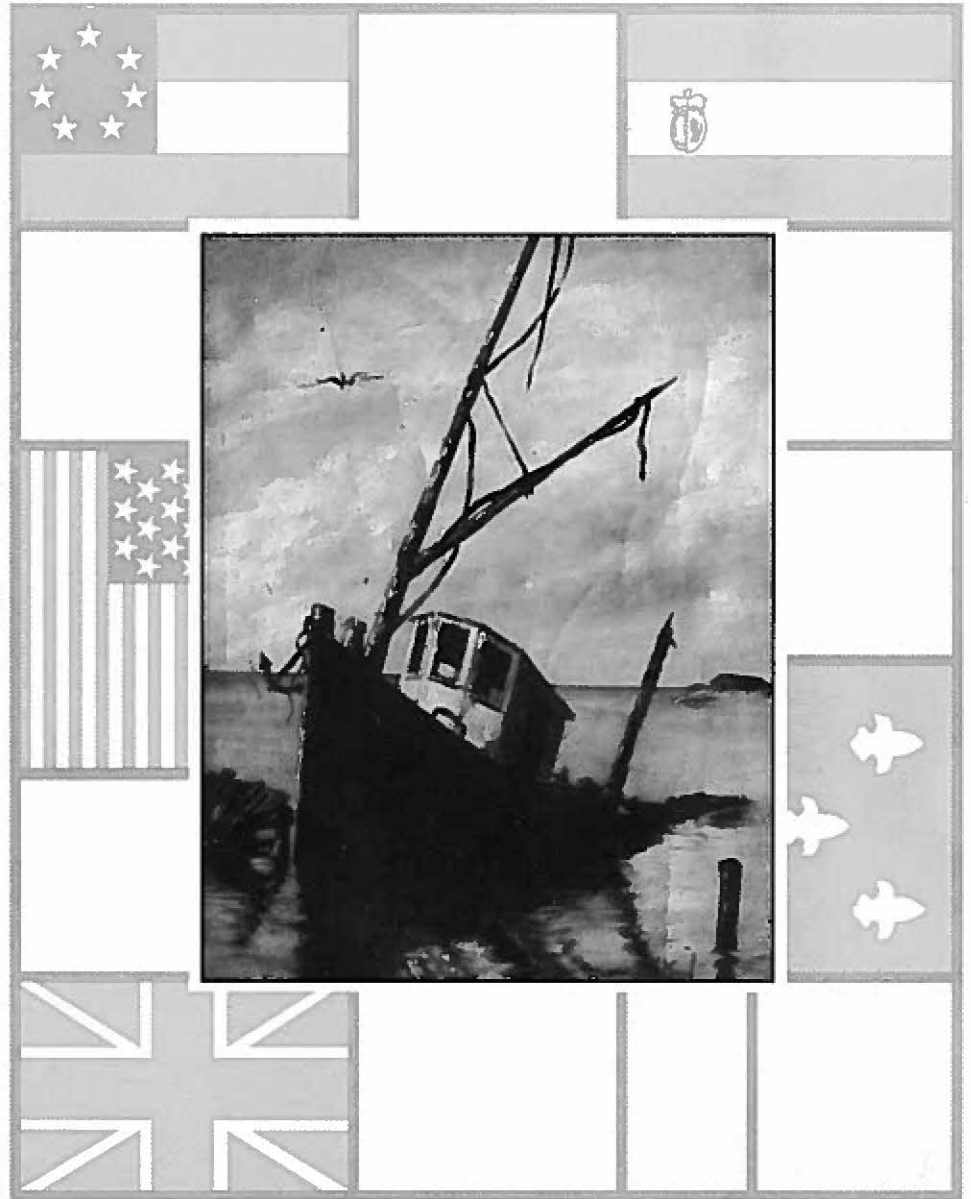


# **G/S** **H/R** **Gulf South** **Historical Review**

Vol. 15

No. 2

The Journal of the Gulf South Historical Association



# **G|S Gulf South H|R Historical Review**

Vol. 15

Spring 2000

No. 2

## **Editorial Advisory Board**

Dr. Carl Brasseaux  
University of Southwestern Louisiana

Dr. William Coker  
University of West Florida

Mr. W. Dean Debolt  
University of West Florida

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

Dr. Neil Hamilton  
Spring Hill College

Mr. Jay Higginbotham  
Mobile Municipal Archives

Dr. Harvey H. Jackson  
Jacksonville State University

Dr. Tennant McWilliams  
University of Alabama at Birmingham

Dr. Robert Snyder  
University of South Florida

Dr. Lewis N. Wynne  
Florida Historical Society

## **Editorial Staff**

Clarence L. Mohr, Executive Editor  
Michael V. Thomason, Managing Editor  
Elisa Baldwin, Associate Editor  
James McSwain, Book Review Editor  
Heather Harper, Kathy Jones, Editorial Assistants  
Martha Hunn, Administrative Assistant

## From the Editor . . .

By now everyone is supposed to be adjusted to writing "00" or 2000 instead of 1999, even those of us who never got really comfortable with 1999! Last fall we had a great conference at Pensacola Beach and two of the papers given there are included in this issue: James Hunter's "Leaden Logs and Broken Ships..." and Bill Patterson's "The Founding of the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile..." The former was the winner of the William S. Coker award for best graduate student paper presented at the conference.

These authors' articles are joined by a delightful if somewhat tragic account written by Lynn Williams of an art colony in Bayou La Batre/Coden, Alabama, half a century ago. Her contribution reminds us how a promising endeavor can be cut short by fate, leaving one to wonder, "What if?"

As you've come to expect, there is a wide-ranging selection of timely book reviews and Joe Free takes us into the Mobile County Probate Court Archives to explore petitions to *become* slaves, and give us a glimpse of that fascinating archives.

There are several papers from the past conference being revised for the Fall 2000 *GSHR*, and shortly after it makes its late-summer appearance we have another conference in Pensacola, this one hosted by Pensacola Junior College, October 12-14, 2000. The theme will be "The Gulf South in the 1930s and other topics in Gulf South History." It will be held at the Hampton Inn on Pensacola Beach, the gorgeous site of last year's meeting. For more information contact Ginny Malston (850) 484-1425 or Dr. Randall Braxton, 100 College Boulevard, Pensacola, Florida 32504 (e-mail: rbroxton@pjc.cc.fl.us).

We look forward to seeing old friends and making new ones.

---

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

## Table of Contents

Vol. 15

Spring 2000

No. 2

**Articles:**

**Page**

- |  |                         |    |
|--|-------------------------|----|
| Leaden Logs and Broken Ships: Pensacola's First Timber Industry, 1695-1712   | James William Hunter II | 6  |
| The Founding of the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile: The Port City's Reluctant Use of Subsidies | Bill Patterson          | 21 |
| Another Provincetown? Alabama's Gulf Coast Art Colonies at Bayou La Batre and Coden                                | Lynn Williams           | 42 |

**Book Reviews:**

- |   |                   |    |
|---|-------------------|----|
| Russell K. Brown. <i>To the Manner Born: The Life of General William H.T. Walker</i>  | Eric Tscheschlok  | 59 |
| W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed. <i>Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South</i>   | Irvin D. Solomon  | 61 |
| Jo Ann Carrigan. <i>The Saffron Scourge: A History of Yellow Fever in Louisiana, 1796-1905</i>                                    | Ted Owenby        | 63 |
| Donald E. Collins. <i>When the Church Bell Rang Racist: The Methodist Church and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama.</i>        | Sarah Hart Brown  | 65 |
| Frank de Caro, ed. <i>Louisiana Sojourns: Travelers' Tales and Literary Journeys</i>  | Sharon L. Gravett | 67 |
| Ann Brewster Doby, ed. <i>Uncommonplace: An Anthology of Contemporary Louisiana Poets</i>   | Jeff Mann         | 69 |
| Patricia Galloway, ed. <i>Hernando de Soto Expedition History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast</i>               | James E. Lake     | 71 |
| Edward J. Hagerty. <i>Collis' Zouaves: The 114<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War</i>                          | John R. Reese     | 73 |
| Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr. <i>The Pride of the Confederate Artillery: The Washington Artillery in the Army of Tennessee</i>    | John R. Reese     | 73 |
| Fred F. Kniffen, Hiram F. Gregory, and George A. Stokes. <i>The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana, from 1542 to the Present</i> | Claudio Saunt     | 76 |

Grady McWhiney, Warner D. Moore, Jr., and Robert F. Pace, eds. <i>Fear God and Walk Humbly: The Agricultural Journal of James Mallory, 1843-1877</i>	Franklin Burroughs 78
Jerald T. Milanich. <i>Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present</i>	Greg O'Brien 79
Jerald T. Milanich. <i>Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians</i>	Gregory Evans Dowds 81
Gordon C. Rhea. <i>The Battles for Spotsylvania Court House and the Road to Yellow Tavern</i>	John R. Reese 73
Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, Tod A. Baker, eds. <i>Southern Parties and Elections: Studies in Regional Political Change</i>	Robert Waters 85
John R. Swanton. <i>Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors</i>	James Taylor Carson 83
Samuel L. Webb. <i>Two-Party Politics in the One-Party South: Alabama's Hill Country, 1874-1920</i>	Robert Waters 85
David Kenyon Webster. <i>Parachute Infantry: An American Paratrooper's Memoir of D-Day and the Fall of the Third Reich</i>	Ray Skates 87
Robert S. Weddle. <i>Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle</i>	Todd A. Kreamer 89
Patsy West. <i>The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism</i>	Benjamin L. Price 91
O. Kendall White, Jr. and Daryl White, eds. <i>Religion and The Contemporary South: Diversity, Community, and Identity</i>	Keith Harper 93
David Williams. <i>Rich Man's War: Class Caste and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley</i>	E. Scott Cracraft 95
 <b>From the Archives:</b>	
Petitions to Become a Slave	Joe Brayton Free 98

# ANNOUNCING

## Nineteenth Gulf South History and Humanities Conference

### The Gulf South in the 1930s and other topics in Gulf South History

October 12-14, 2000  
Pensacola Beach, Florida

The Gulf South History and Humanities Conference is an annual event sponsored by the Gulf South Historical Association, a consortium of Gulf South Colleges and Universities including the University of South Alabama, the University of West Florida, Pensacola Junior College, the University of Southern Mississippi, Southeastern Louisiana University, Texas Christian University, and Texas A&M at Galveston.

The 2000 Conference, to be held at the Hampton Inn\* on spectacular Pensacola Beach, will examine, in detail, the Gulf South of the 1930s, as well as address any approved topic in any era of history highlighting the states of the Gulf South.

The Association sponsors the William S. Coker Award for the Best Graduate Level Paper presented at the annual conference. The prize-winning paper receives a \$250.00 cash prize and is eligible for publication in the *Gulf South Historical Review*.

For more information, contact Dr. Randall Broxton, Department of History, Language and Philosophy, Pensacola Junior College, 1000 College Blvd., Pensacola, Florida 32504. (E-mail: [rbroxton@pjc.cc.fl.us](mailto:rbroxton@pjc.cc.fl.us)) or Ginny Malston (850) 484-1425.

\*Hampton Inn, Pensacola Beach  
1-800-320-8108

Soundside room rate: \$89  
Gulf view room rate: \$119

---

Cover Photo: *Oil painting of a partially submerged fishing boat, by Shiney Moon. Martha Moon Kracke.*

# Leaden Logs and Broken Ships: Pensacola's First Timber Industry, 1695-1712

James William Hunter III

*Mr. Hunter was the 1999 winner of the William Coker award for the best graduate student paper given at the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference in Pensacola. Editor*

In response to French exploration and expansion along the northern gulf coast during the latter half of the seventeenth century, Spain elected to settle and fortify the harbor of *Ochuse* (Pensacola Bay), which had been the site of a previous settlement attempt by Spanish nobleman Tristán de Luna in 1559. The construction of the *Presidio Santa María de Galve* in November of 1698 initiated a tenuous 103-year military occupation of the Pensacola Bay area by the Spanish. Built on the red clay cliffs (*barrancas*) overlooking the entrance to the bay, the *presidio* was intended primarily as a defensive measure against foreign encroachment. Defense was not the only purpose for which the *presidio* was established, however. Additionally, the Crown planned to utilize Pensacola Bay's vast forest resources and develop a timber industry at *Santa María de Galve*—for the dual purpose(s) of manifesting a viable export economy at the *presidio*, as well as providing shipbuilding materials that would service the entire Spanish *Armada de Barlovento* (Windward Fleet).<sup>1</sup> Although successful at first, the venture would eventually collapse due to prevailing environmental, social, and economic conditions both at the *presidio* and throughout New Spain.

Following the failure of Luna's colony in the years 1559 to 1561, the Spanish largely ignored the northern frontier of New Spain's empire. Occasional visits to northern gulf coast ports by vessels of the Spanish *guardacosta* (coast guard) were intended primarily to prevent pirates and privateers from establishing a base of operations from which Spanish shipping could be harassed.<sup>2</sup> Spanish interest in the borderlands was renewed in 1685, however, when news of a French colony under the command of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle reached the vicerealty in Mexico. Faced with the possibility that a French base on the gulf coast would "be ruinous to the treasure fleets and all other Spanish shipping in the Gulf of Mexico," the Spanish Crown ordered a series of land and sea expeditions to seek out and destroy the colony before it was reinforced.<sup>3</sup> Between 1685 and 1690, a total of eleven such expeditions were sent to find La Salle. During at least two of these

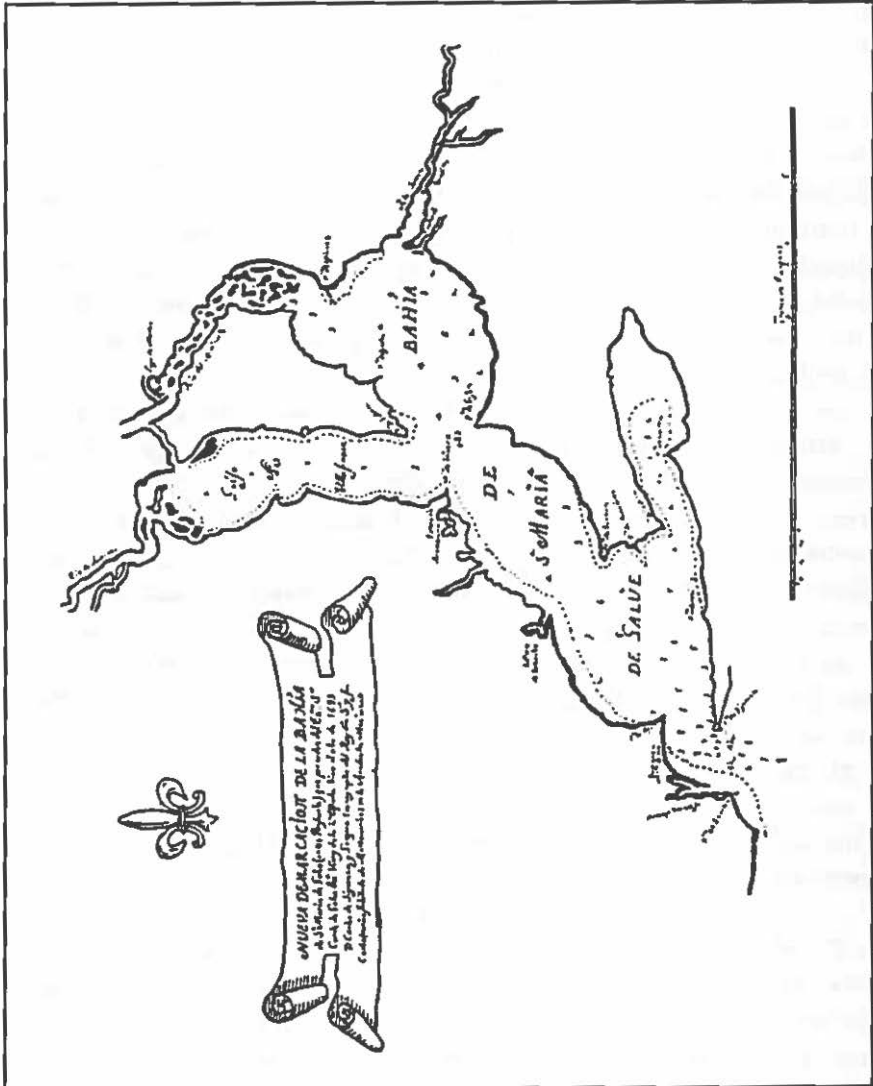


Figure 1. Sigüenza Map of Pensacola Bay, 1693.



expeditions (one in 1686 and the other in 1689), Pensacola Bay was reconnoitered by the Spanish, and glowing reports about the harbor's deep, sheltered waters and other positive attributes were sent to the Conde de Galve, Viceroy of New Spain.

Impressed by the information supplied to him, the Viceroy generated his own report in which he recommended that the *presidio* at St. Augustine be abandoned and its garrison transferred to Pensacola instead. Galve sent his report to Spain with Captain Andrés de Pez, a naval officer of the Windward Fleet who commanded the 1689 expedition to Pensacola Bay and strongly advocated its occupation. While in Spain, Pez met vigorous opposition from the Spanish royal council, who viewed Pensacola as too remote and insignificant to serve as little more than "a backdoor for contraband trade."<sup>4</sup> King Charles II, however, ruled in favor of fortifying Pensacola Bay, but insisted that St. Augustine remain occupied. Although chagrined at the King's decision, the royal council relented to the occupation of Pensacola, but only after urging the King to defer action until a thorough scientific survey of the bay and its surrounding environs was completed.

On April 7, 1693, a scientific expedition, under the command of Pez, arrived at Pensacola Bay. For the next eleven days, Pez and the Reverend Dr. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a noted scholar at the University of Mexico, conducted a detailed survey of the bay. Measurements taken during the survey enabled Sigüenza to generate an accurate map of the area, including the adjoining waterways and environs surrounding the bay (Figure 1). Additionally, the expedition reported on the vast forests and other natural resources that abounded in the Pensacola Bay system. Sigüenza was particularly impressed by the immense pine trees along the banks of the *Río Jordán* (present-day East River), many of which he estimated could supply stout masts and spars for vessels as large as six hundred tons. Similar trees were also found on the *Río de Almirante* (present-day Blackwater River), and all were determined to be "lofty and stout, suitable for building ships of any draft."<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, while at Pensacola, Pez ordered that one of the expedition's ships be fitted with a new main mast hewn from local timber. Prompted by Sigüenza's report in May of 1693, King Charles II ordered the viceroyalty in Mexico to utilize the timber resources at Pensacola for the manufacture of ship's masts and spars for the vessels of the *Armada de Barlovento* and the annual Spanish *flotas* (treasure fleets).<sup>6</sup>

In 1695 the *Conde de Galve* ordered Andrés de Arriola, the future commander of *Santa María de Galve*, to conduct a reconnaissance of

the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico in order to prevent rival European nations from occupying Pensacola Bay. Additionally, Arriola was to "repair the shortage of...masts and spars with which it was possible to prepare the Windward Fleet" by cutting down a number of large trees and transporting them to the Mexican port of Veracruz.<sup>7</sup> Arriola sailed the northern rim of the Gulf Coast with two vessels, a *lorcha* named *La Natividad*, and an unidentified *bilandra*. Failing to locate any enemy ships or settlements during the voyage, Arriola's small fleet entered Pensacola Bay, marked out one hundred poles suitable for main masts, topmasts and spars, and began to cut timber for transport to Veracruz.

Arriola and his logging crew of 250 men noticed immediately that the most desirable trees (pines and cypress) were located on the *Río Jordán*, approximately three leagues upriver from where *La Natividad* and the *bilandra* could safely anchor (Figure 2). While the vast majority of pines were located immediately on or adjacent to the river, the preferred cypress trees were only to be found "about a cannon shot" (approximately one to three miles) from the riverbank—well within the surrounding wetlands. After cutting the desired number of pines, each of which was stripped of its bark and roughly hewn into a pole, the trees were rolled into the river, and conveyed to the waiting ships in "a line of logs, one towed behind the other."<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, even the largest of the pine logs could float, making the transport of each pole to *La Natividad* and the *bilandra* relatively easy. In all, a total of eighty-six pine poles were loaded aboard both vessels, and, despite being "very rough and with many knots," were deemed suitable for topmasts, mizzenmasts, and bowsprits.<sup>9</sup> None, however, was large enough to be formed into a complete mainmast unless, as Arriola suggested to the Viceroy, it was a composite "made of pieces" of smaller logs.<sup>10</sup>

Although the pine poles were transported and loaded with what Arriola described as "inexpressible toil," the work required for their movement paled in comparison to that necessary to transport the fourteen cypress logs that he had chosen for shipment.<sup>11</sup> In addition to being located some distance from the riverbank, the stand of cypress from which Arriola's crew was felling timber was found within a densely wooded swamp that proved almost impenetrable during the rainy season. In an attempt to move only *one* of these logs to the shore of the *Río Jordán*, Arriola's entire crew of 250 men failed, due largely to a combination of the marshy terrain and the sheer weight of the tree. Unable to move the log by brute force, Arriola next commanded his men to push the log into a tributary of the river and attempt to float

it out. To the amazement and dismay of all involved in the unloading, however, the cypress log sank within moments, leading Arriola to later comment on its lead-like properties in his correspondence to royal officials.<sup>12</sup> The fact that the logs could not be moved mattered little—neither ship was large enough to accommodate any of the cypress poles, each of which measured between forty and forty-four cubits in length and sixteen and twenty *palmas* thickness.<sup>13</sup>

Faced with what to do with the remaining cypress logs, Arriola commanded that each be stripped of its bark, girdled and bled of interior water, and placed on wooden rollers to promote thorough drying and prevent rot. Upon completing these tasks, the logging crew embarked aboard *La Natividad* and the *bilandra* and left Pensacola Bay for Veracruz, where their precious cargo of timber was enthusiastically received by the depleted victualing stations of the Windward Fleet. The fate of the cypress poles that were left behind is unclear; presumably, they were picked up and transported to Veracruz after the establishment of the *Presidio Santa María de Galve* in 1698.

