer designated to lead the

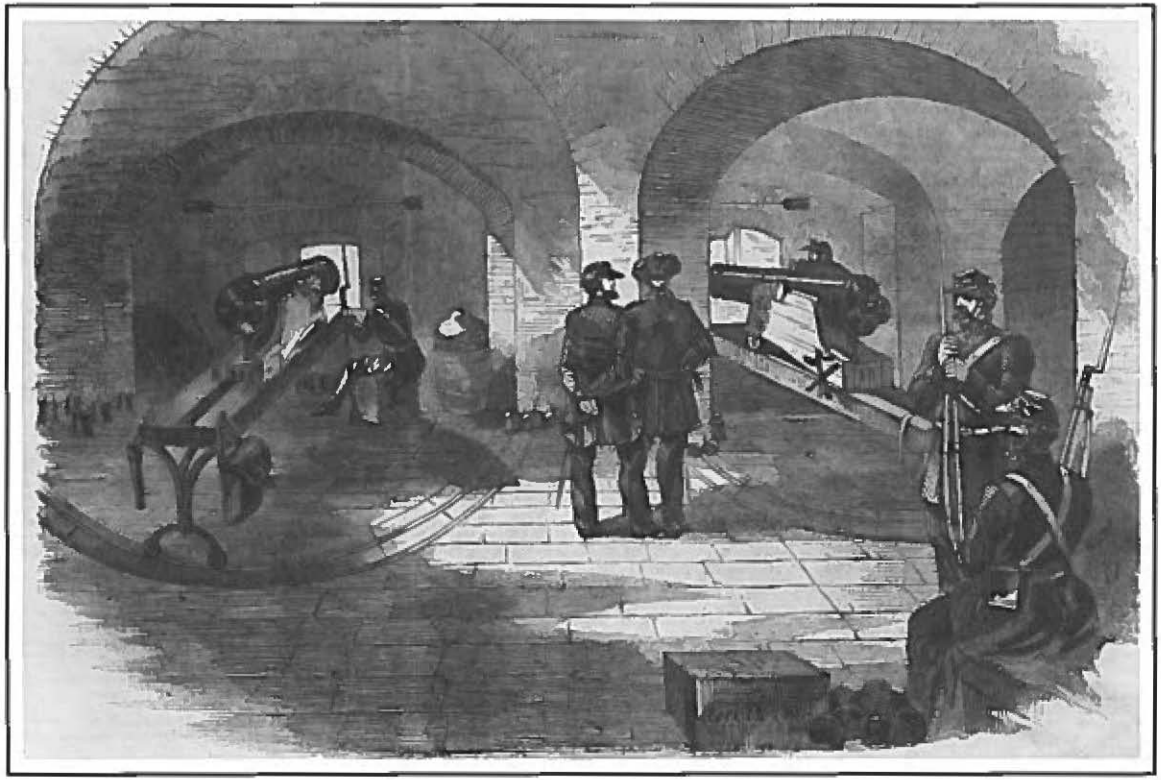
assault, one who would proceed immediately with preparations. Thus everything would be in readiness to launch the attack, once another regiment arrived. Chase led the opposition to the Lomax plan, taking the position that an attack should be delayed until four to five thousand men concentrated in Pensacola. Chase's counter proposal, Lomax argued, required more time than circumstances allowed. He contended that the federal government would reinforce the garrison and strengthen the fleet during this long interval and Fort Pickens would be permanently lost.[26]

William H. Chase
Pensacola Historical Society



William W. J. Kelly
Pensacola Historical Society

Assuming that Adjutant Kelly would support Chase, and Major Marks would vote with Lomax, there remained but two votes to decide the question—those of Colonel Abert and Captain Randolph. Surprisingly, both voted against Lomax's proposal to prepare for an immediate attack. Abert apparently disregarded the bellicose language of his own men who, according to the newspaper correspondents covering Pensacola, were ardently awaiting the order to scale the walls of Fort Pickens. Randolph's vote was even more puzzling. The captain, a rabid secessionist, was a wealthy Montgomery planter and slaveholder who undoubtedly knew Lomax and Marks personally. Why Abert and Randolph voted with Chase and for a postponed attack remains a mystery. In any case, their votes defeated the Lomax proposal by a count of four to two, blocking temporarily any offensive in the Pensacola area.[27]



Batteries at Fort Pickens

Harper's Weekly, *April 13, 1861*

Unlike the judgments later rendered in April concerning Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, the Pickens decision was made by relatively unknown men. There were no presidents, generals, or even governors directly involved. And strange as it might seem, those men remained obscure. None of the six officers distinguished themselves during the four years of war to follow. Their names are missing from the pages of most survey histories and reference works on the American Civil War. Even the all-embracing *Official Records* failed to fully identify three of the six men. A look at their individual war records reveals nothing extraordinary. Major Marks of the Second Alabama, for example, remained in Montgomery for most of the war as a captain of a home guard company. Kelly and Randolph received commissions in the Confederate Navy comparable to their former ranks in the United States service. Although neither achieved any great fame, Randolph for a period in 1862 commanded the naval defenses of Mobile. However, he was not called to active duty from 1863 to the end of the war. Abert and Chase served for a time in local or state units, but poor health and advanced years limited their contributions to the Confederate cause. Tennent Lomax probably would have risen high in the ranks, but he was killed early in the war leading an assault on Union works, this time on a battlefield in far-off Virginia.[28]

Despite the obscurity of the members of the council, there are some interesting generalities that can be formulated about them. War has usually been described as a young man's pursuit, but in this case the six participants averaged over fifty-two years of age, three of them, Randolph, Abert, and Chase, being over sixty. If age can be linked with conservative actions, the four older members of the council predictably voted cautiously to delay the attack. Most would agree that persons with property generally take conservative positions, but this was not the case among our six subjects. All six of the officers were slaveholders and men of property, but Lomax and Marks, the two who voted for an assault, possessed considerably more wealth than their colleagues. Lomax owned 133 slaves and over $200,000 worth of property while Marks, his second-in-command, owned 161 slaves and property valued at over $300,000.[29]

Although three of the men resided in Montgomery in 1861 (Lomax, Marks, and Randolph) and two in Pensacola (Chase and Kelly), none was born either in Alabama or Florida. However, they were all born Southerners except Chase, who was from Massachusetts. Being men of mature years, they had accumulated in their collective lifetimes an impressive store of military knowledge and experience. At sixty-two Chase had already retired after a distinguished career as an engineer in the United States Army. Randolph, at sixty-three years of age, had a long navy

career, working his way to the rank of captain after beginning as a midshipman in 1814. The oldest member of the council, the sixty-four-year-old Charles H. Abert, had been captain of the Columbus Riflemen since its organization in Mississippi in 1837. It is unclear as to whether Abert and his company participated in the campaigns of the Mexican War, but others on the council did serve south of the Rio Grande. Chase's adjutant, William W. J. Kelly, for example, raised a company of infantry in west Florida for service in Mexico. Some years after the war, he demonstrated his military versatility by entering the navy as a paymaster, serving until he resigned at the advent of the secession crisis in 1861. Marks and Lomax, the youngest members of the council at forty-one and forty years of age respectively, were earnestly involved in the training of volunteer companies in Montgomery during the years immediately prior to the war. Lomax was particularly active, being elected captain of the Montgomery True Blues and colonel of the Second Alabama Regiment. He had led an Alabama company during the Mexican War and appeared to his contemporaries, the most highly regarded soldier at the council of war.[30]

The question of when to attack Fort Pickens abruptly ended a few days after the council of war. Senator Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, who had previously urged the seizure of Fort Pickens, sent a message from Washington to Chase stating emphatically that Pickens was "not worth one drop of blood." He affirmed that Jefferson Davis and other southern leaders wanted first to organize a southern confederacy before plunging into open conflict. The seceding states were not yet organized politically or militarily and wished to avoid antagonizing the slaveholding states of the upper South which were still uncommitted.[31]

Lomax had assessed the situation correctly from a military and strategic standpoint. An attack launched before the end of January was likely to succeed considering the poor condition of the fort, the inadequacy of the garrison, and the lack of naval support in the vicinity. The Alabama and Mississippi forces, which were formed and transported to Pensacola to meet the emergency, were not inclined to stay much longer. By not attacking, a singular opportunity had slipped away. Fort Pickens never did fall to Confederate forces and proved to be an invaluable base for federal operations in the Gulf of Mexico during the remainder of the war.[32] Chase's position was prudent from a political viewpoint. A bloody assault, however successful, might well have strengthened the opposition to secession in the border states and in some areas of the lower South, while rallying the people of the North.

The great sectional conflict began three months later in Charleston harbor when Confederate forces bombarded Fort Sumter and its besieged

garrison. Although the circumstances were somewhat similar to those of Fort Pickens, the leaders involved were echelons higher. Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis and their major advisers rendered the momentous decisions that brought on four years of fighting. What would the lame duck, James Buchanan, have done if an assault had been launched on Fort Pickens in January? Would a premature blood bath have inflamed the people of both sections or would it have caused men to good will to have sobering second thoughts about the consequences of war, motivating them to solve their differences by the traditional implement of American democracy—compromise.

Notes

[1] Tennent Lomax to John J. Siebels, January 17, 1861. Civil War Soldiers Museum, Pensacola.

[2] John F. Reiger, "Secession of Florida from the Union–A Minority Decision?" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (April 1968): 358-68; Ralph A. Wooster, "The Florida Secession Convention," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (April 1958): 373, 378, 382; John E. Johns, *Florida during the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 13-17, 23-29; Baxter McFarland, "A Forgotten Expedition to Pensacola in January 1861," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications* 9 (1906): 17.

[3] Malcolm C. McMillan, *The Disintegration of a Confederate State* (Macon, GA, 1986), 14-15.

[4] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereafter OR) (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. 1, vol. 1: 327-28.

[5] William R. Smith, *The History and the Debates of the Convention of the People of Alabama* (Spartanburg, SC, 1975), 50-51.

[6] Ibid., 52.

[7] Ibid., 49; OR, ser. 1, vol. 1: 444.

[8] *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, January 16, 1861.

[9] *Montgomery Weekly Post*, January 30, 1861.

[10] Ibid.; *House Report*, no. 87., 36th Cong., 2d sess., 32.

[11] *Montgomery Weekly Post*, January 30, 1861.

[12] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 4: 16-55 passim.; *House Report*, no. 87, 23-102 passim.; *New York Tribune*, February 11, 1861; *New York Times*, January 16, 24, 1861.

[13] *New York Tribune*, February 11, 1861.

[14] Jeremiah H. Gilman, "With Slemmer in Pensacola Harbor," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (Secaucus, NJ, n.d.), 1: 26-29; OR, ser. 1, vol. 1: 334.

[15] Edwin C. Bearss, "Fort Pickens and the Secession Crisis: January-February 1861, *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 4 (Spring 1989): 10-12.

[16] Gilman, "With Slemmer," *Battles and Leaders*, 1: 29-30.

[17] Ibid., 30-31.

[18] McFarland, "A Forgotten Expedition to Pensacola," 15-20; *Pensacola Observer*, January 19, 1861, quoted in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, January 25, 1861.

[19] Naval OR, ser. 1, 4: 59-60; *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, February 1, 1861; *Pensacola Tribune*, January 12, 1861, quoted in the *Montgomery Weekly Post*, January 23, 1861.

[20] Lomax to Siebels, January 17, 1861, Civil War Museum, Pensacola.

[21] *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, February 1, 1861; *National Intelligencer*, January 31, 1861.

[22] *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, February 15, 1861; McMillan, *Disintegration*, 21; *Pensacola Tribune*, January 17, 1861 quoted by the *National Intelligencer*, January 31, 1861.

[23] William H. Chase letters, Pensacola Historical Society.

[24] OR, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 2: 7.

[25] Lomax to Siebels, January 17, 1861, Civil War Museum, Pensacola.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.; *Pensacola Observer*, January 19, 1861, quoted in the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, January 25, 1861; 1860 Census, Alabama, Montgomery Co., Dist. 1: 302; Ibid., Slave schedule, Dist. 1: 190.

[28] Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, (Chicago, 1921), 4: 1063; OR, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 2: 24; U.S. Office of Naval Records and Library, *Register of Officers in the Confederate States Navy, 1861-1865*, intro. by John M. Carroll (Byron, TX, 1983), 106, 160; Service Records, Alabama Home Guards, Montgomery Guards, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery; Charles H. Abert is not listed in the ORs, Kelly and Marks are not fully identified; None of the six men appear in the pages of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Generals in Gray*, or the *Civil War Dictionary*.

[29] 1860 Census, Alabama, Montgomery Co., Dist. 1: 174; Ibid., Slave schedule, Dist. 1: 18; 1860 Census, Alabama, Montgomery Co., Dist. 2: 42; Ibid., Slave schedule, Dist. 2: 16-18.

[30] Ernest F. Dibble, "William H. Chase: Gulf Coast Builders," (Wilmington, DE, n.d.), passim.; Owen, *History of Alabama*, 4: 1063; T. Frederick Davis, "Florida's Part in the War with Mexico," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 20 (January 1942): 242-44; Edward W. Callahan, ed., *The List of Officers of the Navy of the United States and the Marine Corps from 1775 to 1900* (New York, 1901), 309, 452; W. L. Lipscomb, *History of Columbus, Mississippi During the Nineteenth Century*, (Birmingham, 1909), 42-43; Dunbar Rowland, *Military History of Mississippi 1803-1898* (Spartanburg: 1978) 34-35; Information on Charles H. Abert from Mary Bess Paluzzi, Archivist of the Lowndes Co. Library System; Census 1860, Mississippi, Lowndes Co., 155; Ibid., Slave schedule, 381; Census 1860, Alabama, Montgomery Co., Dist. 1: 302; Ibid., Slave schedule, Dist. 1: 190; Census 1860, Alabama, Montgomery Co., Dist. 1: 174: Ibid., Slave schedule, Dist. 1: 18; Census 1860, Alabama, Montgomery Co., Dist. 2: 42; Ibid., Slave schedule, Dist. 2: 16-18; Census 1860, Florida, Escambia Co. 353, 368.

[31] OR, ser. 1, vol. 52, pt. 2: 9.

[32] *Montgomery Weekly Mail*, February 1, 1861; *National Intelligencer*, January 31, 1861.

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Military Parade, Montgomery Harper's Weekly, *February 9, 1861*

The Beginning of Military Reconstruction in Mobile, Alabama, May-November 1867

Billy G. Hinson

After Mayor Robert Slough surrendered Mobile to the Union army on April 12, 1865, the federal government allowed elected civil authorities to govern the city for two years. This policy changed after the Pig Iron Kelley Riot occurred in the city on May 14, 1867. The military intervened, removed city officials, and appointed Unionists to offices and African Americans to positions they had never previously held. This was the beginning of military reconstruction in Mobile and caused great resentment among her citizens.[1]

Congress instituted military reconstruction on March 2, 1867, by dividing the ten former Confederate states that had not ratified the Fourteenth Amendment into five military districts each of which was under an army general. Congress provided for a state's admission to the Union when it ratified the amendment and formed a constitution allowing suffrage for African Americans.[2] Georgia, Alabama, and Florida comprised the Third District commanded by General John Pope. All the District commanders made clear in their areas that "the existing civil governments were provisional and subject to the full control of the military power."[3]

Possibly, military intrusion would have occurred if the riot had not happened, because Mobile Unionists had appealed to military authorities to take actions to secure the public peace. They were concerned about growing resentment of their efforts to promote equality for black people.[4] However, the tragic event on May 14 provided an excuse for military intercession.

On May 22 Major General Pope ordered the removal of Jones M. Withers as mayor and Stephen Charpentier as chief of police of Mobile. He appointed in their places Gustavus Horton as mayor and Col. C. A. R. Dimon as police chief.[5]

Some people had anticipated this transformation. On May 16 B. R. Tardy, a wealthy Mobilian, wrote Governor General Wager Swayne, assistant commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for Alabama, not to replace Withers as mayor because of his strong acceptance by and fair treatment of both white and black citizens. However, Tardy applied for the position in case of Withers' removal saying that he had been a citizen of Mobile for thirty-nine years and would get seven-eighths of the votes if an election were held.[6]

Office Chief of Police,

Mobile, Sept. 26th, 1867.

Honorable G. HORTON, Mayor of the City, has ordered the following extract of *General Orders No. 59*, from *Head Quarters, 3rd Military District*, to be published for the information of all concerned:

EXTRACT XI.

All *public Bar-Rooms*, *Saloons*, and all other places for the sale of liquors at retail, at the several county seats, shall be closed from six o'clock on the evening of the 30th day of September until six o'clock on the morning of the 4th day of October. And the Sheriff of the County shall be held responsible for the strict enforcement of this prohibition, by the arrest of all parties who may transgress the same.

In accordance with the above Order, all public Bar Rooms, Saloons, and all other places in this City for the sale of Liquors at retail, by the bottle or glass, will close during the time named in the above extract.

The Police force of this City will see that this Order is strictly enforced, turning over all parties arrested for violation of said Order, to the Sheriff of Mobile County at the Jail.

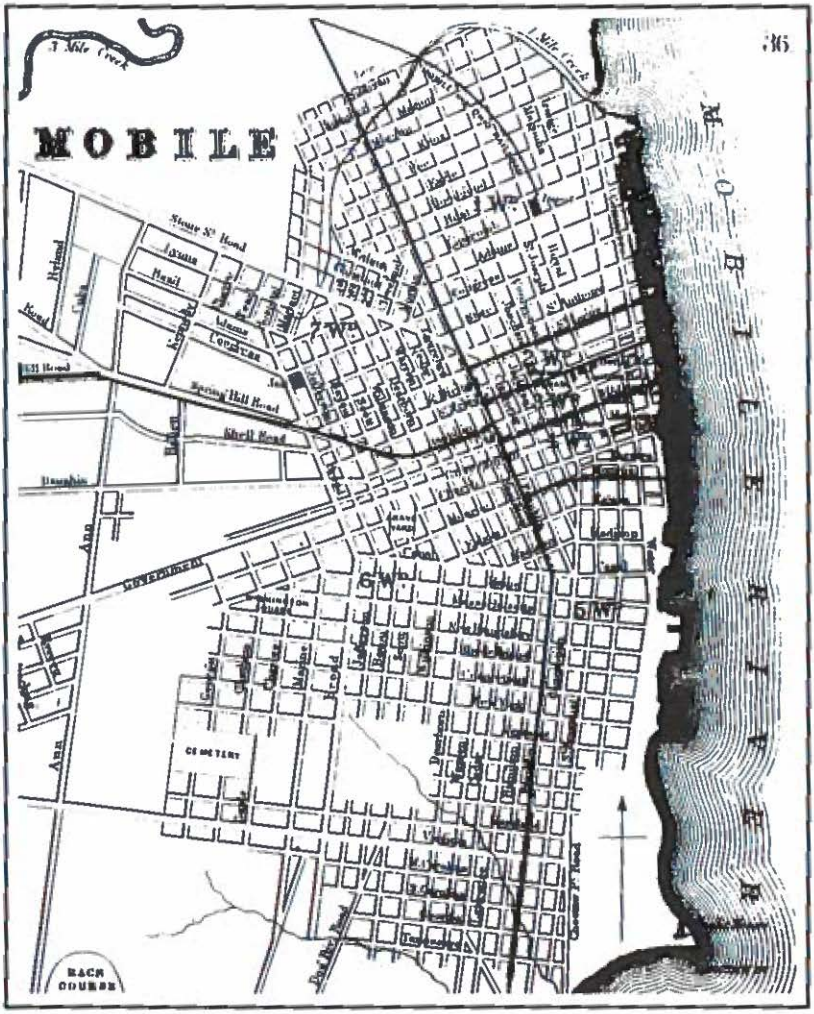
C. A. R. DIMON,
CHIEF OF POLICE.

Caldwell Delaney Reference Collection, University of Mobile

Gustavus Horton
Museum of the City of Mobile

John Forsyth
Historic Mobile Preservation Society

Others had not expected the political change. John Forsyth, Democratic editor of the *Mobile Advertiser and Register* stated the day after the removals and replacements that such action had not been foreseen and might cause excitement among Mobilians. At this time the editor took a moderate stand by asserting that the new mayor was a capable man of honesty and intelligence who would serve the public well although his opinions had differed greatly with the majority in the past. Forsyth also expressed confidence in Dimon,[7] but he had spoken too soon. Eventually, Horton would help bring about quite a metamorphosis. The first stage came with the removal of the members of the boards of Aldermen and Common Council. The mayor asked the members of the boards to assemble in a special meeting at 5:00 P.M., Monday, June 3. Eighteen of the twenty-four aldermen met at that time. President Caleb Price informed them that he did not know why the mayor had convened them. They awaited his arrival and then appointed two aldermen to go to Horton and inquire about the purpose of the meeting. The mayor told them that he was planning to confer with them after he was joined by Col. Oliver L. Shepherd, commander of the post in Mobile.[8] (Swayne had divided Alabama into nine jurisdictions and Mobile was the military post for one of them.)[9] The two aldermen reported back to the rest who waited a short time, then adjourned.



Mobile in 1867 showing city wards. During Reconstruction Ward 6 was divided in two along Wilkinson St. creating Ward 8 to the west.