Upon his arrival in Veracruz, Arriola informed the Viceroy that the transport of timber resources at Pensacola—specifically the massive cypress poles—could only be accomplished with a vessel much larger than *La Natividad*. Admiral Pez, after consulting with Arriola and the senior members of the logging crew, suggested that the Crown build a flat-bottomed ship with a keel length of between forty-five and fifty-five cubits, and purchase a *pinque* (a wide-hulled merchantman) of the same size.<sup>14</sup> Arriola also proposed an improved method for cutting down and drying out the cypress poles prior to transporting them. Instead of cutting trees during the spring and summer, as had been done in 1695, Arriola insisted that future logging expeditions work during the winter months, or “dry season,” when the water level of the wetlands decreased, the trees did not retain as much water in their heartwood, and wood borers and other insects were dormant. Preferred cypress trees were to be girdled *before* being cut down, and allowed to bleed water for two months or more. After being felled, each log would then be pulled through the swamp on wooden rollers to a staging area on the bank of the *Río Jordán*, where it would be debarked, roughly hewn into an eight-sided pole, and placed on rollers or carpenter’s horses to keep it out of contact with the ground.<sup>15</sup>

Although the Viceroy agreed with the suggestions proposed by both Arriola and Pez, the Royal Fiscal of New Spain, Baltasar de Tovar, did not. While readily acknowledging that the *Armada de Barlovento* was in dire need of timber for masts and spars, Tovar balked at the idea of

the transport of main masts between Pensacola and Veracruz. Citing, among other things, Arriola's failure to move a single cypress log with 250 men, Tovar estimated that it would take over five hundred men to do the work required. He also insisted that the vessel used to transport the logs would be overburdened after loading only six or eight aboard, and that the cost of a single pole from Pensacola would be comparable to that of "four brought from England or Holland." Finally, the Fiscal voiced concern about the unnecessary strain that a cypress mast would put on the keel of a ship, arguing that "such a heavy weight...when it does not go through the bottoms...will do it in a very little time." Ultimately, Tovar insisted that the Crown's future efforts in Pensacola focus on exporting smaller pine logs, which could be transported in "whatever vessel of the Fleet without expending the sum" required to build a new vessel and hire additional workers.<sup>16</sup>

Apparently, the Viceroy heeded some of the Fiscal's advice, because the new ship was never built. The removal of timber from the Pensacola Bay area by the Spanish, however, continued. The *Real Cédula* (royal proclamation) of July 6, 1700, ordered the Viceroy to arrange the transportation of poles "to the ports of Veracruz and Havana where they are so badly needed for the repair or reserves of the vessels." Two years before, in October 1698, Andrés de Arriola had sailed to Pensacola Bay with orders to establish a *presidio* and fort on the *barrancas* in order to circumvent French designs of establishing their own colony there (Figure 2). Arriola was also to continue to supply the Windward Fleet with masts and spars by conveying timber from Pensacola to Veracruz in frigates. In February 1699 Arriola, who had developed misgivings about living at a remote frontier outpost, sailed to Veracruz to obtain food and supplies for the *presidio* and to argue that the continued occupation of Pensacola Bay was an economically useless endeavor.<sup>17</sup> Both the King and the Viceroy disagreed, however, and ordered him back to *Santa María de Galve*, where he was to resume logging the "abundance of pines and other timber for mainmasts, topmasts, and spars of the kind that [were] lacking in other places." After considerable difficulty constructing the fort at *Santa María de Galve*, and procuring both the desired logs and a vessel with which to transport them, Arriola's next shipment of masts was ready to be taken to Mexico by the middle of 1702.<sup>18</sup>

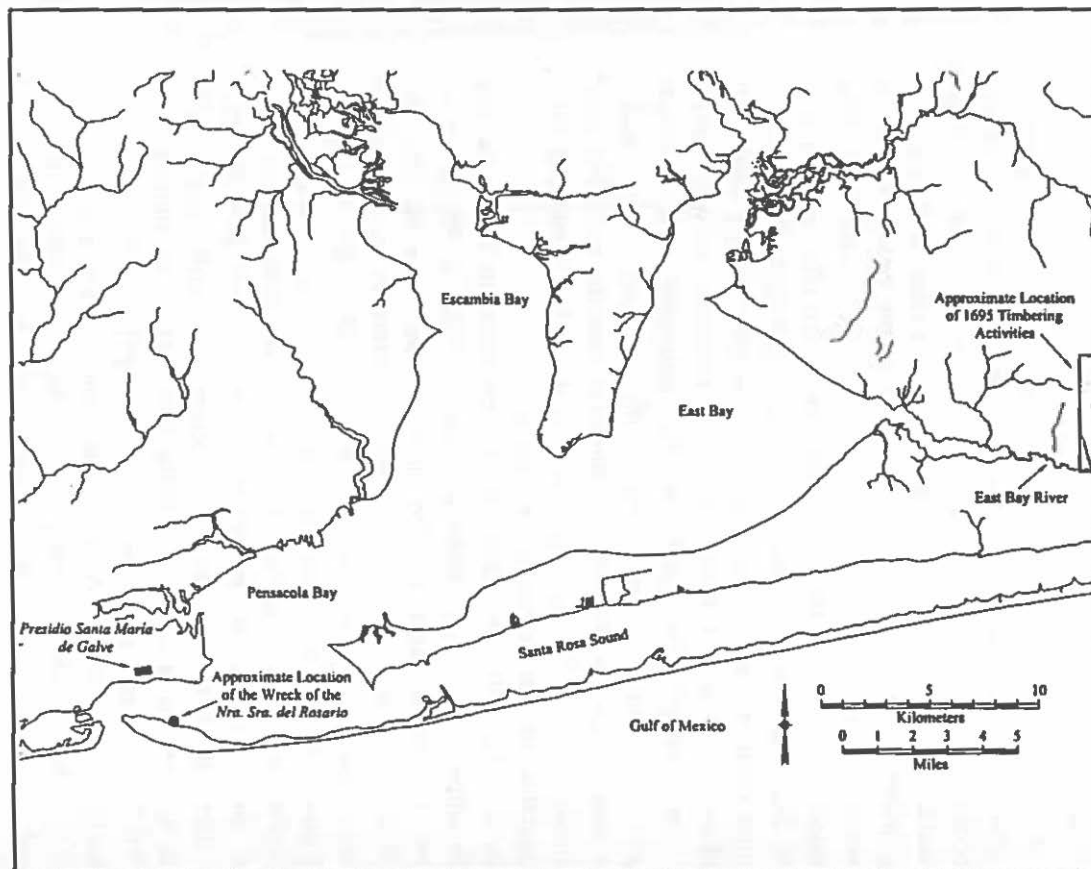
Although the methods by which timber was cut down and transported did not significantly change after the establishment of the *presidio*, the composition of the labor force used to do the work did.

mast cutters and carpenters, logging duties after 1698 were relegated largely to *forzados* (convicts), soldiers, and foreign wage laborers enticed to move to the *presidio* by the prospect of earning hard currency. Not surprisingly, Spanish officials encountered considerable difficulty when attempting to find settlers willing to move to the empire's most remote frontier outposts. After attempts to recruit volunteer soldiers and laborers for *Santa María de Galve* failed, the Crown opted to fill the *presidio*'s garrison with prisoners, many of whom were sentenced to serve for the duration of the *presidio*'s twenty-year occupation. The vast majority of *forzados* sent to *Santa María de Galve* were either *mestizos* or *creoles* from Mexico, and the crimes for which they were serving sentences ranged from petty thievery to religious blasphemy. In many cases, *forzados* who *did* complete their sentences were not allowed to return to Mexico, and several chose to either desert or revolt rather than remain at the *presidio*.<sup>19</sup>

Arriola attempted to improve the economic condition of soldiers and laborers who knew certain useful trades by supplementing their standard salary with additional wages. Additionally, on at least one occasion, all of the *forzados* at *Santa María de Galve* were pardoned to ensure their loyalty to the Spanish Crown in the event the French attacked the fort. To some degree, these measures proved successful in retaining members of the *presidio*'s garrison, but problems still existed. Low morale and unruly behavior brought on by inclement weather, frequent food shortages, and attacks by hostile Native Americans was only exacerbated when the viceroyalty in Mexico failed to send funds for wages or back pay. On two separate occasions, in February 1709 and again in April 1712, soldiers and laborers at *Santa María de Galve* took up arms and demanded their pay in what one witness described as "a mutiny."<sup>20</sup>

Convicts and soldiers were not the only members of the logging crews at the *presidio*. Prior to departing Veracruz for Pensacola in 1698, Arriola received orders to hire local indigenous groups to assist with the various labor tasks at *Santa María de Galve*. In addition to being granted gifts of "clothing or comestibles" for their labor and allegiance, Indian workers were also frequently granted rations of food. This was especially true of the "Indian woodcutters," with whom the Spaniards maintained "friendship and good relations" and were obliged to "give a ration" after 1702.<sup>21</sup>

These same Indian laborers likely assisted in cutting down a number of masts that were prepared for shipment to Veracruz in June 1702. Fortunately for Arriola the logs had already been cut down and



*Figure 2. Modern Map of Pensacola Bay Area, Showing Sites Associated with Spanish Timbering Activities, 1695-1712.*

merely needed to be loaded aboard the ship. During a voyage to *Santa María de Galve* in the first half of the month, Arriola noticed what appeared to be a yellow fever epidemic among the passengers and *forzados* being transported from Veracruz to the *presidio*. By the time the ship arrived in Pensacola Bay on June 16, all of the *forzados* were dead and many of the passengers were infected. Shortly thereafter, the disease spread to some of the soldiers and Apalachino Indians working at the fort.<sup>22</sup>

In the midst of this catastrophe, Arriola attempted to convey the cut poles across a quarter league of "frequently inundated" land with the few able bodied workers that were left. Despite being made to endure "unutterable travail," Arriola's logging crew of less than eighty men was able to transport ninety logs of varying sizes to the beach in front of the *presidio*, from which they were floated to the *lorcha Santa Rosa* and loaded aboard. All of the poles were hewn from pine, and averaged between four and thirteen *palmas* of thickness and from twenty-five to forty-eight cubits in length. Ten logs were considered large enough to be used as mainmasts or foremasts, while the remainder were considered "good for bowsprits...the yards of the mainmasts and foremasts ...topmasts, mizzenmasts, main topsail yards and fore topsail yards." Arriola assured the Viceroy that the shipment was the best that could be obtained from the Pensacola Bay area, and would undoubtedly fetch a considerable amount of money in Veracruz.<sup>23</sup>

On July 28, 1702, the *Santa Rosa* departed from Pensacola Bay with the shipment of masts, bound for Mexico. Much to the dismay of the crew, the vessel began to take on water the following day. The *Santa Rosa* was one of the oldest vessels operating in the *Armada de Barlovento* and, as a result, was in dire need of repair. The ship's timbers above the waterline were reported by Arriola to be "rotten," and the vessel's continual leaking had led Arriola to command that four stout lines be "thrown around the ship [before the return voyage]...so that they would clamp the sides...together."<sup>24</sup> Incredibly, the heavily-laden vessel made it to Veracruz—a fact that Arriola attributed to unnaturally calm seas, "the force of our arms [on the bilge pumps] and luck."

Shortly after arriving at Veracruz, the *Santa Rosa* began to sink in the city's harbor. In the following four weeks, during which time the crew had to continually man the pumps to keep the ship afloat, all of the poles were unloaded from the vessel. Admiral Pez reported shortly thereafter that the Windward Fleet's warehouses contained enough masts and spars to outfit ships for the next eight years, and estimated that the entire shipment was worth four thousand pesos. Since this did not

equate to the cost of outfitting another vessel to replace the *Santa Rosa* (estimated at 35,000 pesos), no further orders were placed for Pensacola timber for the next two years.<sup>25</sup>

Eventually, however, the need for masts and spars arose once again for the *Armada de Barlovento*, and the Viceroy ordered Arriola to Pensacola in May 1704 to convey yet another shipment of logs to Mexico. Two months later, Arriola reported to the Viceroy that "he had left marked out 100 trees of various sizes," which were to be felled during "the low water time in January."<sup>26</sup> The next shipment of poles was ready for removal by the latter half of 1704, but Arriola lacked a vessel large enough to transport them to Veracruz. As a result, a Council of War (*Junta de Guerra*) convened in Veracruz in February 1705 and ordered Admiral Antonio de Landeche of the Windward Fleet to take supplies to *Santa María de Galve* aboard the frigate *Nuestra Señora del Rosario y Santiago Apostol*. Once in Pensacola, the *Rosario* was to "embark the masts" which Arriola's men had felled and return with them to Mexico. Among the artisans that Landeche dropped off in June 1705 was the Senior Master of Ships Carpentry for the Windward Fleet, Agustin Antonio, and nine other skilled workmen. Between June 8 and August 14, Antonio and his crew earned a total of 901 pesos. In the same amount of time, an unnamed, but probably larger, number of Indian woodcutters and carpenters earned only 214 pesos.<sup>27</sup> Landeche returned to Pensacola Bay on September 3, and moored off of Santa Rosa Island near Point Sigüenza, where a shed had been constructed to house the finished poles. As the *Rosario* sat at anchor in the bay waiting to load its cargo, a hurricane struck on the evening of September 4, and increased in intensity during the following day. Despite the best efforts of the crew, the *Rosario* was driven ashore and wrecked on Point Sigüenza on the night of September 5 (Figure 2). Declared a total loss, she was later broken up and burned to the waterline in order to salvage the artillery, ordnance, fasteners, and other useful metal within what remained of its hull.<sup>28</sup> Amazingly, the hewn poles survived the storm, and were picked up in July 1706 by the *lorcha*, *El Santo Rey David*. A total of sixty "poles for masts, yards, and topmasts for the Frigates of the Fleet, 40 poles large and small and another three poles for mast spars" were brought to Veracruz, all of which were determined to be worth "many pesos."<sup>29</sup> In order to avert a shortage of masts in Veracruz during the winter, when the ships of the annual *flota* were in port, the viceroyalty ordered that the timber shipments from Pensacola should continue immediately.



In July 1707 *El Santo Rey David* returned to *Santa María de Galve* to pick up yet another shipment of timber. In May Admiral Landeche had dropped off several carpenters and woodcutters to perform the labor necessary to cut down and prepare the logs for transport. Among the items purchased by the Windward Fleet to accomplish this task were seventy-eight *hachas de cortar*, or "timber axes."<sup>30</sup> The Royal Treasury had allocated a total of four thousand pesos to the fledgling export industry at *Santa María de Galve*, with the intention of acquiring numerous masts as quickly as possible. When Arriola arrived with *El Santo Rey David*, however, he quickly learned that the woodcutters, along with the rest of the *presidio*'s garrison, had been confined to the fort because of attacks by twelve hundred or more hostile Creek Indians. Despite the threat, Arriola dispatched a logging crew to the *Río Jordán*. Not surprisingly, conditions for the logging crews did not improve—in addition to working approximately nine leagues from the fort, in "swampy and drowned [land]...farther from the beach," the loggers now had to be escorted by an armed contingent of 160 soldiers.<sup>31</sup> Ultimately, a shipment of sixty-two poles of various sizes were sent to Veracruz in August 1707.<sup>32</sup>

By the beginning of the following year, Arriola received orders to mark more large trees for export to Veracruz. For their protection, the Viceroy advised Arriola to haul the cut logs to the "beach under the cannons of the fort." The increased threat of ambush by hostile Native Americans, however, prevented the woodcutters at the *presidio* from leaving the protection of the fort. If the laborers did leave the fort, they did so only under armed escort, and only to reinforce the stockade or rebuild structures destroyed by fire. Additionally, there was no one at the *presidio* who was skilled enough to "hew [the poles] out nor work them."<sup>33</sup> In 1711 Arriola informed the King that the felling of timber for masts could safely resume, although he once again lacked a ship large enough to transport them.<sup>34</sup>

The following year, Arriola's successor, Gregorio de Salinas Varona, reported to the Viceroy that, on September 3, a logging crew under the protection of forty infantry was surprised by three waves of hostile Indians. In the skirmish that followed, three infantrymen and the chaplain of the fort were killed, twenty-three members of the garrison were captured, and an unnamed number of soldiers and convicts were wounded.<sup>35</sup> Faced with such a threat, the timber industry at *Santa María de Galve* effectively ended. After 1712 there is no mention of masts or timber exports in the documentary record, although historian Stanley

Faye mentions that the French discovered a cache of spars when they captured *Santa María de Galve* in 1719.<sup>36</sup>

Although the Pensacola Bay system of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provided an extensive ecosystem from which to harvest bountiful timber resources, the Spanish failed to develop a viable export economy; one that would enable the *Presidio Santa María de Galve* to sustain itself. During its twenty-year occupation, only four shipments of timber for masts and spars were successfully delivered from the *presidio* to Veracruz and the depleted storehouses of the Windward Fleet. Given the harsh environment, labor problems, and frequent attacks by hostile Native Americans—not to mention the massive size of the logs that were most desired by the Crown—it is a wonder that *any* of the poles actually made it to the ships aboard which they were to be transported. The ships themselves were another matter entirely; during the eighteen years that the timber “industry” actually existed at *Santa María de Galve*, it claimed two large and very expensive vessels belonging to the Windward Fleet. As can be ascertained by the constant requests for masts by Admiral Pez, viceregal officials in New Spain, and even the King of Spain himself, the *Armada de Barlovento* was suffering from a lack of both financial and material resources. Losing their largest ships to a modest export economy only exacerbated the problem.

Nevertheless, the *presidio*'s timber industry—modest though it was—became the first of its kind in the Florida Panhandle, and in many ways foretold future economic trends in the region. By the latter-half of the nineteenth century, Pensacola Bay's vast lumber resources were being exploited by local entrepreneurs and exported on ships bound all over the world. Were it not for a variety of problems, ranging from leaden logs to the broken ships that were assigned to transport them, the fledgling timber enterprise established at Pensacola between the years 1695 and 1712 might have developed into an important export economy. The prevailing economic, political, and environmental conditions at the *Presidio Santa María de Galve*, however, ensured that the success of that timber industry would be short-lived. Fortunately, the pioneering research of both academic and avocational historians has ensured that the lives of those who labored in Pensacola's forests for the Spanish Crown over three hundred years ago will be more than just a footnote in the history of the Gulf Coast.

# Notes

The author would like to offer an unqualified thank you to Mr. R. Wayne Childers of Port St. Joe, Florida, who graciously provided translated and edited versions of primary documents cited in this work. Dr. Jane Dysart's helpful criticism and encouragement motivated me to revise, submit, present, and publish the final draft. The following people provided valuable comments during the editing phase and should all be commended for their assistance: Dr. Jay Clune, Dr. Cheryl Ward, Debby Mullins, Jason Burns, Marie Pokrant, Erika Meyer and Dr. John Bratten. This article is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, James William Hunter, Sr.

<sup>1</sup>This paper specifically addresses the earliest timbering activities at Pensacola. For a more thorough treatment of the complete economic history of *Santa María de Galve*, see R. Wayne Childers and Joseph Cotter, "Arrested Development: The Economy at the Royal *Presidio* of *Santa María de Galve*, 1698-1719," *Gulf South Historical Review* 14, no. 1 (1998); and William S. Coker, "The Financial History of Pensacola's Spanish *Presidios*, 1698-1763," *Pensacola Historical Society Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (Spring 1979): 1-20.

<sup>2</sup>William S. Coker and R. Wayne Childers, "The *Presidio* Santa María de Galve: The First Permanent European Settlement on the Northern Gulf Coast, 1698-1722," in *Santa María de Galve: A Story of Survival*, ed. Virginia Parks (Pensacola, 1998), 13.

<sup>3</sup>Robert S. Weddle, *The French Thorn: Rival Explorers in the Spanish Sea, 1682-1762* (College Station, Texas, 1991), 41.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>5</sup>Irving A. Leonard, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693*, (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1939), 164-66.

<sup>6</sup>R. Wayne Childers and Joseph Cotter, "Arrested Development," 78.

<sup>7</sup>The King to Viceroy Sarmiento, June 3, 1697, *Archivo General de las Indias* (hereafter AGI), *Audiencia de México* (hereafter Mexico), *legajo* (folio) 66 (hereafter referred to solely by number).

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup>Andrés de Arriola to the Viceroys, April 5, 1699, *AGI Mexico* 66.

<sup>10</sup>Andrés de Arriola to the Viceroys, 10 October, 1697, *AGI Mexico* 66.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

1010; Mr. Childers notes that a *palma* is equal to three inches since the document in question is dealing with the measurement of breadth (a *palma* would be equal to eight-and-one-half inches were length or depth the subject of measure). A cubit, or *codo geometrico* as it appears in the document, is equal to sixteen-and-one-half inches. Roughly converted, each cypress log was between fifty-five and sixty feet long and four to five feet in diameter at the base.

<sup>14</sup>Andrés de Pez to the Viceroy, September 11, 1697, *AGI Mexico 66*.

<sup>15</sup>Andrés de Arriola to the Viceroy, October 10, 1697, *AGI Mexico 66*; Royal Fiscal to the Viceroy, December 3, 1697, *AGI Mexico 66*; Viceroy to the King, April 30, 1699, *AGI Mexico 66*; The details concerning the transport of the felled logs to the riverbank and their subsequent storage off of the ground are found in

Mr. Childers's notes and are based largely upon his previous employment in the lumber industry.

<sup>16</sup>All of the citations in this paragraph are from the Royal Fiscal to the Viceroy, December 3, 1697, *AGI Mexico 66*.

<sup>17</sup>Childers and Cotter, "Arrested Development," 79.

<sup>18</sup>Real Cédula, July 6, 1700, *Archivo General de la Nación* [hereafter AGN], *Fondo Reales Cédulas Originales*, Vol. 29; Childers and Cotter, "Arrested Development," 79.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 83-84.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 88; Mendo de Urbina to the Viceroy, December 29, 1702, *AGI Mexico 618*, Dunn Transcripts.

<sup>22</sup>Andrés de Arriola to the Viceroy, August 11, 1702, *AGI Mexico 618*.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*; Interestingly, the *lorcha Santa Rosa* is mentioned as a footnote in Bibiano Torres Ramirez's *La Armada de Barlovento* (Seville, 1981), 170, in which he states that the vessel was in such terrible condition that it was not mentioned in a list of vessels comprising the Windward Fleet in 1701 (there were a total of only six such vessels, counting the *Santa Rosa*, which I think adequately illustrates the resource problems faced by the fleet at that time).

<sup>25</sup>Childers and Cotter, "Arrested Development," 79.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 80.

1011, 90, Joseph de Guzman and Juan Antonio de Messan to the viceroy, October 12, 1705, *AGI Mexico* 633.

<sup>28</sup>"Autos of the Shipwreck of the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*," November 23, 1705, *AGI Mexico* 633.

<sup>29</sup>Mendo de Urbina to the Viceroy, October 1, 1706, *AGI Mexico* 633; Antonio de Landeche to the Viceroy, September 25, 1706, *AGI Mexico* 633.

<sup>30</sup>Childers and Cotter, "Arrested Development," 81.

<sup>31</sup>Andrés de Arriola to the Viceroy, August 25, 1707, *AGI Mexico* 633.

<sup>32</sup>"Memorial of the Poles of Account that came Embarked in the *Lorcha El Santo Rey David*," August 1, 1707, *AGI Mexico* 633.

<sup>33</sup>Andrés de Arriola to the Viceroy, February 26, 1708, *AGI Mexico* 633.

<sup>34</sup>Childers and Cotter, "Arrested Development," 81.

<sup>35</sup>Bernardino Joseph de Almonacid to the Viceroy, September 24, 1712, *AGI Contaduria* 803.

<sup>36</sup>In Childers and Cotter, "Arrested Development," 81-82, both authors acknowledge that they have so far been unable to locate any documentary evidence concerning the export of timber from Santa María de Galve after 1712; Stanley Faye, "The Contest for Pensacola Bay and Other Gulf Ports, 1698-1722, Part II," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 24 (April 1946):316.

James William Hunter III is a graduate student in historical archaeology at the University of West Florida.

# The Founding of the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile: The Port City's Reluctant Use of Subsidies

Bill Patterson

During 1993, in a first-of-its-kind study, the Alabama Department of Revenue listed \$1.334 billion of industrial property in Mobile County that was exempt from all state and local ad valorem taxes. The county ranked first in the state for industrial property exempt from taxes. Alabama created these exemptions in 1949 when state lawmakers, in an attempt to recruit new industry to the state, enacted the Cater Act, legislation allowing cities and counties to set up a new type of public board, called an industrial development board. These boards could issue municipal bonds for private companies, thus offering low cost financing and tax breaks. Alabama was one of the first states to pass such a law. Cities and towns soon used the Cater Act, and, by 1960, Alabama had issued more industrial development bonds than any other state. The city of Mobile, however, did not set up a Cater Act board until 1962 when city commissioners approved the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile (City IDB). How the Port City came to use these subsidies is a story of political conflict, struggle within the local power structure, and unintended economic consequences.<sup>1</sup>

Mobile's leaders probably found no reason to use tax incentives during the 1950s. The city's post-World War II economy, as measured by population, labor force, employment, and school enrollment, had been good. Between 1950 and 1960, when Alabama's population growth rate was the lowest since the Civil War, Mobile's population increased from 129,000 to 190,000 and the population of the Mobile metropolitan area increased by more than a third. The federal government spent heavily in Mobile during these years. Brookley Air Force Base, first opened as a military airfield in 1940, was Mobile's largest employer. Shipbuilding and shipping contracts during World War II had created the greatest economic boom in the city's history, and, though shipbuilding slowed, the Pentagon continued to spend on shipping contracts. During this period Robert H. Radcliff Jr. was president of Southern Industries, a subsidiary of the Waterman Steamship Co. He would become the first president of the City IDB. In 1997 Radcliff reminisced about the Mobile economy in the years before the founding of the City IDB in 1962: "Southern Industries did well. Mobile was beginning to grow at the



**TREMENDOUS CHECK**—*Mobile Press Register Photo by John Spottiswood*—William L. Gauntt, left, is shown handing a \$6 million check to R. H. Radcliff Jr., president of the Industrial Development Board, for bonds the board issued Friday to build a plant to be leased to the Diamond Alkali Co. James Hughes, standing, executive vice president of Diamond Alkali, is looking over the procedure. Gauntt represented Thornton, Mohr, Farish & Gauntt, securities dealers.