Mobile Municipal Archives

Meanwhile, at the same time five members of the Board of Common Council met and President George Ketchum explained that he was unaware of the mayor's reason for calling the meeting. The councilmen agreed to send the clerk, Samuel C. Beach, to ascertain from Horton the purpose of the assembly. They, too, learned that the mayor was awaiting Col. Shepherd and they also adjourned after a short wait.[10]

Mayor Horton was irritated by the adjournment of the boards before his arrival and ordered them to meet at 11:00 Tuesday, June 4, and remain in session until he notified them that business had been completed. He also requested twenty-four men, city residents, to meet at the mayor's office at the same time. On Tuesday the members of the boards learned that they were being replaced by orders of General Pope. He informed the following men of their appointment as aldermen:

Ward 1:	S. U. Fosdick, B. Moog;
Ward 2:	Fred Bromberg, P. McCafferty;
Ward 3:	J. H. Duvall, W. H. Leinkauf;
Ward 4:	M. S. Foote, John Kirkbride, L. D. Spear;
Ward 5:	James Bligh, Thomas Manser;
Ward 6:	W. D. Gerow, W. G. Johnson, James Shaw;
Ward 7:	Dr. R. W. Cole, R. J. McLarin;
Ward 8:	J. R. Eastburn, Charles Partridge, Thomas R. Somerall.

As councilmen he appointed John Grant, Ward 1; G. W. Tarleton, Ward 2; Newton St. John, Ward 3; and Belthazar Tardy, Ward 7. He retained John Hurtel of Ward 6 and I. I. Jones of Ward 8.[11]

Pope had removed the officials on the recommendation of Wager Swayne who had also urged the replacement of the city tax collector and city treasurer at the same time.[12] Appointed to those positions were William Hurter and Willard Freeman.[13] On June 5 Pope reappointed Thomas Riley, S. T. O'Grady, T. E. Flannery, and Joseph Smith as aldermen.[14]

Some would decline their appointments. On the day of his appointment M. S. Foote wrote Horton that he could not accept the position offered because of his lack of experience and time.[15] J. H. Duvall declined his appointment as alderman because of a prior commitment that would cause him to be out of the state too long.[16] S. T. O'Grady refused his slice of the pie because the voters had suffered an injustice by appointments to elective offices.[17] I. I. Jones probably thought similarly when he informed Swayne on June 8 that he could not accept the offered

post under the circumstances.[18] By June 14 when the two boards met jointly at the call of Mayor Horton, the following men had also either refused their appointments or resigned their position as aldermen: P. McCafferty, W. H. Leinkauf, John Kirkbride, Thomas Manser, James Bligh, and Charles Partridge.[19] At the meeting the mayor announced new appointments.[20]

However, soon still more resignations occurred. Councilman John Tarleton resigned on June 18 saying he was out of the city on business too often. The following day councilman John Hurtel declined his appointment which had been made while he was not in town. The *Advertiser and Register* commented at this time that now not one member of the old boards remained.[21]

Available sources do not specifically indicate the reason for the decisions to resign or not to accept the appointments other than what the appointees themselves said. However, the city directory of the period reveals that most of these men were businessmen.[22] They possibly feared a reaction by citizens of Mobile and a loss of business revenue. There are reported cases of other citizens who did suffer financially because they cooperated with the "enemy."[23]

Next came the resignation of some new board members who acted in response to an opinion given by the United States Attorney General, Henry Stanbery. President Johnson had reluctantly cooperated with Congress in implementing the Reconstruction laws. However, perhaps in response to a growing African-American electorate and the rising strength of the Republican party in the southern states and definitely in response to the actions of some generals in removing from political office some state and local officials, the president asked the attorney general to rule on the legality of military removal of civilian officials.[24] Stanbery ruled on June 12 that the Reconstruction Act did not empower district commanders to remove civil authorities.[25] On June 19 Dr. R. Miller informed the board of aldermen that he had written General Swayne and relinquished his position as a result of the ruling of the attorney general.[26] On June 29 John Grant announced at a council meeting that he was leaving service because he had concluded that the board was not acting under the city charter which provided for elected, not militarily appointed, officials. The board members voted to rule Grant out of order because they had accepted their appointments and were meeting; consequently, debate on legality of their actions was inappropriate.[27] Before the beginning of July the Board of Common Council had two new members, Albert Griffin and Gideon Parker.[28]

There were considerable apprehension about and objections to the changes in city government. Two days after the removal of the mayor and chief of police, the editor of the *Mobile Advertiser and Register* expressed disappointment that Swayne was the one who recommended the changes to General Pope. He charged that meant Swayne accepted Congressman Kelley's argument that the dismissals were needed for the protection in Mobile of northern congressmen and southern loyalists. Forsyth also called attention to the *New York Herald*'s article that criticized Kelley for inducing men to form an anti-white party and for promoting racial war.[29] Several weeks later the same editor raised questions about the legality of Mayor Horton's actions because of the opinion of the U. S. Attorney General. Forsyth said that Horton's actions should make him feel very uncomfortable about lawsuits that would hound him for the rest of his life.[30]

Concern about the legality of government actions prompted the resignation of Councilman Grant and a discussion among board members about adherence to the law.[31] A similar discussion ensued among the aldermen. In fact the board members were not too active in pursuing city business. Editor Forsyth suggested that they feared being held accountable for illegal actions. Mayor Horton was prompted to assure the board members that they should have no apprehension about taking initiatives to serve the city because their duties would not bring them any problems.[32]

Meanwhile, the *Nationalist*, a Republican newspaper, expressed jubilation over "the removal of our disloyal city officials, and the appointment of loyal men" which "is the first serious blow struck at disloyalty in our midst." It stated that Horton was a loyalist, a Republican, and an advocate of equal rights for all men, and that police chief Dimon who had been a Union soldier in General Pope's staff had already brought greater order to the police force. In addition editor Albert Griffin asserted that the aldermen and councilmen were removed because the rioters knew the officials were sympathetic and would not punish them, consequently General Pope had a duty to remove the city government that hindered loyal reconstruction.[33]

Not surprisingly, the *Advertiser and Register* had a different view. Forsyth charged that the members of the boards had nothing to do with the Kelley riot and the government changes were strictly political with the object of promoting the Radical party. "This is the boldest and most decided step yet taken in the South by one military commander." [34]

Swayne caused surprise and apprehension when he told I. I. Jones after he declined reappointment as councilman from Ward 8 that he would fill the vacancy with a freedman.[35] In response some black men wrote Swayne, thanked him for his offer, and stated they preferred not to excite

those who feared black leaders. They endorsed a white man, G. M. Parker,[36] who was approved soon afterwards.[37]

Rumors also caused surprise as well as concern. People heard reports that President Andrew Johnson was going to reinstate Withers as mayor. Mobilians were told Withers had traveled to Washington to testify to the President about the truth of the Kelley riot. They read Forsyth's opinion that soon Withers would be restored to his former position.[38] Another unsubstantiated rumor was that General Swayne had issued an order that anyone who refused an appointment would be arrested.[39] In fact, many declined positions and none was arrested.

When Willard Freeman did not accept the position of city treasurer in early July, a political battle ensured. Alderman E. B. Gale introduced a resolution to be forwarded to Mayor Horton to request that General Pope reinstate Samuel C. Beach. Bromberg commented that someone else had been proposed. He did not say that it was himself.[40] The mayor informed the alderman and councilmen that he could not act upon the resolution until the councilmen approved it. Meantime, city employees suffered because the city treasurer had not paid accounts.[41] Consequently, Henry Hall called for the aldermen to bypass the mayor and instruct the board president to forward their resolution directly to Pope and Swayne.[42] This did not alter the decision. Frederick G. Bromberg was named city treasurer on July 26.[43]

Bromberg faced an immediate challenge. Beach had been appointed acting treasurer and was notified that Bromberg would be his successor. Beach refused to turn over money, papers, and books of the treasury to Bromberg whom he claimed had not presented proper documents of his authorization as required by city ordinances. Bromberg consulted with the post commandant and then sent a letter to General Pope who telegraphed an order for Beach's arrest and his release only after he had transferred treasury property to Bromberg. Beach complied and was released.[44]

Much greater controversy resulted from Mayor Horton's changes in the police force.[45] On May 30, 1867, eight days after his appointment, the new mayor discharged nineteen policemen.[46] People had expected this action and the hiring of men who had been loyal to the Union. The day before Dimon was installed as police chief James F. Cunningham wrote to Col. O. L. Shepherd, post commander at Mobile, that he understood from newspapers that the new administration would dissolve "the rebel police force of Mobile," so he applied for a job on the force and stated that he was a member of the Mobile Union League.[47] Michael McDermott also wrote Shepherd saying he heard that the police force would be replaced by loyal

Frederick G. Bromberg *Drawing by Craig McMillan*

people.[48] Before the nineteen dismissals Dimon received several job applications from people who emphasized their loyalty. For example, M. D. Johnson recommended his brother-in-law, C. W. Murrill, another member of Mobile's Union League.[49]

After the discharges of May 30 applications flooded the offices of the mayor and chief of police. Descriptions of the following applicants' loyalty characterized many letters: Frank Mallen "has never born [*sic*] arms against the govt of the United States and is...a loyal citizen."[50] Morris Crotty is "true to the cause of the union."[51] J. W. Galloway was a "Union soldier."[52] David Blassingham is "thoroughly loyal."[53] Other examples of this type are seen in applications by John Loughlin, Thomas Buttler, Patt McCudden, and B. C. Clarke.[54]

A multitude of applicants stated their need for a job in order to support their families. Others had a difficult time finding employment because of their Union loyalties. Such was the case with Thomas Buttler who told Dimon that he had been a Union soldier and now faced problems getting a job because of his principles.[55]

The mayor had no problem in filling the police vacancies because of the great number of job applicants. These changes induced criticism but the appointment of black men to the police force generated heightened concern among the citizens, the resignations of some white policemen, and vituperative remarks in the press. Blacks had expected to get police positions and white Unionists as well as General Swayne wished to accomodate them, but the latter had decided, even before the nineteen dismissals, to instruct Horton and Dimon to delay appointment of blacks for the concern of all.[56]

The *Nationalist* expressed disappointment that "colored men have not yet been put on the police" and stated that this issue should be faced immediately, but it said Swayne's motives should not be doubted because of his honesty and radicalism.[57]

On June 26 nine black citizens appealed to General Swayne to right a wrong in the police department where black men could fill half the places which would greatly benefit the "colored people" but would not jeopardize the city's interest. They insisted that many "openly announced enemies of the Government" were still on the force and should be dismissed. They also pointed out their employment difficulties because of their political affiliations. The *Advertiser and Register* criticized them for demanding too much too fast and asserted that this was characteristic of the race.[58]

Mayor Horton broke the ice on Monday, July 1, by appointing five black men to the police force: Allen Alexander, John Barber, Felix

Robinson, D. C. Thompson, and John Tobin. They were stationed in the predominantly black areas on the outskirts of the city.[59]

For two or three days in early August rumors spread that the mayor was going to make some important changes in the police department by dismissing some more whites and appointing "creoles and negroes."[60] In fact on August 6, Horton issued an order for the discharge of some white policemen.[61] Soon he appointed twelve black and eight white men to the force. Among the blacks was Ovide Gregory who was made lieutenant of the day police.[62]

The *Advertiser and Register* exploded its wrath in response to the transformation of the police force saying that Horton was copying Radical tyrants who are about to cause a race war. It claimed that the mayor took these actions to promote the Republican party, annoy white citizens, and appease black people who then would not expect more lucrative offices reserved for Horton and friends. The paper warned that the mayor must bear the consequences and retribution would not be long in coming.[63]

The press may have influenced the people. The citizens of Mobile scorned the mayor and treated him with contempt. Many had not forgotten that he had refused in 1862 to sign the muster roll to join the Confederate military forces, and now they preferred that he leave Mobile for committing another unforgivable act.[64]

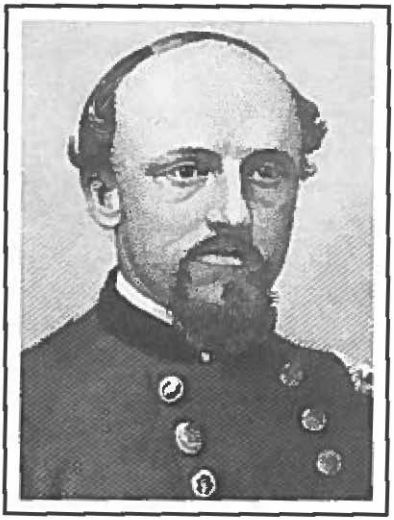
Some appointments to the police force were made possible not only by dismissals but by resignations of some whites who opposed black law enforcement officials. For example, John O'Brien, John O'Connell, D. O'Conner, M. Pizzetta, and T. M. Smith submitted their resignations saying they would not accept a Negro as their superior.[65]

Other placements resulted from increasing the size of the force. Within a week after his appointment as police chief, Dimon asked Mayor Horton for more policemen because of his conclusion that one fourth of the city had inadequate protection.[66] Several months would lapse before additional positions were approved by the boards and mayor.[67]

After black law enforcement officials assumed their duties the *Advertiser and Register* reported incidents in which they did not perform well. Chief Dimon criticized John Barber for allowing a black prisoner to escape from jail. The mayor's court fined Richard Files $20.00 for sleeping on post and E. McCane $20.00 for leaving his beat to visit his girl friend. Dismissed for sleeping on post were Captain William McDevitt, Felix Robinson, and E. Underwood. J. C. Rasbery was suspended on the charge of cowardice because he failed to make an arrest when threatened by others if he did. Major Langford arrested a white woman with an

Central Park Gatekeepers, 1860s *Central Park Conservancy*

"irreproachable character" but had a grudge against her and seized an opportunity to act. The mayor dismissed the case against her. The paper also told about two policemen who got into an argument when playing pigeon hole, or "nigger billiard." One of them claimed rank, drew his revolver, arrested the other, and took him to the guard house.[68] While the *Advertiser and Register* trumpeted those unfortunate occurrences, the *Nationalist* was characteristically silent on adverse news about African Americans.



Wager T. Swayne
Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War

John Pope
University of South Alabama Archives

Military intervention after the Pig Iron Kelley Riot had brought major changes to city government. Yet, even before the May 14 incident the military had the ultimate say, especially after the Military Reconstruction Acts. One decision would affect the police department. In 1866 the boards of Aldermen and Common Council authorized Mayor Jones M. Withers to appoint a joint committee of the boards to select new police uniforms. The committee visited New York City and selected gray uniforms worn by the Central Park police.[69] Pope thought that the uniforms too closely resembled Confederate soldiers' uniforms and would not allow them to be worn although the city had already purchased them.[70] Several years later city authorities adopted blue uniforms.[71] Interestingly the gray uniforms selected by the joint committee were not those worn by the Central Park

police, because no such law enforcement officials existed at that time. Instead, they were worn by the park keepers.

The military authorities intervened in many areas. On May 29, 1867, Pope issued General Orders No. 25 in order to explain responsibilities of civil and military authorities in light of the Mobile riot two weeks earlier. He maintained that Congress considered Alabama, among other states, without a legal state government and military authorities had the final responsibility for law and order. Consequently, he ordered the civil authorities to make sure sufficient law enforcement officials were present at political meetings or assemblies to prevent any disturbance. He instructed military officials in the district to provide aid if summoned, keep abreast of political meetings held, and take precautionary measures.[72]

General Swayne intervened to get a respite for three black men who were to be hanged on July 26. His action was very unpopular in Mobile.[73] When the three men's sentence was carried out a month later, Pope made sure that a sufficient force of soldiers was present to assure order.[74] Col. O. L. Shepherd tried suppressing the *Nationalist* after that paper published an article on May 30 entitled "The use of Firearms" in which editor Griffin suggested that men should stop wasting ammunition by firing in the air but save it in case they needed it to defend themselves. Shepherd considered this statement incendiary and ordered soldiers sent to guard the office and printing rooms of the paper on St. Michael Street and to prevent further issuance of that and subsequent editions until the orders were lifted.[75] Pope disapproved of Swayne's actions and issued General Orders No. 28 prohibiting military interference "with newspapers or speakers on any pretext whatever." He insisted that even if treasonable words are used, actions must be taken only by direct orders from Atlanta Headquarters.[76]

In late August Pope issued General Orders No. 53 stating that juries must consist of people taken from the voter registration list without discrimination. While the *Nationalist* expressed hope that this would result in better justice for blacks, the *Advertiser and Register* argued that a man convicted by a jury composed of some blacks could get the case overturned, because the Constitution of the United States guarantees a trial by a jury of one's peers, and blacks were not equals of white men.[77]

Pope also issued orders to insure quarantine regulations on vessels entering Mobile Bay in order to protect Mobilians from yellow fever and other diseases. These included an examining station, examining physician, and a boat crew. He offered the federally owned Quarantine Hospital buildings at Navy Cove for use by civil authorities and said that military officials would furnish shelter, bedding, and subsistence and the city would pay for repairs, physicians, nurses, and boat crews.[78]

In late September after Pope ordered elections to be held for delegates to the state constitutional convention, which was to assemble October 1-3, 1867, the military commander instructed Mobile officials to close all public liquor establishments during election day. Mayor Horton and Chief of Police Dimon implemented the orders.[79]

On November 10 the *Advertiser and Register* informed its readers that General Pope had "deprived this journal of the printing of the Probate Court, the Sheriff, the General Administrator, the City of Mobile, and of the Federal Departments." It saw this as an attempt to make the paper submissive to tyrrany.[80]

More intervention and changes lay ahead, for this was just the beginning of military Reconstruction, a time of significant governmental changes and military interference which resulted in frustration and anger on the part of most while citizens but hope and optimism for black citizens and white Unionists.

Notes

[1] Joseph E. Brent, "No Compromise: The End of Presidential Reconstruction in Mobile, Alabama, January-May, 1867," *Gulf Coast Historical Review*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Fall 1991): 18, 34.

[2] Eric L. McKitrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1960), 484.

[3] James E. Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 114-15.

[4] J. R. Eastburn and Fred Bromberg to Mayor General Wager Swayne, May 6, 1867, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Alabama, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870. Microfilm Reel No. 10, University of South Alabama.

[5] General Orders No. 41, O. L. Shepherd, Mobile, AL, May 22, 1867, Gustavus Horton Papers, Microfilm Box 1, City Museum of Mobile, Alabama; *List of Appointments to Office in the State of Alabama made by Major General Pope Commanding Third Military District*, 251, a book located in Folder "Military Appointments, 1867," Alabama Governor, Swayne Administrative Files, RC 2: G 11, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama (Hereafter cited as ADAH); *Mobile Advertiser and Register*, May 31, 1867. For background information see Joseph E. Brent, "No Compromise," 18-37; Loren Schweninger, "Alabama Blacks and the Congressional Reconstruction Acts of 1867," *The Alabama Review*, vol. 31, no. 3 (July 1978): 182-98.

[6] B. R. Tardy to Governor Robert M. Patton, May 16, 1867, Folder "Patton, Gov. Robert M. 1867, Correspondence May," Patton Files, RC 2: G 8, ADAH.

[7] *Advertiser and Register*, May 23, 1867.

[8] Aldermen's Minute Books, June 3, 1867, 256, Microfilm Box 4, Mobile Municipal Archives, Mobile, Alabama. Hereafter the archival location is cited as MMA; *Advertiser and Register*, June 4, 1867. The following aldermen attended the meeting of June 3: Ward 1, Lyons and Thomas Riley; Ward 2, A. Brooks and F. Hall; Ward

3, B. O'Connell and S. T. O'Grady; Ward 4, John Forsyth, Gibbon Y. Overall, and Caleb Price; Ward 5, E. Flannery, J. Hamilton, and M. W. McDonald; Ward 6, D. O. Grady and Maquire; Ward 7, R. Dane and R. McAdory; Ward 8, John J. Delchamps and F. Titcomb.

[9] John W. Dubose, *Alabama's Tragic Decade: Ten Years of Alabama, 1865-1874* (Birmingham, 1940), 86. Walter Fleming in *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905) says that post commanders were to report to headquarters any failures of civil tribunals to administer recently passed civil rights laws, to watch especially for discrimination based on color, race, or political opinion and to report any officials disloyal to the United States government.

[10] Council Minute Books, June 3, 1867, 198, Microfilm Box 21, MMA; *Advertiser and Register*, June 4, 1867. The following councilmen were present at the June 3 meeting: Ward 2, George Ketchum; Ward 3, D. McNeil; Ward 4, Reid; Ward 7, W. W. Mcguire; Ward 8, I. I. Jones; absent were G. Bond of Ward 1, John King of Ward 5, and John Hurtel of Ward 6.

[11] Aldermen's Minute Books, June 4, 1867, 256-57, Microfilm Box 4, MMA; *Advertiser and Register*, June 5, 1867.

[12] Special Orders No. 34, General John Pope, Headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia, May 31, 1867, Folder 2 "Letford, W., Reconstruction in Alabama, 1865-1867," Box 1, William Letford Papers, ADAH.

[13] *Nationalist*, June 1867.

[14] *Advertiser and Register*, June 7, 1867.

[15] Ibid., June 5, 1867.

[16] Ibid., June 10, 1867.

[17] Ibid., June 8, 1867.

[18] Ibid., June 9, 1867.

[19] Ibid., June 5, 15, 1867; Aldermen's Minute Books, June 14, 1867, 259, MMA.

[20] Aldermen's Minute Books, June 14, 1867, 259, MMA; *Advertiser and Register*, June 15, 1867. The new appointments included aldermen J. C. Smith of Ward 1; Dr. R. Miller and J. J. Wanroy of Ward 2; William Demouy, E. B. Gale, A. Knapp of Ward 3; Henry Hall and W. Frolichstein of Ward 4; A. H. Van Keuren, Frank H. Oliver, A. Antomarchi of Ward 5; A. H. Ryland of Ward 7; and James Hutchinson of Ward 8. The *Advertiser and Register* on June 15 named Stark H. Oliver and corrected that name in its June 16 issue to Frank H. Oliver.

[21] *Advertiser and Register*, June 19, 20, 1867.

[22] *Directory for the City of Mobile, 1861-1872*, Microfilm Reel 1, University of South Alabama Library.

[23] *Nationalist*, August 15, 1867; Amos Towle to General Swayne, July 20, 1867, Folder "Swayne, General Wager, July 16-31, 1867 Reconstruction," Governor Patton, Administrative Files, RC 2: G 11, ADAH.

[24] James M. McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York), 526-27.

[25] Sefton, *The United States Army and Reconstruction*, 141.

[26] Aldermen's Minute Books, June 20, 1867, 262, Microfilm Box 4, MMA; *Advertiser and Register*, June 19, 20, 1867.

[27] Council Minute Books, June 29, 1867, 204-5, Microfilm Box 21, MMA; *Advertiser and Register*, June 30, 1867.

[28] *List of Appointments*, 251, ADAH.

[29] *Advertiser and Register*, May 24, 1867.

[30] Ibid., June 19, 21, 1867.

[31] Council Minute Books, June 29, 1867, 203-4, Microfilm Box 21, MMA.

[32] *Advertiser and Register*, June 28, 1867.

[33] *Nationalist*, May 30, June 13, 1867.

[34] *Advertiser and Register*, June 5, 1867.

[35] *Nationalist*, June 13, 1867.

[36] Ibid., June 26, 1867. Signers were M. B. Avery, William L. Carter, Allen Alexander, Adam Daniel, Ovide Gregory, Joshua Davis, P. F. Physich, W. M. Daniels, L. S. Berry, F. Robinson, A. Hines, John Barber, T. W. Raginor, and J. A. Stewart.

[37] *List of Appointments*, 251, ADAH; Council Minute Books, June 18, 1867, 203, Microfilm Box 4, MMA.

[38] *Advertiser and Register*, June 16, 21, 1867.

[39] Ibid., June 8, 1867.

[40] Ibid., July 12, 1867: Aldermen's Minute Books, July 11, 1867, 268, Microfilm Box 4, MMA.

[41] G. Horton to the Honorable Boards of Aldermen and Common Council, Aldermen's Minute Books, July 18, 1867, 269, Microfilm Box 4, MMA.

[42] Gideon M. Parkes to Maj. Gen. W. Swayne, July 19, 1867, Folder "Swayne, General Wager, July 1-15, 1867, Reconstruction Correspondence," Swayne Files, RC 2: G 11, ADAH; Aldermen's Minute Books, July 18, 1867, 269, Microfilm Box 4, MMA.

[43] *List of Appointments*, 251, ADAH.

[44] *Nationalist*, August 15, 1867; *Advertiser and Register*, August 2, 1867.

[45] Harriet E. Amos, "Trials of a Unionist: Gustavus Horton, Military Mayor of Mobile During Reconstruction," *Gulf Coast Historical Review*, vol. 4, no. 2. (Spring 1989): 141.

[46] "List of Discharges by Order of Mayor," Folder 32, Box 1251, Mobile Police Records, 6-D-12, W. S. Hoole Special Collection Library, University of Alabama. Hereafter the record will be cited as MPR and the location, UA. The *Advertiser and Register* of June 2, 1867, listed the appointees: Charles B. Ainsworth, J. C. White, Allen Warner, James McGraff, J. C. Lawrence, J. W. Schnell, J. F. Kempton, J. H. Harrington, M. Ferrell, A. P. Lappington, S. Bradley, A. Ballisett, J. Tapia, J. W. Lefevre, Daniel O'Neal, Thomas Maloney, James Patterson, J. M. McDermott, J. T. Dingley.

[47] James F. Cunningham to Col. Shepherd, May 21, 1867, Folder 21, Box 1251, MPR, UA.

[48] Michael McDermott to O. L. Shepperd [*sic*], May 24, 1867, Folder 2, Box 1250, ibid.

[49] M. D. Johnson to Col. Dimon, May 26, 1867, Folder 21, Box 1251, ibid.

[50] B. O. Kean to Gen. Dimon, June 22, 1867, Folder 6, Box 1250, ibid.

[51] William Hurter to Dimon, June 27, 1867, ibid.

[52] Sam McGill to Mayor Horton, August 29, 1867, ibid.

[53] Dimon to Mayor Horton, October 30, 1867, ibid.

[54] Albert Griffin to Gen. Dimon, June 10, 1867, Folder 13 Michael Finnegan to C. A. R. Dimone [*sic*], June 1, 1867, Folder 4; J. W. Kellogg to Col. Dimon, June 1, 1867, Folder 4; Thomas Buttler to Col. C. A. R. Dimon, June 2, 1867, Folder 4; Four Citizens to Gen. Dimon, June 4, 1867, Folder 4, ibid. The four citizens were Thomas S. King, Price Williams, S. H. Kennedy, and J. H. Duvall.

[55] Thomas Buttler to Col. C. A. R. Dimon, June 2, 1867, Folder 4, ibid.

[56] Wager Swayne to Col. C. A. R. Dimon, July 1, 1867, Folder 1, ibid.

[57] *Nationalist*, May 30, 1867.

[58] *Advertiser and Register*, July 4, 1867. The black men making the appeal were Allen Alexander, John A. Stewart, Adam Burke, John Harrison, Armstead Young, Eli Hopewell, H. C. Thompson, P. F. Physich, and L. S. Berry.

[59] *Nationalist*, July 4, 1867.

[60] *Advertiser and Register*, August 8, 1867.

[61] "List of Discharges by Order of Mayor," May-August, 1867, Folder 32, Box 1251, MPR, UA. Discharged were Captain John F. Petty, Lieutenant Thomas McPhillips, and Lieutenant A. M. Eldridge.

[62] *Advertiser and Register*, August 10, 1867. Black policemen were Ovide Gregory, Lewis Roberts, Charles Underwood, Joseph Collins, Richard Files, Roderick Thomas, Thomas Woodward, Louis Hunt, E. L. McCarr, Henry Crocheron, George Catton, and Samuel Wilson, Jr. White Appointees were John A. Lowaray, James C. Rasberry, Rose, A. S. Gantt, Maurice Cratty, William Shaw, James E. Walker, Phillip Nathan and C. Milhelper.

[63] Ibid., August 11, 1867.

[64] "Gustavus Horton, Esq. Republican Mayor of Mobile," perhaps written by his son, Gustavus Horton, Jr., Microfilm Box 1, Gustavus Horton Papers, Museum of the City of Mobile.

[65] Resignations received by Mayor Gustavus Horton, August 10, 1867, Folder 39, Box 1252, MPR, UA. Also in this folder are letters to the mayor from all of these men except Pizzetta.

[66] Chief of Police to Mayor Horton, May 27, 1867, Folder 13, Box 125, MPR, UA; *Advertiser and Register*, May 31, 1867; "Mayor G. Horton to Boards of Aldermen and Common Council," May 30, 1867, Aldermen's Minute Books, 248, Microfilm Box 4, MMA.

[67] "Minutes of Aldermen's Meeting," no date, Folder 29, Box 1251, MPR, UA.

[68] *Advertiser and Register*, July 9, August 29, September 4, 8, 20, October 17, 18, November 24, 1867.

[69] J. M. Withers to Maj. Gen. Swayne, April 5, 1867, Folder "General Correspondence, Jan-Feb-March, 1867, Reconstruction," Patton Files, RC 2: G7, ADAH.

[70] Aldermen's Minute Books, May 15, 1867, 242, Microfilm Box 4, MMA.

[71] Ibid., March 5, 1872, 388, Microfilm Box 5, MMA.

[72] General Orders No. 25, Pope, Atlanta, GA, May 29, 1867, Folder 2 "Letford, W. Reconstruction in Alabama, 1865-1867," Box 1, Letford Papers, ADAH.

[73] D. L. Dalton to Gov. Patton, July 26, 1867, Folder "Patton, Gov. Robert M., 1867 Correspondence July," Patton Files, RC 2: G8, ADAH.

[74] *Advertiser and Register*, September 28, 1867.

[75] General Orders No. 46, Col. O. L. Shepherd, Mobile, May 30, 1867, Folder 2 "Letford, W. Reconstruction in Alabama, 1865-1867," Box 1, Letford Papers, ADAH.

[76] General Orders No. 28, June 3, 1867, ibid. It is interesting to note that the *Advertiser and Register* of May 31, 1867, did not support the opposition paper in the pursuit of freedom of press.

[77] *Nationalist*, August 29, 1867; *Advertiser and Register*, October 16, 1867.

[78] Mayor G. Horton to the Boards of Aldermen and Common Council, July 18, 1867; John Pope to G. Horton, July 13, 1867, Aldermen's Minute Books, July 18, 1867, 269-70, Microfilm Box 4, MMA.

[79] Order of Mayor Horton, September 26, 1867, Folder 42, Box 1252, MPR, UA; "Office Chief of Police, Mobile, September 26, 1867," a broadside from the Caldwell Delaney Collection, University of Mobile.

[80] *Advertiser and Register*, November 10, 1867.

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Sponge Diver, Tarpon Springs, 1936

Burgert Brothers,
Tampa-Hillsborough County
Public Library System

Tarpon Springs: From Health Resort to Ethnic Tourist Haven, 1880-1991

Holly Simpson-Walker

The first settlers arrived in what is now Tarpon Springs in the early 1860s, but it was not until 1884 that a town began to develop. By the end of that year, it consisted of a post office, two hotels (the Tarpon Hotel and the Tropical Hotel), a bath house, a two story school (which also doubled as a civic/social center), a telegraph office, a sawmill, a few stores, and a newspaper (*The Tarpon* which is now *The Tarpon Leader.*)[1]

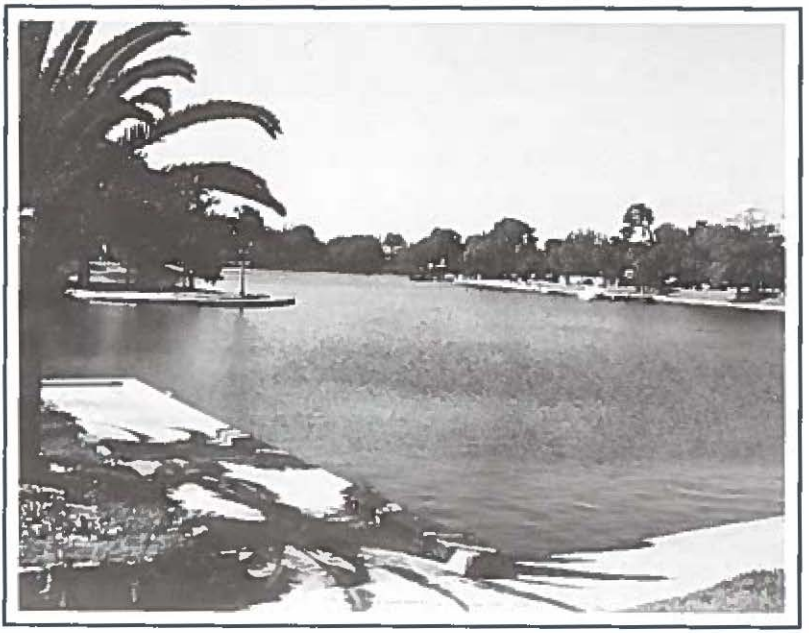
The Tropical and the Tarpon hotels helped bring tourists to the Tarpon Springs area. Both advertised themselves as being situated in a peaceful, beautiful, natural environment. The manager of the Tropical, Mrs. Meres, fed her guests with fruit, vegetables, and honey from her garden.[2] She also raised her own chickens. The Tarpon advertised itself as having all the modern conveniences such as electricity (a convenience established during the 1880s), steam heat, and fireplaces in every room, as well as being situated among pine and orange trees.[3] The Tropical Hotel was open all year round and when the tourists left town, the hotel was used by the Tarpon Springs residents for social gatherings and dances.

The Tarpon Hotel was seasonal in its operation, opening in the fall when the owner arrived from the North with most of his staff, and closing in the spring. The hotel burned to the ground in 1926. Tourists who stayed at these hotels marveled at the community's natural beauty and many bayous. Tarpon Springs was billed "The Venice of the South."[4]

During 1887 the arrival of the town's first railroad (the Orange Belt Railroad) made it easier for tourists to get to Tarpon Springs. Before the railroad came to Tarpon, the journey could take visitors several days. They would have to go by train to Cedar Key, then by a steam boat, *The Governor Safford*, from Cedar Key to Anclote. It took two days for visitors to make the thirty-mile trip to Tarpon Springs from Tampa. The paddleboat steamer *Mary Disston* brought people and goods from the village of Anclote to the new Tarpon Springs settlement. In the late 1880s a pier was built at the Spring Bayou.[5]

Tarpon Springs, already a tourist destination and winter resort for the wealthy, also became a health resort. Many Northerners often came to the South for the winter to "take the cure." In its early days Tarpon Springs catered to such visitors, often billing itself as the place for beauty, rest, and relaxation. On the east shore of the Spring Bayou, a mineral spring was discovered. The sick who came and drank from the spring believed that

they derived great benefit from it. The residents curbed the spring and built a pagoda over it. It soon became a favorite place for invalids and older people and the town began to acquire a reputation as a health resort. In 1889 a group of physicians from Philadelphia, hoping to capitalize on this reputation, took over the management of the Tarpon Hotel. Tarpon Avenue became the focus of extensive commercial development.



Spring Bayou *Simpson-Walker photo*

During the winter season in the late nineteenth century there were daily band concerts in the park. For two years Bohumir Kryl of Chicago and his thirty piece band played there.[6] In the Spring Bayou, near the fountain, two thirty-eight-foot gondolas, acquired from the Exposition in Philadelphia,[7] provided forums for additional entertainment. Throughout the nineties Tarpon Springs continued to develop as a winter resort. The focal point of the resort was the Spring Bayou. During this period, George Inness and his son George, Jr. arrived in Tarpon Springs. Mr. Inness, Sr. painted pictures of white herons on misty mornings along the Anclote River. He did not like the Florida climate and returned to Paris. George, Jr. remained in Tarpon Springs for the rest of his life. He painted a triptych for the Tarpon Springs Universalist Church to replace three windows that were blown out during the hurricane of 1918. Later he also

painted a triptych on the twenty-third psalm for the church. During the period of 1918-1926, Inness gave five other paintings to the Universalist Church. Established in 1885, it was Tarpon Springs' oldest church. The last painting was presented in 1926 the day before Inness died. The Innesses publicized Tarpon Springs with their beautiful paintings and helped establish the town as a natural habitat for artists.

Spring Bayou assisted the cultural diversification of Tarpon Springs through a different type of event. One of the most spectacular community projects in the history of Tarpon Springs occurred during the 1920s. This was a series of three water festivals called the Annual Water Sports Carnival and Illuminated Fleet Parade that took place on the Spring Bayou.[8] A grandstand was set up on the banks amid paper flowers and Japanese lanterns, and two barges were lashed together to form a floating stage. During the afternoon, races and water games took place. In the evening a fireworks display signaled the start of the illuminated fleet parade as floats proceeded around the bayou. Decorated and lighted boats would parade in front of the crowds and judges. The winners were awarded substantial monetary prizes.[9]

After the illuminated fleet parade, a play would be presented from the floating barge. In 1923 the Tampa Community Players performed *H.M.S. Pinafore* to a crowd of over six thousand.[10] In 1924 *The Mikado* and *Priscilla* drew crowds of more than twelve thousand. In 1925 *The Riddle of Isis* (an operetta with a ballet company of forty) and *The Little Tycoon* (a two act opera featuring an orchestra of twenty and a chorus of thirty) were performed. In 1926 several changes were made to the Water Carnival. The Metropolitan Opera Company replaced the Tampa Community Players, to perform *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hiawatha's Wedding Feast*. Both were presented to a crowd of over twenty-five thousand people during four consecutive nights.[11] A large commercial firm had taken over the carnival for the 1926 season. They controlled the floats and decorations as well as the entertainment. Many of the Tarpon residents became less involved in the carnival and more critical of it. So ended the last year for the spectacular pageant. The carnival could not survive with the combination of the new sponsors and the end of the Florida real estate boom. At its height crowds had flocked to the Spring Bayou to witness this event. Tarpon Springs arranged to have buses leave Clearwater, St. Petersburg, and Tampa every thirty minutes on carnival days.[12] After the shows, the local Bachelor's Club sponsored dances featuring the Paul Whiteman Orchestra.

Sponge fleet, Tarpon Springs

P. K. Younge Library, University of Florida

Despite its success as a tourist resort, the most important development in Tarpon Springs history was the discovery of sponge beds. They were found by accident in 1873 by Key West fishermen, whose nets were fouled with sponges off the mouth of the Anclote River. John Cheyney with Hamilton Disston's financial backing opened the Anclote and Rock Island Sponge Company on Bailey's Bluff across the Anclote River from Tarpon Springs.[13]

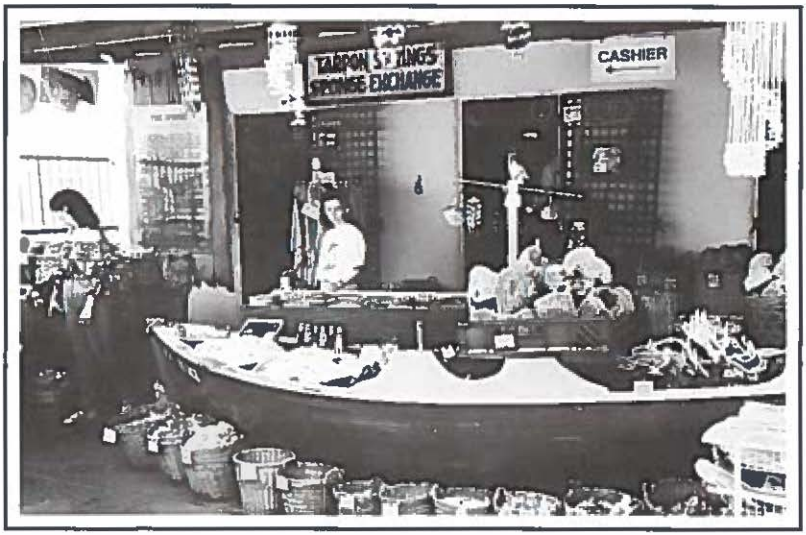
In 1895 while Cheyney was in New York he met John Corcoris, a recent immigrant from Greece who was working as a buyer for a Greek sponge firm. Needing help in his Tarpon Springs sponge business, Cheyney hired Corcoris as a sponger. By the end of 1906, fifteen hundred Greek spongers had arrived in Tarpon Springs. Advertisements for sponge divers were placed in several Greek-language newspapers. Most of the best sponge divers in the world came from the Dodecanese Islands, a cluster of a dozen rocky islands between Asia Minor and Crete in the Mediterranean Sea.[14] In the beginning five hundred men arrived at Tarpon Springs to evaluate the sponge situation and soon sent home for their families. The sponge industry changed the character of Tarpon Springs forever. When the Greek sponge divers arrived, so did many Greek businessmen. Some were boat builders and sponge agents, while others opened restaurants, candy stores, coffee-houses, saloons, and grocery stores.

Prior to 1890 Tarpon Springs had been a winter health resort and fishing village catering to a small group of wealthy Northerners. Less than twenty years later, it was the center of the largest sponge industry and Greek Community in the United States. By 1908 sponging was a million dollar industry. Cheyney opened the first Sponge Exchange on Spring Bayou, and the fleet harvesting the sponges averaged two hundred boats throughout the next three decades. Many of the original winter residents of Tarpon Springs resented the Greeks and moved away to other areas.

The Sponge Exchange was one of the centers of the Greek community. In 1907 Cheyney became one of the founders and first presidents of the Tarpon Springs Sponge Exchange. The courtyard of the Exchange has two iron grill gates flanking the white stucco office in the front. The surrounding open space on the other three sides formed the arcade. Behind the arcade were over one hundred doors covered with iron strips. The doors opened into light airy cells roughly constructed and bearing a distinct odor. These buildings have been replaced several times, with the present structure dating from 1939. Today visitors can still see some of the original cells where sponges were displayed for potential buyers.

The Greek community expanded behind the Sponge Exchange. The Greek language was heard everywhere. Within the first year of their

arrival the men had established a basic Greek-style form of self government. They established a parish and by the beginning of their second year, they had sent for a priest and built a church. The main street was renamed from Anclote to Dodecanese Boulevard. Today the boulevard is a fascinating array of shops that stock imports from all over the world including Greece, Turkey, China, Hong Kong, and Guatemala. A visitor can also find an assortment of products from the Gulf Coast, such as sponges, shells, sharks' teeth and jaw bones.



Sponge Exchange *Michael Thomason photo*

The Greeks introduced the Orthodox church and its distinctive architectural style to Tarpon Springs. The first Greek church built in Tarpon Springs was a wooden structure erected in 1909 called St. Nicholas in honor of the patron saint and protector of all mariners. The church that stands today was built in 1943 and is constructed of brick. It is modeled on Constantinople's Hagia Sophia, the most famous example of Byzantine architecture and design. It is filled with mosaics, icons, and carved ivories.[15] St. Nicholas, like Hagia Sophia, uses domes and half domes to create its vast interior. The dome rests on four giant arches, which border a central square beneath it.[16] The church was built through generous contributions, most of which came from the Greek sponge fishermen.