## Bonds Sold To Build Mobile Chemical Plant

time. These chemical companies moved in up and down the river." By 1960 Mobile was one of the nation's largest pulp and paper production centers, and the city was home to some of the world's most powerful corporations such as Scott and International paper companies, Courtaulds Fibers, and chemical makers that sold products to those companies. Even the national recession that began in late 1958 hardly slowed Mobile's economy.<sup>2</sup>

In the early 1960s, despite what seemed like good economic times, some Mobilians called for increased local efforts to promote the economy. In a city with a rapidly increasing population, politicians want to promote economic growth. New residents needed jobs and city services. The elections of 1961 brought change to the three-member city commission. Returning only one incumbent, voters elected two men who had moved to Mobile after World War II, one a Republican. George E. McNally became the city's first Republican mayor since the 1870s when his fellow commissioners named him to the largely ceremonial post of mayor soon after the election. McNally was a native of Chicago, and a party publication, *Southern Republican*, noted that his birthplace had received "considerable attention" from his political opponents in the recent campaign. Before the election, he had worked as an assistant U.S. Attorney in Mobile. The other commissioners, Joseph N. Langan and Charles S. Trimmier, were Democrats. Both had earlier represented Mobile in the state legislature. Langan was a native Mobilian, a lawyer and a seasoned politician, having served on the Commission since 1953. Charles Trimmier was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He attended seminary and, in 1948, moved to the Mobile area where he served as a minister at the Fairhope Christian Church. Trimmier's political career showed the traditional profile of an ambitious young man working within the local Democratic party. He campaigned against new taxes and "waste and extravagance" in local government.<sup>3</sup>

Along with changes on the city commission came calls from business for efforts to attract industry. Mobile's businesspeople had two main worries at the time: one, the local economy faced increased competition from other southern cities, and, two, all Alabama business faced obstacles as the state's politicians began to take a hard—and sometimes violent—line against desegregation, promoting social turmoil and tarnishing the state's image. To meet such challenges required new ideas. Among those who wondered if new policies might improve the area's economy were business and civic leaders who, in 1960, helped fund a study by the Southern Institute of Management, the Mobile Metropolitan Area Audit. The study, a voluminous sociological and



economic survey, found Mobile's economy was not diverse enough, and in particular, lacked manufacturing. The report blamed the lack of economic growth on what it termed an "old aristocracy" who opposed change, and it suggested that local leaders should seek a more balanced economy. Others besides the out-of-town experts believed that Mobile's economy was not diverse enough. Sheldon Morgan had worked at the Alabama State Docks during the 1950s and was director of industrial recruiting at the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce during the critical years between 1964 and 1972. He recalled that during the early 1960s: "By and large, the business sector, the real estate people, the retail people, were very unhappy with what was going on." He also noted that, for those who wanted to promote economic growth, "the main theme in those years was diversification."<sup>4</sup>

In 1962 the loss of a new oil refinery suggested to local leaders that the city could not compete with others in the region. During these years Mobile's business leaders looked with envy—and wariness—at economic powers to their east and west. The development of the oil and petrochemical industry in the Gulf Coast region, most rapid in east Texas, had been one of the most important economic phenomena of twentieth-century America. Florida's economy also had grown spectacularly. Concern grew in June 1961 when Standard Oil announced it would not build a refinery in Mobile County, choosing instead Pascagoula, Mississippi. This decision dismayed Mobile's leaders because the company had taken an option on two thousand acres of land in Theodore, a small unincorporated town ten miles southwest of downtown Mobile. Local leaders had been certain Mobile would be part of the Gulf Coast petrochemical boom.<sup>5</sup>

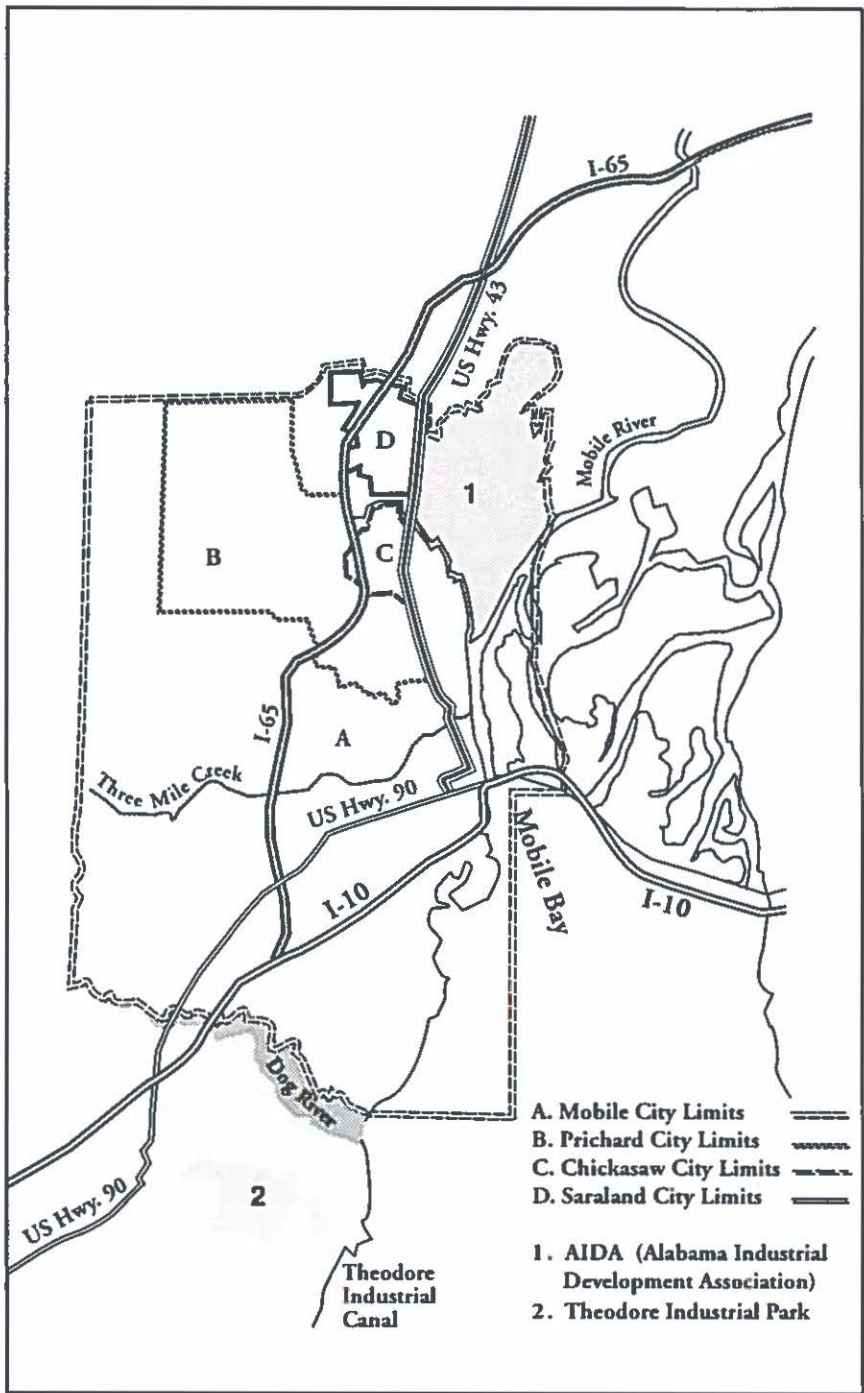
In December 1961, after the loss of the Standard Oil plant, community leaders held meetings to discuss industrial development. At these sessions were city commissioners, bankers, power company officials, the Chamber of Commerce president and its industrial recruiter and members of the Chamber's industrial committee. The group decided the city needed another study by out-of-town consultants, and, in January 1962, they signed a \$17,000 contract with Arthur D. Little Inc., a highly regarded engineering and consulting firm with headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Ninety percent of the contract was paid with city funds.<sup>6</sup>

In July 1962 the City released the Arthur Little study, "Industrial Opportunities in Mobile, Alabama." According to the study the development of manufacturing in the county was blocked by the lack of land for heavy industry. The report stated bluntly: "Opportunities for

future growth will depend upon the ability of the city and county to provide suitable industrial sites." The study concluded any new land must have access to deep water for transportation. Sheldon Morgan recalled about the Little study: "In this study, one of the great revelations was that Mobile did not have any deep water industrial sites." The Little study did not emphasize tax subsidies from government for industry recruitment.<sup>7</sup>

The Little study offered a plan for the development of a new industrial site, declaring that the best prospect for additional heavy industrial land centered on 7,400 acres north of downtown along the Mobile River. This was not the first time someone had suggested that this tract be developed. In 1957 a group calling itself the Alabama Industrial Development Association (AIDA) had promoted the land. The *Mobile Register* described the AIDA as "a nonprofit organization, the association is headed by three Mobile bank presidents who serve it without pay." In April 1957 the AIDA took an option on the 7,400-acre tract north of downtown. The land was owned by Augustine Meaher, a member of a family who had earlier sold or leased land to Mobile's paper mills. The AIDA tract, however, was not prime land. Only 2,200 acres stood above the hurricane tide level and thus met flood plain regulations. Engineers estimated that, in those days before federal environmental laws regulated the use of wetlands, the remaining 5,200 acres would require some 125 million cubic yards of fill. In 1962 the AIDA had not improved, or sold, its land.<sup>8</sup>

Commissioner George McNally used the Little study to push his plan for industrial development, emphasizing the development of the AIDA land and the need for city involvement in industry recruiting. In a June 1962 letter McNally described economic involvement by local government: "Mobile must assume an attitude of planned progress now...or it will falter in its future development." Joe Langan also favored active municipal government. Langan, who served as a Mobile City Commissioner from 1953 to 1969, believed that economic growth would help remedy the shortage of tax revenue that had plagued Mobile government. He described how the city's debts and the borrowing limits placed on all cities by the Alabama Constitution forced politicians to use autonomous municipal boards like water and sewer boards or industrial development boards to help their cities. Such boards avoided the restrictions of municipal debt limits because the boards formed contracts outside local government. Langan always lobbied hard for federal money for Mobile, but he proved less willing than McNally to intervene directly in industrial development in Mobile.<sup>9</sup>



- A. Mobile City Limits =====
- B. Prichard City Limits ~~~~~
- C. Chickasaw City Limits - - - - -
- D. Saraland City Limits =====
  
- 1. AIDA (Alabama Industrial Development Association)
- 2. Theodore Industrial Park

Using municipal government to build local infrastructure was one thing, but granting big tax exemptions for private companies was another. Despite their interest in economic development, neither McNally nor Langan initiated the founding of the City IDB. The board was founded during the summer of 1962 at the urging of Thornton, Mohr, Farish & Gauntt, investment bankers who wanted to use industrial development bonds to finance a project for a chemical company, Diamond Alkali. Sheldon Morgan, an economic development official at the Chamber during the 1960s, described how investment bankers and the Chamber of Commerce helped set up the board: "Who first engineered putting the Board together was, in the beginning, Thornton, Farish and Gauntt out of Montgomery. They had the Diamond Alkali project they wanted to put into Mobile, so they came to the Chamber. The law provided, by the way, that board members come from Chamber of Commerce membership. So they [city commissioners] set up the board from the Chamber of Commerce leadership and appointed [them] the officers of the board."<sup>10</sup>

On July 16, 1962, A. F. Delchamps, head of a supermarket chain, Robert H. Radcliff Jr., president of Southern Industries, and M. E. Weatherby Jr., a furniture store owner, submitted an application to the City Commission asking permission to set up an industrial development board. In late August George McNally called a meeting for September 5 to discuss industrial development, a meeting that was to include the City Commission, County Commission, Chamber of Commerce, and the AIDA. McNally might have believed that Mobile's business establishment would accommodate his plans to develop the AIDA tract and set up a government-run industry planning board, but events soon proved how jealously Mobile's establishment guarded its power. The Chamber of Commerce leaders had other ideas about industrial development in Mobile County. Mobile's business leaders came from a tight circle of shipping companies, banks, and merchants. These leaders were not ready for change, but with new city commissioners pushing for government planning and an investment banking firm urging the city to set up a Cater Act board, Mobile's status-quo oriented elites decided they had no choice but to help set up a Cater Act board.<sup>11</sup>

On September 6 the Mobile City Commission approved a resolution incorporating the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile. The commissioners' vote also approved the nominations of the board's members, called directors. The Cater Act placed responsibility for naming the IDB directors with the local chamber of commerce or similar organization, but the Cater Act required the City Commission to

approve these nominations. The *Mobile Register* declared about the new board's revenue bond financing, "This type of industrial expansion aid is considered most desirable to corporations since it enables them to expand or relocate without incurring considerable outlay of working capital." The daily also announced that "another non-profit corporation will be established later to procure and develop industrial sites." The commission intended to carry out George McNally's plan to develop the AIDA property.<sup>12</sup>

Any board's effectiveness depends on its members. The original nine directors of the City IDB represented the shipping companies, banks, mercantile businesses, and professions that had long dominated the city's economy: William H. Armbrecht, attorney with Armbrecht, Jackson, McConnell and DeMouy, a Mobile law firm; Robert Bacon, Executive Vice-President of First National Bank; E.A. Benson, Division Vice President, Alabama Power Company; John T. Cochrane Jr., venture capitalist; A.F. Delchamps, President, Delchamps Inc.; George Denniston, President, American National Bank & Trust; E. Ward Faulk, Senior Vice-President, Merchants National Bank; Robert H. Radcliff Jr., President, Southern Industries; and M. E. Weatherby Jr., President, Weatherby Furniture Company. Seven of the nine original directors were also directors of Mobile banks. George Denniston was a board member of American National Bank; E. Ward Faulk, John Cochrane and Robert Radcliff were directors of Merchants National Bank; and Robert Bacon, A.F. Delchamps, and William Armbrecht were directors at First National Bank. These men were active in the Chamber of Commerce.<sup>13</sup>

The Board of Directors held its first meeting on September 13, 1962, at 12:30 P.M. at the Battle House Hotel on Royal Street. No elected officials were present. The minutes from the City IDB's first meetings reveal its directors as cautious men who strived to establish legally sound procedures. The Board made several critical decisions at its first meeting. The corporation established its headquarters at the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce. The Cater Act set certain requirements for all industrial development boards, including the number of its directors, their terms of office and that their meetings be public. Because of a 1953 amendment to the Cater Act, boards did not need to tell the public ahead of time about their meetings. The City IDB directors made public oversight even more difficult when they decided not to hold regular meetings. The directors also began to delegate their responsibilities to the Chamber of Commerce. The minutes of the board meeting on September 13 state: "It being generally agreed that the services of the Industrial Development Department of the Chamber of

Commerce would be availed of for initial investigations and recommendations prior to actual actions by this board." The board gave its attorney considerable discretion. A City IDB document explained how money from a bond issue was handled: "It is the practice of the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile to have the proceeds from the sale of industrial development bonds administered by the trust departments of various banks." Every bond issue required fees for the investment bankers who underwrote the sale of the bonds and fees for a trustee at the bank in which the money raised through the bond issues would be deposited.<sup>14</sup>

The board confronted an important issue when they met to issue bonds for Diamond Alkali. At an October 8 meeting, director A.F. Delchamps expressed concern that local school taxes were lost under IDB financing. The minutes stated:

A discussion of this project included a recognition that the ownership of the property involved in a project of this nature would be by the Board as a public corporation, the effect of which would be to exempt the lessee from the payment of ad valorem taxes for the period of the lease. Mr. Delchamps objected to this in that the school system of the County would be thereby deprived of its portion of the ad valorem tax amounting to a little over 14 mills under the present tax rates. Mr. Delchamps felt that the consideration of handling a project of this kind should require in some measure the payment of the school portion of the ad valorem tax.

The minutes then noted that: "Solely at their discretion [Diamond Alkali] would make some contribution to the schools, the amount and frequency of the contribution to be determined solely by Diamond Alkali." The Diamond Alkali contract was approved with six yes, none no, and one abstention. Who abstained was not recorded.<sup>15</sup>

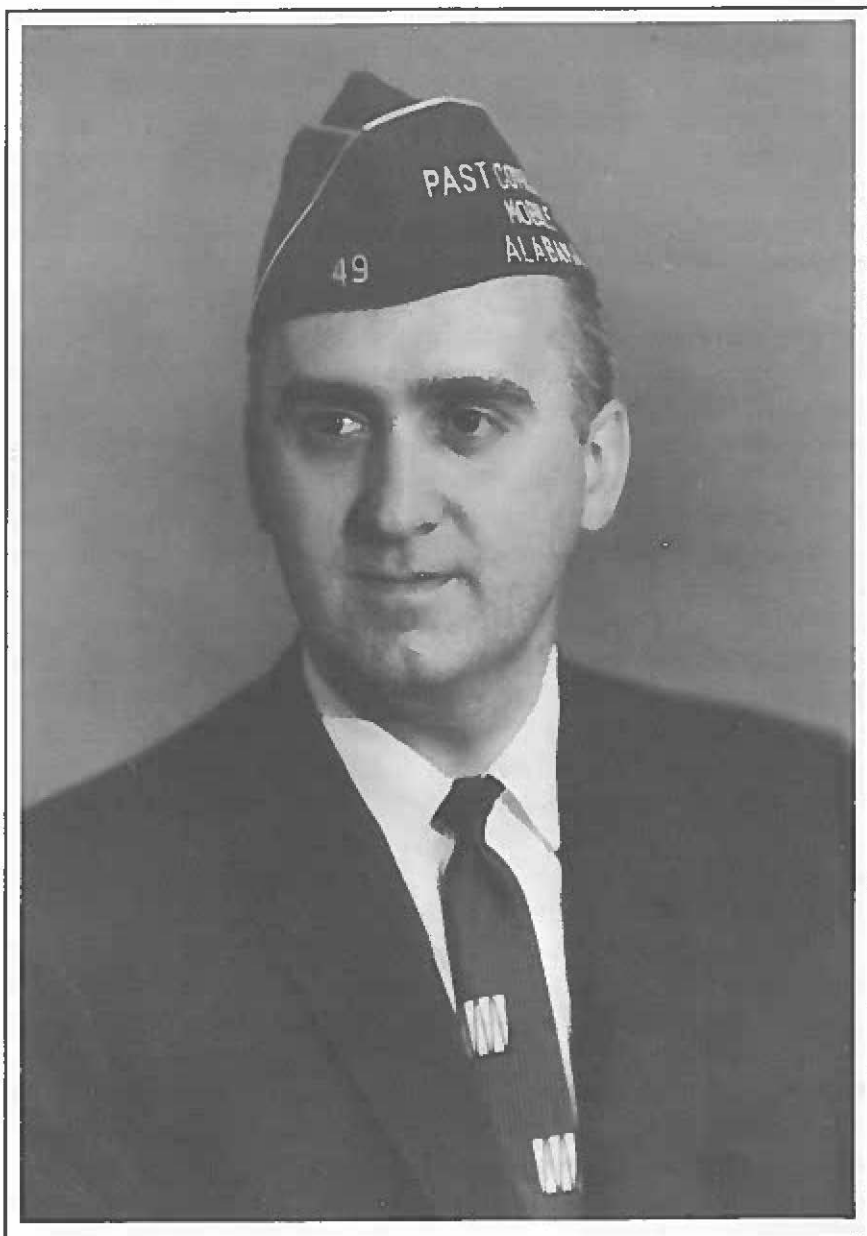
The Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile dissolved after two months. In what must have involved an embarrassing discovery, the Board dissolved because two of its directors were not registered voters and thus not eligible to sit on the board. The City IDB had yet to issue its bonds for Diamond Alkali. That same day, November 14, the City Commission adopted a resolution establishing a new IDB, a board again named the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile. The City IDB directors again elected Robert Radcliff as their president.<sup>16</sup>

On November 17, 1962, the deal that Diamond Alkali and its investment bankers sought was completed at the downtown office of the American Bank & Trust Co. The American Bank had been named the trustee for the funds raised by the bond issue. George Denniston recalled in a 1995 interview that "the other banks were surprised" that his bank

had wound up as trustee for the six-million-dollar deal. Denniston remembered why his bank was named the trustee of funds raised through the bond issue for the chemical company: "So when I heard they [Diamond Alkali] were interested, I just went to headquarters. 'I'm President of the bank—welcome to Mobile. Like to have you come on down.' So they decided to use our bank." A security dealer from Thornton, Mohr, Farish & Gauntt presented what the *Mobile Register* called a "tremendous check" for the six million dollars raised from the sale of industrial development bonds. The Mobile daily did not report that the city would not collect property taxes from Diamond Alkali until its bonds were retired. Under the Cater Act, this process could take as long as forty years.<sup>17</sup>

George McNally followed the activities of the City IDB. At the end of 1962 McNally expressed concern about what had happened to the Little study and its recommendations. McNally wrote a letter to Charles Trimmier pointing out that the committees they had appointed earlier in the summer to develop an economic planning board had done nothing. McNally wrote: "The Arthur D. Little study is not being implemented as rapidly as it should be.... In particular, the Arthur D. Little Report recommended the development of an Administrative Plan, a Physical Plan and a Financial Plan." McNally was particularly miffed by the Chamber of Commerce leaders who had agreed to help the city work on the Little recommendations but had done nothing. In early 1964, after the Chamber of Commerce asked for a fifty percent increase in its 1964 appropriation from the city, McNally acted. The conflict that followed demonstrated the City IDB, despite the fact it was a public board with the power to waive property taxes for forty years, had swiftly become a tool controlled by private interests.<sup>18</sup>

In February 1964 McNally and Trimmier proposed to form a new city agency, a Department of Industrial Procurement and Development with a \$25,000 budget. Since it issued bonds for Diamond Alkali in November 1962, the City IDB had not approved any more projects. McNally declared Mobile was "not keeping pace with the general expansion and location of new industrial development in the Southland," and that, aside from the expansion of existing plants, Mobile had added very little new industry since the end of World War II. McNally and Trimmier wanted to set up a city department to carry out "an active program of solicitation of new industry, or set up the proper organization to insure that it is done." The plan included the hiring of a full-time industrial director.<sup>19</sup>



*George McNally. Mobile Municipal Archives.*



But the Chamber of Commerce did not want city officials recruiting industry and, in May, it counterattacked. The Chamber released a statement taking credit for one hundred million dollars in capital investment in the county during 1963. The business group also released a report, "Mobile Industrial Expansion since 1925," listing \$503 million in capital investment for the period between 1925 and 1963. The Chamber's thirty-eight-year tabulation included massive federal spending on Brookley Field and other government spending only distantly related to industry. The same month the Chamber of Commerce formed an industrial recruiting department similar to that proposed by McNally in February. The Chamber's new group, Task Force 200, was to be a high-profile industry-hunting committee of businesspeople and salaried chamber officials.<sup>20</sup>

After months of controversy, on June 16, McNally and Trimmier voted to form an industrial recruitment department. Two days later the *Mobile Press* attacked McNally and Trimmier for the "poorest kind of municipal leadership." The daily blasted the commissioners: "It is ill advised—in fact absurd—for the City of Mobile to establish a Department of Industrial Procurement and Development at this time." A week later the Chamber's leadership demanded the city abolish its new industry recruiting agency. The *Mobile Register* took note: "The Chamber, long identified as the voice of commerce and industry, announced Saturday that its board of directors had taken a firm stand against such duplication of effort by the city." An editorial predicted: "We very much doubt that this unit will have more, if as much success, than the Chamber's Task Force 200." There were supporters of McNally's proposal. The president of the local Building and Construction Trades Union sent a letter in support of the new city department. The letter reported that the craftsmen and laborers council had unanimously voted to endorse the action of the Mobile City Commission on the appointing of an Industrial Procurement Commission.<sup>21</sup>

But, as they had done since the founding of the City IDB in September 1962, McNally and Trimmier bowed to Chamber of Commerce pressure. In August McNally declared he planned to turn over industrial recruiting to the Chamber of Commerce. McNally told the *Mobile Press* about his decision: "We have been negotiating with the Chamber and there are strong indications that they intend to hire a man with a national reputation to head their Industrial Development. That is what I asked them to do in the first place." Personnel changes did follow at the Chamber.<sup>22</sup>

within three months the conflict between McNally and the Chamber moved to a new level. In late 1964 one of the most significant developments in the economic history of Mobile occurred, challenging the business leadership of the shipping companies, bankers, and merchants who had been leading the city since earlier in the century and placing the City IDB at the center of controversy. In November 1964 the federal government announced it would close Brookley Air Force Base. Ten percent of the civilians employed in Mobile County, 12,600 people, worked at Brookley, making it the county's top employer. Closing Brookley would produce the greatest civilian job loss from a base shutdown in U.S. history. The first local reaction was denial, as a 1968 Defense Department report, prepared by a University of Alabama economist, described: "Initially there was a failure of the Mobile community leadership to accept the impending closure as a fact and to attack the conversion problem constructively and vigorously." When business leaders and politicians began to look for solutions to the Brookley shutdown, their "Battle For Brookley" escalated the dispute over whether or not elected officials had a role in economic planning. The dispute heightened the conflict between McNally and the Chamber of Commerce over control of government subsidies designed to promote industrial development.<sup>23</sup>

A rivalry arose immediately between the city commissioners and the Chamber of Commerce over who would coordinate the community response to the federal plans for Brookley. These were tense months for city leaders throughout Alabama. African Americans were campaigning for voting rights in Selma and, only months before, the civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham led by Dr. Martin Luther King had ended. In that period of civil turmoil, Mobile's city commissioners tried to provide leadership. On December 1 the City Commission met to discuss a George McNally proposal to form a committee he named the Action Program Committee (APC). The APC intended to work to keep Brookley open. The City Commission approved and funded his committee. McNally's group was diverse, for besides Trimmier, the heads of two city departments and himself, McNally appointed two African Americans and three leaders of organized labor to the APC executive board. Commissioner Langan had been removed from the APC after he had unsuccessfully tried to kill the committee and substitute a \$20,000 allocation for the Chamber of Commerce.<sup>24</sup>

The Chamber of Commerce refused to work with the APC and many elected officials, though invited by the commissioners, never attended its meetings. C.M.A. Rogers, a state representative, banker and future director of the City IDB, wrote: "I shall therefore devote my full efforts to the group coordinated by the Chamber of Commerce...."

Another who distanced himself was Mobile's congressman-elect, Jack Edwards, who wrote Charles Trimmier that it would be "unwise" for him to serve on the APC. Trimmier replied: "Your declining to serve on George's 'Action Program Committee' got faster delivery in the papers than from the office.... I think that you would not have injured yourself, politically, by remaining on this committee, but I defer to your own estimate of the situation." Edwards himself had called a meeting to discuss Brookley for November 30, but before the session he received letters with pointed advice. One letter from attorney William H. Armbricht, then the Secretary of the City IDB, contained a warning: "Earl Benson, as President of the Mobile Chamber of Commerce, has already initiated a program for that purpose and if you have not already done so, I urge you to discuss this matter with him before your November 30 meeting." Another warning came from bakery owner Roy Smith, a Chamber leader and future member of the City IDB: "I implore you to concentrate your effort, as well as those who, no doubt, are pressing you to do something, through the Chamber, which is certainly no political organization." Edwards held his meeting and he emerged a supporter of the Chamber effort.<sup>25</sup>

By early 1965 Mayor McNally complained openly that the Chamber of Commerce—and the City IDB—had failed to provide leadership in the Brookley crisis. On February 2 the city commissioners approved a second industrial development board, the Mobile Industrial Parks Board. This board was under the direct control of the city commissioners and, reflecting political change in the city, its directors were diverse. Like its predecessor IDB that the same three commissioners had approved two and a half years before, this new board was set up using Alabama's Cater Act and thus could issue tax-exempt industrial development bonds. The *Mobile Register* reported that Joseph Langan had voted with the other commissioners to approve the Parks Board: "However, Langan expressed doubt about the wiseness of the project at the time, saying industry-seeking endeavors should be left to the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce. To prevent being labeled a hindrance to industrial progress, though, he voted for the resolution." The Parks Board was very different from the City IDB. The first board had been established at the suggestion of out-of-town investment bankers and was led by a directorate of bankers, power company officials, and other elites. But the city commissioners pointedly identified the directors of the second board as a democratic and inclusive group. A letter from Mobile's city commissioners to the Director of Economic Adjustment at the Pentagon, declared about the new board: "The membership of the Municipal \

# IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO ALL CITIZENS!

The Mobile Industrial Parks Board, Inc., is presenting herein the COMPLETE ANNOUNCEMENT made by the Mobile City Government in its behalf on Tuesday, March 8, outlining the plans and program of this Board. We believe the contents of this entire statement are of importance and should be known to all citizens of Mobile and the surrounding area. The statement was made by George McNally, Chairman of the Mobile Municipal Industrial Commission.