St. Nicholas Cathedral *Michael Thomason photo*

Another religious point of interest is located on Hope Street. St. Michael's Shrine sits in a courtyard surrounded by trees and flowers. It is a peaceful place to meditate or examine the beautiful icons and stained glass windows. St. Michael's Shrine was built for Archangel St. Michael Taxiarchis by Mrs. Maria Tsalichi, to cure her son Steve of a life-threatening illness. When Steve fell ill one day, no one knew what was wrong with him. In his delirium he told his mother that St. Michael had come to him revealing that he wanted a shrine built in his name. When Mrs. Tsalichi agreed Steve recovered. His mother fought a protracted battle with the priests of St. Nicholas. The church officials refused to bless the site or acknowledge the shrine's existence after it was erected. It took over a year for the shrine to be built. It was finally finished in 1939.[17]

By the 1920s sponge fishing had turned into a multi-million dollar industry and Tarpon Springs grew rapidly. By 1920 the population had risen from fifteen hundred to five thousand people. The town boasted an ice plant, an electric generating facility, more than twenty retail stores, two lumber mills, cigar factories, several banks, and a post office. In 1911 it became part of the newly created Pinellas County.[18] Tourism became a major factor in the local economy during this time. In contrast to the early tourism of the 1880s and 1890s, when the tourists were a wealthy, elite group, their twenties' counterparts were short-term visitors almost exclusively from the middle class. Initially they came as members of tourist clubs, then they began to arrive in their own cars as "tin can tourists."[19] The Tin Can Tourists lived in their cars in several tourist camps in New Port Richey and surrounding areas just as many are now seen in motor homes and recreational vehicles around Tarpon Springs today. However, since they brought all of their own supplies and food, they spent little money in the Tarpon Springs area.

The Greeks played an important role in the development of the local tourist economy. Mrs. Irene Graneskis opened the first curio shop in her house during the 1920s. She sold sponges, sea corals, and sea fans.[20] This became so popular that soon many other shops began appearing around the sponge docks and downtown Tarpon Springs. The city built a sea wall for docking the boats, paved the streets, put in sidewalks, and added parking spaces.

Tourists sought out Greek food such as: lamb and vegetables, grape leaves, Greek salads, feta cheese, Greek bread, baklava, gyros, and souvalakis. Cafes and restaurants sprang up everywhere. Perhaps the most famous of these is Pappas Restaurant, established as a family-operated cafe by Louis Pappas who moved from Tampa to Tarpon Springs during the 1930s. His Greek salad, filled with potato salad, and added to the menu

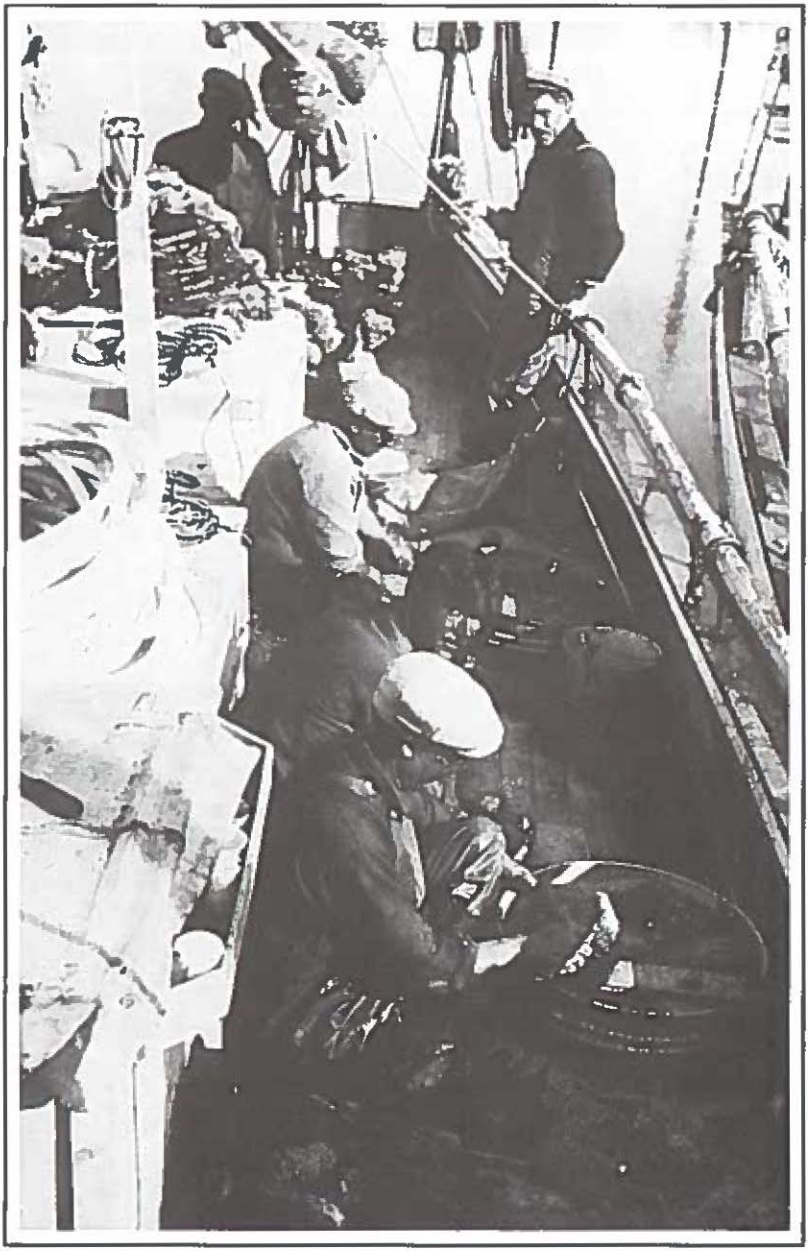
after World War II, became an instant success. It was soon called Pappas' Greek salad to distinguish it from the copies that appeared in other restaurants. In 1975 Louis Pappas' family built the current Pappas Restaurant located at the top of Dodecanese Boulevard.

In addition to Greek food, tourists find there are many other ethnic restaurants to choose from. There is a French restaurant, the Brasserie de Bretagne, on Tarpon Avenue which serves traditional French appetizers, entrees of steak, fish, chicken, veal, and crepes.[21] Other ethnic restaurants include an English Tea Room (the Oxford House), Mexican (El Jalapeno), a pub where you can dock your boat and go inside for beer and a game of darts (the Tarpon Turtle), as well as several Italian restaurants, coffee shops, and delicatessens.

In the early 1940s the sponge industry achieved national recognition. The American Museum of Natural History in New York planned to include a sponge exhibit in the Hall of Ocean Life, and sent a staff of scientists, artists, and camera men to Tarpon Springs.[22] In 1947 two things happened to Tarpon Springs that changed the course of its history. The first was a disaster. The red tide, a fungus disease, had been spreading in the Gulf for many years. Finally it destroyed all of the deep water sponge beds from Egmont Key to Appalachicola and the era of the national sponge industry appeared dead. Today after lying dormant for many years, the industry is making a comeback on a much smaller scale. It has been displaced by curio shops, restaurants, diving exhibitions, and shopping plazas.

The second event that changed Tarpon Springs was Hollywood. In 1947 while doing a remake of *Sixteen Fathoms Deep*, the Monogram Co. came to Tarpon Springs to give the film authenticity. Irving Allen directed, John Gonatos acted and advised, and Lon Chaney was the star. The movie premiered at the Royal Theater in Tarpon Springs on January 11, 1948.[23] In 1953 Century Fox filmed *Twelve Mile Reef* which was based on the early rivalry of the Key West Hook Men and the Greek Sponge Divers. Four hundred extra roles were played by the residents of Tarpon Springs.

Since the late forties Tarpon Springs has experienced a growing economy based on tourism. Today tourists can get a taste of ethnic Greek culture and view religious structures and other architecturally distinctive buildings such as the 1914 city hall or the old railroad depot. The depot houses both the historical society and a model railroad club which is busy building an exact replica of Tarpon Springs using the model HO scale. Four men are recreating many of the houses and businesses that existed at the turn of the century including the Fern/Tropical Hotel, Safford House, etc. For anyone interested in Tarpon Springs history a visit to the model railroad is a must.



Workers washing sponges, 1928 *Florida State Archives*

A brand new addition to the Sponge Dock area is the Coral Sea Aquarium. Open since March 1991, it features over two hundred different species of fish and three kinds of sharks. Each day visitors are treated to a demonstration of shark feeding by hand done by the owner Scott Konger. The aquarium is light, airy, and consists of fourteen viewing windows. The main attraction is the forty-foot by thirty-foot tank containing 100,000 gallons of water.

Old City Hall and Museum *Michael Thomason photo*

Perhaps the largest tourist event in Tarpon Springs today is Epiphany. Epiphany is the Greek Holy Day commemorating the baptism of Christ held every January 6. Outside of Greece, nowhere is Epiphany celebrated as elaborately as it is in Tarpon Springs. Between 35,000 and 50,000 people come each year to witness the event. It begins at St. Nicholas Cathedral and is led by the Archbishop of New York, assisted by the priest of St. Nicholas. The church is decorated in gold and bright colors and the town with flags and banners. A lengthy and colorful procession headed by the religious leaders, makes its way through the streets to the Spring Bayou for the throwing of the cross.

Louis Pappas' sponge boat *Michael Thomason photo*

At noon the Archbishop throws the cross into the bayou and approximately fifty boys ranging in age from sixteen to nineteen dive after it from small boats. The boy who brings the cross back to the Archbishop kneels for the blessing and is assured good fortune for the rest of his life. The blessing of the waters at the bayou is followed by a sanctification of the entire sponge industry at the waterfront on January 7. After the ceremony, the people go to the sponge docks for an afternoon of feasting and Greek dancing. The Greeks wear their colorful native costumes, the boys in short white skirts and leggings, red vests, caps, and shoes of the Evzones (the Greek freedom fighters) and the girls wear many colored skirts and sashes, embroidered vests, veils, and ropes of pearls and coins in the style of the various islands and mainland Greece.

Anclote River *Simpson-Walker photo*

Tarpon Springs has become a major tourist attraction for several reasons. The first is that it offers an escape from the fast-paced modern world to a slower ethnic lifestyle. Visitors can tour one of America's historical landmarks, the unique Sponge Exchange which is now on the National Park Service Register of Historical Sites, or the beautiful Greek cathedral, the Universalist church, and St. Michael's Shrine. Tarpon Springs boasts fine beaches, parks, festivals, and celebrations. With so much to do and see there is something for virtually everyone and when hunger strikes there are so many different types of restaurants. From Pappas to Paul's Shrimp House or the Plaka, a traditional Greek cafe with the best Souvlakias in town, as well as several coffee and pastry shops, bakeries, and Greek delicatessens scattered throughout the town, any appetite can be satisfied.

Tarpon Springs is a small community with great ethnic flavor. It is a very important place in the history of Florida, a must visit for tourists on the West Coast seeking a breather from the fast paced, high priced, tourist Florida as well as a taste of the old country.

Notes

[1] "Historic Tarpon Springs Self Guided Tour," Bureau of Historic Preservation, Florida Depatment of State, assisted by the Historic Preservation Advisory Council, Tarpon Springs Cultural Center, 1989.

[2] Gertrude Stoughton. *Tarpon Springs Florida: The Early Years* (New Port Richey, 1975), 62.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Clifton Johnson, *Highways and Byways of Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1984), 188.

[5] June Huley Young, *Florida's Pinellas Peninsula* (St. Petersburg, 1984), 188.

[6] Stoughton, 70.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 71.

[11] *St. Petersburg Times*, April 15, 1984.

[12] Ibid., 2.

[13] R. F. Pent, *History of Tarpon Springs and Biographical Sketches of Old Timers* (St. Petersburg, 1964), 9.

[14] Stoughton, 62.

[15] Marcile Duran, ed., *Larousse Encyclopedia of Ancient and Medieval History* (New York, 1963), 254.

[16] Thomas Greer, *A Brief History of Western Man*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1968), 156.

[17] Marie Dim Tsalichis, "The History of the Erection of the Shrine of St. Michael Taxiarchis and the Description of the Miracles of the Miraculous Icon of Saint Michael Taxiarchis."

[18] "Historical Report," Tarpon Springs Culture Center.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Chris Sherman, "The Nibbler Column," *St. Petersburg Times*, November 2, 1990.

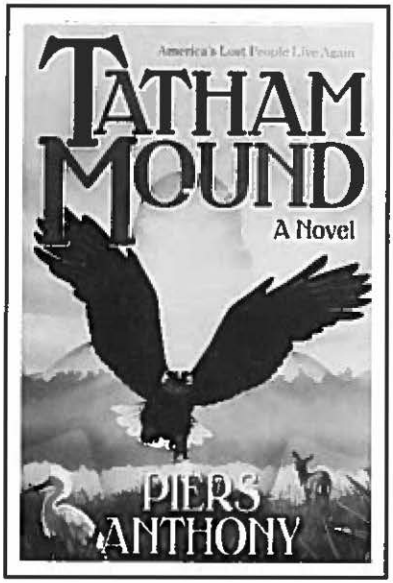
[22] Stoughton, 79.

[23] Ibid., 70.

Holly Simpson-Walker is an independent scholar living in Holiday, Florida.

Book Reviews

Piers Anthony. *Tatham Mound*. New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1991, pp. 522. $22.00. ISBN 0-688-10140-2



An immigrant to the United States from England at the age of six, Piers Anthony Billingham Jacob has written more than sixty books, generally science fiction or fantasy, as "Piers Anthony." The evaluation of his work by critics of the genre include high praise for his style and inventiveness, with some criticism of his failure to take the time to develop his work to the fullest. His early science fiction novels, *Chthon* (1967) in particular, showed brilliant originality. More recent fantasies, frequently on the best seller lists, tend to be light and amusing. A recent novel, *Firefly*, among other things, examines contemporary sexual mores and is quite explicit. It suggests that the author is willing to take time to develop a theme in great detail.

A resident of Florida, and a member of the local archaeological society, when he found that an Indian mound had been discovered that was undisturbed, Piers Anthony contributed funds for the local university to conduct excavations. This was Tatham Mound. One of his daughters, as a student in an anthropology class, participated in the dig, and he visited the site with some regularity.

Over a period of five years, basing his characters on skeletons found in the mounds and speculating on the origins of some of the artifacts, Anthony wrote this novel, incorporating voluminous research. It is more than an account of the life and times of a single tribe of Florida Indians. It is an account of Indians from the Mayas and Aztecs up through the Mississippi valley to the land of the Illini and down through the Cherokee. In part it retraces the route of Hernando de Soto as he sought gold. As a novel, it captures the imagination, and in an extensive afterword, Anthony mentions how much is historical and how much pure invention. The five years of research, which produced more data than could be usefully

incorporated in this book, will no doubt find its way into other volumes as yet unwritten.

Anthony chooses as his main character skeleton #16 from the mound, an adult male, whom he puts at age fifty when buried. Initially a youth named Hotfoot of the Toco people, as part of his rite of passage to manhood, he raids another tribe and kills a warrior with an arrow to the throat, thus acquiring his adult name Throat Shot. But, because of a wound received in the skirmish, he loses much of the use of his left shoulder and is no asset to his people. They sell him to a passing trader who takes him in his canoe where he learns to paddle with difficulty, but serves his master well as an interpreter. After some years, because of his facility with languages and because of extensive travel, he becomes known as Tale Teller. It is by that name that he begins and ends the book.

In his extensive travels, Tale Teller makes many friends, and they tell him their experiences. One friend, for example, had been taken prisoner by a hostile tribe and through being traded had arrived in Mexico City at the height of the Aztec power. Before they can be sacrificed, he and a small group of friends make their escape. Crippled as punishment for an early attempt at escape, he and his friends make their way to the Gulf of Mexico and eventually to the Mississippi and home.

One of Tale Teller's wives is the daughter of a Maya princess who ended up as a slave in southern Alabama or northern Florida. From her he learns of the customs of the Maya people.

Tale Teller marries among the northern Indians, both a mother and daughter, and they each provide him with a son. Then comes the deadly scourge of smallpox, and he loses his entire family. Back among his own people, he marries the daughter of the Maya princess, has another family, only to be taken with his daughter as captive by de Soto and forced to become the major interpreter for the Spaniard. Eventually Tale Teller and his daughter escape and are pleased when they hear that de Soto has died.

The Indians' perceptions of the Spaniards—the Castiles they call them—are interesting, and the eventual bad relations between the groups is the result of mutual misunderstanding as well as Spanish arrogance. The dress of the Indian maidens, with bare breasts, and their casual attitude toward sexual relations was misinterpreted by the repressed Spaniards.

To Anthony's credit he does not romanticize the American Indians. While the Indian culture he sketches for us has its attractive side, it is also brutal, as in the rite of passage mentioned above when adolescents prove their manhood by stalking members of a neighboring tribe and killing them, or the human sacrifices of the Aztecs which are described here

graphically, and the regular bloody warfare on the trans-Mississippi frontier with the plains Indians.

The sexual morality of the Indians, as Anthony interprets it, based on what Europeans reported, was significantly different from the western European norm. Young unmarried women distributed sexual favors as they wished, and even married women, if their husbands were absent, might choose to do so. The author speculates they had a folk medicine that generally prevented unwanted pregnancies. He describes it as a mixture of honey and certain herbs. If a woman came to a man smelling of honey, the message was clear. It is in examples such at this that one misses the presence of scholarly notes.

In a long afterword, Anthony relates some of his experiences at the mound and of his research. Among other things he encountered the paucity of data on how many Indians there were in the New World at the time Columbus arrived, and how many died as a result of the European conquest. It seems likely he is right that most deaths were the consequence of the Indians lack of immunity to diseases such as smallpox or measles. These were diseases to which Europeans had some immunity. It would be interesting to examine morbidity rates among early European settlers from non-European diseases to which the Indians had immunity. Syphilis, it is speculated, was picked up in the New World and brought to southern Europe by Spaniards, but then no one, as far as we know, has any immunity to that disease.

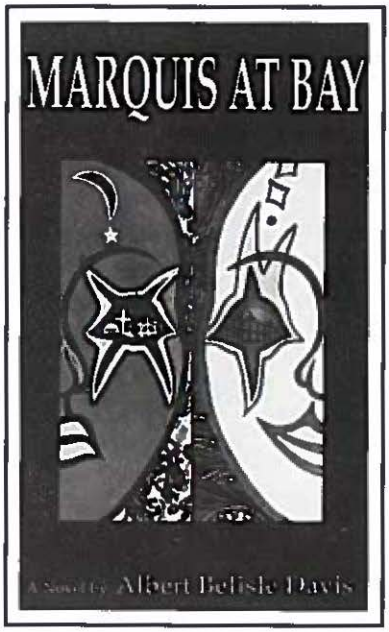
For those interested in the variety of cultures of the American Indians, this novel would be a good introduction. One then should consult one's favorite librarian for a good bibliography of factual material, perhaps starting with biographies of the major Spanish conquerors.

Dalvan M. Coger Memphis State University

Albert Belisle Davis. *Marquis at Bay*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1992, pp. 336. $14.95. ISBN 0-8071-1737-4

Set in a segregated town somewhere below New Orleans during the racially turbulent sixties, *Marquis at Bay* is an historical detective novel. Amateur historian and pro bono lawyer James (Jay Pee) Marquis becomes obsessed with uncovering a hidden crime for which the powerful (white) Roussell Family is being blackmailed by the equally powerful (black) Lineman clan. Central to the entire novel is a photograph in which the death of one of the major characters is recorded, surrounded by every other

major character. The story, a pseudo-historical reconstruction of the events that lead up to the photograph, is presented through multiple voices, including long transcriptions of taped interviews, secretly recorded telephone conversations, letters, Jay Pee's eyewitness accounts, and "objective" reconstructions by his wife, Molly, who attempts to fill in the gaps and to explain the causal relationships between the events from hundreds of miles away.



Davis's novel is admirably ambitious and risky. Not only does he attempt to totally remove himself as an author, but also he tries to reveal in microcosm the complexity and ambiguity of the racial conflicts and drug culture of the sixties. Finally he takes on one of the central problems of history—namely, if an event objectively occurs, is it possible to understand its significance and to place it in the causal chain, if there is such a thing? As Jay Pee writes in a letter to his wife, Molly, "If everyone's thinking does make it so, why indeed go on?"

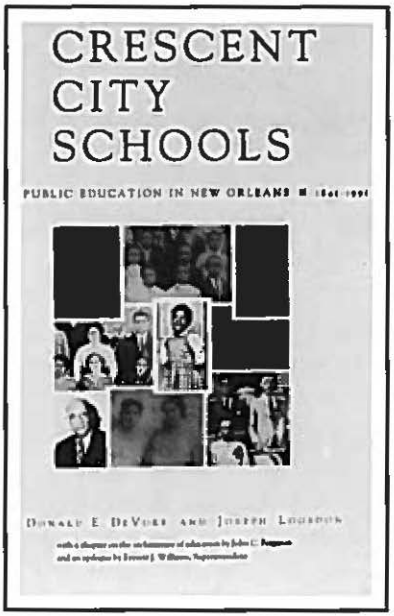
Unfortunately, despite the admirable attempt, *Marquis at Bay* is thrown into hopeless confusion and tedium by the very problem it addresses. While Davis is a master of creating distinct narrative voices through the use of dialect and emotional/psychological perspectives, the sheer number of these voices and the cloudiness through which they attempt to perceive the events leave the reader confused and finally bored. One gets the feeling of being "tricked" by a magician who is keeping key facts up his sleeve. And after the reader drags through almost four hundred pages of obfuscation, the hidden "truths" that have kept Jay Pee Marquis "at bay" are never uncovered except in the most oblique and unreliable ways, leaving the reader also at bay.