The recent announcement by the Federal Government of plans to close Brookley Air Force Base and the resultant loss of some 14,000 jobs to this area has made it imperative for the Mobile City Government to institute new action on behalf of our citizens.

We cannot stand by and allow our economy and our people to be adversely affected by the closing of Brookley and any lack of a coordinated community wide effort to obtain the necessary new growth and opportunity needed.

Your City Government is therefore recognizing the new additional need that now exists for a greatly increased city-wide effort to locate new industries, and assist in expanding existing ones in order to create new employment opportunities for our people.

The last new major industrial move in the development of new industry in Mobile employing in excess of 100 people was made in 1952. We have had some employing fewer than 100 to come in since that time, but our industrial expansion in the past decade has been the result principally of growth among most of our established industries. This very welcomed expansion and growth among our old established industries during recent years has contributed greatly to our economy. These expansions reflect great credit on Mobile's wonderful industrial climate and certainly constitute a tremendous vote of confidence in Mobile and its future. There is every reason to believe that this expression of confidence in our community by these industries can be used to help attract the needed new industrial employment to replace the phase-out of Brookley and to enable our City to forge ahead as it should as a great industrial seaport.

Your City Government has proceeded with the following program:

1) The City Commission by unanimous consent appointed the Mobile Municipal Industrial Commission composed of City-wide representation, including business, labor, ethnic groups and city officials, each to four-year terms, including the following:

S. A. Alsop, Mobile Building Trades Council  
Major General Emmett B. Cassidy, former Commander Mobile Air Materiel Area  
and now local bank official  
M. C. Farmer, Contractor  
Vincent F. Kilborn, Attorney  
City Commissioner Joseph N. Langan  
O. C. Lockett, Banker  
Matthew S. Metcalfe, Jr., Insurance  
City Commissioner George McNally  
Bishop W. M. Smith, Community Leader  
Mayor Charles Trimmer  
J. Ralph Watkins, Chairman, City Planning Commission

Industrial Parks Board is composed of representatives of labor, management, ethnic, and governmental groups." This board was under the control of the city. The commissioners ran an advertisement in the *Mobile Register* during March 1965. With a header, "IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO ALL CITIZENS!" the ad, composed like a nineteenth-century handbill, complained about what it claimed was the long standing lethargy of Mobile's business and political establishment: "We cannot stand by and allow our economy and our people to be adversely affected by the closing of Brookley....The last new major industrial move in the development of new industry in Mobile employing in excess of 100 people was in 1952."<sup>26</sup>

The actions of the commission infuriated the Chamber of Commerce leaders. The commission also faced the ire of the local press. The *Mobile Register* attacked the commission for setting up a second board. Despite this opposition the Parks Board and the commission worked to recruit new industry. Within weeks of the founding of the Parks Board, its directors took an option on the AIDA land at a cost of \$100,000 a year. McNally and Trimmier began to develop the land, appropriating money for an overpass and roads to the tract. That summer, retired General Emmett Cassady, the Parks Board chairman and former commander of Brookley, reported that the board's first year financial goal had been met, for the board had sold enough of the AIDA tract to cover the cost of the first year's option.<sup>27</sup>

The Parks Board's days of activity soon ended. City elections were held in the fall of 1965 and voters turned McNally and Trimmier out of office. Joseph Langan, who had been on the City Commission since 1953, was returned to office for what would be his last term on the commission. In May 1966 the directors of the Parks Board resigned and new directors were named, none of whom were labor or African-American. The Board's operations moved out of City Hall and into the Chamber of Commerce, where all its records were to be kept. Brookley closed on June 30, 1969, its property converted to private industry, an airport, and educational facilities. In late 1972, under pressure from the City Commission, Mobile's two industrial development boards merged. On October 19, 1972, the directors of the Mobile Industrial Parks Board voted unanimously to dissolve the board that had been founded in the struggle between George McNally and the Chamber of Commerce during the mid-1960s. The Parks Board had not issued any bonds.<sup>28</sup>

A notable conflict had occurred several months before the dissolution of the Parks Board, a conflict that signaled an effort by the city commissioners to increase their influence within the City IDB.

Mayor Lambert Mims complained, as had his predecessor George McNally, that the City IDB was not working aggressively enough to recruit industry, and also like McNally, Mims proposed the industrial development boards be made more inclusive. In August Mims suggested that the City IDB and the Parks Board be combined into "a single development board of perhaps 20 members including representatives from labor, the black community and women's organizations." The City IDB ignored Mims's call for diversity. In October the City IDB voted to co-opt four new directors from the Parks Board onto the older board. The four were all well-to-do, white businessmen. This suggested the merger was a reprise of the business faction struggles of the mid-1960s, one that also revealed the Chamber had no interest in diversity.<sup>29</sup>

Though economists debate how effective incentives are in recruiting industry, the loss to the local tax base from the board's exemptions can be estimated. During its first decade the City IDB held some seventy meetings and issued forty-two million dollars in tax-exempt bonds in ten bond issues. By 1974 the City IDB had issued, since it began operation, an impressive total of \$154,750,000 of industrial development bonds. This was only the beginning. In the thirty years after its founding the City IDB issued over a billion dollars worth of bonds and granted hundreds of millions of dollars in property tax exemptions.<sup>30</sup>

Industries in Mobile County in 1993 were exempt from more than ten million dollars each year in local ad valorem taxes, including a four-million-dollar portion that would have been dedicated to the local school system. Mobile County led all counties in Alabama in these exemptions. Only in the early 1990s, when the exemption of school taxes became controversial, did the Alabama legislature enact the Tax Reform Act of 1992. The legislation ended all future school tax exemptions and limited all new property tax exemptions to ten years. George McNally had tangled with Mobile's business establishment and lost. The commissioner and his allies failed in their effort to involve local government—and the voters—directly in industry hunting. McNally's boldness forced private interests to become more active in recruiting new industry, but these interests made sure that Mobile city government would not control economic development in Mobile County.<sup>31</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Alabama Department of Revenue, *Tax Exempt Real and Personal Property by Lessee for the State of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1993), 1-12; James C. Cobb, *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990*, 2<sup>d</sup> ed. (Urbana, 1993), 13-28; Alabama, *Cater Act, Statutes* (1949); Arthur A. Thompson, *Industrial Development Bond Financing: Business and Community Experiences and Opinions* (University, Alabama: Alabama Business Research Council, 1970), 27-53.

<sup>2</sup>Bureau for Business Research, "Economic Abstract of Alabama" (University of Alabama, August 1962); Bureau for Business Research, "Basic Labor Market Information, by County, Alabama, Economic Abstract of 1972" (University of Alabama, 1973); Melton McLaurin and Michael Thomason, *Mobile: The Life and Times of a Great Southern City* (Woodland Hills, California, 1981), 108-114, 125-42; Robert Radcliff, Jr., interview, December 17, 1997; Bureau for Business Research, "Economic Abstract of Alabama" (University of Alabama, August 1963); Bureau of Business Research, "Impact of the Brookley Air Force Base Closing on the Economy of Mobile, Alabama" (University of Alabama, 1968, 7-27); *Mobile*

*Register*, September 18, 1961; *Mobile Press*, September 25, 1961; *Mobile Register*, November 8, 1961.

<sup>3</sup>*Mobile Republican American*, April 5, 1963; *Mobile Register*, September 30, 1961, December 17, 1987, August 17, 1997, January 24, 1967, June 26, 1961.

<sup>4</sup>Southern Institute of Management, *Mobile Metropolitan Area Audit Preliminary Report*, Vol. 1 (Louisville, Kentucky: Southern Institute of Management, 1960), 12-18; Sheldon Morgan, interviews, December 9 and 16, 1997.

<sup>5</sup>Charles P. Roland, *The Improbable Era: The South since World War II*, rev. ed. (Lexington, KY, 1976), 21-29; *Mobile Press*, August 31, 1961; John Patterson to T. S. Peterson, telegram, July 26, 1961, Alabama Governors, Patterson 1959-1963, Planning and Industrial Development, SG 14014, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

<sup>6</sup>Robert W. Gay, Memorandum for the File, December 11, 1961, Little Study, Mobile Municipal Archives (MMA); Robert W. Gay to A. F. Delchamps and others, December 12, 1962, Little Study; Arthur D. Little Inc., "Industrial Opportunities in Mobile, Alabama" (Cambridge, July 1962), MMA.

<sup>7</sup>*Mobile Register*, July 19, 1962; Arthur D. Little Inc., "Industrial Opportunities in Mobile, Alabama," 1-53; Arthur D. Little Inc., "Draft Report, 'Industrial Opportunities in Mobile, Alabama,'" July 1962, 1-11; Sheldon Morgan, interview, December 9, 1997.

<sup>8</sup>Arthur D. Little Inc., "Industrial Opportunities in Mobile, Alabama," 45-50; Sheldon Morgan, interview, December 9, 1997; *Mobile Press*, April 11, 1957, September 5, 1961; Arthur D. Little Inc. to City of Mobile, County of Mobile, Alabama State Docks, Alabama Industrial Development Association and Mobile Chamber of Commerce, August 22, 1962, George E. McNally, MMA; *Mobile Press*, March 31, 1965.

<sup>9</sup>George McNally to Clyde Foreman, June 15, 1962, McNally, Chronological Correspondence, RG7, S4, B1, MMA; *Mobile Register*, August 21, 1961; Joseph Langan, interview, May 8, 1995.

<sup>10</sup>George Denniston, interview, May 11, 1995; Sheldon Morgan, interview, December 16, 1997.

<sup>11</sup>A.F. Delchamps, Robert Radcliff and M. E. Weatherby application to Mobile City Commission, July 16, 1962, MMA; *Mobile Press*, August 24, 1962.

<sup>12</sup>Mobile City Commission Minutes, September 6, 1962, MMA; Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce, "Industrial Survey, Mobile, Alabama," July 1961, MMA; Joseph Langan, interview, May 8, 1995; *Mobile Register*, September 6, 1962; *Mobile Press*, September 6, 1962.

<sup>13</sup>Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce document, "Officers, Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce, 1964," Mobile Public Library (MPL) clipping file, "Chamber of Commerce"; American National Bank and Trust Company, Mobile, Alabama, Statement of Condition, March 31, 1961, MPL clipping file, "Banks and Banking";

First National Bank, Mobile, Alabama, Statement of Condition, March 31, 1961, MPL clipping file, "Banks and Banking"; Merchants National Bank of Mobile, Alabama, Statement of Condition, March 31, 1961, MPL clipping file, "Banks and Banking"; *Mobile City Directory*, 1962.

<sup>14</sup>Minutes of the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile, September 13, October 8, October 15, and October 26, 1962, Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce (MACC), Industrial Development Board of City of Mobile (City IDB); Alabama, *Act No. 854, Statutes* (1953); Joseph Langan, interview, May 8, 1995; City IDB document, "Trustees," Chamber of Commerce, MMA.

<sup>15</sup>Minutes, October 8, 1962, MACC, City IDB. Note: Delchamps had served as president of the Mobile County school board during the 1950s. See *Mobile Register*, September 19, 1951.

<sup>16</sup>Minutes, November 14, 1962, November 15, 1962, 3:30 P.M., and 4:30 P.M., MACC, City IDB.

<sup>17</sup>*Mobile Register*, November 17, 1962; George Denniston, interview, May 11, 1995.

<sup>18</sup>George E. McNally to Charles S. Trimmier, November 8, 1962, Boards, Industrial Development, RG6, S15, B12, MMA; *Mobile Register*, September 6, 1962; M. E. Weatherby to Mobile City Commission, September 13, 1963, McNally, chronological correspondence, RG7, S4, B1, MMA.

<sup>19</sup>*Mobile Register*, February 19, 1964.

<sup>20</sup>Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce report, "Mobile's Industrial Expansion Since 1925," Industries, RG6, S46, B1, MMA; Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce statement, "Reasons for Concentrated Industrial Program Under the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce Leadership," Langan, Chamber of Commerce, RG7, S3, B4, MMA.

<sup>21</sup>Resolution of Mobile City Commission, June 16, 1964, MMA; *Mobile Press*, June 18, 1964; E. A. Benson to Joseph N. Langan with enclosure, "Resolution Adopted by the Board of Directors of the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce on June 25, 1964," June 26, 1964, Services, Consultants, Industries, MMA; *Mobile Register*, June 28, 1964; Robert H. Lowe to George McNally, July 3, 1964, Services, Dept. of Industrial Procurement and Development, MMA.

<sup>22</sup>*Mobile Press*, August 19, 1964.



<sup>23</sup>Bureau of Business Research, "Impact of the Brookley Air Force Base Closing on the Economy of Mobile," 1-4.

<sup>24</sup>Statement of Commissioner George E. McNally, copy of text, November 30, 1964, McNally, RG7, S4, B1, MMA; *Mobile Press*, December 2, 1964.

<sup>25</sup>C.M.A. Rogers to Jack Edwards, December 10, 1964, Jack Edwards to Charles Trimmier, December 4, 1964, Charles S. Trimmier to Jack Edward, December 23, 1964, William H. Armbrecht to Jack Edwards, November 27, 1964, J. Roy Smith to Jack Edwards, November 27, 1964, Jack Edwards Papers (JEP), Box 1, Brookley AFB, University of South Alabama Archives (USAA).

<sup>26</sup>*Mobile Register*, February 3, 1965; *Mobile Press*, March 31, 1965; Mobile City Commission to Donald F. Bradford, March 8, 1965, JEP, USAA; Mobile County Probate Court, "Certificate of Incorporation of the Industrial Development Board of the City of Mobile," September 13, 1962; Mobile City Commission resolution, "Resolution Approving Application For Incorporation of the Mobile Industrial Parks Board, Inc.," February 2, 1965, Industrial Boards, RG6, S15, B12, MMA; *Mobile Press*, March 10, 1965.

<sup>27</sup>*Mobile Register*, August 4, 1965; Mobile Industrial Parks Board document, "Option To Purchase," March 6, 1965, Industrial Parks, RG6, S15, B12, MMA; Emmett Cassidy to George McNally, August 30, 1965, Industrial Parks, RG6, S15, B12, MMA.

<sup>28</sup>*Mobile Register*, September 7, 1965, September 5, 1965, September 1, 1965, June 29, 1969; Sheldon Morgan to Members of the Mobile Industrial Parks Board and the City Commission, December 16, 1966, Industrial Parks, RG6, S15, B12, MMA; City of Mobile report, "Summary of the present Industrial Development Board and the old Industrial Parks Board," October 21, 1974, MMA; *Mobile Register*, June 29, 1969; Sheldon Morgan to Members of the Mobile Industrial Parks Board and the City Commission, December 16, 1966, Industrial Parks, RG6, S15, B12, MMA; Mobile Industrial Parks Board, "Certificate of Dissolution the Mobile Industrial Parks Board," October 19, 1972, Industrial Parks, RG6, S15, B12, MMA.

<sup>29</sup>*Mobile Register*, August 10, 1972; Minutes, August 24, 1972, MACC, City IDB; Minutes, October 11, 1972, MACC, City IDB; *Mobile Register*, October 18, 1972.

<sup>30</sup>*Mobile Register*, November 3, 1971; City of Mobile report, "Summary of the present Industrial Development Board and the old Industrial Parks Board," October 21, 1974, MMA.

<sup>31</sup>Alabama Department of Revenue, *Tax Exempt Real and Personal Property by Lessee for the State of Alabama* (Montgomery, 1993); Alabama, *Tax Reform Act. Statutes* (1992).

Bill Patterson, who has received his M.A. in history at the University of South Alabama, is a freelance writer.

## Another Provincetown? Alabama's Gulf Coast Art Colonies At Bayou La Batre And Coden

Lynn Barstis Williams

Not long before the outbreak of World War II, an anonymous author writing in the WPA's *Alabama: A Guide to the Deep South* described two small villages that were located west of Mobile on the Portersville Bay area of the Gulf Coast:

BAYOU LA BATRE (964 pop.), a small community of winding streets and cottages set in gardens of roses, poppies, geraniums, larkspur and golden glow. Small musty shops, dim with age are reminiscent of a Basque village. The road curves down to a water front littered with piles of oyster shells dumped by the canning factories where many of the townsfolk work. Smelly oyster and shrimp boats their scarred hulls salt-stained and drab with age, crowd the shore line while discharging cargoes, or rock quietly at anchor in the bayou.

And of a smaller, nearby settlement:

CODEN (corrupt French, *coq d'Inde* turkey gobbler), 9.1 M. (300 pop.), a resort and fishing village on Bayou Coden.... The quaint white-painted Catholic church and the ramshackle oyster houses stand beside the bayou where boats discharge their daily catches. The scene is especially beautiful at sunset.

Artists discovered the visual attraction these fishing villages offered in the 1940s as a small group of painters organized art colonies which met several times a year in Bayou La Batre and later in Coden from 1946 to 1953. In a larger sense these coastal colonies sprang from the felicitous experience artists enjoyed at the Dixie Art Colony, which existed from 1933 to 1948 and found a permanent site on Lake Jordan in Elmore County, Alabama, after 1937.<sup>1</sup> The Bayou La Batre and Coden colonies continued the Dixie colony's character as an art camp with artists housed together dormitory style; however, since the Gulf Coast colonies were located in fishing villages, they offered those communities the hope of a touch of renown with more diversified economic growth through development of a tourist industry attracted by the artists, similar to the well-known art colonies on the New England coast, like Provincetown.

Some of the artists who attended the Dixie Art Colony organized small, informal painting trips to Bayou La Batre in the 1940s, where they rented a house for a few days. In 1945 and 1946 five artists from



*Colonists under shed at Oyster House, Bayou La Batre. Martha Moon Kracke.*

the colony— Warree LeBron, Kelly Fitzpatrick, Louise Everton, Louise Hemenway and Genevieve Southerland—made painting trips to the town of Bayou La Batre for a few days at a time. Southerland probably organized these excursions since she was from the Mobile area and had friends in Bayou La Batre. Calling themselves “The Five Alabamians,” they arranged a traveling exhibit of their work which they scheduled for month-long shows at galleries in the East and Midwest from November 1945 to September 1946.<sup>2</sup> In 1946 Southerland organized a larger gathering of artists which began meeting in Mobile but found a home in Bayou La Batre until 1949 and from 1950 until 1953 in Coden.

Born in 1895, Genevieve Southerland was in her early fifties when she began organizing the Gulf Coast art colonies. During her early years she had studied art with Mobile artist Roderick MacKenzie and in New York at the Art Students League. She worked as an art teacher at a high school in Chatom, Alabama, but when marriage and a family came along, she placed her art on hold for twenty years. When she resumed painting around 1942, she included sessions at the Dixie colony where she studied with Kelly Fitzpatrick, and by early 1943 she had a show of her paintings at the Montgomery Museum of Art.<sup>3</sup> She also exhibited locally with the Alabama Water Color Society, winning a medal in 1944 and a prize in 1946, as well as the Alabama Art League in whose 1945 exhibition she won a prize. Beyond Alabama Southerland exhibited with the Southern States Art League in 1945, and the Studio Guild of New York in 1944 and 1946.<sup>4</sup> Like most of the participants at the Dixie Art colony, Southerland found a special sort of spontaneous pleasure at the colony led by Fitzpatrick, so she began organizing another colony on the coast near her home in 1946.

Southerland probably organized the Gulf colonies in 1946 because during that year, the prospects of the Dixie Art Colony appeared bleak. In January 1946 Sallie Boyd Carmichael (Mrs. Malcolm), or Sally B. as she was called by the colonists, who had managed and financially supported the Dixie colony, suffered a stroke; as a result the organization was suspended for that year. Kelly Fitzpatrick, the charismatic artist and teacher at the Dixie, had worked with Mrs. Carmichael and her daughter Warree LeBron, also an artist, to organize the gatherings. Although Sally B. partially recovered from the stroke, she couldn't assume her former responsibilities. Kelly and Warree struggled to keep the colony going and managed to do so from 1947 to 1948, but it was not easy. Time, energy, and finances were a problem. Years later LeBron wrote to Maybelle Gay that the effort was too much because Kelly insisted she make all major decisions so she finally gave up.<sup>5</sup>

In south Alabama, the first location of the colony Southerland organized was not on the coast but in Mobile, where she had found accommodations to house a larger group of artists. In May 1946 she sent type-written form letters as invitations to select artists telling them about her "tentative plan" for a "painting party," which would be held for two weeks at her old home in Mobile during the month of June.

According to Mrs. Robert Weston, one of Southerland's two daughters, the property, located on Old Shell Road, had been owned by Southerland's mother, Mrs. N. D. McClure.<sup>6</sup> On this property were two old houses: a spacious, raised cottage of at least four bedrooms as well as a two-story house in the back. The dwellings sat on five acres of oak trees and magnolias. Although the family had sold the property, they were continuing to live there as caretakers until it was resold; Southerland did not see any problem housing the painters there for several weeks at a time at least through the summer of 1946.

In that invitational letter Southerland detailed her plans to have another woman, a Mrs. Schell from Chatom, Alabama, to manage all housekeeping responsibilities as well as business and secretarial matters. To cover expenses she intended to charge twenty dollars per week or three dollars per day. Mrs. Schell would supply the cook. In 1946 some foods were still rationed as a result of World War II, so she encouraged everyone to bring a few pounds of sugar or a ration stamp. Although the Southerlands provided beds and most other furnishings, the letter instructed painters to bring their own bedding. It mentioned that Genevieve hoped to have a group of around fifteen artists attending. As



*Dorothy Boone, Genevieve Southerland, Shiney Moon, Kelly Fitzpatrick. Martha Moon Kracke.*

to subjects for their paintings, a sentence noted Mobile's beauty and added that they could make trips to Bayou La Batre, old Fort Morgan and other picturesque points in the surrounding area.<sup>7</sup>

According to a later letter from Southerland to artist Carlos Alpha (Shiney) Moon of Florala, Alabama, that initial colony session had been a success. Genevieve wrote, "No one had as much fun on the painting party as I did. I loved having you all and I think it was the nicest crowd we could have possibly gotten together. All of us so congenial. Bob [her husband] loved seeing me enjoy you painters." Jane Southerland, daughter of Genevieve, who often accompanied her mother to colonies, stated that the artists had the use of the grandmother's automobile, a "limousine" which they all piled into to travel to local sites.<sup>8</sup> The letter to Moon indicated they hoped to have another session in August but had not yet obtained a commitment from Mrs. Schell. Genevieve Southerland assured the success of her Gulf Coast colonies by having Kelly Fitzpatrick as a "guest critic." Her letter added that Kelly was "most anxious" for a second session and "as you know, if Kelly comes we will have a good crowd because everyone loves Kelly."<sup>9</sup>

At least one other colony session took place for several weeks in October 1946, but in Bayou La Batre rather than Mobile. Genevieve Southerland opened a letter urging Shiney to attend by exclaiming, "Well, here we are all settled in the little house at Bayou la Batre." Apparently the site of the first colony session in Mobile had been sold so she had to find another, which she did in Bayou La Batre. According Mrs. Weston, Southerland was friends with Miss Alma Bryant, a prominent educator in Bayou La Batre, who found a house there for them to rent.<sup>10</sup> In a letter which Kelly wrote to Shiney before the second session to ascertain exactly when he and other artists planned to be at the Bayou, he indicated the house in Bayou La Batre was smaller with fewer rooms for sleeping quarters so fewer participants could stay there together at one time. In Kelly's words, "If everyone came at once, we would be in a stew." He added that at least the men would have a room by themselves.<sup>11</sup> Mrs. Weston indicated the house had six rooms: two in front, two in the middle, and two in back, with a large screened in front porch in the front as well. A map Genevieve drew to direct Shiney to the cottage shows its location on Little River Road, which is on Snake bayou a short distance from the center of town. One newspaper article mentioned that it was "shaded by venerable oaks" and another that it sat across from an oyster house on the bayou where they could gather to paint the marshland.<sup>12</sup>

An interview with Shiney Moon in a November 1946 *Mobile Press Register* testified to the resounding success of the newly established colony. Shiney, a Florala merchant who began attending the Dixie colony in 1944 to paint as a hobby, praised Mrs. Southerland's efforts exclaiming, "she has done a wonderful job for us." The article indicated the group had adopted the name "Southland Painters" and stated it was housed in a "gas-lighted building nestled in a grove of trees facing the bayou."<sup>13</sup> Genevieve Southerland was pleased with that article, writing Shiney in a later letter, "Well Shiney, You *did* get us some more publicity, didn't you? We all enjoyed the article and the people at Bayou La Batre were pleased."<sup>14</sup>

An old community established in 1786 by Joseph Bosarge, Bayou La Batre in the 1940s was an unincorporated village with a growing population whose livelihood was dependant on the nearby Gulf. Many local histories besides the WPA *Guide* note its picturesque qualities and charm.<sup>15</sup> Local newspaper articles contemporary with the colony claimed the place had much to offer artists, emphasizing two local attractions. First, the economy was based on fishing which offered images of "rugged, weather beaten old fishermen rigged out in slick sou'westers



*Oil painting, bayou scene by Genevieve Southerland.  
Nell Southerland Weston.*

and long rubber boots as they embark with their deep sea fleets for the famous fishing troves of the Mexican Gulf." Painters set up their easels on the "ox-bow" curves of the river bank to capture a view of the boats as they set out to sea or to render blue oyster houses surrounded by "white shells glistening in the sun." Accompanying tasks such as hanging nets to dry seized their attention as well as other local industries like boat building or a terrapin farm. Second, the natural beauty of the bayou with its marsh grass, winding streams, and gnarled old trees also offered distinctive vistas for landscape painters to depict as well as unusual plant life to render.<sup>16</sup> Shiney Moon praised the site, noting that "The inspirations afforded by the scenery around Bayou La Batre are without parallel," and added, "It has been estimated that material for at least five year's work is to be found there."<sup>17</sup>

After the first successful year of the Bayou La Batre colony, the Southerlands leased the house for a second year with an option for yet a third. They planned for the first session of 1947 to be in April and raised membership fees to fifteen dollars a year to cover one month's rent and incidentals. Genevieve contacted other members of the Dixie colony to encourage their participation. She originally considered fifteen participants her goal for the colony; however, less ample housing necessitated a reduction in numbers. Her February 1947 letter to Shiney Moon noted that they projected twelve members for that year but had been pressured to admit a few more. Apparently some bad feelings arose concerning at least one artist whom Genevieve declined to invite that second year: Hannah Elliott, one of the founders of the Birmingham Art Association who was a well-known, long-time art teacher in that city. Genevieve wrote to Shiney:

I didn't ask Miss Hannah but have gotten into so much trouble about this I may have to ask her. You know we *all* selected the group and decided we would ask only painters in dead earnest, since we had such a small house and would have to limit our membership. Arthur Stewart even offered to pay Miss Hannah's membership fees! And when Clarendon was in B[irmingham] she told him she had been "left out!" Ah dear—I do have a hard time don't I? Miss Hannah is a dear, but she really doesn't paint very much any time.<sup>18</sup>

Although her first invitational announcement stating plans for the colony included Miss Elliott serving as guest critic, like Kelly Fitzpatrick, this letter to Shiney revealed that the change in housing caused complications in decisions she had to make concerning participation.

Both Genevieve Southerland and Kelly Fitzpatrick wrote letters to Shiney Moon to encourage his attendance. Genevieve's letters indicate



he was an asset to the group because he was male. One letter asked him to hurry up and get to the second colony session. It remarks that of the Dixie Art colony artists Shiney would have known, Louise Hemenway and Georgia Askew were already there, but they were waiting for more fellows: Kelly, Walter Keith of Alexander City, and Shiney. Genevieve wrote, "Now Shiney, the weather is right and the painting is good and we want you boys to hurry up and *get* here."<sup>19</sup> A later letter postmarked February 1947 indicates she wanted to achieve a balance of the sexes since she claimed that there were never enough men in the group. Concerning this aspect she remarked, "I am not sure how big a crowd we'll have in April but of course we never have enough men! I have tried my best to get Kelly some companions! Allan Noie has half promised, and I believe Arthur Stewart will come."<sup>20</sup> With few women working outside the home in these post World War II years, they would have had more free time for artistic pursuits than their male counterparts. Apparently Genevieve and maybe some others felt relatively equal numbers of men and women would create the most interesting and stimulating company. Furthermore, Kelly Fitzpatrick was known for his congeniality, good humor, and high spirits; Shiney Moon was of a similar, personable nature and evidence suggests other male members were as well.

Genevieve Southerland announced the second Spring meeting of the colony in March 1947 exclaiming in her invitational letter, "Spring has come to Bayou La Batre: wild violets are blooming around our cottage, the trees are budding, and all the landscape is beckoning to painters." She then added, "Across the Bayou from Pirates Oak there is a big boat partly submerged. You will all want to paint it with its tilted masts." The colony would meet, the flyer stated, in the month of April, so they hoped people could come on the first and stay through the thirtieth. It also warned artists to bring all their painting supplies with them as these were not available for purchase in Bayou La Batre and difficult to find in Mobile. To make it easier for folks to get to the colony, the notice stated that the Southerlands would assist in transporting artists from the bus station if they were notified in advance. Artists who had become members were listed at the bottom, including Hannah Elliot. All had attended the Dixie Art Colony except one couple, John and Mary Moore. When Kelly and Warree managed to revive the Dixie colony in 1947, the "Bayou crowd" in Kelly's words, tried to schedule sessions so artists could attend both.<sup>21</sup> Successful sessions of the Bayou La Batre colony took place during both the Spring and late September of 1947. By the fall session a total of twenty members took turns occupying the house and became known as the "Bayou Painters."<sup>22</sup>

The Bayou Painters exhibited their paintings at the local high school after the fall sessions in 1946 and 1947. An article from a 1946 *Mobile Press Register* stated that "hundreds of the townspeople turned out to enjoy the display and express their appreciation." George Bryant, the school's principal, noted that "They seemed...to experience a sense of deep pride in the fact that their town was serving art."<sup>23</sup> A review of the 1947 exhibit in the same newspaper claimed that an attendance figure of two thousand, "virtually the town's entire census list," had been reached at the first exhibit, so they expected a similar turnout the second year. However that later article included Southerland's comments that the artists had to win the cooperation of the town folk who displayed "real opposition" initially due to their distrust and suspicion of artists in general. She noted that residents soon realized that the artists were also workers and were not in Bayou La Batre to idly amuse themselves. The article added that now, "farsighted citizens" realized the publicity value for the town in the artists' renderings of its "unique pictorial qualities" and "romantic past."<sup>24</sup>

None of the *Mobile Press* articles reporting on these exhibits actually reviewed paintings by the artists, but it is likely the town residents reacted favorably with high attendance due to the style the paintings displayed. Although artists in major art centers were quickly gravitating toward abstraction on a flattened picture space, the paintings executed by the Bayou La Batre colonists were fairly conventional, remaining within a traditional, realist vein often seen in early twentieth-century painting. This realism was marked by emphasis on outdoor light, the heritage of nineteenth-century Impressionism, and included heightened color in both oil and water color. Kelly Fitzpatrick, the acknowledged master artist to whom the others turned for advice, often displayed dazzling color in his paintings. He also openly expressed contempt for modernist, experimental trends in form and cultivated a traditional aesthetic of beauty which students, such as Genevieve, also adopted. Later in the 1950s Shiney Moon broke out of this traditional, realist mold and experimented with a variety of "isms" before developing his own abstract style; however, during his time at the colonies he perfected a nuanced, figurative style with a line which became lighter and more delicate than Kelly's as he progressed. From the little evidence available of paintings by other members besides those of the instructors, these students worked in Kelly's painterly manner using minimal detail with brilliant, saturated color.

As they learned of the artists' work in their community, residents of Bayou La Batre began to consider reviving a tourist industry, which had distinguished their village and that at nearby Coden at the end of

the nineteenth century. Because southern cities like Mobile were hot, fetid, and unhealthy during summers in the nineteenth century, both Bayou La Batre and Coden became resorts attracting tourists from Mobile after the Civil War. They could relax in comfortable hotels noted for their fine cuisine, hospitality, and fishing opportunities. However fierce hurricanes, first in 1906 and then in 1916, destroyed that commerce and others, with economic depression in the area as a result.<sup>25</sup>

The October 1947 *Mobile Press* article reporting the colony's exhibit indicated that Bayou La Batre contemplated the tourist economy returning due to the artists' colony's presence: "Many [residents] even visualize the dawn of a new era of tourism and of far-flung fame, such as Provincetown and other fishing villages along the New England coast have long enjoyed as thriving art centers."<sup>26</sup> There various artists established schools which emphasized *pleine aire* painting, or painting from nature, beginning with Charles Hawthorne in 1899. The site first attained its prominence as an artists' colony at the outbreak of World War I when many American artists coming back from Europe settled there.<sup>27</sup> Citizens' hopes that Bayou La Batre would lure tourism along with artists were not unrealistic since in other southern coastal communities, such as St. Augustine, Charleston, and New Orleans, tourism had developed together with art colonies.<sup>28</sup>

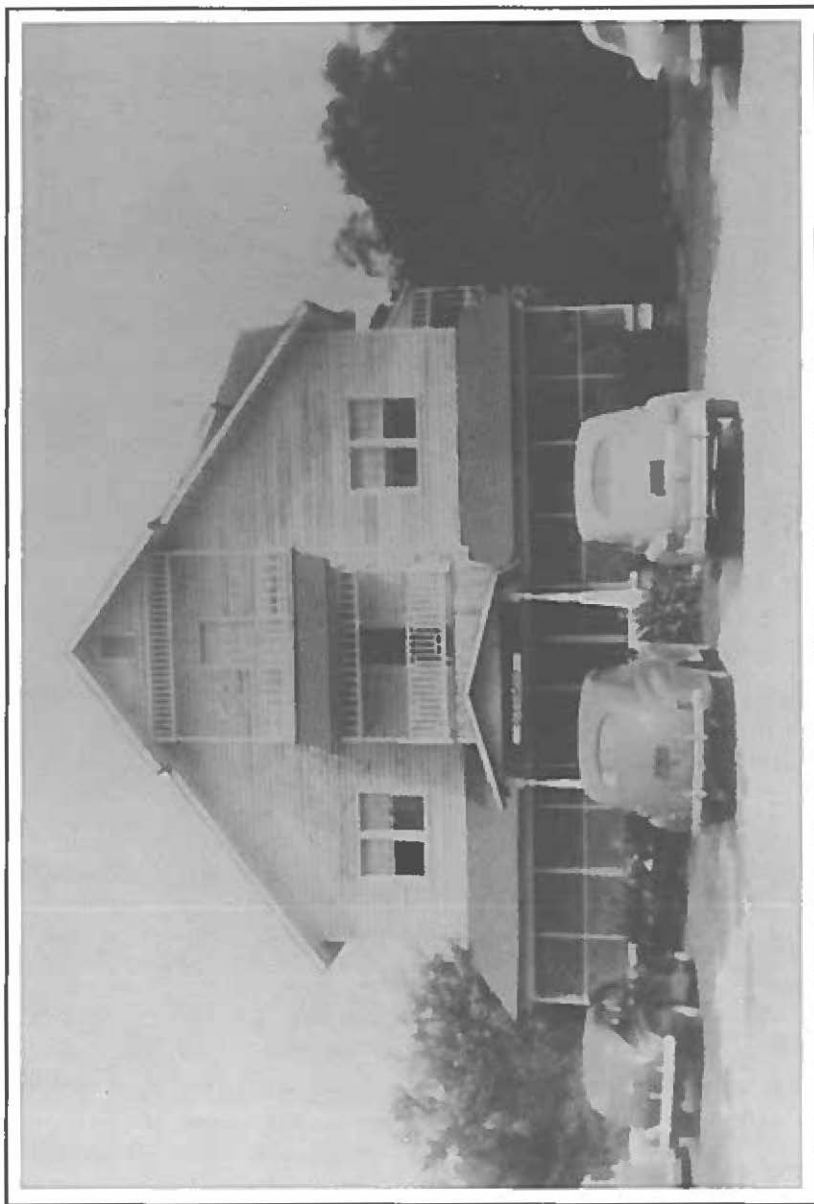
The Bayou La Batre colony continued through 1948 and 1949, and news of its existence gradually spread beyond Alabama. In a letter to Shiny Moon in 1948, Kelly Fitzpatrick mentioned that Edward Shorter, a Georgia artist who became the first director of the Columbus Museum, planned to attend.<sup>29</sup> A 1948 *Mobile Press* article reported that there were usually artists from four other southern states besides Alabama attending, including Georgia, Florida, Texas, and Tennessee. A number of these were new to the colony experience as the group included fewer members of the Dixie colony and more local artists from the Mobile area. Mrs. Southerland told the reporter that there was a "considerable waiting list." The article also noted that by 1948 the colony was meeting three times per year: according to Genevieve Southerland once in the spring "for the beauty of blooming tung trees"; in summer "for the greens and full waterfront life"; and in the fall "for the browns and grays of the marshes."<sup>30</sup>

In 1949 Bayou La Batre residents began to promote the tourist potential of the area by incorporating the Bayou La Batre-Coden Chamber of Commerce. A 1949 *Mobile Press* article reporting this event stated that the organization planned to promote seafood and "affiliated industries" but in addition hoped to attract vacationers as well. The

article added that the area offered possibilities for development into a "haven for photographers and artists seeking the beauty of the bayous, the giant oaks and moss and the picturesque fishing fleet."<sup>31</sup> Undoubtedly, the presence of an art colony helped inspire this vision. With growing prosperity in the post-World War II years, the Gulf Coast was attracting tourists and vacationers; Bayou La Batre and Coden hoped to participate in the area's boom.<sup>32</sup>

By 1950 a change of locale occurred as the colony moved to Coden, a smaller community of 846 residents only a few miles away. A *Mobile Press Register* article announcing the Coden colony included the introductory phrase: "With visions of the Alabama coast becoming in a few years the sort of Summer mecca for painters that New England shores are now."<sup>33</sup> By this time Shiney Moon and Kelly Fitzpatrick had a professionally printed black and white brochure about the colony which accompanied an application form. The cover indicated that the Coden Art Colony was sponsored by the Bayou Painters, so the group continued to be known by that name. The stated aims of the organization were similar to those on flyers for the Dixie Art Colony: to serve as a "painting vacation" that provided the southern painter with "an agreeable place to paint among pleasant companions of kindred spirit." However, its prose soared toward the superlative since the colony session was characterized as, "the most wonderful painting week of your LIFE—a week you will always remember and always cherish." Kelly's impish spirit can be heard in a statement toward the end: "If you have a grouch please leave it at home or stay there and nurse it... you cannot keep a grudge in this idyllic spot!"

The brochure also compared the Coden colony to those in New England. It claimed the Coden site was "like Gloucester, Rockport, Provincetown and all the famous New England haunts EXCEPT that it has MORE and all with a SOUTHERN ACCENT that is thoroughly delightful." Specifically Coden had "fish houses, oyster, shrimp and crabbing boats....moss-hung live oaks, aged piers" with "nets always drying." Place names such as "Bayou La Batre, Mullet Bayou, Snake Bayou" and finally "Cedar Point, the last tip-end of Alabama" were also mentioned.<sup>34</sup> Besides simply enjoying painting in good company, Kelly's larger aim for both the Dixie and Gulf Coast colonies was to provide opportunities for training and exhibits to keep southern artists in the South. He had served on the board of directors of the Southern States Art League from 1933 to 1946, an organization which had long had that as its stated goal, and he frequently promoted the South for its



*Oleander Hotel, Coden. Nell Southerland Weston.*

myriad painting opportunities.<sup>35</sup> In the summer of 1950 Kelly, Shiney, Genevieve, and Dorothy Boone traveled to Burnsville, North Carolina, to observe the methods which Edward Shorter used in administering his colony and art school there.

Genevieve Southerland continued to act as official director of the colony with Kelly and Shiney working as instructors. Dorothy Boone, an artist active in the Mobile Art Association, became the organization's secretary, processing application forms and answering the inquiries the brochure invited. Genevieve rented the entire second floor of the Oleander Hotel, which had a big studio open to the Gulf breezes, and other rooms were available if needed. Charges were five dollars per day or twenty-five dollars for the one-week session. Colonists could eat at what the brochure described as the "many famous eating places in the surrounding country including the nationally famous 'Mary's Place,' McBrides, Scotts, Bayleys, and the incomparable McKee Restaurant at Bayou La Batre that serves as the home kitchen for the Bayou Painters."

An article in the *Mobile Press Register* appearing in August 20, 1950, at the end of the first colony session stated the town of Coden had been "invaded" by twenty-three artists from several Alabama cities and one from Texas. They could be found "clustered on beaches or bridges—sometimes as early as five in the morning—creating a Coden from bottles and tubes of color." Their daily schedule, similar to that at the Dixie Art Colony, was as follows: "All together they journeyed to one designated spot in the morning stayed busy until noon's luncheon break. Then they met again about three and painted until it got too dark to see colors." In the evening, according to the article, criticism was offered to those who wanted it or talks were given by one of the staff.<sup>36</sup> A 1951 newspaper article shows a photo of colonists at two tables in Mary's Place with the comment that they were in the midst of such an evening critique. Paintings by the colonists can be seen on the walls of the restaurant.<sup>37</sup>

In spite of Genevieve's hopes for fairly equal numbers of men and women, the group continued to have a female majority. The *Mobile Press* article stated that of the twenty-three members, women, specifically housewives, were in the majority. Most were from the Mobile area with Birmingham and south Alabama towns next. The oldest member was a man of sixty-three and the youngest a girl of nineteen. The newspaper article further stated that most of the group were beginners or had only been painting a few years. The list of artists participating at the end of the article reveals a change of membership from that of the Bayou.

It included few of the former Dixie Art colony members who had also appeared on the initial lists of Bayou La Batre. However Louise Everton and Louise Hemenway, both regulars at the Dixie Colony, are present in photographs of the group taken at some time during the 1950-52 years. Louise Hemenway from Tampa was elevated to the level of an instructor at the Coden colony in 1952. Two people who became known as outstanding artists in the Gulf Coast area, Frances Harris and George Bryant, were also members, according to the article.<sup>38</sup>

In Kelly's estimation the colony continued to be a success. As at the Dixie and Bayou La Batre colonies, Coden participants continued to enjoy painting together with a good deal of fun emanating from Kelly's high spirit and good humor. His letter to Shiney postmarked August 21, 1951 stated, "WELL it was grand while it lasted and I am FILING it away, next to the DIXIE ART COLONY as being among my BEST MEMORIES....I think the colonists had a hell of a good time and that was our job, of course. I really enjoyed the teaching but some of them are getting TOO GOOD—another week or so and they would be as good as I am—thus the DANGER of teaching!"<sup>39</sup> Kelly did not, however, mention the names of any students whose work stood out. From the little evidence available of the work of other members besides those of the instructors, the members continued to paint in Kelly's simplified, but realistic style.

Trouble for the Gulf Coast colonies loomed in the health of all three of its leaders. Kelly, in his mid sixties, suffered from hypertension. He had to miss some Bayou colony sessions due to ill health. On a postcard he sent Shiney in 1949, he noted that although he arrived home without a heart attack, he had high blood pressure and was on a very strict diet. A year later he wrote the same friend to explain why he could not manage group plans for a trip: "I have had a devilofatime [*sic*] these last three weeks...the old hyper T has me and unless it lossens [*sic*] its grip by then I am—just no good." He added, "you can realize the situation better than the others CAN because YOU are cursed with the same old Devil of Hypert."<sup>40</sup>

Born in 1906, Shiney was more than ten years younger than Kelly, but he was supporting a family by running ladies apparel stores in Alabama and Florida. He also was painting and teaching painting to his own art students at the Lake Jackson School of Art he had established in Florala, as well as in other towns in the south Alabama area. He also exhibited throughout the South, traveled to get more art training and find new painting territory, and actively participated in the many artists' organizations in the state. In March 1953 he was elected president



*Colonists waiting for a meal at Mary's Place, Bayou La Batre. Kelly on right, Genevieve second from right, Shiney fourth from left. Martha Moon Kracke.*



of the Alabama Art League. Kelly realized the danger to Shiney as he wrote, "You do go too hard—better take it EASY."<sup>41</sup>

In the spring and summer of 1953 the health of all three leaders of the Gulf Coast art colonies collapsed. In the latter part of April Kelly Fitzpatrick, the long-time leader of the Alabama art world, died of a heart attack at age sixty-five. Genevieve Southerland wrote to Shiney Moon, thanking him for calling to tell her of Kelly's death, and asking, "How will we ever get along without Kelly?" At the end she remarks, "They tell me you have not been well. Do take care of yourself. Let me know how the painting is coming along." However, Genevieve also died suddenly of a massive heart attack only a few months after Kelly on June 30.<sup>42</sup> Then, as her comments to Shiney portend, he too succumbed to the same fate. He suffered a heart attack and died July 27, 1953. Possibly the shock of losing his two closest art companions contributed.

The Gulf Coast art colonies came to an end with the death of their three leaders, and hopes of Bayou La Batre and Coden for developing a name in the art world to attract tourists died with them. The memory of these colonies also faded as none of the histories of Bayou La Batre written in later decades mention their presence during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The best-known artist of the Bayou La Batre-Coden colonies, John Kelly Fitzpatrick, is represented by numerous paintings in the Montgomery Museum of Fine Art, which he helped establish in 1930, and has been remembered by three retrospective exhibits the museum organized with accompanying catalogs over the past thirty years.<sup>43</sup> The Mobile Museum of Art, founded in 1964, has collected a small group of works by Shiney Moon and Genevieve Southerland and hopes to organize an exhibit of the colonists' work after its new building is completed in 2002.

Bayou La Batre continued to develop its tourist potential with the help of local artists. Its major tourist attraction, the annual blessing of the Fleet, which began in 1950, included an art show for many years.<sup>44</sup> However, the only mention of the two Gulf Coast art colonies in later decades occurred in 1979 when *Mobile County News* reported that that year's art show was dedicated to the memory of Genevieve Southerland, the founder of the Bayou Painters. The article added that this organization spent several weeks each year "putting on canvas the beauty and local color of this unique fishing village."<sup>45</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>See Lynn Barstis Williams, "The Dixie Art Colony," *Alabama Heritage* (Summer 1996): 6-15.

<sup>2</sup>Warree LeBron to Maybelle Gay, Warree LeBron Papers in possession of Sally LeBron Holland.

<sup>3</sup>"Southerland Paintings Make Exhibit At Museum," January 31, 1943, Scrapbook of the Alabama Art League, Auburn University Archives.

<sup>4</sup>"Southerland, Genevieve," by Peter Falk, *Who Was Who in American Art: Compiled from the Original Thirty-Four Volumes of American Art Annual: Who's Who in Art, Biographies of American Artists Active from 1898-1947* (Madison, CT, 1985); Christine Neal taped interview with Jane Southerland, 1990, Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts.

<sup>5</sup>John Kelly Fitzpatrick to Warree LeBron, June 18, 1947; Warree LeBron to Maybelle Gay, n.d., LeBron Papers.

<sup>6</sup>Author interview with Mrs. Robert Weston, September 9, 1999.

<sup>7</sup>Papers of Carlos Alpha Moon, Auburn University Archives.

<sup>8</sup>Christine Neal interview with Jane Southerland, Mobile, January 27, 1990.

<sup>9</sup>Genevieve Southerland to Carlos Alpha Moon, July 1, 1946, Moon Papers.

<sup>10</sup>Author interview with Weston.

<sup>11</sup>John Kelly Fitzpatrick to Carlos Alpha Moon, September 18, 1999, Moon Papers.

<sup>12</sup>Marie A. Reed, "Second Annual Exhibit Set at Bayou La Batre," *Mobile Press Register*, October 5, 1947; "Bayou Painters Headquarters Mecca for Artists Representing Five States," *Mobile Press Register*, August 14, 1949.

<sup>13</sup>"Floral Artist Praises Bayou La Batre Colony," *Mobile Press Register*, November 24, 1946.

<sup>14</sup>Southerland to Moon, Tuesday, postmarked November 26, 1946, Moon Papers.

<sup>15</sup>For additional descriptions see Oscar Hugh Lipscomb, "Bayou La Batre: A Sketch," *Alabama Review* 1 (January 1966): 20; *The History of Bayou La Batre*, n.p., n.d., 24; "Bayou La Batre...The Seafood Town," *Port of Mobile* (April 1968): 25; "Celebrating 200 Years," *The Fish Boat* (May 1986): 31.

<sup>16</sup>Reed, "Second Annual Exhibit"; Marie Reed, "Bayou La Batre Center Established by Artists," *Mobile Press Register*, November 3, 1946.

<sup>17</sup>"Floral Artist Praises..."

<sup>18</sup>Southerland to Moon, February 11, 1947, Moon Papers.

<sup>19</sup>Southerland to Moon, Friday, postmarked October 4, 1946, Moon Papers.

<sup>20</sup>Southerland to Moon, Tuesday, postmarked February 18, 1947, Moon Papers.

<sup>21</sup>Fitzpatrick to LeBron, June 18, 1947, LeBron Papers.

<sup>22</sup>Reed, "Second Annual Exhibit."

<sup>23</sup>Reed, "Bayou La Batre Center."

<sup>24</sup>Reed, "Second Annual Exhibit."

<sup>25</sup>See David Holt, *Along the Bay Shore: "Portersville," Coden and Bayou La Batre, Mobile County, Alabama, Summer and Winter Resorts* (Mobile: Minute Man Publishing, n.d.); See also Lee Ann Collier, "Bayou's Rich Past Blends Gumbo of Cultures, Legends," *Mobile County News*, January 22, 1989.

<sup>26</sup>Reed, "Second Annual Exhibit."

<sup>27</sup>Cindy Nickerson, "A Century of Impressionism on Cape Cod," *American Art Review* 11 (July-August 1999): 166-71. See also Janet Flint, *Provincetown Printers: A Woodcut Tradition* (Washington, DC, 1983).

<sup>28</sup>See Martha R. Severens, *The Charleston Renaissance* (Spartanburg, SC, 1998), 4; Lynn Barstis Williams, "Printmaking as a Bozart of the South: 1914-1947," *Southern Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1998): 112-114.

<sup>29</sup>Fitzpatrick to Moon, September 15, 1948, Moon Papers.

<sup>30</sup>"Bayou Painters Headquarters Mecca."

<sup>31</sup>"To Boost Bayou La Batre-Coden," *Mobile Press Register*, August 3, 1949.

<sup>32</sup>"Picturesque Mississippi Coast Ready for Expected Influx of Vacationists," *Mobile Press Register*, April 24, 1949; "Gulf Coast Resorts of West Florida Ready for Busiest Vacation Season," *Mobile Press Register*, May 15, 1949.

<sup>33</sup>"South Alabama's First Art Colony to be Opened by Bayou Painter Group at Coden During August," *Mobile Press Register*, June 25, 1950.

<sup>34</sup>*Coden Art Colony; Coden and Bayou La Batre Alabama "Gulf Painting at Its Best"—Sponsored By: Bayou Painters*, Moon Papers. For information on the Cape Ann art colonies of Rockport and Gloucester, see Kathleen Kienholz, "Frederick J. Mulhaupt," *American Art Review* 11 (August 1999): 114-23.