Marquis at Bay, because it is a study of the impossibility of determining causality, has no forward momentum and is cluttered with characters, all of whom are running from some undisclosed trauma. Although this may be remarkably like real life, it does not work as fiction. As Mississippi writer Ellen Douglass once said, "The difference between real

life and fiction is that real life doesn't make sense." I finished reading *Marquis at Bay* with regret, feeling that it was "the novel that got away."

Charles Belcher, Jr. Palo Alto Community College

Donald E. DeVore and Joseph Logsdon. *Crescent City Schools: Public Education in New Orleans 1841-1991*. Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1991, *xi*, pp. 402. $20.00. ISBN 0-9409-8466-0



Despite the rise of newer approaches to the history of education such as social history, women's history, and quantitative history, and despite the use of revisionist paradigms that call into question the accomplishments of public education, the field of the institutional history of education has exhibited significant signs of health. This is because of the contributions of professors from history departments rather than those of teachers or administrators who work in schools and, thus, feel "qualified" to write their histories. This volume is the work of two academic historians who are relatively new to the field of educational history. What they lack in terms of familiarity with issues, they compensate for with their thorough use of existing documents and secondary sources.

Understanding public education in New Orleans is important for grasping the history of the institution throughout the South. Public schools in the Crescent City, unlike their counterparts in other cities (and in rural areas), began before the Civil War. New Orleans also experienced a significant amount of desegregated public education during Reconstruction, unlike the situation in the rest of the region. These two phenomena mark the unusual aspects of the history of the public schools of New Orleans. The rest of the story, for example the fight to obliterate the marks of desegregation in the last third of the nineteenth century, and

the "building" of a radically segregated system in which black opportunities were substantially inferior to those for whites in the first half of the twentieth century, shows a situation that resembled the pattern in the rest of the region.

It may be too soon to determine whether the post-*Brown* experience in New Orleans was typical or unusual when compared to the rest of the region. My own sense is that here again we find similarity rather than difference. Two exceptions make the point arguable. One is the principled stance of the Catholic bishop of New Orleans in favor of desegregation and his opposition to allowing the Catholic schools to be used as a haven for whites fleeing blacks. The second is the existence in the past two decades of a fairly active teachers' union. However, neither of these erase the generally dismal record of public education in New Orleans since 1954. The main theme of the contemporary era throughout the South is desegregation. Ending one-race schools took place early on in token numbers and in later periods in more substantial numbers. But desegregation has been accompanied by resegregation inside of the desegregated schools, white flight from the public schools, and a neglect of financial obligations to public education.

This is not necessarily the story line that the authors follow in their history, but they are faithful enough to the "facts" of the situations, as they encounter them, to lead the reader down this rather dismal road. In a revealing "Epilogue" by the current, and first black, superintendent of the system, he notes that within his term as superintendent (since 1985) "for the first time in thirty years a property tax increase for the public schools was approved." The delay in doing so should be a cause for shame. In the years when the public schools came to be responsible for more and more of the children of the city's neediest citizens, they did so without the benefit of any new or increased financial commitment to the educational welfare of those children.

This story is typical of the large cities throughout the nation in the twentieth century. In the few cases where something unusual has occurred, such as Charlotte, North Carolina and its commitment to meaningful desegregation, it looks like this commitment is about to be abandoned. The new Charlotte superintendent is talking about ceasing the yearly redrawing of attendance lines and thus ending the commitment to massive busing that has made Charlotte unique among American cities in achieving substantial desegregation.

Though this book is marred by quirky use of secondary sources, such as the failure to cite Raymond Callahan's classic *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* in its discussion of the efficiency movement in the early twentieth

century, it is a genuine contribution to the history of urban education in the South. That this contribution gave me a rather sobering set of conclusions about the state of public education in New Orleans should not detract from the authors' substantial scholarly accomplishment. Thankfully, in our time we do not routinely murder the bearers of bad tidings. It may be too much to ask that we learn from them, however.

Wayne J. Urban Georgia State University

Ann Brewster Dobie, ed. *Something in Common: Contemporary Louisiana Stories*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, pp. 303. $19.95. ISBN 0-8071-1644-0

Something in Common: Contemporary Louisiana Stories consists of nineteen short stories by Louisiana writers. Most were previously published in Louisiana periodicals or had appeared in print as part of a novel or in the collected works of an author. The collection's title suggests a connection between these works. The preface reveals that a state-wide search for work by Louisiana writers yielded the selection, and it is interesting to note that the appeal addressed the individual (the writer) rather than the work itself. A "Louisiana writer" here is a writer who has formed some kind of an association with that state. About a third of the writers actually named a setting within Louisiana, and almost another third selected other locations. The greatest number left identifying specific sites to their readers, though many described typically southern climates or vegetation. In this sense, then, the collection manages to move away from narrowly defined regional focus.

Lewis P. Simpson, who wrote the introduction, proffers the notion that the collection is "linked by a negation of the image of the exotic Louisiana." Other traditionally "southern" interests, such as matters of family and reflections on the historical past, manifest themselves in ways which would

not separate the collection from those of other regions. One distinction of these works by Louisiana writers, however, is that over two-thirds of the narratives are told from the first person point of view. This inclination seems to emphasize the writer's role as storyteller.

The collection is distinguished by a variety of narrative styles. Perhaps the most unusually structured belongs to Albert Belisle Davis, whose "The Mississippiman's Son" features three different narrators who speak though three characters: a writer, an old storyteller, and the storyteller's protagonist. The narratives told by these three appear as nested stories presented together as one. This work addresses an important theme as well: the exploitation of the Cajun people. Those familiar with the work of Walker Percy will recognize the excerpt from his novel, *The Moviegoer*, at the point at which Jack Bolling and Kate leave New Orleans by train to escape from the city's Mardi Gras celebration. Both Jack's commitment to Kate and his vision of the human condition surface as the chapter "Sieur Iberville" progresses from the external events of the ride to the interior of the character's mind. Martha Lacy Hall's story, "The Peaceful Eye," limits itself to the perceptions of its eleven-year-old character, Mary. Her accurate observations of the adults of her world, combined with her (but not the reader's) lack of comprehension, lends a compelling quality to the narrative.

Other worldly visions appear as well. Dave Madden's fiction follows Kenneth, the traveling salesman in "The New Orleans of Possibilities." Kenneth finds himself at the flea market in the French Quarter, "away from home on his mid-passage birthday." His obsession with the images of his life caught in a series of old photographs grows increasingly surrealistic. In another story, a member of the Air Force during World War II relies upon music, alcohol, and wandering the streets to ward off the memories and flashbacks of his tour of duty on the Isle of Capri. James H. Wilson's "Because I Was Naked" is the only story located in another country.

A concern for history marks two other stories: John Williams Corrington's "Reunion" and Stella Nesanovich's "The Pearl." Corrington's story features a reunion, but the event describes the meeting of the veterans of Confederate and Union armies in south Virginia whose coming together allows those who have forgotten the past to remember and those born too late to understand. "The Pearl," in contrast, confines its examination to a more personal history of a community of old women in New Orleans who meet at the funeral of a schoolmate. One of the women who cannot forget the past finds herself reliving it.

Family, a common southern preoccupation, shows up in stories in traditional forms and also in less conventional ways. Ernest Gaines's

understated and eloquent story, "The Turtles," presents a character on the verge of adulthood who finds his definition of manhood differs from his father's. Another family, a young married couple, endures a bankruptcy sale in Carl Wooton's "The Auctioneer." The inventory of their material possessions reveals their vulnerability and their strengths. A harsh, rural setting forms the background for another family, in Shirley Ann Grau's "The Man Outside." As in other stories, the actions of adults mystify children, but here, some mystery persists throughout, never to be solved.

Relations between unrelated people may take on the semblance of family. "Picadilly" by John S. Tarleton, tells Jules's story, that of a high school boy befriended by two senior citizens. Their unlikely friendship allows Jules to realize the usefulness of his elders as they unexpectedly prove their value to him. Another unlikely alliance forms between Luke Ripley and Father Paul LeBoeuf in Andre Dubus's "A Father's Story." A crisis involving Luke's daughter causes him to forsake Father Paul's confidence. Afterwards, because of the sacrifice he makes on his daughter's behalf, certain discussions must only be addressed to the Heavenly Father.

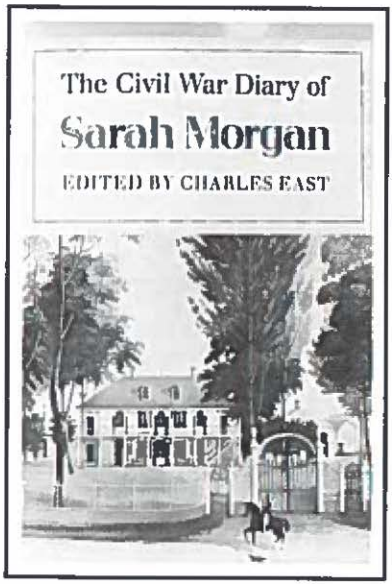
These stories and others shape this richly diverse collection. Finally, the sensibility of the writer saturates each story and less depends on their setting than the book's subtitle suggests.

Denise Wenner University of Houston

Charles East, ed. *The Civil War Diary of Sarah Morgan*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1991, pp. 626. $34.95. ISBN 0-8203-1357-2

Sarah Morgan of Baton Rouge was nineteen years old at the beginning of the Civil War. A younger daughter of a respected attorney, Sarah began a diary in 1862 which she kept for the next three years. Originally edited by her son Warrington Dawson, that diary was first published in 1913 under the title *A Confederate Girl's Diary*. In its reincarnation, Charles East has expanded on this work. In it he includes previously excised portions of the diary. In the process, he provides his readers with a fuller flavor of the Civil War than was previously available. Through his meticulous transcription, editing, and research, East has made a major contribution to the growing genre of Civil War diaries and letters written by southern women. As such, this work compares favorably in importance with the memoirs of such women as Belle Edmondson of Tennessee and Mary Chesnut of South Carolina. What makes this volume distinctive is the

length of Morgan's diary entries which not only reveal the troubling events of her life, but also her thoughts about them and her dreams for the future. Thus, this work provides important insights into not only the activities of an upper class woman caught in the midst of the fighting, but also her reactions to what she experienced and observed.



Morgan's diary concentrates on the events of the middle years of the Civil War. During the period from 1862-1864, Sarah and her family experienced problems common to their social rank and Louisiana location. For Sarah, such problems were made worse by the unexpected deaths of the family patriarch and of a beloved older brother who was killed in a duel. Like many others, the Morgans endured the absence of sons and brothers who were away fighting for the Confederacy. Other major problems were food and clothing shortages. Since the lower Mississippi early came under northern control, the family had frequent unwelcomed contact with Yankee soldiers, and in early 1862 they constantly feared Baton Rouge's destruction. The Morgans often had to evacuate their home in search of refuge elsewhere. With many others, they sought shelter in the nearby countryside (Greenwell and Westover Plantations) and occasionally even at the State Asylum for the Deaf and Blind! On her sudden treks in search of safety, Sarah encountered the mayhem of frightened women and slaves in flight from battle, overcrowded conditions, lack of privacy, mosquitoes, and inconsistent federal policies concerning safe passage to and from Baton Rouge. In early August 1862, the city was shelled and sacked amidst the fighting between North and South for its control. The Morgan home was one of many looted by Yankee soldiers. In response, some family members sought security at Linwood, a plantation twenty miles north of Baton Rouge and five miles from Port Hudson, a series of bluffs under Confederate control. As Union troops converged on Port Hudson, the Morgans fled to plantations on the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain. Eventually they arrived in New Orleans, where they lived from August 1863 until the end of the war. In early 1865 the family received word that two

of Sarah's brothers had died at the front as a result of war injuries or capture. Many friends died also.

Throughout the dismal events which she experienced, Sarah never wavered in her support of the Confederate cause. Consistently she championed southern bravery and criticized a federal government which would not allow the South to secede in peace. Increasingly, her comments on the Northerners she encountered, especially soldiers, became more harsh. Curiously, so too did her remarks concerning southern women of her acquaintance who she felt maligned her with their sharp tongues. She questioned their actions and codes of conduct. Inadvertently questioned as well was the southern male sense of honor which had led to so much death and destruction.

The woman who emerges from this diary is feisty, often self-absorbed, and intensely loyal. Like others of her class, she did not question the legitimacy of slavery or why the Confederacy insisted on its continuation. At times, one wishes that she had written more about this topic or about the events of the war. Nevertheless, Sarah attempted to include much of what she observed, and frequently referred to rumors she heard about the progress of the fighting. Charles East is to be congratulated for his extensive notes and for his perceptive and informative introduction. This volume, so important to the history of the Gulf Coast and lower Mississippi, deserves to be ranked as one of the classics of Civil War memoirs.

Marian Elizabeth Strobel Furman University

Paul D. Escott and David R. Goldfield, eds. *The South for New Southerners*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991, *xi*, pp. 168. Cloth, $22.50. ISBN 0-8078-1932-8/Paper, $9.95. ISBN 0-8078-4293-1

This slim collection of seven essays does not deal with themes or events related directly to the Gulf Coast. Nevertheless, a Gulf Coast resident or any other Southerner can benefit from reading and pondering the factual material and the insights packed into the thoughtful, well written articles.

General readers, not specialists, not even undergraduate students studying southern history, constitute the intended audience for the volume. Scholars will find little here, if anything, that they did not already know. On the other hand, nonprofessional readers, particularly newcomers, will gain an understanding of what they may have seen as baffling

characteristics of the South and its history, culture, race relations, economy, politics, and gender issues. *The South for New Southerners* successfully continues a process that began with a series of public programs for the recently arrived, sponsored by the North and South Carolina humanities councils.

Co-editor Paul D. Escott in the first essay, "The Special Place of History," strikes just the right note when he tells his readers, "Southern people are much like people elsewhere, but their region and its history also set them apart." He further argues that "the South has had a history and experience different from the rest of America, and therefore the regional culture that has evolved there is different, too." He also observes that "a particular combination of experiences and characteristics has made the South different from all other American regions." In the remainder of his essay, Escott explains succinctly the South's burden of history, which means why and how the effects of history made the South and Southerners different from other Americans.

In contrast to Escott's effective piece John Shelton Reed's "The South: What Is It? Where Is It?" comes across as just a shade too informal in tone. Further, one is strongly tempted to find fault with Reed's exposition of the tricky questions of "what" and "where" the South is.

The most valuable contribution is Nell Irvin Painter's "'The South' and the 'Negro': The Rhetoric of Race Relations and Real Life." Professor Painter gives the reader a wide-ranging account of African Americans in the South. She assays not only the racism of white Southerners and their oppression of blacks, the restricted educational and vocational opportunities for blacks after emancipation, and then migration both within and outside the South, but also what she terms "the real-life originality of Southern black people." Here Professor Painter ventures into a fascinating discussion of southern black music or blues and gospel. Her account introduces us to W. C. Handy, "Father of the Blues," and Thomas A. Dorsey, "Father of Gospel Music," as well as to blues performers Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Sippie Wallace, and Sallie Martin (later known as

Dinah Washington), and gospel-singer Mahalia Jackson. According to painter, "Southern black culture remained the fountainhead of creativity for countless singers and pickers who invented and reinvented blues and gospel music," and she cautions the reader that "Southern history, as well as the Southern future, must take its black side into account."

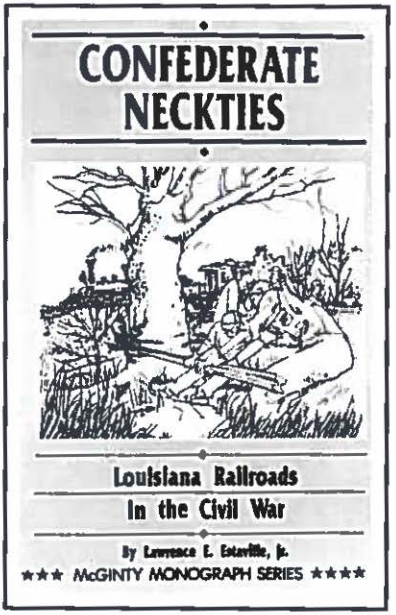
The remaining articles include two by David R. Goldfield, "Urbanization in a Rural Culture: Suburban Cities and Country Cosmopolites" and "Southern Politics: Showtime to Bigtime"; "Ladies, Belles, Working Women, and Civil Rights" by Julia Kirk Blackwelder; and a joint effort by Goldfield and Thomas E. Terrill, "Uncle Sam's Other Province: The Transformation of the Southern Economy." To do nothing more than mention them at the end is not to disparage them in any way. They are as worthwhile as those dealt with in detail. All the participants are to be congratulated upon their roles in a successful writing project directed at a very particular audience.

Joseph A. Tomberlin Valdosta State College

Lawrence E. Estaville, Jr. *Confederate Neckties: Louisiana Railroads in the Civil War*. Rushton, LA: McGinty Press, Louisiana Tech University, 1991, pp. 123. $16.95. ISBN 0-9402-3105-0

When the Civil War broke out, Louisiana had 395 miles of railroad track divided among twelve companies. Most of them "were merely iron tributaries of the Mississippi River system" which in turn centered itself on the port of New Orleans. Most of these lines were under construction during the spring of 1861 and were nowhere near completion. They were dependent on state government assistance in their financing. As was the case with her sister southern states, Louisiana's railroad building took place during the 1850s, the state's mileage in 1850 being a meager eighty-nine miles.

Using manuscripts, government and railroad company documents, diaries and memoirs, newspapers, and secondary sources the author presents a solid, detailed account of these railroads during the Civil War. No line, no matter how small or insignificant escapes his attention. Since river transportation was more important than railroads, he believes some historians have "overlooked the actual or potential significance of railways." Many battles were fought for their control. They were used to transport troops and supplies as well as to evacuate Confederate troops from New Orleans before its surrender on April 29, 1862.



Students familiar with the works of Robert Black and George Turner on Civil War railroads will remember how primitive they were. Locomotives still burned wood, and track maintenance was inadequate so the trains moved slowly. In Louisiana's bayou country there were encounters with alligators sleeping along the tracks and with cattle frequently overrunning the tracks. The trains were overcrowded with military and civilian passengers, so that they were uncomfortable as well as slow and dangerous. Mr. Estaville doesn't mention it, but the railroads in the North were technologically superior to those in the South. That the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond had stopped the production of locomotives in 1858 also left the South at a disadvantage.

Each of the book's chapters covers one or more lines. The author provides a separate map for each railroad, no matter how small it was, enabling the reader to relate each one with military developments. The longest and most important was the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern, running 260 miles from the Crescent City to Canton, Mississippi, where it linked up with the Mississippi Central and other lines to the North. Eventually these provided a direct railroad link between New Orleans and Chicago. A product of the congressional legislation of 1850 which provided among other things for the building of the Illinois Central, and the Mobile and Ohio, the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern was responsible for the development and settlement of parishes in Louisiana and counties in Mississippi. After suffering much destruction from Union troops in 1863 and 1864, it was rebuilt after the war almost immediately. Its major contribution to the Confederacy was that it allowed General Mansfield Lowell to evacuate troops and supplies before Ben Butler took possession of New Orleans.

Though the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western ran only eighty miles westward from the New Orleans area, its backers such as James D. B. DeBow intended it to bring Texas' farm produce to the New Orleans market. During the conflict, the United States naval blockade along the Gulf Coast meant the railroad was used to move troops and

supplies out of Texas. Once its forces occupied New Orleans, the line was of value to the Union as it brought food, sugar, and cotton into the city. Also it carried federal troops westward so they could conduct raids into southwestern Louisiana.

One of the more interesting railroads was the Vicksburg, Shreveport, and the Texas. It was designed to link up at Shreveport with the Southern Pacific and extend into eastern Texas. Neither of these lines were completed by 1861 and never were joined during the war despite the efforts of Confederate and then Union generals to complete this construction. That would only come later as part of a much larger railroad system. Probably the most significant contribution of the V. S. & T. came during the first two years of war when it "formed an essential part of the supply line that stretched from the Mexican border to Virginia."

Those familiar with Joel Taylor's *Louisiana Reconstructed 1863-1867* and John D. Winter's *The Civil War in Louisiana* will appreciate Mr. Estaville's ability to relate his story of Louisiana railroads with the course of the war. Readers will enjoy the photographs and drawings of locomotives, rolling stock, and railroad stations from the Civil War era. *Confederate Neckties* provides a thorough account of the role of railroads in Civil War Louisiana and belongs in all academic libraries. It is a delight for both students and buffs.

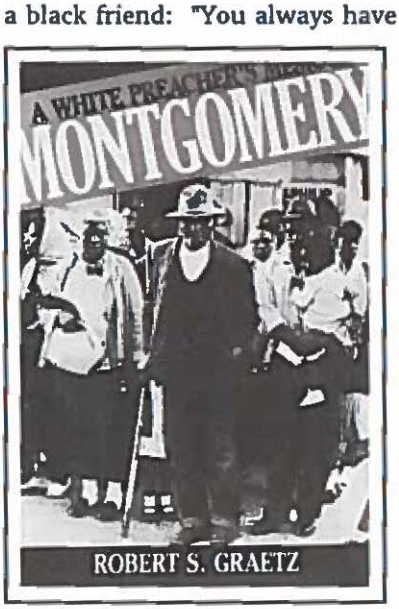
John Tricamo San Francisco State University

Robert S. Graetz. *Montgomery: A White Preacher's Memoir*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1991, *viii*, pp. 132. $9.95. ISBN 0-8006-2455-6

The most active white man in the Montgomery bus boycott has published his account of those historic days, providing a narrative of the early civil rights movement. *Montgomery: A White Preacher's Memoir* by the Reverend Robert S. Graetz recounts the activities of a white family caught up in an era of social change. Less well known than other participants, Graetz played an important role in the boycott, and the publication of his memoir should restore his prominence.

Growing up in Charleston, West Virginia, the son of a successful corporate engineer, Bob Graetz cast aside middle class conformity while attending college at Capital University in Columbus, Ohio. There a sociology class changed his life as he comprehended the injustice of racial discrimination. Graetz joined the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People and solicited memberships among classmates. Desperately he wanted to be "accepted as a Negro." Only years later he learned the impossibility of his desire, a realization articulated by a black friend: "You always have the option of walking out. We don't."



While in school he met and married Jeannie Ellis. They would have seven children. He employment kept the young family afloat during difficult years in seminary. Graetz followed in the footsteps of his forefather and entered the Lutheran ministry. Pursuing his interest in race relations, Graetz assisted a black community of Lutherans in Columbus—training that prepared him for his work in Montgomery, where, beginning in June 1955, he would pastor an all-black congregation.

His descriptive prose introduces the black community on the eve of the civil rights movement while expressing the wonder of an outsider confronting an alien culture. Using anecdote, Graetz presents a frank discussion of race relations that reads like a litany of injustice. The Graetzes lived in the parsonage next to Trinity Lutheran Church on Cleveland Avenue in a prominent section of black Montgomery. Integrationist from the outset, the family refused to participate in the segregated social structure.

When police arrested Rosa Parks for violating the city's segregated seating ordinance in December 1955, Graetz joined the call for the bus boycott. Like black preachers around Montgomery that Sunday on the eve of the protest, Graetz told his congregation he would provide rides to parishioners the next day. Little did he, or anyone else, know a year would pass before the end of the ordeal. At first, many white people believed Graetz had masterminded the boycott since they thought only a white man could organize such a protest. Letters to the *Montgomery Advertiser* identified him as a modern John Brown, and the Sheriff hauled him to jail weeks before turning his attention to the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the movement's black leadership. Vigilantes recognized the Lutheran's role as well, targeting his house for bombings on two separate occasions.

In appreciation of his support, the Montgomery Improvement Association asked Graetz to join the executive board, the only white man so honored. An idealist and racial liberal, Graetz espoused a faith in the American system and did not hesitate to assist the Federal Bureau of Investigation by acting as an informant in its surveillance of the Montgomery movement. When factions developed within the MIA, Graetz sided with E. D. Nixon and others critical of King's leadership, and he favored Glenn Smiley's influence on King and the MIA over Bayard Rustin because of the latter's "subversive" past. Nevertheless, Graetz remained a close associate of King throughout his Montgomery days.

During the boycott, Graetz traveled among northern Lutheran churches raising money for the Montgomery movement, and he refers to the possible mismanagement of funds within the MIA. Along with Rosa Parks, he conducted interracial programs at the Highlander Folk School. Appealing to reason and morality, Graetz attempted, unsuccessfully, to involve other white ministers in the local struggle against segregation. His activities elicited the opprobrium of white Montgomery. His family receive countless obscene and threatening phone calls, suffered social ostracism and occasional acts of violence and vandalism. Only a handful of white people, such as Clifford and Virginia Durr, who experienced similar treatment, offered solace and understanding.

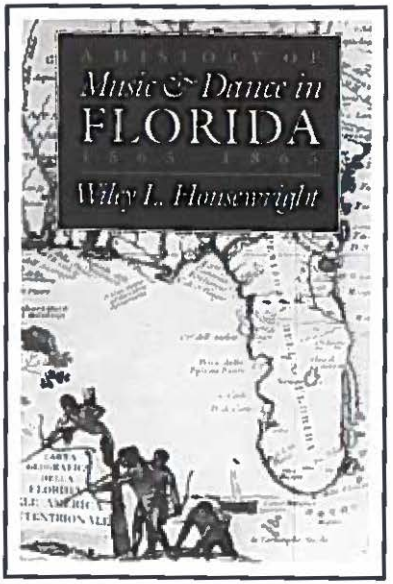
After the United States Supreme Court ruled against segregated seating, the MIA held a mass meeting in celebration, and the Reverend Ralph Abernathy asked Graetz to read I Corinthians 13. The scripture defined the new consciousness. As King wrote in *Stride Toward Freedom:* "When the slender blond minister came to the words: 'When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things,' the congregation burst into applause. Soon they were shouting and cheering and waving their handkerchiefs, as if to say that they knew they had come of age, had won new dignity." Accepted by the black community, Graetz shared in the new-found freedom. He remained in Montgomery until the summer of 1958 when he accepted a call from a church in Ohio. Currently he serves as pastor of St. John Lutheran Church near Logan, Ohio.

Occasionally Graetz rambles in telling his story, and better organization would have improved the short narrative. A lack of an index and illustrations distract from the work. Otherwise, he presents a well-balanced memoir that neither exaggerates nor obfuscates his role in the movement. If anything, perhaps Graetz is a bit too modest. Compared to other recent memoirs of minor movement figures, *Montgomery: A White*

Preacher's Memoir is a refreshing account of one man's involvement in the civil rights struggle.

Glenn T. Eskew Fellow, Albert Einstein Institution

Wiley L. Housewright. *A History of Music and Dance in Florida, 1565-1865.* Chapel Hill and London: University of Carolina Press, 1991, *xx*, pp. 470. $49.95. ISBN 0-8173-0492-4



Wiley L. Housewright documents the music in the daily lives of Floridians from the time of the first settlers in the sixteenth century until the end of Civil War in 1865, though this history is not about composers, compositions, or performers. For there was no indigenous musical art developing on Florida's soil during the centuries in question. It is concerned with music that people have carried into the New World, and to which they prayed, marched, worked, danced, and made merry. Drawing upon official reports, memoirs, diaries, and letters, housed in state archives, libraries, and museums, Housewright makes a splendid contribution not only to the study of music in Florida, but also to the broader field, music in America.

The first part of the book deals with the music and dance in the colonial periods including the use of music in the religious rites, recreation, and ceremonies of aboriginal Indians as it was observed by European explorers, priests, settlers, and eye-witnesses.

The plainchant of the Catholic church was the first form of Western music heard by native Indians in America. Even before the arrival of the first permanent Spanish settlers, missionary priests taught the Indians to read, write, and sing—sometimes even in polyphonic settings—the tunes of the Gregorianum. Tribes like the Timucuans, the Calusa, and even the warlike Guale readily accepted the music of the Christian faith. They were also trained to participate in religious services but resisted any interference in the practice of their own customs. By the end of the sixteenth century,

music of Christianity had firmly planted roots in Florida's soil. Related to the plainchant tradition were the tunes of religious processions, funerals, and dramatic presentations.

French colonists reached the shores of Florida in 1560s concurrently with the Spanish settlers. In contrast to the Catholic Spanish explorers, the French were Protestant Huguenots equally devoted to their faith, praying and singing daily metrical psalm tunes of the Calvinist Psalmody. They believed also that it was their duty to convert the Indians through the music of their own creed. Fragments of Huguenot psalm tunes continued to linger in the memory of natives long after the French colonists were forced out of the territory. With the return of the Spanish to the government, (1784-1845) Catholicism was revived. Its music resounded not only during carnival time and other religious customs, but also in fiestas and large scale celebrations inaugurating the governor, or observing the coronation of the kings of Spain.

Housewright also rigorously traces the history and the music of the various Protestant denominations by documenting their hymns and psalm tunes. In Methodist churches whites and Negroes sang together but, curiously enough, spirituals were not introduced into their music. Eventually the Negroes formed their own congregations where they reverted to some of the more unusual customs of their African heritage, like the "shuffle songs."

Second in importance to the music of the church was Western military music whose practice is already documented in the first permanent Spanish settlement of Pedro Menéndez de Aviles in 1565. In general, military music had three functions: (a) to provide music for drills and signals, (b) for parades, official ceremonies, and (c) for social entertainment, dances, dinner parties, balls, and musical theatricals. The forms and genres of music and the instrumentation of the bands differed for each of these functions. Fifers, drummers, and trumpeters were the "implements of war."

During the British period military bands played a major role in musical events. Their instrumentation followed the models of their German counterpart as devised by Frederick the Great. Frequently the British officers recruited a whole German band for military service. The repertories of these ensembles consisted of marches, trumpet tunes, and rigadoons written by some of the most celebrated composers of the times such as George Handel, Joseph Haydn, and Johann Christian Bach. With the addition of strings and flute the band performed at social events, dancing, or theatrical presentations.

The nineteenth century witnessed the growth and separation of the Floridian society into economic classes, urban and frontier folk, slaves and

Indians, Minorcans, Creoles, and diverse nationality groups. Cultural trends were carried across national, ethnic, and racial borders lines. Military officers stationed at St. Augustine, for instance, learned the custom of serenading from the Minorcans; the public adopted the tunes of popular marches and sang them with texts; the Catholic churches celebrated mass with the music of the world's great masters; the Negroes absorbed the music of psalms and hymns combining them with elements of their African, Cuban, or Bahaman musical experiences. Pensacola, Tallahassee, St. Augustine became centers of musical events. Sponsored by the social elite, the grand operas of Mozart, Rossini, Bellini were performed in Florida a few years after their premier in Europe; keyboard arrangements of operatic tunes and popular songs were played in public concerts and in the parlors of the patrons; Scottish, Irish, and English ballads, Spanish guitar music, and fashionable dances of the times were on the programs of balls, dinner parties, picnics, and political celebrations.

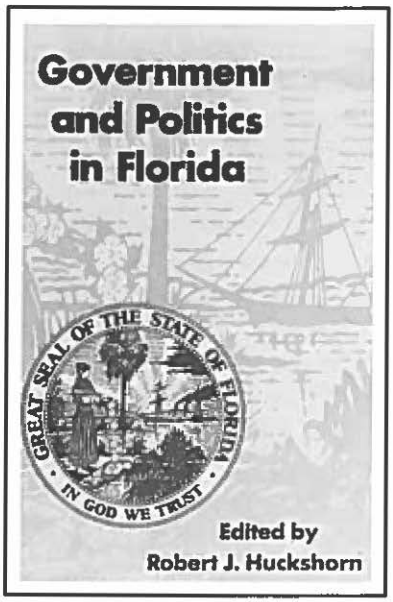
The book is a storehouse of information on the activities of missionary priests, on the music in the household of Pedro Menéndez de Aviles and René Goulaine de Laudonnière, heads of first Spanish and French settlements in 1565 carrying Western European art music in the land that became the Unites States. It is also a history of the churches, of the society, and of the cultural institutions interrupted in their growth by political and military activities of colonial powers and by a constant shift in the composition of the population. Further, it is a comprehensive survey of music the people of Florida have heard, played, danced to, or celebrated within each colonial period. For the scholar dealing with music in Florida and, more broadly, with music in the non-English dominated colonies of America, Housewright's *History* will become a basic source, a tool, and a classical reference.

Stephen Erdely Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Robert J. Huckshorn, ed. *Government and Politics in Florida*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991, *x*, pp. 350. $44.95. ISBN 0-8130-1077-2

Government and Politics in Florida, a collection of articles edited by Robert Huckshorn, addresses changes that occurred in the state's system of government and outlines, from different vantage points, the scope of Florida's modern political development. Huckshorn has assembled skillful treatments of political party roles, the loosening of partisan loyalties, the functions and approaches of interest groups, the relations among executive,

legislative, and judicial branches in the state, the tasks facing local governments, and the related conundrums that growth and financing provide for Florida's future.



Several contributors treated the subject of change in the two party system. The state of Florida has experienced a transition over the decades from a state ruled by Democrats to one in which Republican affiliation is on the upswing. This brings up some interesting points regarding the state's political climate. Stephen Craig notes that Democrats may have established the rules for state politics in the past but flares of Republicanism appeared in presidential elections for Florida in 1952 and 1956. The candidacy of Barry Goldwater, a turning point for Republicans, was an outgrowth of disaffection with Lyndon Johnson's policies. The realignment continued from Richard Nixon in 1968 to Ronald Reagan in the 1980s and led many analysts to predict a realignment in state party affiliation. However, the authors caution that political parties, statewide and nationally, are in a period of "dealignment," in which partisan loyalty has weakened. The recent 1992 example of initial support for an independent presidential candidate among Floridians bears this out.

Florida's tax structure attracted the attention of several contributors. Lance deHaven-Smith notes that Florida's tax structure is geared towards taxes on transactions. While reliance on sales taxes was wise when tourists and visitors outnumbered residents, population growth has guaranteed revenue shortfalls. Susan MacManus cites revenue diversification as the major challenge the state faces, but predicts that widespread voter opposition and legal complications will block tax changes.

This book also addresses the increasingly urgent problem of growth management. Public opinion polls have demonstrated that along with education and crime, growth is a major concern for Floridians. Over the past few decades development and population growth have outstripped the capabilities of state and local government. DeHaven-Smith notes that urban sprawl has "increased the cost of roads" which in turn have

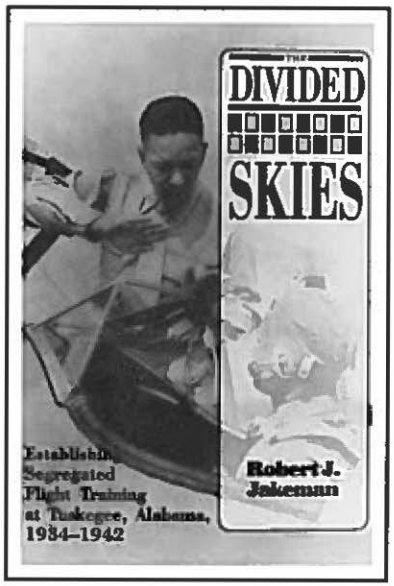
endangered "wildlife habitats, wellfields, and water recharge areas." Models of "urban growth boundaries" have been proposed but have met resistance. The growth management system of the 1970s was weak, particularly in the planning area, and lacked state direction. As a result the state had "a system capable of squashing or redirecting selected types of land uses but not able to guide development in desired directions." The author also considers the twists and turns of legislation between 1984 and 1987 which attempted to address previous growth liabilities and which was weakened by public opposition to the "services tax" and the stance of Governor Bob Martinez. The end result eliminated requirements for urban growth boundaries, but local governments, through existing growth legislation, were required to keep public facilities up to predetermined levels of service. DeHaven-Smith concludes that continued growth leads to three choices: limit development, alter the tax structure, or accept a decline in the quality of life and service. Similarly, DeGrove and Turner concluded that Florida must make possible fiscal home rule to meet local needs.

Government and Politics in Florida benefits from the backgrounds of its authors, many of whom draw upon careers in political science and service in organizations concerned with public policy. The sources utilized include works on political parties, articles detailing partisan change, and government studies and surveys conducted by Florida State University. This work successfully demonstrates that Florida government and politics have changed but face difficult fiscal and regulatory challenges for which there are no immediate or easy solutions. Readers interested in comparing Florida's political circumstances to the rest of the South and the nation should find this book very rewarding.

Kent K. Kaster II Hillsborough Community College

Robert J. Jakeman. *The Divided Skies: Establishing Flight Training at Tuskegee, Alabama, 1934-1942.* Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1992, *xi*, pp. 432. $37.95. ISBN 0-8173-0527-0

On March 7, 1942, five special men received their wings as Air Corps pilots, signifying their successful completion of advanced air training. Their achievement marked the culmination of a long and arduous journey in helping to gain for black Americans the opportunity to receive Air Corps pilot training, something that had heretofore been denied them.



Robert J. Jakeman presents the story of how Tuskegee Institute established the site for training black pilots. His work, covering the years 1934 through 1942, focuses on events in and around Tuskegee. Further, Jakeman places those events in an historical perspective, thus giving them not only a local but national scope as well. This is illustrated by the involvement of such individuals as President Franklin Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, as well as world events such as the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the subsequent world war.

Given the tenor of the times, not everyone was eager to see such a training facility for blacks established. There were some rather imposing obstacles. One can almost feel the sense of frustration of those involved. Progress was made at an agonizingly slow snail's pace.

Jakeman does a good job of describing the setting in which blacks found themselves in the 1930s and explaining why the opportunity to fly came to be important to so many. He reminds the reader that this was the time of Charles Lindbergh's flight and subsequent world prominence. Leaders of the black press such as Claude A. Barnett, together with pioneering black pilots such as Eugene Bullard, fueled the desire for others to learn flying. On a deeper level, Jakeman maintains that learning to be pilots in conjunction with military service was seen as a means of advancing black social and economic status, and providing "tangible evidence of citizenship."

A number of impediments had to be overcome for Tuskegee to secure a flight training site. The financing of the project was, of course of paramount importance and was constantly a concern. Other problems pointed out by Jakeman were unfinished air fields, lack of maintenance crews, and few instructors. Indeed, at times it appeared as though the cart was being put before the horse. Jakeman recounts an instance of there being students, but no flight instructor or airplane. At another point in late October 1940, Tuskegee Institute "was in full control of all phases of its CPT (Civilian Pilot Training) program." But we later learn that by the

end of that year Tuskegee was "no closer to having its own airport than it had been in April when the Alabama Aviation Commission provided the cost estimates for its construction." Certainly logistics proved to be quite an issue with which to contend.

Despite the obstacles, Tuskegee was not without its advantages in its quest for air training for blacks. Another rival site under consideration was near Chicago. However, Tuskegee enjoyed weather which would permit year-round flying, and was also in close proximity to Marshall Field, which was the Southeast Air Corps Training Center. Added to this was the fact that Tuskegee had the "reputation for working in a segregated system." While such an arrangement is hardly acceptable, at least it provided blacks the opportunity to learn to fly. Perhaps, it was felt that segregated pilot classes were better than no classes at all.

The policies of Franklin Roosevelt's administration lent themselves to furthering Tuskegee's goals. Also working in Tuskegee's behalf was its relationships with some rather prominent individuals. President Roosevelt in fact visited Tuskegee, as did First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.

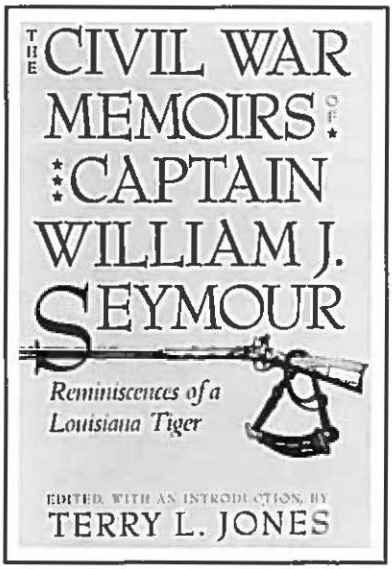
Even though the road had been difficult, pilot training for blacks finally arrived. The highpoint in the process was the establishment of the Ninety-ninth Pursuit Squadron, an all-black unit, on October 24, 1940, which first saw action on June 2, 1943, in the Mediterranean theatre. Through the efforts of individuals such as G. L. Washington, B. O. Davis, Jr., John C. Robinson, and a host of others, blacks were finally allowed their chance at flight. Jakeman presents this story with a large cast of characters and their backgrounds. At times it may be difficult to keep up with all the names and their roles, but this serves to illustrate Jakeman's meticulous research, well-documented by footnotes. His work should appeal to those not only interested in aviation and the military, but also in the civil rights movement as well.

Jim Herring Carter Presidential Library

Terry L. Jones, ed. *The Civil War Memoirs of William J. Seymour: Reminiscences of a Louisiana Tiger*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, pp. 184. $19.95. ISBN 0-8071-1646-7

The memoirs of Captain William J. Seymour, C.S.A., provide us with a marvelous account of several significant episodes of the Civil War. Based on a journal kept during the conflict, Seymour's vivid testimony of the war years is, according to editor Terry Jones (author of *Lee's Tigers: The*

Louisiana Infantry in the Army of Northern Virginia), "the only known narrative of length by a Confederate at Fort Jackson (aside from official reports) or by any field or staff officer in the famed Louisiana Brigade of the Army of Northern Virginia." Although most of the *Memoirs* focuses on the campaigns of the "Tigers" in the Eastern Theater, it is the section on the defense of Fort Jackson that truly makes this work significant.



One of two major bastions guarding the southern water approach to New Orleans, Fort Jackson was situated on the west bank of the Mississippi River across from its counterpart, Fort St. Philip. Constructed during an earlier era before rifled cannon and relatively-modern fuzing rendered such structures obsolete, Fort Jackson stood little chance against the technologically-superior Union fleet under David Farragut. Assigned as a "volunteer aide-de-camp" to General Johnson Kelly Duncan, overall commander of both forts, Seymour—just shy of his thirtieth birthday at the time he entered the army—actively participated in the defense of Fort Jackson and was privy to Duncan's private conversations.

Duncan, a native of York, Pennsylvania, graduated from West Point in 1849 and resigned his army commission six years later to take a government position in New Orleans. He also was the brother-in-law of Seymour's future wife. When the war began, Duncan remained loyal to the South and offered his services to the Confederacy. Seymour's exciting, chronological account of Fort Jackson's beleaguered defenders as they withstood the Union onslaught gives us an insider's view—as Duncan's aide—of what the fort's chaplain believed was "more terrible to the sight" than hell. Although Seymour seems to be quite objective in his rendering of the defense of Fort Jackson, the reader must keep in mind the author's intimacy with General Duncan, and the subsequent urge to vindicate him against charges by his detractors.