<sup>35</sup>For information on this organization, see Amy Helene Kirschke, "The Southern State Arts League: A Regionalist Artists Organization," *Southern Quarterly* 25 (1986): 1-23.

<sup>36</sup>"Coden Wins Place on Painter's Map By Artist Colony," *Mobile Press Register*, August 20, 1950.

<sup>37</sup>"Coden Art Colony Plans for August Moving Forward," *Mobile Press Register*, June 24, 1951.

<sup>38</sup>"Coden Wins Place." The Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts has copies of the photographs, given by Jane Southerland.

<sup>39</sup>Fitzpatrick to Moon, postmarked August 21, 1951, Moon Papers.

<sup>40</sup>Fitzpatrick to Moon, July 6, 1950, Moon Papers.

<sup>41</sup>Fitzpatrick to Moon, postmarked August 21, 1951, Moon Papers.

<sup>42</sup>Southerland to Moon, April 26, 1953, Moon Papers.

<sup>43</sup>*John Kelly Fitzpatrick: A Retrospective Exhibition, 1970; John Kelly Fitzpatrick: A Centennial Celebration, 1988; A Symphony of Color: The World of Kelly Fitzpatrick*, Montgomery Museum of Art.

<sup>44</sup>Aline McKee, "History of the Fleet Blessing," *Mobile County News*, June 9, 1983.

<sup>45</sup>"Fleet Blessing Art Show Dedicated to Beloved Artist, July 12, 1979, Moon Papers.

**Lynn Barstis Williams is Reference Librarian and Specialist for Art, Auburn University Libraries.**

## Book Reviews

Russell K. Brown. *To the Manner Born: The Life of General William H.T. Walker*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994, xx, pp. 411. \$50.00. ISBN 0-8203-1569-9.

Scholars and enthusiasts of the Civil War probably have a vague familiarity with William H.T. Walker as a bold fighter and hot-tempered Confederate general. Few know about Walker the man. What emerges from *To The Manner Born* is a portrait of a southern patriarch who exemplified the mentality depicted by Bertram Wyatt-Brown in *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (1982). Walker was proud, chivalrous, and violently hypersensitive to any affront, real or imagined, to his honor and manhood. He was also an unabashed southern white chauvinist, despising Yankees, foreigners, and blacks. Walker was a devoted family man, never ceasing to express love and concern for his wife, children, and kin.

Brown chronicles Walker's youth in Augusta, Georgia, his difficult tenure at West Point, and his meritorious service in the Second Seminole and Mexican Wars. In these conflicts, Walker received severe wounds and was given up for dead. Brown also pays considerable attention to Walker's family life—his marriage into a wealthy northern family, the joyous births of eight children, and the heart-rending deaths of three of them.

As war approached in late 1860, Walker became the first officer to resign his U.S. commission and exchange Old Army blue for Confederate gray. In the early days of the war, Walker organized Georgia militia troops. In May 1861 he was appointed brigadier general of Confederate forces and assigned a brigade in the Gulf Coast defenses at Pensacola. He quickly requested more active duty and was transferred to Virginia. Walker's superiors recommended him for promotion, but the Georgian was passed over in favor of others. Feeling slighted, Walker quit the army, returning to state duties and to his Georgian plantation in late 1861.

In February 1863 Walker was again appointed a Confederate brigadier. His brigade was soon sent to Mississippi as part of a force designed to relieve the beleaguered garrison at Vicksburg. Though the mission failed, Walker won promotion to major general and rose to divisional command. Transferring to the Army of Tennessee, the main Confederate army in the West, Walker commanded a small corps at the September 1863 battle of Chickamauga. He hoped for further promotion

to lieutenant general and permanent corps command, but after Chickamauga he reverted to divisional command. He missed the subsequent battles for Chattanooga, but led his division in the Georgia campaigns of early 1864, all the while continuing to seek promotion without success. In July 1864 Walker was killed during a Confederate offensive before Atlanta.

Although Brown romanticizes Walker as a valiant soldier "to the manner born," much of his evidence points to serious military shortcomings. Though a dauntless warrior and capable leader, Walker never demonstrated extraordinary martial acumen and was ill-suited for the high command position he thought he deserved. Additionally, Walker's obsession with military advancement led him to do almost anything to achieve that end. He perceived even slight criticism as an insult and incessantly whined about being "overslaughed" when junior officers were promoted over him, whether they earned their promotions or not.

Moreover, poor health blunted Walker's leadership. He was often away from his post battling asthma or some other ailment. Throughout his antebellum and Confederate careers, Walker had no qualms about requesting leaves of absence for health reasons or to attend to personal matters. He frequently absented himself from his commands for months at a time, using any excuse to extend his furloughs. Brown deals with these character flaws squarely in his text, making his account of Walker admirably balanced. Yet, Brown glosses over many of Walker's faults when evaluating the overall stature of the general, who fails to live up to the author's expectations.

There are other inconsistencies and errors of fact. John Archibald Campbell, the Confederate assistant secretary of war, is erroneously called "William Campbell." At another point Brown states that a new brigade in Walker's command numbered fourteen hundred men, but on the next page he writes that the brigade brought sixteen hundred men to the division. In discussing Confederate casualties at the 1864 battle of Peach Tree Creek, Brown notes that "Among [the dead] was Private William R. Hurst of Company C," as if Hurst were a key character in Brown's narrative. In reality, Brown only mentions the private in one earlier passage, and the reference is in passing. Similar baffling and irrelevant sentences disjoint numerous other paragraphs.

Difficulties notwithstanding, *To the Manner Born* is worth reading. To those whose interest in Confederate military history is less than an obsession, however, the book might not be worth buying at the publisher's price.

W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed. *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, xiv, pp. 330. Cloth, \$49.95. ISBN 0-8078-2326-0; Paper, \$17.95. ISBN 0-8078-4636-8.

This anthology on the sociological and historical aspects of lynching provides a dramatic affirmation to the notion that lynchings are "windows to the soul of America." Though historians have probed, reinforced, and sometimes rejected this argument, this work aptly proves this dictum while also offering a disturbing character assessment of American race relations. While not always easy reading, these essays will prove useful in an array of ways to scholars of race relations and related areas. The sociological terminology and models that at times prove confusing reading lend an ironic strength to these detailed and provocative essays by stimulating readers to consider as many new questions about lynching as those questions that seem answered in this book.

*Under Sentence of Death* is composed of eleven articles written by well-known and not-so-well-known sociologists and historians. The four broad sections of the book often follow case study approaches which bridge sociological and historical methodology. The four emphases roughly equate to inquiries into underlying social forces, racial motivations, cultural perspectives, and lessons on black resistance. Although wide ranging, the four divisions of the book present particularly useful information on how crowds become mobs, how lynching has historically been a means of one group's social and political control over another, and how black Americans have routinely resisted lynching and its attendant violence in both overt and covert ways. The latter point grows somewhat from reflections on the historical record and from the sustainable fact that blacks never accepted the white proposition that black Americans were "social outsiders" and "inferior" to white Americans. Students of race relations have documented this phenomenon for years, but *Under Sentence of Death* offers new sociological perspectives on the racial motivation of white violence and black resistance sometimes missing from historical studies. One essay, Bruce E. Baker's "North Carolina Lynching Ballads," reflects an innovative sociological-historical account of how Southerners use an unusual means of communication to explain the significance of lynching to institutionalize the events in the historical psyche of both blacks and whites. All approaches offer new ways of analyzing the roots and evolution of lynching in America, and they also result in richly-detailed

accounts of lynching across a broad time line which have often escaped researchers and authors. While other works have documented the varied accounts and the horrors of lynching, for example Arthur F. Raper's *The Tragedy of Lynching* (1933) and Walter White's *The Rope and Faggot* (1929), perhaps none, save Brundage's own *Lynching in the New South* (1993), have so clearly and richly revealed the sociological dynamics of lynching in a historical continuum.

Careful reading of the eleven essays in this work results in a gut-wrenching reaction to the American race-control phenomenon of lynching. Although some of the studies trace lynching and the presumed roots of lynching to antebellum days, most of them concentrate on the two thousand reported lynchings that occurred from 1880 to 1930. The sociological case-study approach of this volume offers a felicitous example of how white social control mechanisms in America have translated into a horrible symbolism for black Americans. Lynchings have varied in motivation and style in different geographical regions, but always this form of summarily executing blacks demonstrated which group in America controlled power and which group remained powerless. Lynching demonstrated, in short, America's particular form of race oppression. Often historians attributed lynchings to conservative southern aims, but this collection of essays demonstrates that lynchings and the culture that produced them grew from more complex sociological and multiregional beliefs on the "proper place" of the races.

The essays are well written sources of data and theories for historians, but they are not without drawbacks. Scholars may find the book deficient in a number of theoretical and methodological areas. For example, the work could benefit from more discussion on black political opposition to lynching and more analysis on the different professed and underlying reasons given by whites for lynchings from county to county, from state to state, and even from sub-region to sub-region. The terrible episode in Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1898 might be better used to construct models and theories of lynchings. How southern-style lynching comported with such incidents in the North and West, and even in other nations, would prove a fruitful topic. The role of black religious leaders in all manners of protest against and coping with lynchings might be explained further. Robert L. Zangrando sheds light on many of these topics in his *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909-1950* (1980), which, curiously, is missing from almost all the footnoted material in this collection of essays.

Although some readers may find minor flaws in *Under Sentence of Death*, the work itself is an ambitious and admirable attempt to frame

American race relations in innovative methodological terms. This book's sociological-historical thrust both soundly analyzes the myriad underlying causal factors of lynching and provides readers with starting points for new research and theories of lynchings. Level of readership notwithstanding, this book is highly recommended for anyone interested in seriously exploring Michel Foucault's memorable dictum that lynching "belongs...to the ceremonies by which power is manifested."

Irvin D. Solomon

Florida Gulf Coast University

Jo Ann Carrigan. *The Saffron Scourge: A History of Yellow Fever in Louisiana, 1796-1905*. Lafayette: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1994, pp. 487. \$27.50. ISBN 0-940984-86-5.

The achievement of Jo Ann Carrigan's history of yellow fever in the New Orleans area lies in its sheer weight of factual detail. More than half of this wonderfully researched volume consists of epidemic by epidemic narratives of the disease, its victims, its effects, and especially the various ways of fighting it. Charts track the extent of the disease, and readers meet numerous public officials, especially doctors, who made usually unsuccessful efforts at preventing or treating the disease.

The narrative moves rather slowly, at a decade by decade, and sometimes, year by year pace. Seventeen thirty-nine was likely the first year for a yellow fever epidemic, and the first large outbreak was in 1796. Turning points included the worst epidemics in the 1850s, a new and surprising outbreak in 1878, a major panic in 1897, and "The Last Epidemic, 1905."

Throughout the 1800s, medical reasons for the epidemics remained unclear, but strategies revolved around two ideas. First was the notion that infected newcomers brought the disease to New Orleans, especially its docks. There were frequent tensions between commercial interests and others, especially doctors, who favored periodic quarantines. Every new epidemic, especially in the 1850s, sparked new demands to seal off the city from outsiders. Only in the 1880s did quarantine efforts, including ten-day detention periods for workers on incoming ships, become routine.

The other favorite idea was that cleanliness would remove the conditions that helped the disease develop and spread. New Orleans officials made repeated, if sporadic, efforts to clean the various forms



the 1850s, for example, ordered frequent morning cannon fire and the burning of barrels of tar in efforts to burn off the mysterious causes of the disease. City officials repeatedly started boards of health, but like many southern governmental agencies, they tended to be temporary institutions with questionable authority. Reconstruction and a New South businessman's group in the late 1870s put more energy into cleaning the city.

In 1900 a team of doctors led by Walter Reed, working in Cuba, discovered that it was the mosquito, long a pest in New Orleans, that carried Yellow Fever. New Orleans officials, perhaps considering this just another of countless theories they had heard over the years, did little about the city's mosquito population until the 1905 epidemic. According to Carrigan, science, federal and local government, and businessmen worked together far more effectively than they had in the past in new campaigns to fumigate areas with mosquitos and to clean out stagnant water.

A recurring and intriguing theme is that long-time New Orleans residents viewed Yellow Fever as a disease of outsiders, especially the immigrant working poor. Carrigan confirms that male Irish, German, and later Italian immigrants—people who had developed no immunity to local diseases—were the greatest sufferers. The “Myth of Creole Immunity” may help explain the often haphazard and unsustainable ways New Orleans officials responded to the disease. It certainly accounts for the surprise, especially in the 1878 epidemic, when many locals suffered along with the newcomers. Some locals also chose to interpret the small number of slave deaths as a sign of the virtues of slavery, arguing that people of African ancestry could work hard in ways that Europeans could not.

*The Saffron Scourge* represents an old-fashioned form of social history, in that it has no hypothesis to test or thesis to prove. Descriptions such as “sprawling” and “exhaustive” seem more fitting than “subtle” or “well-argued.” And while we get to know the people with power and how they responded to the disease, we only get to see how the immigrants suffered, especially the numbers in which they died. Most of the work remains within the framework of the history of disease and treatment and does little to incorporate insights from scholarship about ethnicity, slavery, urban development, politics, or boosterism.

Nonetheless, this consistently interesting work has a great deal to teach about life in New Orleans and Southern Louisiana, and its very human and well-detailed approach will be welcome to many readers.

Ted Owenby

University of Mississippi

Donald E. Collins. *When the Church Bell Rang Racist: The Methodist Church and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998, xx, pp. 177. \$29.95. ISBN 0-86554-605-3.

This book, an insider's revelation about the tragedy of one religious denomination's lack of leadership, in one ecclesiastical area, during the 1950s and 1960s, fills a gap in the story of the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama. It provides a kind of "local" history, the story of a well-defined southern institution and region, by following the movement's progress through the lens of homegrown clergy and their people in South Alabama and West Florida. The book is also a personal memoir and a collection of stories about white Methodist ministers who challenged the church's Alabama hierarchy by pushing for integration and racial justice both within the church's institutional structure and in their local communities. These Southerners, most of them Alabama natives and very young ministers in the movement years, are the heroes of the book.

As young seminary graduates receiving early assignments, many of the ministers celebrated here were serving poor urban parishes or rural circuits of the Alabama-West Florida Conference when the southern civil rights movement took fire in Montgomery in 1955. Small-town southern church members did not usually appreciate ministers who joined interracial committees, preached "brotherhood" sermons, invited "kneel-in" participants to worship inside, counseled the federal government's civil rights lawyers, or lobbied for an end to segregation at annual conferences of the church. Klan members and their allies burned crosses on their lawns and made profane and threatening phone calls; local and state law enforcement personnel followed their journeys, sat outside their meetings, and tapped their telephones; influential members of their official boards visited their homes and warned of dire consequences; members stopped paying pledges in order to cut off ministers' salaries. Some ministers sent their families away to protect them from local toughs; on many occasions bishops transferred ministers out of trouble spots (on a couple of occasions, out of the conference entirely) at the request of angry, aroused congregations. Of the one hundred and one ministers who entered the Methodist ministry in the conference between 1950 and 1955, Donald E. Collins tells us, only forty-two remained in the ministry in 1968. While all of those who left were not hounded out by segregationist fervor, Collins attributes the high rate of attrition in large part to the "stress, guilt, despair, and painful aloneness experienced" by ministers who could not reconcile their Christian ideals

with the intransigence of their congregations and the Alabama Methodist Church's lack of direction during the racial crisis. Collins himself left in 1968, moved to Washington state, and became a banker. A tinge of the bitterness and disappointment he must have felt at that time has remained to infect his book.

Most of this disappointment is directed toward the bishops (before 1964) and leading ministers of the Alabama-West Florida Conference, many of them "moderates" who refused either to take public stands in support of statements of their national church supporting racial justice, or to speak decisively against groups like the white Citizens' Council and the Methodist Layman's Union. The latter group, formed in Birmingham about six months after the *Brown* decision, was South-wide but Alabama led, and had about thirty-four thousand members by 1960. Two prominent South Alabama Methodist preachers spoke at its founding meeting, one urging the group to "form a determined line of resistance" and "vigorously oppose any legislation or movement which seeks to 'liberalize' our present racial policy." The Union, through a member-legislator, also sponsored the Dumas Bill, an Alabama law which, until successfully challenged in the U.S. Supreme Court, allowed a disgruntled majority of a congregation's members to withdraw from their national church, taking church property with them (in the Methodist Church the property ultimately belonged by law to the national church, not the local congregation).

Collins's review of the sins of Alabama Methodist preachers includes not only active participation of a few in anti-civil rights activities like those of the Laymen's Union, but much more often sins of omission and negligence. As one prominent retired clergyman told him in 1993, on reflection he wasn't "proud of the position I took nor the effect of my influence" during the Montgomery bus boycott. He just "simply didn't want to be out on a limb where I wasn't wanted by my congregation." Another typical—perhaps chronic—southern liberal complaint voiced here concerns the attitudes of visiting clergymen from the North. White Southerners who had risked careers and endangered their families in local confrontations resented the reproach of northern colleagues who came for a short time and had little stake in Alabama. Visitors like those who came to march in Selma in 1965 seemed judgmental, wondering why the southern colleagues who welcomed them had not done more to solve the South's racial problems. "They were surprised," one South Alabama Methodist preacher wrote, "to find that we shared the same feelings and understanding of the Gospel."

or repeated phrases, a mislabeled index, and others—all things which one hopes will be corrected by careful editing of the next printing. But *When the Church Bell Rang Racist* is a welcome addition to the literature. It is recommended for Methodists who want to understand their church better, and also for readers of southern history, civil rights history, and American church history.

Sarah Hart Brown

Florida Atlantic University

Frank de Caro, ed. *Louisiana Sojourns: Travelers' Tales and Literary Journeys*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998, pp. 581. Cloth, \$39.95. ISBN 0-8071-2239-4; Paper, \$22.95. ISBN 0-8071-2240-8.

What is it about Louisiana? Popular culture is full of images of the state. In literature and film we have visions of Stanley Kowalski and Blanche DuBois's headlong French Quarter collision in *A Streetcar Named Desire*, of antebellum New Orleans and the ominous threat of yellow fever in *Jezebel*, and of the mysterious sway of voodoo in *Eve's Bayou*. Editor Frank de Caro and associate editor Rosan Augusta Jordan emphasize that Louisiana occupies a unique place in U.S. culture: "Though obviously part of the South, it has often seemed nonetheless foreign—Catholic, populated by an odd ethnic mix predominantly but not exclusively French, governed by interracial relations not found elsewhere." Add to this singular cultural mix, Louisiana's striking physical environment, which includes nearly a million acres of swamp, and one can easily see why this state has attracted travelers. Not only have many visited the state, but they have also written about their experiences. De Caro and Jordan have assembled numerous accounts of these journeys in a volume that strikingly illustrates Louisiana's unique allure.

Among the state's many visitors are some well-known writers. In this volume, the editors have collected pieces by Mark Twain, William Faulkner, Simone de Beauvoir, Walker Percy, Joy Harjo, Henry Miller, Sherwood Anderson, Kate Chopin, Theodore Roosevelt, and Zora Neale Hurston, among others. My favorite among these better-known writers is John James Audubon, who describes not an encounter with nature but meeting a runaway slave and his family. Another striking example of Louisiana's struggle with slavery and race relations is a selection from *Travels With Charley* where John Steinbeck records a trip to New Orleans to view "The Cheerleaders," a group of women who vehemently protested school desegregation in 1960.

some are not known at all. One of the volume's most memorable pieces comes from an anonymous author who, in an 1853 *Harper's* article, described losing his boat while ibis hunting on a small island in the middle of a lake. He observed: "It is true. I was only in a lake, a mile or so in width; but so far as the peril and helplessness of my situation were concerned, I might as well have been upon a rock in the middle [of] the Atlantic." In desperation, he arrived at an ingenious solution, thinking of an alligator he had killed: "I thought of this floating alligator, of its intestines—what if I inflated them? Yes, yes! Buoys and bladders, floats and life-preservers! That was the thought. I would open the alligators, make a buoy of their intestines, and that would bear me from the islet!"

The one frustration about many of these selections is that they are excerpts from longer works. Of course, the editors provide complete bibliographic information so readers can find the original. I would like to look further at *A Border of Blue: Along the Gulf of Mexico from the Keys to the Yucatan* (1993) by Frederick Turner because of his story about meeting Barry Ancelet, "perhaps the essential Cajun of his time," whose weekly radio show celebrates traditional Cajun culture. Richard Schweig's *Hot Peppers: Cajuns and Capsicum in New Iberia, Louisiana* (1989) also looks intriguing, judging by the selection about the McIlhenny family's long history of pepper cultivation for Tabasco sauce.

As these selections suggest, the editors have emphasized Louisiana's diversity not only in its visitors but culturally, geographically, ethnically, and historically as well. To encompass this broad range, they divide the book into eleven chapters with the pieces clustered around different topics. Several chapters deal with geographical divisions: the Mississippi River, New Orleans, Central and North Louisiana, and the Bayou, Marsh, and Coast. Others focus on prominent ethnic groups such as African Americans and Cajuns. Some examine unique aspects of Louisiana's history and culture such as the Civil War, plantation life, feasts and festivals, and the spiritual world. One looks closely at the state's wildlife and natural environment. Most sections feature writers from both past and present. For example, the chapter on the Mississippi offers a piece by Frederick Law Olmstead about a steamboat trip in 1853, while a selection from B.C. Hall and C.T. Wood's book explores

Mississippi's "chemical corridor" in the 1990s. This approach suggests how some aspects of Louisiana have changed, sometimes dramatically, over time, while others remain very much the same. This emphasis on past and present continues with a "Travel Update" segment

that concludes each chapter. These updates provide further sources of information and discuss events and places mentioned as they can be seen today.

In his preface, de Caro, a folklorist at Louisiana State University, says that he plans subsequent editions of this volume. Perhaps in his next edition, he might consider some additions to "Never So Many Travel Accounts: The War," such as sections from John De Forest's *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*, which includes, in fictional form, accounts of De Forest's experiences as a Union soldier in Louisiana.

The addition of De Forest would fulfill the aim of this book: to illustrate how travelers have reacted to this unique state. The editors have focused on outsiders in this collection because these visitors can notice details that locals might often ignore. As such, for the rest of us tourists, these writers help to describe the often exotic appeal of Louisiana, the place that one observer calls "the most complex state in the South." Maybe the many authors and filmmakers who have focused their work on Louisiana would agree.

Sharon L. Gravett

Valdosta State University

Ann Brewster Dobie, ed. *Uncommonplace: An Anthology of Contemporary Louisiana Poets*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998, xv, pp. 256. \$32.50. ISBN 0-8071-2254-8.

*Uncommonplace* is a rich and varied collection, further evidence that some of the best contemporary American poetry is defiantly regional. Most of these poems finely mix universal themes and specific, local imagery, giving the reader detailed pictures of Louisiana life. For the Gulf South native, the pictures these poems paint will be familiar. For the outsider, the works reveal a distinctive region well worth visit after visit.

New Orleans, as Louisiana's most mythic city, appears again and again. One of the book's first poets, Sandra Alcosser, in her page-long prose poem "Azaleas," describes a city as delicious as some earthly paradise. Many of the poets in *Uncommonplace* are skilled at vivid imagery, and Alcosser is among the best. Sheryl St. Germain, in "Going Home: New Orleans," is equally vivid, listing "the maple syrup and pancakes and grits, the butter melting slowly / into and down the sides like sweat between breasts of sloe-eyed strippers." Such lines are almost literally mouth-watering, and the book is full of them. This is praise poetry at its best, a rich listing of all there is to love in the world.

New Orleans' colorful culture is, needless to say, not the only Muse in this volume to inspire imagery. Ava Leavell Haymon, in "Sighting," gives us a day at the Gulf, where "lovers promenade, / rubbed over every tanned inch with coconut oil or Panama Jack, / the huge sea behind them soupstock of their own desire." In Dave Smith's "The Egret Tree," live oaks fill with egrets "white-robed, / abrupt as stars," like "[g]hosts of our fathers flocking down at dusk." Katherine Soniat, in both "The Landing" and "Country Signs," ranges as far afield as the Chesapeake Bay. In the first poem, the speaker watches an osprey and her young, the chicks' "wings like windblown paper ash." Meditating on her long-dead mother, she moves from the matter-of-fact but infinitely painful realization that "[s]ome destinations / are always withheld," to the daily miracle of new generations taking wing, "life ascend[ing] for the first time- / a move so old, it's almost forgotten."

In a time when America grows more and more homogeneous, Louisiana retains many of its regional peculiarities, both natural and cultural. The poets in *Uncommonplace* take full advantage of these distinctive traits. Several poems involve hurricanes. David Middleton, in "Hurricane," even speaks in the voice of one. Sheryl St. Germain, in "Hurricane Season," concludes, "What lies beyond measurement / is all of beauty and terror. // To understand is to evacuate."

Other natural menaces, on a much smaller scale, appear as well. In "The Behavior of Ants," Leo Luke Marcello's speaker is harassed by troupes of ants, "dancing in [the] sink," devouring cake and baked chicken. "Nothing daunts these soldiers," he sighs. In John Wood's "Here in Louisiana," roaches are the persistent and ubiquitous villain, "[s]uch small, quick acts of God / racing out over kitchen counters," "big as thumbs."

Perhaps more inviting than the rapacious insects are the Louisiana feasts these poets lovingly detail. In "Oysters," Catharine Savage Brosman captures the almost erotic pleasure of these homely mollusks: "a sensuous tongue to meet / our tongue, to which we add the piquancy / of lemon and a pepper sauce. Oh virtue / in consuming what we love!" Sheryl St. Germain praises "Mother's Red Beans and Rice": "The beans would cook all day, filling the house / with their creamy onion pork smell." Such food becomes a symbol of family connection, evocative of the speaker's mother. "[W]hen I make them now," St. Germain continues, "sadness falls over me / like a fleece, the sharp bean smells fill my lungs / like the smoke or blood of her."

Family is a theme common to many of these poems. In Kate Daniels' "Family Gathering 1959," the speaker muses on the mysteries

of kinship, "the dance that danced me so impossibly here / from these strangers' tall and barricaded bodies / to my own small collection of flesh and bone." Christine Dumaine and Malaika Favorite, in "Bathing Father" and "Practicing," both give us poignant poems about the decline of elderly relatives. In the particularly powerful work "In the Marsh," Jack B. Bedell describes a childhood memory in which, during a fishing trip, a child and his father stumble upon the carcass of a deer, prompting the boy's first realization of mortality.

The larger issues of regional rather than family history are dealt with by several poets, in particular, Elton Glaser and David Middleton. In "Plantation," Glaser's speaker, visiting the ruins of an antebellum plantation, contrasts the planter's elegant life with the slave cabins: "two pasts / beyond approach: these ruins the moon will overflow / and, far behind, those sour cabins gone back to darkness..." In "The Patriarch," Middleton portrays a man "[b]orn between the Old South and the New," for whom the Civil War remains a constant, vibrant, and relevant presence.

The poems in *Uncommonplace* are, for the most part, vivid, accessible, moving, occasionally even haunting. Like clear, intelligently composed photographs, they capture Louisiana's landscape and people, embedding universal concerns—joy, loss, revelation—in the specifics of time and place—oysters, hurricanes, egrets—thus appealing to both the mind and the heart.

Jeff Mann

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Patricia Galloway. ed. *Hernando de Soto Expedition History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, pp. 544. \$60.00. ISBN 0-8032-2157-6.

The expedition of Hernando de Soto into the North American continent is a story of adventure, intrigue, and violence. Yet, many of the current trends in historical and anthropological studies are still to be applied to the early entradas in La Florida. Patricia Galloway laments the lack of good modern editions of the source materials. The sources offer many unexplored nuances for literary analysis. The account by the factor, Henandez de Biedma, is the shortest. It is the only primary source. The other three are secondary and most likely influenced each other. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes' *Historia General de las Indias* names Rodrigo Ranjel's diary as its source. The relacom of the "Fidalgo de Elvas" was published by Andre de Burgos in Portuguese,



and Gracilaso de la Vegas' *La Florida* is the latest and most influenced telling. Galloway believes a fresh look at the sources will raise new areas of inquiry. In the first paragraph of her introduction she states her purpose: "We hope...to make it clear that further progress cannot be made without the availability of such editions and without serious reconsideration of the historiographical issues that the undertaking will raise."

The volume's nineteen essays are organized in four sections. The first section offers textual analysis of the available primary sources. The essays offer helpful exegetical insights and entice the reader to consider issues behind the text. To discern the intent of the authors and the desires of the original audience allows one to move beyond a literalist's stand of historical interpretation. The sections that follow deal with the expedition, Euro-Indian contact, and Euro-American issues. All the usual debates are presented: Where did they go? How terrible were they? Whom did they encounter? But more than looking at the minutia of geography, the authors offer new awareness of the deeper concerns: Who were the natives? Were their cultures in transition during contact? What schools of thought offer helpful perspectives? How does Spain's social history filter into the history of colonial America?

The second section addresses the more typical concerns of the de Soto entrada—where they landed and how they traveled. The journey has been well-argued over the years, but it is still interesting to continue the speculation. The third section offers anthropologic inquiries. With all the fascinating issues of contact, it is unfortunate that there are only three essays in this section. The last section of essays offers perspectives on colonialism as the overriding paradigm of the source materials. To see how law, justice, and violence played into the accounts provides a much deeper understanding of Spanish culture. More than anything, the recurring theme is that much work is still to be done. The essays whet the reader's appetite and invite all disciplines to join in the work ahead. The voices of historians, anthropologists, and textual critics should contribute to the work.

Patricia Galloway has organized a great effort not only in presenting the current scholarship, but also more importantly in pointing to the future. Galloway's four essays reveal her deep understanding of the historiographic issues that contemporary scholarship should address. Textual criticism, the Annalist school's paradigm, and the ongoing work of archaeology are tools at Galloway's command. She accomplishes her goal well and along the way offers examples of new scholarship. This

collection is a noteworthy addition to the literature, not because it offers definitive conclusions, but rather because it raises the right questions.

James E. Lake

University of Miami

Edward J. Hagerty. *Collis' Zouaves: The 114<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Volunteers in the Civil War*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998, pp. 352. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8071-2199-1.

Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr. *The Pride of the Confederate Artillery: The Washington Artillery in the Army of Tennessee*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998, pp. 334. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8071-2187-8.

Gordon C. Rhea. *The Battles for Spotsylvania Court House and the Road to Yellow Tavern, May 7-12, 1864*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997, pp. 512. \$34.95. ISBN 0-8071-2136-3.

One critic recently remarked that most history books are "hopelessly unreadable." While a bit of an overstatement, his observation is all too true about a number of works. Fortunately, this is rarely the case in the field of Civil War history where historians understand that they are writing for two audiences, academics and the legions of buffs who devour the hundreds of Civil War biographies, campaign and battle studies, and unit histories published each year. And, over the years, Louisiana State University Press has developed a well-deserved reputation for publishing the finest works in this field. They continue this tradition with the release of three new works—each offering unique perspectives on the face of battle in the American Civil War.

Campaign analysis is the oldest, and perhaps the most difficult, task for the military historian. A master of this genre, Gordon C. Rhea continues the story of U.S. Grant's 1864 Overland Campaign begun in his critically-acclaimed *The Battle of the Wilderness, May 5-6, 1864*. In this second work in what promises to be a trilogy, we see a classic confrontation between two great captains—Grant still learning his trade with an unfamiliar army in a strange theater of operations, and Lee at the height of his powers defending his homeland with a force that has become an extension of his will. Rhea develops two major themes in his narrative. The first is the contrast in leadership styles and abilities between his protagonists. Lee led from the front and was a superb tactician and battle manager in constant touch with the ebb and flow of

the fight. Grant, on the other hand, displayed a "disturbing trend in [his] generalship," artlessly driving his army with a strange blend of tenacity and detachment that might have led to disaster. The result is a drawn battle which, in the words of one participant, was "ghastlier than anything ever seen before in this land." More important, Spotsylvania Court House was but one of a series of inconclusive fights on the way to a tactical stalemate in the trenches around Petersburg. Here Rhea's second theme comes into play. In the Virginia spring of 1864, the nature of warfare was changing. The old ways broke down as technology and mass armies combined to add a new lethality to the battlefield. Individual battles lost their meaning as they merged into a campaign of nearly-continuous, high-pitched combat.

Against this background the experiences of the combatants become more important for the reader. In telling their story, Rhea builds upon exhaustive research in diaries, memoirs, letters, newspaper accounts, and official records. Time is suspended as the author effortlessly moves his reader from place to place on the battlefield. We can feel the tension as the sun rose, the fog lifted, and thousands of Yankees moved forward to attack the Confederate positions at the Bloody Angle. As one soldier recalled after the war, "I never expect to be fully believed when I tell what I saw of the horrors of Spotsylvania, because I should be loath to believe it myself, were the case reversed." Rhea cannot fully recreate the horrors of May 7-12, 1864, but he still makes them believable to the modern reader. In so doing, he raises campaign analysis to a high art.

Unit histories are another important product of the military historian's craft. From the 1870s until the turn of the century, a generation of soldiers published personal memoirs and regimental histories. More recently, historians have drawn upon these and other sources not available to the participants to produce balanced and scholarly accounts of men at war. Edward Hagerty and Nathaniel Hughes have given us two fine examples of this art.

Hagerty's story of the 114<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Volunteers blends a traditional narrative with the techniques of the social historian. For the author, this regiment was a Philadelphia phenomenon and the creation of a well-connected Republican politico, Charles H.T. Collis. Recruited primarily from the city's rising commercial class, the men of the 114<sup>th</sup> were attracted by the prospect of adventure and the mystique of the French Algerian *zouave* soldier. The story of their transition from civilians to hardened veterans of the Army of the Potomac offers valuable insights into the life of the common soldier. Hagerty makes it clear that life was anything but adventurous for the young

Philadelphians. The reader is struck by the grinding monotony of army life. In combat, the regiment's record was solid but, for the most part, unremarkable. The same may be said for its commander, Colonel (later Brevet Major General) Collis. Indeed, much of the action in this work takes place on the political front, as Collis uses his connections to avoid a court martial conviction and to win preferment for himself and his regiment. In short, this story offers an interesting twist to Clausewitz's dictum regarding war and politics.

The author excels in placing Collis's *zouaves* in the social and political context of their time. That said, it seems almost petty to point out that Hagerty sometimes gets heavy-handed in his analysis. In an early chapter he offers a detailed statistical analysis of the socioeconomic background of the regiment, apparently with the aim of establishing its uniqueness. Later, he uses the same approach in analyzing casualty and desertion rates. Neither effort comes off well, and this detracts from an otherwise solid narrative.

An interesting companion is Nathaniel Hughes's study of the Fifth Company of the Washington Artillery. The Washington Artillery was *the* most prominent militia company and social organization in ante-bellum New Orleans. Mustered into Confederate service, most of the battalion saw action with the Army of Northern Virginia. A fifth, reserve company "sought glory in Virginia with the four other companies of their battalion, but it was not to be. Instead they were issued the hard rations of those who followed Bragg and Johnston and Hood." The Fifth Company participated in every campaign of the Army of Tennessee from Shiloh to Nashville and ended the war manning the fortifications protecting the approaches to Mobile. The unit was, in the words of one of its lieutenants, "passionately fond of gunnery" and won fame on both sides of the battle lines for its exploits. Like the star-crossed army in which they served, the men of the Washington Artillery deserved better from their senior commanders.

A gifted storyteller, Hughes does well by the "pride of the Confederate artillery." Moreover, the war in the West has not received the attention it deserved from historians. This work takes an important step in redressing this shortcoming. But most important, Hughes draws upon the familiar sources in crafting an account that captures the excitement, tedium, and pathos of war. At the risk of employing a well-worn cliché, it should be said that this work will become a classic in Civil War historiography.

Each of these excellent works offers ample proof that old-fashioned narrative history is still very much alive and well.

Fred F. Kniffen, Hiram F. Gregory, and George A. Stokes. *The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana, from 1542 to the Present*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987. First paperback edition, 1994, xvi, pp. 324. \$16.95. ISBN 0-8071-1963-6.

In the early twentieth century, John R. Swanton, a pioneering anthropologist from the American Bureau of Ethnology, began documenting the cultures of Southeastern Indians, producing numerous works on the languages, religions, kinship structures, and other cultural and social components of the region's native inhabitants. *The Historic Tribes of Louisiana* continues in Swanton's tradition. It shares Swanton's strengths, exhaustively describing material cultural and ritual behavior. But, by failing to provide an analytical framework and by paying scant attention to change over time, it also shares his weaknesses.

The first six chapters of *The Historic Tribes of Louisiana* provide historical background, but the whirlwind tour of four centuries leaves the reader more confused than enlightened. Wars and peoples appear suddenly in the narrative without introduction or explanation. We read, for example, that the Talapoosas raided for slaves, but we never learn who the Talapoosas were, where they came from, or why they wanted bondsmen. Similarly, we are told that the Natchez coup helped bring on the Chickasaw War, but the authors offer no further information. What was the Natchez coup or the Chickasaw War, many readers will wonder.

The last twelve chapters are thematic and cover subjects such as languages, arts and crafts, and dress and personal adornment. Readers interested in housing can learn about Native American construction techniques. Others can read about Indian games and toys. The authors' survey of material culture is extensive and thorough, making *The Historic Tribes of Louisiana* a valuable reference book. Each chapter ends with a useful annotated bibliography of anthropological publications. Occasionally, readers will miss having footnotes or endnotes. Do the authors have it on good authority that hunters sometimes slept in the beds of deer, dispatching the unfortunate animals when they returned from foraging? How certain are they that Indians constructed "primitive" traps that crushed unsuspecting bears beneath heavy logs?

Historians will be frustrated by the inattention to chronology in these thematic chapters. The authors on occasion tell us they are describing "Indian times." More often, it is understood that we are learning about the ethnographic present, that vague period now abandoned by most anthropologists. The chapter on tribal law illustrates just how misleading the ethnographic present can be. The authors

explain that thieves who repeated their crime were sometimes executed. But, as Richard White shows in *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1983), personal property only became of significant concern to the Choctaws in the early nineteenth century, when men such as John Pitchlynn and Robert Folsom sought to protect their new-found wealth.

*The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana* provokes us to reexamine the genre of ethnographic writing pioneered by John Swanton. The exhaustive survey of things and practices on the one hand lets us appreciate the resourcefulness of Louisiana Indians in the pre-modern era. But on the other, it tells us remarkably little about who these people were and how they lived their lives. In the chapter on "Arts and Crafts," under the sub-heading "Stone Objects," we learn that Indians made polished stone disks for chunky, a game in which participants armed with spears took aim at rolling disks. The description begs the important questions that might illuminate the culture. Imagine a similar anthropological investigation of football. The ball is made of pigskin, and the object is to move it toward the end of a grassy field. But until we understand the game's connection to television and advertising revenue, or the link between football, violence, and masculinity, we remain unenlightened despite our knowledge of the composition of the ball and the object of the game.

Readers who wish for a more historical and analytical account of Louisiana's native peoples should turn to Daniel H. Usner's two books, *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1992), and *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Social and Economic Histories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1998). But those in search of a general reference book will profit by adding *The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana* to their libraries. The detailed index facilitates searches for specific subjects ranging from alcoholism to wooden objects, and curious readers will easily be able to locate the sections they seek.

Claudio Saunt

University of Georgia

Grady McWhiney, Warner D. Moore, Jr., and Robert F. Pace, eds. *Fear God and Walk Humbly: The Agricultural Journal of James Mallory, 1843-1877*. Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1997, xxi, pp. 687. \$49.95. ISBN 0-8173-0832-6.

James Mallory was twenty-seven years old in 1834 when he joined with a group of his kindred and connections and left Madison County, Virginia, and relocated to Talladega County, Alabama. If not pioneers, Mallory and his associates were the next thing to it. East-central Alabama was not frontier country, but neither was it thoroughly domesticated and settled.

Mallory was married, with an infant daughter, when he left Virginia. His parents, still in full vigor, accompanied him. The first years in Alabama were difficult, but by 1843, life had assumed shape, stability, and a sense of routine. His journal begins then, and he continued it until his death thirty-four years later.

The journal was a practical undertaking, and in some sense it was an entirely public one—Mallory did not use it to console or create a private self, but to keep a record. His entries are seldom more than a paragraph or two, and many are single sentences. He skips days rather frequently, but the record is nevertheless exceptionally sustained and complete.

Mallory farmed. The recurrent labors and anxieties of agriculture give a considerable symmetry and sameness to each of the years he records, even those of the Civil War and Reconstruction period. One suspects that this sameness was congenial to him and that he would have shaped his days and seasons into repetitive patterns even if he had labored in some other vocation. Whenever roads permitted and any sort of service was within reach, he attended church on Sundays. Camp meetings, held in late summer, were an occasion for annual spiritual renewal and rededication. He usually noted, with some patriotic or moralistic reflection, such national anniversaries as the Fourth of July, Washington's Birthday, and Jackson's victory at New Orleans. On December 31 he always paused to look back and assess his physical, economic, and spiritual condition and that of his household, his county, and the nation, assigning credit to Providence and blame to human improvidence and selfishness. He and his neighbors plainly did not go into the Alabama backwoods to escape the decorum of obligation and constraint. Instead, they transplanted an orderly, limit-loving conception of life from Virginia, and established patterns of behavior calculated to make things, as Huck Finn would have it, "dismal reg'lar and civilized."

if he read anything other than newspapers, periodicals, agricultural reports, and the Bible, we do not find out about it. He was thoroughly progressive, practical, patriotic, and pious. He experimented with a wide range of crops and techniques for growing them, and was on the whole successful. He always raised cotton, but was careful to pay at least equal attention to what he called "provision crops" to ensure adequate supplies of food and fodder. He did not aspire to great wealth or a baronial estate and he feared the moral and social consequences of the extravagance and ostentation that were spreading throughout his culture.

He had no real recreations and his social life was inseparable from his life as a churchgoer, farmer, and paterfamilias. He was thrifty, austere, reasonably educated, God-fearing, and upright. In short, he resembles the stereotype of a New England farmer of the nineteenth century, or perhaps a Pennsylvanian or Middle Westerner. Politically, he was a staunch Whig who idolized Clay, a thorough moderate, and, until it was an accomplished fact, an opponent of Secession. And yet he was a southern planter. At the height of his prosperity he owned a thousand acres (four hundred of them cleared) and thirty slaves. Compared to any other planter whose journal I have read, he says remarkably little about his slaves—there is nothing about buying, selling, disciplining, fearing, or resenting them. He refers to them typically as "hands" (after the war, as "freedmen"), but seldom by name. Even in the volatile period after the war, when he fretted greatly about all the consequences of emancipation, his tone is without virulence or vengefulness.

What struck me as most interesting about this journal is that it in no way suggests that Mallory regarded himself, or was regarded by his neighbors, as being in any way singular or exceptional in his views and way of life. Yet he is very far from our idea of either the planter or the small farmer of the antebellum South. This ably edited, handsomely produced book may help bring a legend-clouded, hyperbolically contentious episode of national history a bit further toward the light of ordinary day.

Franklin Burroughs

Bowdoin College

Milanich, Jerald T. *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present*. Native Peoples, Cultures and Places of the Southeastern United States Series. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, pp. 225. Paper, \$19.95. ISBN 0-8130-1599-5. Cloth, \$39.95. ISBN 0-8130-1598-7.

Written for a general audience, *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* offers a concise, fast-paced summary of the latest



archaeological and ethnohistorical information about the Sunshine State's Native peoples. Primary emphasis is given to the era before European contact, so readers expecting thorough analysis of more recent times should look elsewhere, such as at another acclaimed recent work by the same author: *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (1995), also published by the University Press of Florida.

Jerald Milanich, curator in archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville, brings decades of research expertise to the writing of this synthesis. In many ways this book is as much a celebration of the recent advances made by archaeologists working Florida as it is a narrative of Florida Indian life over the last twelve thousand years. Throughout the book, Milanich offers colorful, insightful glimpses into the mechanics of being an archaeologist. It's not exactly Indiana Jones material, but archaeological research on Florida's Native people involves hard, sometimes harrowing, work in the snake-infested swamps, peat bogs, seashores, shell middens, rivers, and sinkholes throughout the state. The book includes several vignettes describing Milanich's and other scholars' fieldwork, as well as the contributions made by amateur archaeologists and accidental finds exposed by construction projects, and natural resource use. Milanich pleads with readers to remember and to celebrate not only the fact that every area of Florida where people live and work today once supported indigenous populations, but also that valuable, one-of-a-kind information is being lost every day. "Florida's history is literally up for grabs" as development continues apace, and many sites exist on private, unprotected land. By specifying the way that archeologists acquire knowledge about peoples long dead, Milanich should succeed in his implicit goal of increasing public awareness about the need to preserve and study the sites that remain.

The narrative aspect of *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* traces, largely in archaeological terms, the major changes in Indian lifestyles and subsistence from the paleo-Indian period until the eve of contact with Europeans. Although the time frames and labels that archaeologists employ to delineate one era or site from another can be quite tedious and, to the non-professional, somewhat arbitrary, Milanich does a remarkable job in explaining these issues in laymen's language. In the thousand or so years before Europeans first arrived on Florida's shores, a high degree of diversity had developed across the state. Florida Indians living in the north and interior of Florida relied heavily on corn agriculture and had complex, hierarchical societies, much like their Mississippian neighbors in present-day Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

Those along the coasts, in swampy areas, and in the extreme south of the state relied more on seafood and other foods that could be hunted or gathered for subsistence. Milanich uses two chapters, which are essentially abridgements of his previous published work, to summarize initial Spanish and French intrusion into Florida and the effects that had on Native groups such as the Timucuan. The period after the early eighteenth century is covered in only a few pages and offers merely a glimpse at the fascinating life of Indian peoples in Florida to the present day.

Despite the unevenness of the time coverage, *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* is the starting point for anyone interested in learning about the American Indians who called Florida home. Although there are no notes, Milanich includes a long list of suggested readings, as well as information on two internet sites that should get the budding scholar or interested lay reader off to a good start.

Greg O'Brien

University of Southern Mississippi

Jerald T. Milanich. *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999, xiv. pp. 210. \$26.95. ISBN 1-56098-940-8.

As a title, *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord* is a triple entendre. Jerald T. Milanich tells three interwoven stories. One is the labor of the Spanish missionaries to the Southeastern Indians, especially the Gule, Timucua, and Apalachee Indians of present southern Georgia and northern Florida, a vast region known to the Spanish as *La Florida*. Another story tells of the Indians' labor as producers in the fields, burden-carriers on the roads, and construction workers on the fortifications of the colony. A third story, the one with which Milanich begins the book, relates the more recent labor of archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians who have in the twentieth century recovered—in the field and in the archives—an enormous amount of information about the missions, the colonists, and the Indians of *La Florida*. Indeed, they have recovered a remarkable history that had been virtually forgotten.

Milanich, curator of archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History, is one of those experts, and he is generous to his colleagues in early Florida studies. His text is freckled with appreciation for their hard work. He is less interested in disputing than in synthesizing their findings into a coherent, accessible narrative. What he does dispute, and debunk, are popular misconceptions. For example, Florida mission

bullet in the calf that kept him out of combat until February 1945. Thus, he missed the battle of the Bulge and only returned to his unit as it was racing across Germany taking German prisoners. He survived the war only to drown in 1961 while fishing for sharks.

Webster was an unusual paratrooper. He was the son of moderately wealthy, upper-class parents. Harvard educated with literary ambitions, he could easily have had an officer's commission, but he chose instead to fight as an enlisted paratrooper. He returned home from the war and wrote this memoir. No publisher, until now, would take it. One never ceases to be amazed at the skewed focus of publishers, for this is a wonderful memoir.

Webster mentions in a very short prologue that he arrived in England in September 1943 but gives no information about the eight months training before D-Day. He begins his tale with his unit's train ride to the airfield from which he will embark for Normandy. Webster is a combat infantryman in E Company, 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 101st Airborne Division. He captures perfectly the confusion and loneliness of dropping into a lagoon behind UTAH beach, not knowing where he was and uncertain whether to move or to stay put. He conveys the frustrations of getting oriented and of forming *ad hoc* units to assault battlefield objectives. After being wounded in Holland, Webster spent four months in hospitals and replacement depots before rejoining his unit. From a private's eye view, the story of soldiers in combat has seldom been told better.

Webster tells his wartime experiences in six chronological segments: "The Jump into Normandy"; "The Windmills were Wonderful" (Operation Market-Garden); "Our Home Was Secure" (the fight into Germany); "Hitler's Champagne" (the race across Germany); "After the Fighting" (occupation duty at Berchtesgaden in the Alps); and "Winding Down" (preparing to come home). Woven through all of these segments are several constant themes: comradeship; disgust with officers and the army; longing for food and shelter; physical exhaustion; the element of chance in survival; random cruelties; and the tension between getting the job done and getting killed.

The book has a relentless and unromantic honesty about it. As is true of most combat memoirs, Webster's book celebrates the comradeship born of combat—a closeness that transcends friendship. Not only did the soldiers in Webster's squad eat, sleep, and live together, but also their very survival depended on the group. Bad judgment, cowardice, or recklessness could cost the lives of others in the squad.

Much of Webster's and his squad's time was spent scrounging. Food was the most prized commodity. Army rations, especially K-rations and C-rations were universally despised, and the soldiers ate them only when local food could not be found. Safe, comfortable shelter was almost as highly prized as food. When a house could be found, and the unit was not on the move, Webster's squad would set up housekeeping, with someone assigned to cook, others to clean, others to fetch water, and so forth. Liquor was as valuable as food and was hoarded and hidden from other units in fear that it would have to be shared.

Webster's regiment ended the war deep in the German Alps at the town of Berchtesgaden, the site of Hitler's "Eagle's Nest." In perhaps the unique chapter in the book, Webster describes the early postwar occupation. The Germans were starving, and the GIs had food. Food could buy anything—sex, weapons, or automobiles. The scenery was dazzling. Liquor was plentiful. Discipline was lax. The U.S. army commandeered quarters, throwing many destitute German civilians into the streets. By GI standards it was paradise. Webster testified that "it was the only time I enjoyed the army. Berchtesgaden and Austria were worth everything that went before." But the easy life eroded unit morale and esprit. Everybody wanted to go home. Attempts by commanders to instill discipline only brought bitterness and griping.

As Webster starts home for discharge, he still hates officers, the army, and the war, but he is proud that he has stuck it out. Shame on all the publishers who rejected this manuscript fifty years ago; thanks to LSU Press for publishing it now.

Ray Skates

University of Southern Mississippi

Robert S. Weddle. *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999, pp. 301. \$16.95. ISBN 0-89096-910-8.

Robert S. Weddle is a noted author of Gulf Coast history, and his updated version of *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle*, is impressive. Since the original publication of this book in 1973, new primary source material has surfaced to shed new light and observation on this fascinating story. The excavation and raising of La Salle's ship *La Belle* by the Texas Historical Commission in 1995 spurred Weddle to revise his original book.