Seymour's capture and parole freed him to venture to Richmond, where he joined the staff of Brigadier General Harry T. Hays, commander of the 1st Louisiana Brigade—dubbed "Lee's Tigers" for their actions both on and off the battlefield. Seymour's keen eye for the unusual—he was a

newspaper editor by vocation—coupled with his unique ability to breathe life into the mundane are the key ingredients which make his memoirs of the daily rigors in the Army of Northern Virginia so compelling. For example, Seymour described, in all its ghastly details, the execution of a "galvanized yankee"—an ex-Confederate who switched loyalties—who previously was captured by his old comrades and tried as a traitor. So gruesome was the killing, remembered Seymour, that "I hope that I may never witness a like scene again."

The Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania in June 1863 has been the subject of countless books, articles, and monographs both by those who participated and later historians as well. As a result, Seymour's narrative of the Battle of Gettysburg tells us nothing new. What is enlightening, however, is his derisive description of the Pennsylvania civilians and their reaction to the southern invaders. Of particular interest is Seymour's discourse on the citizens of York—General Duncan's hometown—and their response to the rebel intruders. Commenting on the values of the inhabitants in this south-central Pennsylvania town, Seymour sarcastically wrote: "the Dutch lords of the soil invariably bestow more care and attention on their crops and stock than they do on their families. Seymour then paid the highest praise to the Confederate soldiers—including the notorious Tigers—by stating that the "forbearance of our troops...[while in York] showed the admirable discipline they were under; hundreds of them from the far South had had their own houses and farms destroyed or despoiled by the Northern Vandals, and their families turned out of doors to starve or live on the charity of their more fortunate neighbors."

The Civil War Memoirs of William J. Seymour include the post-Gettysburg campaigns of Mine Run, the Wilderness, and Spotsylvania, concluding with the Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864 and the battle at Cedar Creek. During the battle at Spotsylvania Court House, Seymour reveals that the two Louisiana brigades were crucial elements in stemming the Yankee breakthrough at the famous "Bloody Angle"—until now, wrote the editor, a hitherto overlooked yet crucial role they played during that battle. Although Seymour served in the Confederate Army for the rest of the war, his memoirs terminate at Cedar Creek, perhaps because of his recurring bouts with illness.

Editor Terry Jones has given us a splendid account of one man's memories of America's bloodiest war. Jones's chapter introductions place Seymour's episodes within the proper context, and his footnotes clarify, inform, and—at times—correct the record. The editor's only fault is his over-reliance on the *Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (1986) for many of his footnotes. Seymour's *Memoirs* will be enjoyed by the Civil War enthusiast

and serious scholar alike. Its publication gives us an exciting, first-person narrative of a Gulf Coast native's ordeal during the American Civil War.

Mark A. Snell U.S. Army Ordnance Center and School

Kenneth J. Lipartito and Joseph A. Pratt. *Baker & Botts in the Development of Modern Houston*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991, *vii*, pp. 253. $24.95. ISBN 0-292-70782-7

Law firms have contributed significantly to the Gulf Coast. Perhaps the most powerful profession in the United States and one of the most publicity shy, lawyers and their partnerships have run silent and deep in the political, economic, and social development of this nation and region.

Houston developed three giant law firms: Vinson & Elkins, Andrews & Kurth, and Baker & Botts. Supported by Baker & Botts, Lipartito and Pratt wrote this history to reveal the complex relationships between Houston's growth and the growth of the firm.

The authors identified three major periods in the life of Baker & Botts. Though its date of origin is uncertain, the "colonial era" of the firm was 1840 to 1919. Peter Gray, a founder of Baker & Botts, began practice in 1840 in the four-year-old city of Houston. Yet, the firm of Gray & Botts did not begin until 1865 when Walter Botts joined Gray to serve clients such as the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, and the Houston and Texas Central Railroad. In 1872 James A. Baker, grandfather of former Secretary of State James A. Baker III, joined the firm. Gray became a member of the Texas Supreme Court in 1875 and the firm's name changed to Baker & Botts.

During this period half the firm's income came from railroad clients, especially the Southern Pacific. The authors contend that the firm had the leading railroad and business law practice in Texas. Such national clients made Baker & Botts develop an organization similar to New York corporate

law firms. In this way, Baker & Botts served as a model for large scale corporate legal practice in Texas, and as a result of its efforts, state railroads integrated into the national system which contributed to the development of Houston as a transportation center.

Baker & Botts formed strong social, cultural, and economic bonds to Houston through relationships with local banks. Led by Baker, the firm gained new clients which permitted diversification into real estate and oil and gas. For example, Baker served as attorney for William Marsh Rice and trustee for the endowment of Rice University.

In the 1915-1929 period Baker & Botts became a leading regional firm that represented the wealthy. In many instances these elites were opposed by anti-monopoly small businessmen who wanted to cut prices for public services. Even so, Baker & Botts successfully challenged state antitrust and regulatory laws. Houston Lighting & Power became a valuable client, and the firm's lobbying activities in the Texas legislature benefitted Electric Bond & Electric Company.

Baker & Botts' first major oil company client was Texaco which helped make Baker & Botts a regional law firm. In contrast to Vinson & Elkins, a favorite law firm of independent oil producers, Baker & Botts specialized in major companies. The firm's clients eventually included Sinclair, Atlantic Refining, Continental Oil Company, and Standard of Texas (a subsidiary of Chevron). Baker & Botts also played a major role in the development of United Gas and helped to develop the gas facilities of the Gulf Coast.

Since 1930, Baker & Botts has been a national firm. The Great Depression and the New Deal brought new major changes in methods of business, corporate reorganization, and government relations. As a result, the authors claim that the firm had become the local Texas representative of national corporations, a position shared by some other Texas firms.

Houston and Baker & Botts boomed in the post-World War II era. Houston Lighting & Power expanded and placed increased demands on the firm. Yet, Baker & Botts were not closely affiliated with a major bank, nor were they considered influential Houston leaders. Offsetting this loss of power was Baker & Botts representation of Tennaco, Houston-based national gas transmission, Zapata Petroleum and Pennzoil. In the mid 1970s income from railroads had declined significantly, but the firm still received almost half its revenue from oil and gas, utilities, banks, and insurance. From the mid 1970s to 1990, Baker & Botts expanded to Austin, Dallas, and Washington while becoming involved with T. Boone Pickens, the Pennzoil-Texaco controversy, and the South Texas Project.

The authors have successfully outlined the major events and trends of a powerful law firm. Studies of law firms should capture the legal and human spirit. Too many histories of law firms have provided little more than human spirit, but in this instance, the pendulum swung to the other side with a prose style reminiscent of an annual report. Considering the conditions of research on this historical problem, the authors are to be praised for a very good book about a prominent Gulf Coast law firm.

Irvin M. May, Jr. Blinn College

Dale Maharidge. *And Their Children After Them: The Legacy of* Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: *James Agee, Walker Evans, and the Rise and Fall of Cotton in the South*. Photographs by Michael Williamson, forward by Carl Mydans. New York: Pantheon Books, 1989, 1990, pp. 262. Cloth, $24.95. ISBN 0-394-57766-3/Paper, $14.95. ISBN 0-679-72878-3

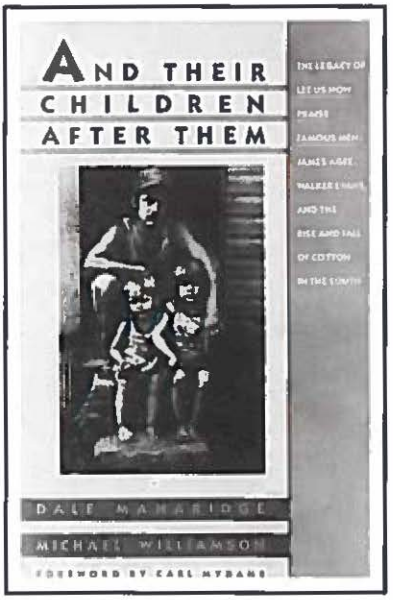
Pamela Grundy. *You Always Think of Home: A Portrait of Clay County, Alabama*. Photographs by Ken Elkins, foreword by Wayne Flynt. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991, pp. 286. $29.99. ISBN 0-8203-1304-1

When I graduated from a small public high school in Alabama in 1961 and entered college in September, the reading list for a history class I took contained two books that completely changed the way I thought of my native region. They were *The Mind Of The South* by W. J. Cash and *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* by James Agee with photographs by Walker Evans. Coincidentally, these two extraordinary studies of a primarily agrarian region were published in 1941, when the South was at the threshold of its greatest period of industrialization and profound change.

Agee and Evans did their research in Alabama in the summer of 1936. Fifty years later, journalist Dale Maharidge and photographer Michael Williamson set out to answer the question, "Whatever happened to the Gudgers, Woods, and Ricketts family members known to Agee and to their descendants?"

There were twenty-two persons in the three cotton tenant families observed by Agee. Maharidge found twelve of them still living in 1986, along with 116 descendants of these twelve and the deceased family members. In compelling story after compelling story, Maharidge recounts a litany of mostly bad news: a surprising number of accidental deaths, industrial accidents, and chronic poor health. None of the descendants were college educated, and few had completed high school. A majority

lived in trailers. Most of them—men and women—worked in unskilled, low-wage jobs with little job security and almost nothing in the way of health insurance, and only one had ventured very far from home in search of better circumstances. The rare success stories, however left hope that some of the grandchildren might achieve some measure of family stability and a secure middle-class economic position.



Like Cash, Agee, and Evans, Maharidge and Williamson are journalists looking for a story, and that common story is poverty, the kind of grinding, absolute poverty that keeps its grip on people through generations. Agee's 1941 sermon on this subject was the brilliant, impressionistic work of a troubled genius. Maharidge's *And Their Children After Them* is good, solid reporting, making it perhaps an even more fitting continuation of Agee's overly-rhetorical prose.

And Their Children After Them is divided into three major parts: 1936-1940; 1940-1960; and 1960-1986. Each of these three is also divided into five parts, one each for the Gudger, Woods, and Ricketts families, and additional parts for the Bridges and Gaines families who were, respectively, the white landowners and a black tenant family briefly mentioned in Agee's work. It is easy therefore, and not a bad idea, independently to follow the story of each family from 1936 to 1986.

Industrial jobs during World War II pulled many of these descendants off the land, and the mechanization of cotton farming and the loss of the export market by the mid-1950s pushed the remainder into non-farm employment. The history of their adaptation to these changes is primarily characterized by despair and failed hopes. Fred Ricketts eventually became a small landowner, but lived in a filthy shack with his oldest daughter. All of the Ricketts descendants remained poor, some abjectly so, but none ever received welfare. Like most rural Alabamians, they found welfare repugnant.

Of Agee's three families, the descendants of Bud and Lulla Woods fared the worst. Emma, their only child, married a man who was more an abusive father figure than a husband. Emma left the farm to become an

aide in a nursing home. In 1986 she was living with her daughter and son-in-law in a modest brick home. Her son was killed in an explosion on a Mississippi riverboat.

Maggie Louise Gudger was clearly Agee's favorite. She was ten years old in 1936, and he felt that she had a special potential. He encouraged her to pursue a life away from tenancy. Maggie Louise left school in 1941 to marry. In 1945 she divorced and married a second man, Floyd Franks, by whom she had four children. When Floyd died in 1958, Maggie Louise, then thirty-two, moved into a public housing project and found a job as a waitress. In 1971, at the age of 45, Maggie Louise killed herself by drinking rat poison. It was not her first attempt at suicide.

For her children there is some hope, but the struggles are enormous. Daughter Parvin earns little as a bookkeeper, is in poor health, and is unhappily married. Mary Ann works in a convenience store, and Sonny had dropped back into the ranks of the desperately poor after failing in the painting business. Debbie's family has the best chance of permanent upward mobility. She earned her GED, attended classes in business school, and is now the office manager for a group of doctors. All her children will probably finish high school and some may go to college.

In *And Their Children After Them* one is struck by the almost total lack of geographical mobility and the almost equal absence of upward mobility. For the most part, the families in the book have "failed in the American game of life." When some future journalist checks on the further descendants of these families in 2036, who among us would dare predict that they will be found to be comparatively better off than their ancestors of 1986?

Journalistic ethics is inevitably a concern in works of this kind. James Agee and Walker Evans became wealthy and famous after the publication of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. The three tenant families remained mired in poverty and misery. And film makers, photographers, and journalists have made reputations and good living by documenting poverty. Maharidge even presents some disturbing evidence that Agee was less than truthful about his activities in Alabama; that Agee, in fact, almost caused the death of Clair Bell Ricketts but never refers to the incident. And where is the James Agee who will describe the injustice sensed by the grown-up Clair Bell as she stands in a Birmingham art museum studying the Walker Evans photograph of her as a child, knowing from the price on the wall that her job in a textile mill doesn't pay that much for a month's work? But Maharidge and Williamson, like Agee and Evans a half-century earlier, have produced a sympathetic testimony and an anguished sermon on the physically debilitating and spiritually degrading effects of poverty.

Michael Williamson's photographs are an indispensable ally to Maharidge's text. All of us have, sadly, grown used to images of poverty in all its manifestations, so Williamson's images don't hit or jar us the way Evans's did, but they should, because they illustrate so vividly the changeless nature of poverty; to the slow pace of technological adaptation and the pervasive effects of ill health, poor educational facilities, and provincial life experiences.

The changeless nature of southern rural life could also be said to be a major theme of Pamela Grundy's *You Always Think of Home: A Portrait of Clay County, Alabama*. By many standards Clay County isn't much of a place. No interstate highways, not even a U.S. highway, touch it. Its largest population centers are actually small towns, even by Alabama reckoning, and no institutions of higher education are located within its boundaries. The nearest real city, Birmingham, is an hour away. On a recent drive through the area my twelve-year old son asked, "Where's the mall?"

Grundy allows the residents of Clay County to speak directly to the reader. Immediately, a theme emerges from these state troopers, school teachers, students, farmers, ministers, pulpwooders, store clerks, chicken plant workers, retired military personnel, housewives, coaches, and funeral home directors: the young people are nervous and uncertain about the lack of jobs, and particularly about the lack of well-paying jobs. And the older people—particularly the retirees—like the county just the way it is.

With fifteen percent of the population over the age of sixty-five, Clay County has become something of a retirement community for county natives who moved away to find jobs, as well as for people from the neighboring towns of Sylacauga, Talladega, and Anniston. Almost all the retirees who speak to us in Grundy's book say that living in Clay County is like reaching back to an earlier time, to a life, a pace and a rhythm of living that they have missed.

The same Clay County that is a refuge for retirees is frequently seen by young residents—particularly teenagers—as a comfortable prison. These

kids drive many miles to get a pizza, to see a movie, or just to hang out in the closest real towns. On weekends they can get even farther away, to the excitement of Montgomery, Birmingham, or Atlanta. Over the years many have left, and not all of them return. Young blacks do not return in nearly the same numbers as whites. Grundy's black participants are uniformly proud of having overcome their status as second-class citizens. This pride is audible as they remember the humiliation of legal segregation and capricious law enforcement. It is also evident that it is undergirded by anger and bitterness over accumulated injustices that they will never forget.

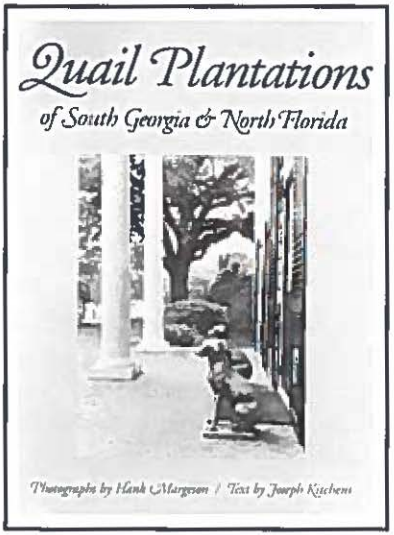
The statistical data contained in the five tables supplied by Grundy indicate that Clay County has changed a great deal since 1940. The county has not experienced planned growth, it has simply aged. Memories, not goals, bind the residents together. The retirees welcome and indeed have helped create this feeling. The young sense that their interests are not being served. The industrial base is not large enough to prevent these young adults from joining the constant exodus to towns and cities. As the county grows quieter, the retirees feeling of having found the idealized place of their youth becomes more real.

There is a lot more going on in Clay County than meets the eye, and Grundy has masterfully edited the interviews so that the complexities underlying the seeming tranquillity can at least be partially revealed. She has been assisted in this endeavor by photographer Ken Elkins, whose images go far beyond the words and the statistics in capturing the tension between the real and the imagined Clay County.

Students of Alabama history are well served by these important new works by Maharidge and Grundy. Wayne Flynt's *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites* (1989) adds an extremely useful historical context for a better understanding of both of the books reviewed. It is rare that one state has such able attention paid to the foibles, struggles, sorrows, and occasional successes of the largest segment of its underclass.

Robert C. Dinwiddie Georgia State University

Hank Margeson, photographer. *Quail Plantations of South Georgia and North Florida*. Text by Joseph Kitchens. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991, *xi*, pp. 109. $34.95. ISBN 0-8203-1386-6



This is a photographic album capturing some of the important and glamorous icons of plantation life celebrated through quail hunting. In his preface, Hank Margeson relates how his selection of photographs was "inherently subjective, shaped by the many influences on my life and career." Among these influences, he continues, are his family's hunting traditions, the solace he finds in a tailored environment, his familiarity with the region, its social structures, and its classes, together with his "preference for certain visual styles." His focus is with "the people who work the plantations, the structures, the environment, and the activities surrounding the hunting event." So, he presents the elaborate classical architecture of the plantation owners with a few glimpses inside, a stable or two along with a country store, portraits of dog and horse handlers, gun cleaners and men preparing pork barbecue. On display are the classic pine and oak landscapes of the hunting terrain and the controlled annual burns to maintain their openness; the magnolias, cypress, lilies, and ferns; sunrises and sunsets.

Photographs of quail shoot participants include the dogs and their handlers, the mules and the hunting wagons, the horsemen and hunting guides, and shots of various classes all in their respective clothes and paraphernalia to mark their respective status. The hunt ends with the loading of the mules, horses, and dogs into various compartments and their return to their respective pens on the plantation. Harnesses and saddles are placed back in storage or hung on the wall under a placard bearing the name of the domesticated beast bearing its burden. The final photograph is of several braces of quail suspended over the double barrel twenty gauge which led to their demise.

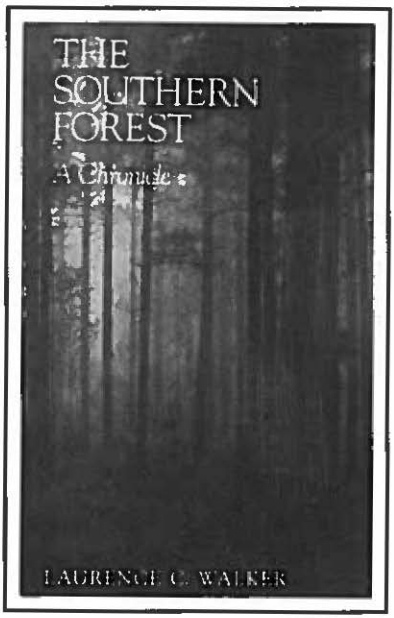
This subjective selection is silent about other aspects of life on the quail plantation. Missing are glimpses of the ownership class and their ritual reunions on the estates. The periodic feasts of quail are a symbolic

centerpiece of a generous lifestyle open to the select few. There are no pictures of workers' quarters or of what life must be like for them when they are not rubbing shoulders with the rich and powerful. And then there is the backside of such activities, cleaning the pens, the stables, and the birds.

Joseph Kitchens provides the text, a succinct overview of history and the factors making the quail plantations what they are today. This tradition plays upon and combines many southern and northern conventions which are renewed or renovated with each passing season.

Stuart A. Marks — Gaborone, Botswana

Laurence C. Walker. *The Southern Forest: A Chronicle*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991, pp. 322. $29.95. ISBN 0-292-77648-9



Laurence Walker, former dean of the School of Forestry at Stephen F. Austin State University, offers a reflective and personal narrative that covers not only his forty years of forestry experience in southern forests, but also provides an insightful commentary on the history and development of southern forests and forestry. His is a history of southern forests from the perspective of an expert witness. He describes and explains the causes for the development of southern forests "as they once were, as they are today, and as they may be in the future."

The six chapters of the book take the reader from "The Explorers' Forest," to the "Pioneers' Forest," into a more contemporary "Lumberman's Forest." Then, there is a step back or an aside on "The Boatbuilders' Forest," followed by a strong commentary on the "The Foresters' Forest." In this more recent era, dating from the Great Depression into the 1970s, professional foresters were entrusted with the job of managing and utilizing the South's forests. The author clearly feels that this was a happier time which has since given way to a new generation: "The Next

Generation's Forest." "No longer," says the author, "is the professionally educated forester entrusted with the stewardship of the South's forest."

"Other" interests, largely disassociated with forestry and the lumber industry, determine forest policy. Radical environmentalists in particular discourage the wise use of forest resources. Radical environmentalists in Walker's view are those who drive metal spikes into trees to discourage harvest thus threatening the life and welfare of the logger and mill worker and thwarting the efficient use of forest resources. Some would rather see the forests die (of natural causes) rather than control the spread of disease by isolating infested timber. Conservation, stewardship and the wise use of forest resources requires that the environmentalists' romanticism and industry's utilitarianism are "wed by compromises in resource management."