This book relates the story of the Spanish search for La Salle's French colony in New Spain. It is told through three inter-connecting

perspectives. These perspectives include those of La Salle and his colonists; the Spanish vice-regency in New Spain; the privateers or pirates (French, Spanish, Dutch, and British); and survivors of La Salle's failed colony.

In 1682, Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, claimed the Mississippi and surrounding region for France and named it Louisiana. Encouraged to establish permanent colony on the Gulf of Mexico, La Salle departed from La Rochelle, France, with four ships, supplies, and approximately two hundred colonists. Disasters befell the expedition team, not the least of which was that La Salle had incorrectly calculated the longitude of the mouth of the Mississippi. The result is that he established his colony on Matagorda Bay, Texas, far west of the Mississippi River.

The bulk of this work details the Spanish expeditions into the Texas territory to find and to eradicate the French colony. Weddle takes us on a fascinating journey of intrigue, violence, and skullduggery, that characterized the Spanish expeditions. Like a mystery with a cliffhanger ending, he reveals the critical facts regarding La Salle's failed colony only when the Spanish discover the abandoned French site, some two-thirds of the way through the book.

A crucial factor in this story is the influence of piracy and privateering along the Gulf Coast and Caribbean regions. Weddle points out that many of the pirates who raided, pillaged, and plundered the French and Spanish possessions in America began their careers as legitimate seamen in their respective royal navies.

A particularly interesting individual who crops up from time to time in this story is Denis Thomas. Thomas was one of La Salle's men on the voyage from La Rochelle to the Gulf Coast. He and six others deserted La Salle at Santo Domingo and joined a pirate crew. On September 3, 1685, De Graff's pirate vessel *Reglita* was captured off the coast of Campeche by Spanish forces. One hundred and twenty prisoners were taken, among them Denis Thomas. It was from Spanish interrogation of the captured pirates that Spanish officials learned concretely that La Salle had sailed from France with plans to establish a French colony on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico.

Searching for the colony, the Spanish undertook five sea voyages and six land expeditions between 1686 and 1690. According to Weddle's research, the expeditions combed the Gulf Coast region from the Florida Keys to Tampico or the Eastern Gulf Coast region of Mexico. Along the way, he takes us on a fascinating journey with the Spanish to places such as Santo Domingo, Mexico City, New Biscay, Tampico, Vera Cruz,

Pensacola Bay, and the regions of what is today New Mexico and eastern Texas.

An important Gulf Coast topic raised in this book is *Bahia Espiritu Santo* or *Bay of the Holy Spirit*. Weddle points out that La Salle understood this area to be the mouth of the Mississippi River. The Spanish were unsure of its actual location as sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spanish maps placed it in various areas along the Gulf Coast. Whatever the location, Weddle makes the important point that the Spanish government was spurred to a "rediscovery" of the Gulf Coast out of fear of this French intrusion into their territory and the need to locate the commercially important *Bay of the Holy Spirit*.

A few suggestions may help make this history more "reader friendly." While Weddle refers the reader to nine period maps located in the center of the book, it often becomes confusing as to where these historic locations are today. Some modern-day maps locating the places mentioned in the book would be helpful and provide a better understanding of this complex story. Next, a chart listing the Spanish, French, and pirate participants with a brief description of their title and role in the story would be helpful. Finally, a prologue chapter in which he discusses which artifacts from the *La Belle* had a bearing on his revised work and how or why, would be interesting.

High marks are due Robert S. Weddle for updating this Gulf Coast history. His use of primary source material, including period diaries, letters, maps, and official correspondences, is most impressive. The in-depth and insightful footnotes, located on the bottom of the text pages, are much appreciated. Transporting the reader into the minds of the main characters and making the story interesting is not an easy task, but one the author performs masterfully. Once again, Weddle has greatly enriched and contributed to a better understanding of Gulf Coast history for both the layman and scholar. Clearly, this is an important book not to be overlooked by anyone interested in early European Gulf Coast history.

Todd A. Kreamer

The Museum of Mobile

Patsy West. *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, pp. 168. \$24.95. ISBN 0-8130-1633-9.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Seminole of Northern Florida were numbered among the poorest groups of Native Americans in the United States. Today this "billion dollar tribe" has its corporate

headquarters in an impressive glass and steel office building, maintains its own newspaper, broadcasting department and lobbyists, and even boasts its own web site. It is one of the largest cattle producers in the nation, the world's first producer of lemons, and is an important player in the Florida tourist industry. In *Those Enduring Seminoles*, ethnohistorian and archivist Patsy West explores the development of the Seminoles' long-term economic relationship with Florida tourism and how it contributed to the prosperity of the Seminole nation and the preservation of Seminole culture.

For much of the twentieth century anthropologists and agents of the United States government generally agreed on the negative effects of the participation by Native American groups in the tourist industry. Anthropologists often argue that this sort of exhibition is both demeaning to the subjects and destructive to native culture and society. Indian Bureau commissioners long believed that the interests of native peoples were best served if tribal groups were placed on reservations. There, under the watchful eye of the federal government, they could be acculturated to the white man's ways and introduced to Christianity and the European work ethic. Bureau agents in Florida, who had been given the task of bringing the Seminoles into the fold, often found their attempts frustrated when natives found work in the tourist industry preferable to life on reservations where they were expected to give up their old ways.

West argues that Seminole participation in the Florida tourist industry was neither demeaning to the participants nor destructive to their cultures and folkways. On the contrary, she observes that Seminoles who engaged in Florida's lucrative tourist activities during this century had a great deal of control over their lives and the affairs of their tribe, and she adds that cultural tourism did much to preserve their traditions and their way of life. West notes that, "tourism...more than any other endeavor, set the stage for the *i:laponathli* to mold their identity and, with it, the popular conception of the Florida Seminoles." The Florida tourist economy offered Seminoles, who had never made a formal peace with the United States and who were not inclined to do so, the opportunity to remain independent—"to retain their freedom, economic and otherwise, from the federal government." Through their participation in Florida tourism, Seminoles gained significant non-Indian contacts whom they trusted to represent their interests in the media and in negotiations with state and national government.

The Seminoles' entrance into the tourist trade began accidentally in 1915 at an alligator farm near Miami. A group of Seminoles was

camped near the farm, and tourists, attracted by the lure of alligator wrestling, also visited the Seminole camp some two blocks away. At about the same time, swamp drainage programs in the Florida Everglades threatened the livelihood of the Seminoles. In 1917 groups of Seminole Indians began to move out of the swamps and to look for work picking crops for white farmers. In the harsh winter of that year, a group of *i:laponathli* Seminoles camped on the property of Henry Coppinger, the owner of the Tropical Gardens. The camp quickly became an important tourist spot, and by 1920 other attractions in the Miami area also featured Seminole villages.

As the Florida tourist industry boomed in the 1920s, so did the fortunes of the *i:laponathli* who participated in the tourist attractions of the Miami area. In "native villages" erected in several tourist-rich environments throughout central Florida, Seminoles exhibited their way of life, sold their wares to visitors, and wrestled alligators. In doing so, they became a key feature of the cultural identity of the state. In fact, Seminoles became a major theme in Florida tourist promotion.

Although the Seminoles of today make the majority of their revenues from gambling, cattle, and citrus production, they still are prominent players in Florida's tourist industry. Where "ecotourism" is "the buzz word of the day," Seminoles engage in numerous ventures that both promote their culture and the ecology of the disappearing Everglades.

West's book is well researched, well written, and thought provoking. She combines both written sources and oral history to explore a subject that, to my knowledge, has received little attention in the last fifty years. I hope that this third volume in a series devoted to the study of Florida history and culture published by the University Press of Florida will be well received and widely read.

Benjamin L. Price

Louisiana State University

O. Kendall White, Jr. and Daryl White, eds. *Religion and The Contemporary South: Diversity, Community, and Identity*. Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, no. 28, Mary W. Helms, series editor. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995, pp. 172. Cloth, \$30.00. ISBN 08203-1675-X / Paper, \$20.00. ISBN 0-8203-1676-8.

The American South is a land of religious stereotypes. In *Religion in the Contemporary South: Diversity, Community and Identity*, O. Kendall White and Daryl White have collected fifteen essays that



examine the region's religious identity from an anthropological viewpoint. The authors agree that in spite of sweeping socio-economic and cultural changes, religion continues to be a leading factor in shaping Southern identity.

Each of this book's four sections examines a special aspect of Southern religion. Part one offers four essays exploring the interconnectedness of religious symbolism and "tradition." Part two contains three essays that examine the tension between "conferred and chosen" identities. Part three's five essays delve into the way in which religion confronts power structures and cultural forces. Finally, part four contains three essays that examine regionalism and religious identity. The editors of this volume acknowledge that this work is not exhaustive. This is not a major problem, because the topic is enormous. Methodologically, however, this work is open to considerable criticism. The editors explain that most of these essays are based on firsthand observation. They call this "native anthropology" and defend it because it provides a scholarly, "insider's" perspective. To their credit they also admit that this method has been criticized for lacking objectivity. Several essays suffer in this regard.

As a group, the essays in part one, "Ritual and a Community of Memory," are the least convincing. For example, Miles Richardson's "Speaking and Hearing (in Contrast to Touching and Seeing) the Sacred," draws an interesting contrast between Protestant sermons which emphasize "hearing" the Scripture and Catholic masses which emphasize "seeing" the crucifixion reenacted. This is an interesting contrast, but it does not allow for Protestant services which call for congregational participation, especially communion. Even worse, Richardson's essay indicates that he based his conclusions on what he observed in a handful of Southern Baptist churches. The Southern Baptists may be the nation's largest Protestant denomination, but such a limited sample could not account for the varieties of preaching styles among Southern Baptists, much less the South as a region. Moreover, the combined influences of Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists have created a distinct "Southern civil religion" that has traditionally characterized the region. Ignoring two of these denominations is a serious mistake for anyone wishing to understand Southern religious culture.

In addition to lacking objectivity, some of these essays are too impressionistic. Faye V. Harrison's "'Give Me That Old-Time Religion': The Genealogy and Cultural Politics of Afro-Christian Celebration in Halifax County, North Carolina," is based largely upon observing one family reunion. True, Harrison also uses interviews with family members,

as clear as Harrison suggests. Likening the Master's Economy Inn to the master's big house—more appropriately the great house—is a real stretch.

These criticisms notwithstanding, some of this book's essays are fascinating. Years ago, C. Vann Woodward suggested that the South's defeat in the Civil War was instrumental in shaping Southern "otherness." With this in mind, the essays addressing the differences between "conferred and chosen" identities gain new explanatory power. Kary D. Smout's "Attacking (Southern) Creationists" is a thoughtful look at how certain evolutionists have vilified Southern Creationists in the tradition of H.L. Mencken. Smout never explains how Creationists see themselves, a topic perhaps worthy of an essay. However, he notes that some apologists for evolution have become more derogatory than Mencken at his worst. Smout further suggests that scientists find a substitute for their invective rhetoric, if they wish to conduct a dialogue with Creationists. In a different vein, Garry W. McDonogh explores how Southern Catholics have responded to Anti-Catholic sentiment, and Brenda G. Stewart's look at Southern Unitarians, is especially provocative. Some of Stewart's Unitarians even shunned the label "Christian." Unitarians? In the South? Believe it!

*Religion in the Contemporary South: Diversity, Community and Identity* is number twenty-eight in the Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings. Mary W. Helms is the series editor. Like any other essay collection, readers will find some essays more helpful than others. One thing, however, is indisputable: as the Southern economy and culture change to reflect a more multicultural region, religion continues to play an important role in the lives of Southerners.

Keith Harper

Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary

David Williams. *Rich Man's War: Class Caste and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999, pp. 288. \$34.95. ISBN 0-8203-2033-1.

Given the often-emotional nature of the debate over "what was Southern secession all about," David Williams' *Rich Man's War* is certain to generate controversy. The author's main thesis is that during the Civil War, Southern society in western Georgia and in eastern Alabama was a strong *class* society. The author, who is Professor of History at Valdosta (Georgia) State University, submits that the class contradictions in that society not only determined how different classes

itself. "It was, in the end," writes the author, "class conflict that proved to be the crucial factor in deciding the contest between union and secession."

Of course, the idea that the South was a class society is not new, but Williams dispels the myth that everyone in the Confederacy, rich and poor, planter and yeoman, worked tirelessly and selflessly together for the good of the war effort. Instead, a small socioeconomic minority pursued its own material interests, often at the expense of the greater civilian and military population. It is also popularly believed that the Confederacy lost the war solely because of its material inferiority to the union. Williams, however, shows how special interests in the Chattahoochee Valley and elsewhere in the South promoted policies which contributed to the material shortages on the part of the Confederate forces. In other words, the Southern aristocracy, in whose interests the rebellion was being waged, actually contributed to Southern defeat by putting those interests above all others.

While the region's poor whites often suffered serious shortages of food, clothing, and medicines, the area's prosperous planters usually enjoyed a rather comfortable lifestyle. Moreover, in spite of the severe shortage of foodstuffs, larger planters continued to grow cotton and stockpile it for future profit. In fact, says Williams, the wealthiest members of the community were often able to avoid taxation and "impressment" of produce and livestock. As a result, the burden of providing food for the Confederate troops fell disproportionately to smaller farmers, many of whom did not own slaves. This was a practice that dampened enthusiasm for the war on the part of Georgian and Alabamian yeomen, and there were a large number who not only opposed secession but also worked actively against the Confederacy. A number of Chattahoochee residents joined the Union forces.

In addition, while "ordinary" Southerners either joined the army for needed bonuses or were dragooned into service, rich planters often avoided military service, sometimes under the provisions of "twenty-slave laws" which granted exemptions of planters owning that number of slaves. Those who did serve usually served as officers and thus often had the option of resigning their commissions when they no longer wanted to be in the army, while enlisted men that left were often charged with desertion. Enlisted men constantly complained about their living conditions compared with those of Confederate officers. Officers usually received their pay on time while privates sometimes had to wait months and were often forced to buy their own food and clothing at

exorbitant prices in the South's inflation economy. Shortages of equipment and provisions were not solely the fault of the officers, however; the Chattahoochee ruling class refused to pay the taxes needed to pay for an army and to produce products needed by the army.

The class system operated in the Valley's civilian population also. Unless a soldier had connections, he could rarely obtain a discharge, even on the grounds of family hardship. With the family's main provider gone to war, the wives and children of smaller farmers were often reduced to poverty. The Chattahoochee's economy also hurt African Americans, although many had better food and clothing than the poor whites. Their planter owners wanted to protect their investment. A few planters provided some charitable relief, but they often tried to have these contributions counted as tax breaks.

After the war, the class structure of the area remained essentially the same. Some planters prospered. Former slaves in the Chatahoochee, like those in other areas, were usually forced to work for their former masters under the crop-lien and sharecropping system. Legal and extra-legal resistance to Reconstruction was strong in the Chattahoochee region.

Williams's bibliography is impressive. He relies on a number of excellent sources, including current newspapers and state and Confederate government records. He also utilizes personal and family records including letters and diaries. Williams's work will be controversial and is bound to contribute to the still-current debate over whether the Civil War was "over slavery" or over some nobler concept such as states' rights.

E. Scott Cracraft

University of Memphis

## From the Archives....

### Petitions to Become a Slave

Joe Brayton Free

The Probate Court of Mobile County, Alabama, has been the "custodian of the peoples' records" since its organization as the Orphans' Court in 1813.<sup>1</sup> Records housed in the court reflect the history of Mobile from the colonial period to the present day. Wills, estates, deeds, and mortgages are familiar documents within the court. There are also unusual records that are not found in other Probate Courts in Alabama. Documents such as oyster licenses, oaths of office of harbor masters, and Spanish land grants are just a few of the records that are unique to the area. Many of these historical documents would have been lost had it not been for a group of historically-minded court employees. Under the direction of Probate Judge Lionel "Red" Noonan, supervisors Judy Busby and Coll'ette King started the Probate Archives Department in June of 1989. Since then thousands of records have been identified, microfilmed, and are now available for public viewing and research.

In 1998 while processing estate cases from the "pigeon hole" files in the archives, missionaries from the Genealogical Society of Utah came across an unusual type of document. It was not uncommon to find slave records in the estate cases of the antebellum period. Some individuals would free slaves in their estates, while others would "will" them to another family member or friend. But the documents that the missionaries found told a different story; free blacks wanting to return to slavery. One of the first questions the archives staff asked was, why?

In the years prior to the Civil War, southern slave owners were becoming increasingly uneasy about possible slave uprisings, abolitionists, and free blacks. U.B. Phillips stated that "Many men of the South thought of themselves and their neighbors as living above a loaded mine, in which the Negro slaves were the powder, the abolitionists the sparks, and the free Negroes the fuse."<sup>2</sup> White Southerners were especially concerned due to the increasing number of free blacks in Alabama. When Alabama entered the union in 1819, there were five hundred free blacks in the state. By 1860 there were 2,690. Reasons for the increase included the natural birth rate, immigration from other states, and the emancipation of slaves by their owners.<sup>3</sup>

To prevent an uprising, Alabama and other southern states enacted laws that reduced the number of free blacks. This was not only to

**PETITIONS**

**To Become Slaves.**

---

discourage emancipation within the state, but also to prevent immigration of free blacks into Alabama, and to insure against a possible uprising. Even without the new laws, free blacks could not enjoy the same rights as a white person, and often had great difficulty even making a living. Free blacks during this period were at a disadvantage in social, economic, and legal matters.<sup>4</sup>

By the 1850s states such as Alabama and Georgia had created committees to look at the subject of removing free persons of color from the state. If they chose to stay, they would be treated the same way as a person who was a slave. Local governments in Alabama passed regulations concerning free blacks in three phases. The first phase passed during the 1820s had attempted to limit contact between free blacks and slaves. The second phase attempted to prohibit immigration of free blacks into the state and "insisted" that those who were already living here leave. The final phase in the 1850s required all free blacks either to have white guardians or accept "voluntary reenslavement."<sup>5</sup>

The laws were draconian. One law stated that a free person of color would be whipped if he insulted a white person. Another prohibited free blacks from carrying weapons, including knives and firearms. In Georgia free blacks had to register with the Inferior Court each year and pay a fifty-cent fee. After registering, the clerk of the court would advertise the name of the individual in the local newspaper to make sure the person was not a runaway slave. The maximum penalty for breaking any law was to be "expelled" from the state. If the person returned, he or she would be sold into slavery.<sup>6</sup>

An act passed by the State of Alabama in January 1860 made it illegal to emancipate slaves. In this act, wills or instruments directing the removal of slaves from the state for the purpose of emancipating them were "declared to be void and of no effect." The act further stated "that all laws and parts of laws authorizing the emancipation of any slave or slaves by any proceedings before any court in the State of Alabama are hereby repealed."<sup>7</sup>

Given the laws that were being passed against free blacks, the only choices were to have a white guardian, accept voluntary reenslavement, or leave the state. By 1855 more than half of the free blacks living in Mobile listed white guardians.<sup>8</sup> But others chose another route. According to a law passed by the State of Alabama General Assembly in February 1860, a free person of color could petition the Judge of Probate to once again become a slave:

## AN ACT

### Permitting free Negroes to select a Master and become Slaves

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened, that any free person of color or free negro residing in this State, and desiring voluntarily to surrender his or her freedom, shall be permitted and empowered to do so on application by petition in writing to the Judge of Probate Court of the county in which the applicant resides, praying to become a slave of some white person of good moral character and standing...

Approved, February 25, 1860<sup>9</sup>

Why would a person voluntarily give up his or her freedom? According to the petitions that are housed in the Probate Court, there were several reasons. One involved keeping families together. Some of the individuals had family members still in slavery. Instead of leaving them behind, they would become slaves of the same master. Mesach Ross, a free man of color, petitioned the court to become a slave so that he would not have to "leave the State of Alabama forever and be separated from his wife" who was the property of Mrs. Delia Gilder.<sup>10</sup> Ann Thomas was a free woman of color born in New Orleans whose husband was the slave of James Reynolds. She petitioned to be the slave of the same master.<sup>11</sup> John Williams was a free person of color living in Madison County, Alabama. He petitioned the Probate Court to become the slave of Thomas J. Douglas. Williams stated that "having become satisfied that the rights, liberties, and privileges exercised by a free persons of color is merely theoretical" and desiring to live in the South, he gave up his freedom.<sup>12</sup>

Free blacks such as Sally Johnson, were just not physically able to move. According to Sally's petition she was "of feeble condition" and was not able to leave the state. Thomas Easton, her new master, was also a doctor. Her petition below tells her story of slavery, freedom, and the decisions facing free blacks on the eve of the Civil War:

To the Honorable the Judge of Probate of Mobile County

The petition of Sally a woman of color represents to your Honor that she has resided in Alabama about thirty years and by that time twenty years in the City of Mobile. That she was formally a slave and belonged to Beverly Crawford once a citizen of Mobile, afterwards of Mississippi, but who has been dead for many years. That about the year 1844, said Beverly Crawford put her in the hands of Judge P. J. Harris, who sold



burned, and all documents of this period were lost. Thus, Mobile's records have few readily-available surviving counterparts in Alabama.

It is ironic that none of the petitioners remained slaves for long, as the end of the war brought freedom to them all. Their story remains an interesting and sad commentary on southern society and one which would be all but forgotten without the work of the staff of the Mobile County Probate Court Archives, Records, and Micrographics Departments. For further research in this period, the records department has a number of documents open to the public on microfilm. Some of these include the Runaway Slave Book (1857-1865), Emancipation Book (1818-1859), and the Slave Record Book (1820-1850). A number of antebellum wills, estates, and minutes of the court also help describe life in Mobile during this period. Other documents of interest include Spanish colonial records (1786-1798), maps, and a small number of Civil War records. All documents available for research are located in the Records Department at 109 Government Street in the old Mobile County Court house. Copies are a dollar (\$1.00) per page. Hours are from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. Monday through Friday. For more information call (334) 690-8490, fax (334) 405-5580, or mail inquiries to: Mobile County Probate Court Records Department, P.O. Box 7, Mobile, Alabama 36601.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Coll'ette King, "Noonan Report: Outline of Records," Mobile County Probate Court, 1992, np. By early statehood the name of the court had changed to the Probate Court. See also *Handbook for Alabama Probate Judges*, 6th edition, 5-8.

<sup>2</sup>James Benson Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa, 1950), 361.

<sup>3</sup>Lucielle Griffith, *Alabama: A Documentary History to 1900* (Tuscaloosa, 1972), 155.

<sup>4</sup>Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 170.

<sup>5</sup>Harriet E. Amos, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile* (Tuscaloosa, 1985), 146. See also Virginia Gould, "In defense of their Creole Culture: The Free Creoles of Color of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 9 (Spring 1993): 40-42.

<sup>6</sup>Peter Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth Century Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1987), 91-92.

<sup>7</sup>Acts of the General Assembly, 1859-1860, 28.

<sup>8</sup>Amos, *Cotton City*,147.

<sup>9</sup>*Acts of the General Assembly, 1859-1860*, 63-64. See also pp 597-600.

<sup>10</sup>Petitions to Become Slaves, Probate Court of Mobile County, File 40:15.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid*, File 40:17.

<sup>12</sup>Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 170.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid*, File 40: 10.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid*, File 40: 12.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid*, File 40: 13. See also Mobile County Judicial Index, 1813-1964.

<sup>16</sup>Probate Court Minute Book 14, 1863-1866, 341.

<sup>17</sup>Amos, *Cotton City*, 61. Goodman was a commission merchant and commercial wharf operator from South Carolina. The 1860 census shows that he owned 106 slaves.

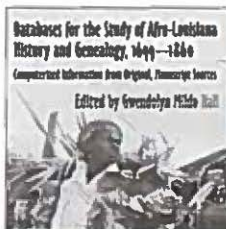
<sup>18</sup>*Mobile City Directory* (Mobile: Farrow and Dennett, 1859).

<sup>19</sup>Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama*, 171.

**Joe Brayton Free is a graduate student in the History Department at the University of South Alabama.**

# Regional History

from LSU Press



## Databases for the Study of Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy 1699-1860

*Information from Original Manuscript Sources on CD-ROM*

Edited by **Gwendolyn Midlo Hall**

This unique research tool contains Hall's *Louisiana Slave Database, 1719-1820* of more than 97,000 records, as well as *Louisiana Slave Manumissions, 1720-1820* and two centuries of census data from Louisiana, Pensacola, and Mobile.

\$45.00 • DOS or Windows 3.1, 486 or faster 16 MB minimum, 32 MB recommended. For scholarly calculations, SPSS software is required.

## France's Forgotten Legion

*Service Records of French Military and Administrative Personnel Stationed in the Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast Region, 1699-1769*

*A CD-ROM Publication*

**Carl A. Brasseaux**

Compiled from military, civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical sources, this reference holds career biographies of 7,104 men and women—from governors to midwives—who served the French monarchy in colonial Louisiana. Thirty images are included.

\$45.00 • Windows or Mac Acrobat reader supplied

## Pavie in the Borderlands

*The Journey of Théodore Pavie to Louisiana and Texas, 1829-1830, Including Portions of His Souvenirs atlantiques*

**Betje Black Klier**

After settling on the Louisiana frontier in the 1700s, the Pavie family witnessed the birth of the United States and its expansion through the Louisiana Purchase. *Pavie in the Borderlands* presents the linked histories of France, Louisiana, and Texas as seen by Théodore Pavie, a French teenager who visited his colonial kin in 1829.

*Illustrated • \$49.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper  
Available in June 2000*



*New in paperback*

## The Canary Islanders of Louisiana

**Gilbert C. Din**

"Din rescues the Isleños from obscurity with a sound historical survey of their presence in the state."

*—Journal of American History*

*Illustrated • \$17.95 paper*