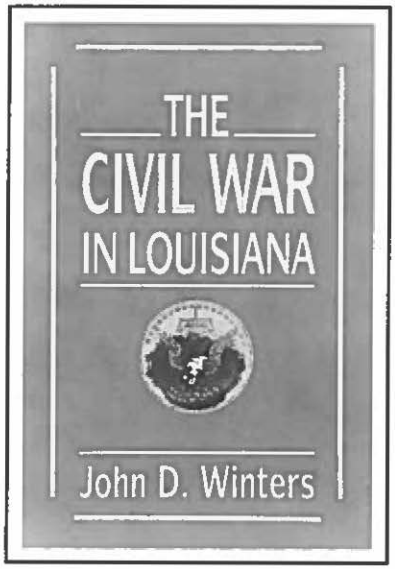
Conservation, regulation, international trade (also established largely by non-industry considerations), and general market forces affect the supply of timber and the management of southern forests. The author believes that as more northern and western forests enter into recreational and environmental reserves there will be greater reliance on lumber production from southern forests, and particularly those forests located in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas.

One of the most fascinating and important areas of the book are those chapters dealing with the early forests of the explorer and pioneer. Bartram's *Travels* and the journals of Hernando de Soto take on new life because of the extrapolations and explanations of Walker. He walks with these people as a professional forester and through their eyes sees things they could not truly see and describe. It would have strengthened the book if the author had been able to use more first person accounts.

The Southern Forest must be read with care and some patience, for the author takes a scattergun approach to his subject, jumping back and forth across the centuries and the topics with little restraint. It should be read as a personalized history of southern forests and forestry. It is nonetheless valuable, informed, and in many areas enjoyable.

Henry C. Dethloff Texas A&M University

John D. Winters. *The Civil War in Louisiana*. 1963. Reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, *xv*, pp. 534. $16.95. ISBN 0-8071-1725-0



In 1991 Louisiana State University Press reissued its 1963 publication, *The Civil War in Louisiana*. The book's reappearance twenty-eight years later is a fitting tribute to the major historical study of the Civil War in a pivotal Confederate state. But it is also, paradoxically, an indication of the significant changes generated by the growing emphasis on social history, women's history, and African-American history which have emerged in the intervening three decades and subsequently altered the way in which we view the Civil War.

When first published *The Civil War in Louisiana* sought to address "one of the slighted areas" of the conflict, the three Confederate states west of the Mississippi River, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. As such, it was an early example of the growing body of revisionist literature that initially sought to illuminate the conflict in neglected regions, and subsequently to broaden both the issues analyzed and the questions raised by the War.

But this work was equally committed to the traditional scholarship of the time which viewed the struggle primarily in terms of the clash of gallant armies on the field, where feats of courage, daring, and heroism, particularly among the military commanders, were standard, interrupted only occasionally by examples of avarice, cowardice, and incompetence. Indeed, the *Civil War in Louisiana* is written almost exclusively as an account of military operations, with fleeting reference to civilian life. As a military history, Winters' work is certainly more comprehensive than comparable state accounts of the Civil War. But as a history of Louisianans caught in the cataclysmic transformation of total war, it has only limited value today.

We are presented with countless descriptions of virtually every battle in Louisiana, including the positioning of troops, number of casualties, strategies, and maneuvers of each commander. Such a rendering is hardly surprising when one realizes that Winters heavily relies on such official

military accounts such as *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* and commander's biographies such as Alfred Roman's *The Military Operations of General Beauregard in the War Between the States 1861 to 1865*. Yet a perusal of Winters' bibliography indicates that numerous secondary references including many journal articles were also military accounts written in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, leaving his work overly reliant on dated or questionable sources. His accounts of black troops in the battles of Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson, for example, depend heavily on George Washington Williams's *A History of Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion* published in 1888.

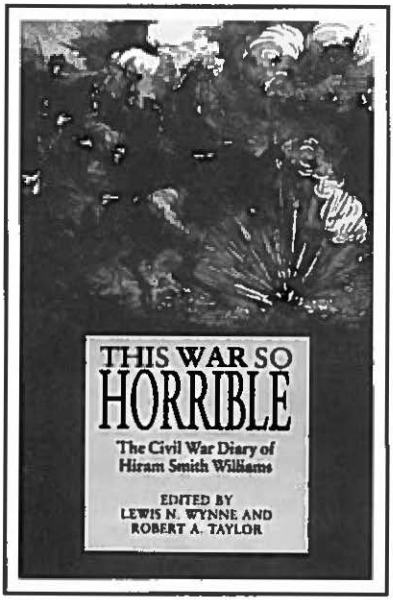
Since both primary and secondary sources concentrate on the military aspects of the conflict rather than the political, social, or economic perspectives, what emerges is a sometimes compelling sometimes tedious narrative of events seen from the vantage point of commanding officers and military policymakers. Thus we learn far more about C.S.A. General Edmund Kirby Smith's attitude toward his subordinate, General Richard Taylor, whom he blames for the failure to destroy the federal forces during the abortive Red River Campaign of 1864, than we know about the attitudes of ordinary soldiers toward "the enemy," "the War," and its central cause—slavery. As crucially important as the official sources are, they fail to capture the exhilaration, despair, and pathos of the ordinary soldier in either army, or the sheer terror of war itself which no doubt accompanied every infantryman who faced a wall of charging cavalry, huddled under pounding bombardment from a navy gunboat, or advanced against a well-concealed enemy across open field or through a snake-infested swamp.

Given the historical writing of the early 1960s, it is unfair to expect the *Civil War in Louisiana* to have addressed such diverse subjects as women in the war effort, the war's impact on the fifty percent of Louisiana's population which was black, the social conflicts between Louisiana's planter elite and its urban, white working class, and impoverished farmers. Yet numerous questions posed by Winters could have been discussed with the historical resources available at the time. We are told of the rapid organization of the various foreign-born regiments for the defense of New Orleans and the Confederacy. Yet, we know little about the attitude of these groups toward secession and slavery. After the capture of New Orleans by federal forces many of these units were the first to volunteer for the Union Army to defend the city, this time against the Confederates. Were these foreign-born soldiers simply opportunists, or were there more compelling reasons which propelled them to join one side, and then the other. Additionally, who were Louisiana Unionists?

Dismissed as "traitors" to the Confederate cause, why did these often native-born Louisianans such as Lieutenant Governor J. Madison Wells and Dr. Hugh Kennedy, the former editor and owner of the *Daily True Delta* and an early supporter of secession, cooperate with the "occupying army?" Finally, given the fact that New Orleans and almost a third of Louisiana were occupied by federal forces through three of the four years of the conflict, did military occupation in the state provide an effective model for the oncoming Reconstruction period? Such questions would have dramatically raised the significance of this study of the Civil War in Louisiana for historians within and beyond the state.

Quintard Taylor University of Oregon

Lewis N. Wynne and Robert A. Taylor, eds. *This War So Horrible, The Civil War Diary of Hiram Smith Williams*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993, *xvii*, pp. 200. $21.95. ISBN 0-8173-0642-0



Hiram Smith Williams was an atypical Confederate enlisted man born into a family deeply rooted in New Jersey. He was a carriage maker and travelled the Midwest for several years as a journalist, promoter of the Know-Nothing party, and semiprofessional actor. In 1859 he settled in Livingston, Alabama. He cast his lot with the Southern Cause and joined what became Co. C of the 40th Alabama Infantry Regiment in the great second wave of enlistment in the spring of 1862.

The 40th Alabama was organized and posted for a time in Mobile, and Williams's talents as a carpenter and carriage builder resulted in his assignment to special duty in the naval works in that city. Williams did not follow his regiment in its campaigning in 1862 or 1863, but remained in Mobile, where he enjoyed the society of a wide circle of friends and routinely performed in the local theater.

Unable to secure a transfer into the Confederate Navy, where his abilities were desperately needed, Williams was ordered to join his regiment in the vicinity of Dalton, Georgia, in February 1864. His diary begins with his departure from Mobile. His skill as a writer, an eye for detail and a lack of enthusiasm for the dull routine of military life are immediately apparent. It is clear that Williams wrote the bulk of his diary in the field during the course of the grueling and relentless misery of the Atlanta Campaign, and he did not later edit or polish his work.

Williams was offered the chance to serve in the Pioneer Corp of General A. P. Stewart's brigade. He agreed to accept the assignment after weighing the cons, chiefly leading his friends in Company C and the likelihood of hard physical labor, against the pros, which included avoiding drill, roll calls, and picket and guard duty, greater freedom of movement, better rations and the prospect that he would "...not engage in any *battle*."

Pioneer corps duty entailed the preparation of field hospital facilities, as well as burial of the dead. Such gruesome tasks made Williams think. He reflected on his own chances of filling an unknown soldier's grave as he hastily interred others. He also decried the terrible waste and slaughter brought on by a war he characterized as "unholy" and without principle for either faction.

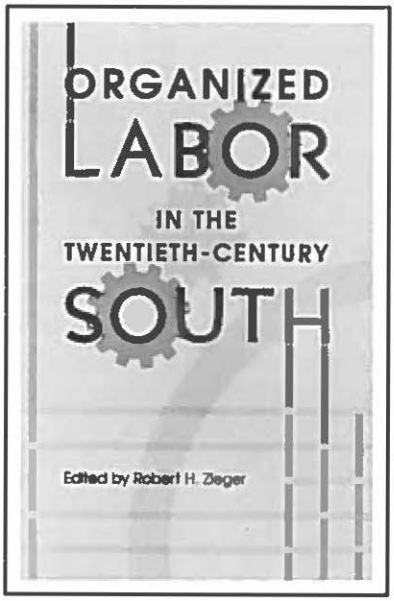
Williams parted company with the pioneers at the outset of Hood's ill-fated Tennessee campaign and rejoined his regiment in the defenses of Mobile. Back in the ranks, he marched into the Carolinas in the waning days of the war. Despite his northern attachments, his distaste for "military power," and his personal belief that the war was unjustified, Williams dutifully stuck to the task till he was captured at Bentonville, after deciding that the risk of withdrawing from the advanced position his division had gained in its assault was too great. As a result, he was transported to Point Lookout and held as a prisoner of war for three months. Paroled and released on June 21, 1865, his Civil War experiences ended.

The editors have done a commendable job of annotating Williams's entries. The footnotes include enough general strategy to assist the reader in mooring the diary to the big picture, but avoid the fault of attempting a general history of the war in fine print. Careful consideration was also given to fleshing out the identities of individuals Williams mentioned and the locations of geographical details he related to in his entries. Many facts about Williams's life both before and after the war were uncovered and utilized to place him in a fuller context. There is a scattering of typographical errors and a redundant spot or two in the introduction. However, these minor flaws detract little from the results produced by the marriage of excellent primary material and solid research.

Drs. Wynne and Taylor had the good sense to realize that Williams's work was not a diamond in the rough, but a multifaceted gem of high quality. Accordingly, they have placed it in a fine setting and put it on display. An examination of *This War So Horrible* is a delightful experience.

David S. Neel, Jr. Birmingham

Robert H. Zieger, ed. *Organized Labor in the Twentieth-Century South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991, pp. 296. $29.95. ISBN 0-87049-697-2



According to its editor, the essays in this collection are unified chiefly by their attack on the idea of an inherent anti-union southern "distinctiveness." In his introduction and essay on the literature of southern labor history, Robert Zieger argues that most labor history has been written on the assumption that union growth has been a normal concomitant of industrialization in the United States and that, therefore, the failure of southern workers to build a strong and politically significant movement is an aberration to be explained. This may have made sense from a northern vantage from the 1940s to 1960s, Zieger says, but the weakness of the American labor movement today suggests that the South rather than North may have represented the dominant pattern all along: unions have almost always been "public pariahs" in the U.S., and union-building "has always been problematic and risky," despite special circumstances that led to a highly unusual growth and legitimization of working-class organization in the North in the 1930s and 1940s. This is an important and interesting point, but the essays in this book provide little evidence to support it. On the contrary, while there are obvious connections especially in the anti-union strategies of employers in the North and South, the distinctively powerful obstacles to southern union organization remain the dominant impression of the volume.

Not surprisingly the role of race is a persistent theme in determining the course of southern labor history. Over and over again, white union leaders have recognized that success depended on cross-race working-class alliances, and that unless they organized black and white workers in the same unions, the unions would be unable to improve wages or working conditions for anyone. From the West Virginia miners in the 1920s in the essay by Joe W. Trotter, Jr., to the 1940s and 1950s struggles of the Memphis CIO described by Michael Honey, the Fort Worth packinghouse workers analyzed by Rick Halpern, and the Birmingham steel workers in the essay by Judith Stein, a dominant and truly tragic story recurs. In this story, racially integrated unions win crucial victories, only to fall apart when white workers rebel against equality and the civil rights agendas of black workers.

Judith Stein's analysis of Birmingham suggests that the very distinctiveness that delayed organization in the South challenges influential national generalizations about the conservative role of a consolidated and bureaucratized labor movement in the post-war period. In Alabama, she argues, militant unionism emerged only after World War II and as a result of the industry-wide collective bargaining contracts won in the northern struggles of the 1930s. The contract "proved an instrument of empowerment, not one of constraint and bureaucratization" in Alabama, critical for the industrial and political education of the militant local leaders of the late 1940s and early 1950s. It was a result of these contracts that Birmingham workers "measured their rights by national, not southern standards." Progress became possible only when black workers "began to calculate their circumstances not with reference to provincial standards of life in the Black Belt or conditions of other Birmingham industries but by the standards of white workers in comparable jobs and black or white workers in northern plants with comparable functions." Interventions by the national union leadership, moreover, facilitated local dissent and militancy according to Stein, and was essential to biracial cooperation in the Alabama locals.

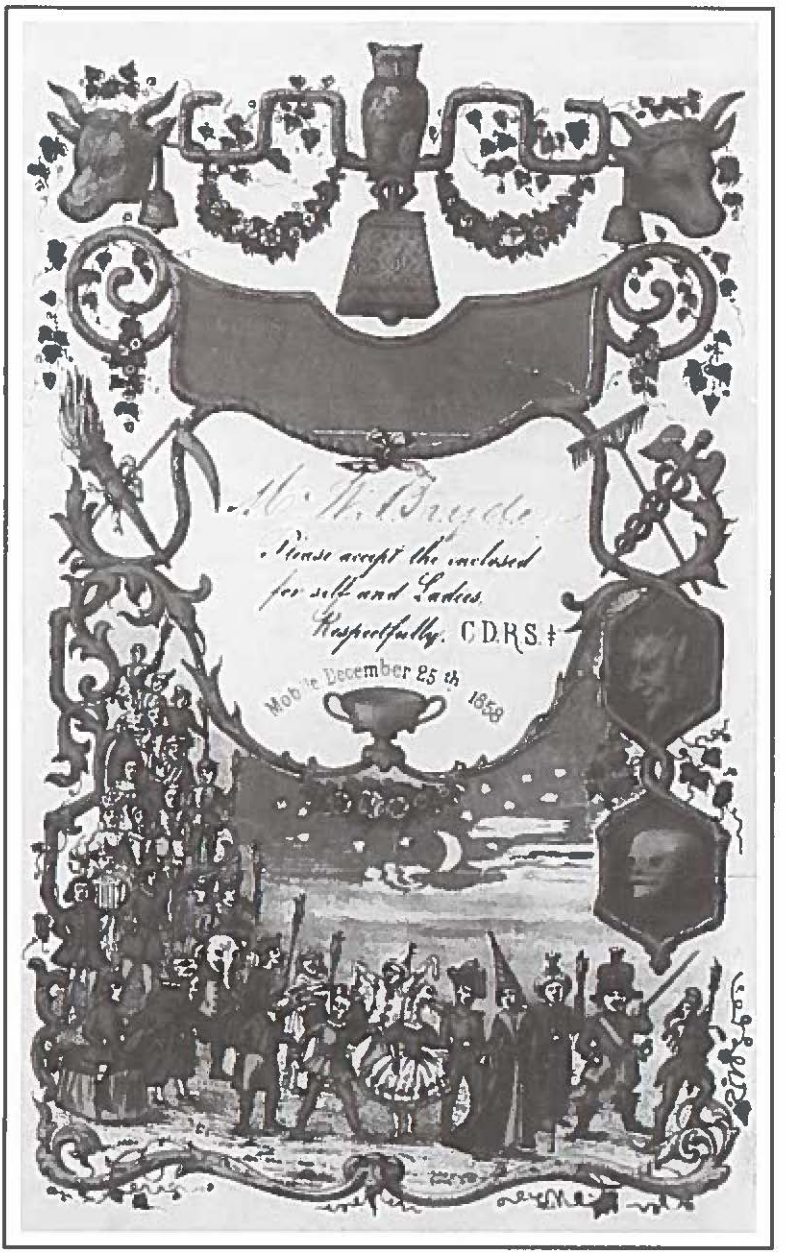
Gary M. Fink's essay on bureaucratization in the labor spy business is interesting and even entertaining. Based on detailed records maintained by the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills of Atlanta, Fink's essay shows the lengths to which energetic spies went to discredit unionists, particularly by springing sexual traps, but also portrays the labor spies as working-class forerunners of the modern management consultant.

Mary E. Frederickson's essay on "motherly heroine" and "girl striker" images of women is a powerful demonstration of how these stereotypes have hampered women's efforts to get male leaders in their own unions to

take them seriously. Gilbert J. Gall's pedestrian statistical analysis of right-to-work votes in 1944 in Arkansas and Florida, compared with California, tries to buttress Zieger's point that the South was not distinctive, by arguing that workers did not vote for the anti-union laws, but is unconvincing. Robert J. Norrell's dispiriting story of white workers' support for George Wallace in the 1960s, despite the entreaties of liberal union leaders, shows how Gall has missed the point: the distinctiveness does not lie in anti-union attitudes, but in the fact that white workers, no matter how union-conscious, "insisted on identifying their interests in racial terms," with black workers responding in kind.

In general, the essays in this volume are at their best when they tell detailed stories of union organization in the traditional manner of the "old" labor history, in narratives that chronicle strategies, resources, and obstacles in order to explain the successes and failures of organized labor in the twentieth-century South. Many of the stories are exceptionally well-told and the volume as a whole demonstrates the vibrancy of southern labor history in the 1990s.

Robin L. Einhorn University of California, Berkeley



Invitation to Cowbellion de Rakin Society Ball, 1858

From the Archives . . .
Mobile Public Library, Local History and Genealogy Division

Holly Rowland

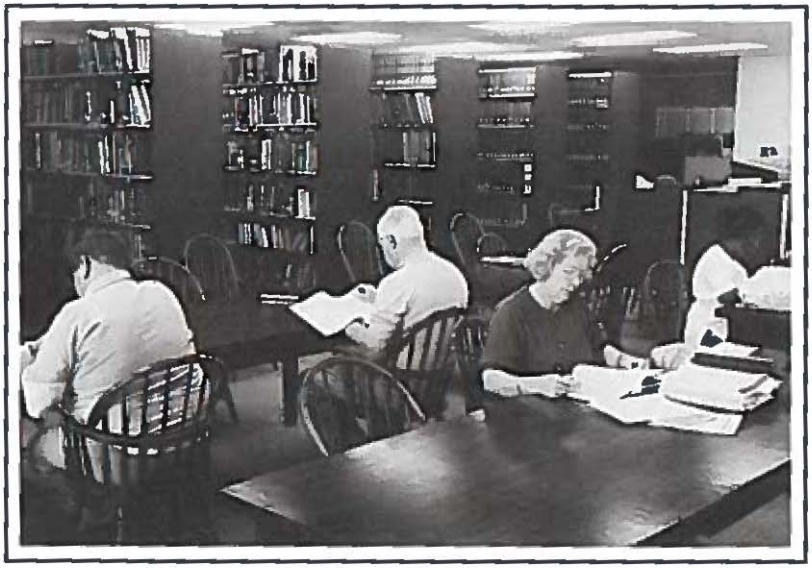
The Mobile Public Library's Local History and Genealogy collection was begun in the 1960s to house and retain information on Mobile's past. The collection has expanded to such an extent it is now housed separately from the main library building. Its 15,000 volumes and 9,000 rolls of microfilm attract historians, genealogists, and researchers from all over the country.

The collection specializes in information pertaining to the area's history and genealogy. This unique facility is user friendly as information is readily accessible both to the novice and experienced researcher. No library card is required to use this material, and no appointment is necessary.

Original and fragile materials are transferred to microfilm to protect information and insure that it will be available now and for future generations. Examples of information and manuscripts to be found on microfilm are the Sanborne Fire Maps, the Frances Beverly Papers, the Geary Papers, and the Dickson Papers. The Creek Indian Census of 1832 and the records of the Freedman's Bureau as well as lists of the Alabama and Mississippi Confederate veterans are also in the collection. Local History has microfilm of Mobile newspapers from 1819 to the present. It is the largest collection of old Mobile newspapers available in the Gulf Coast area. The Federal census for the state of Alabama and surrounding states are also maintained for all available census years. Patrons may use two copy machines for making copies from microfilm. There is also a microfiche printer.

All Mobile city directories are housed in the library. The earliest one dates back to 1837. Maps of Mobile are available for most eras, and there are many maps of the surrounding areas.

The library also maintains an extensive clippings file service where articles pertaining to Alabama and the Mobile area are grouped together according to subject. These vertical files provide a wealth of information on local history for researchers since the Mobile newspapers are not formally indexed and this serves as an index. Subjects include Mobile history, biographies, and politics.



Michael Thomason photo

The collection includes copies of church records, cemetery records, and vital statistics for most of nineteenth century Alabama. Many local historical periodicals are available in the library.

The library with its outstanding collection is an ideal place for the local historian or genealogist to begin research. The facility located at 704 Government Street, is open Monday through Saturday from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. unless closed for national or local holidays. Its telephone number is (205) 434-7093, Fax 434-5866.