GSHR Gulf South Historical Review
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From the Editor . . .

A hot dry summer is winding down and we are all looking toward another year. Soon it will be the holiday season (*GSHR* subscriptions make good gifts) and September heat will be just a memory. What does all this have to do with history or the *Gulf South Historical Review*? Well, one of the first historical conferences of the fall is the Gulf South History and Humanities Conference which will be held in Pensacola October 12-14. Unfortunately, we didn't get this issue of the *GSHR* out as early as we usually do, so we won't be giving you as much notice as we have in the past. It will be a great meeting, hosted by Pensacola Junior College and held at the Pensacola Beach Hampton Inn (where we were last year), 1-800-320-8108. The theme of the conference is the Gulf Coast in the 1930s, but there will be other topics covered as well. So come on and enjoy a last bit of summer on the beach while exploring our region's history.

Speaking of that, this issue should have something for everyone. The status of eighteenth century Catholics in British West Florida is compared to that of their co-religionists in Quebec and Grenada. We see that the British were hardly troubled by inconsistency of policy as they administered their empire. Then we move on to two articles on the Crescent City, one about "making groceries," and the other about civil rights activities in the city's universities. The contrasts of the city's culture could hardly be more vividly depicted. Add a long list of book reviews and you have a great way to make the transition from summer to fall.

See you in Pensacola!

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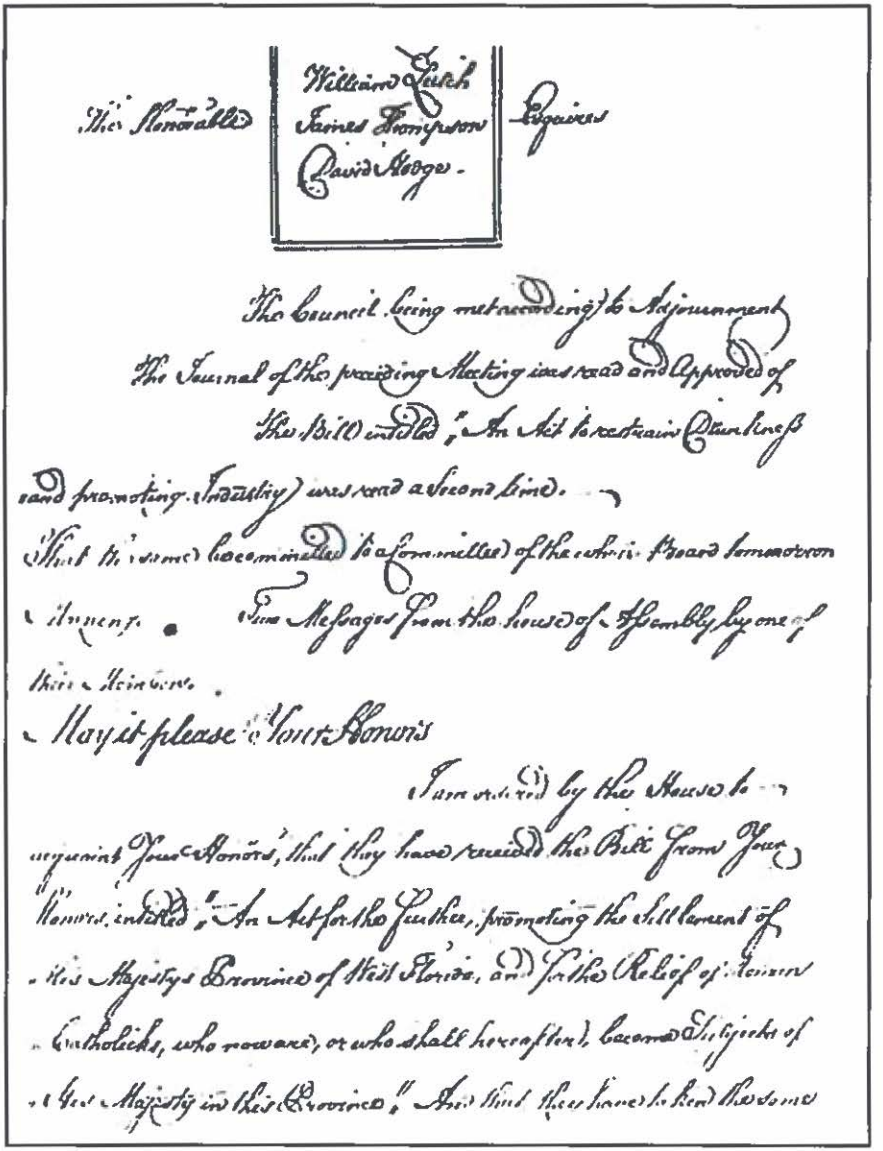
Cover Photo: Café du Monde, New Orleans. Courtesy of Café du Monde.



The Honorable William Clark, James Thompson, David Hodge, Esquires

The Council being met according to Adjournment

The Journal of the preceding Meeting was read and Approved of

The Bill entitled "An Act to restrain Quarrelsomness and promoting Industry" was read a second time.

Ordered that it be committed to a Committee of the whole House tomorrow Morning.

Two Messages from the House of Assembly by one of their Members.

May it please Your Honors

I am ordered by the House to acquaint Your Honors, that they have received the Bill from Your Honors entitled "An Act for the further promoting the Settlement of His Majesty's Province of West Florida, and for the Relief of Roman Catholicks, who now are, or who shall hereafter become Subjects of His Majesty in this Province" And that they have leave to send the same

An Act to promote settlement and give rights to Catholics in West Florida, December 22, 1766. C.O. 5/633, Public Record Office/ P. K. Younge Library, University of Florida.

His Majesty's Papist Subjects: Roman Catholic Political Rights in British West Florida

Eric Jarvis

There has been a large and significant body of historical work examining Britain's conquests in North America as a result of the Seven Years' War. There have also been numerous articles and monographs on the social and political evolution of each of the newly won colonies of Quebec, West Florida, East Florida, and Grenada. What has been lacking, however, in the study of post-1763 British America is a comparative analysis of these colonies and of specific issues that arose in them. One of the issues that would benefit from a comparative approach involves the fate of Roman Catholics who found themselves part of a Protestant British Empire because of Spanish and French defeats in the war. They had become the "Papist Subjects" of a government that offered Catholics few legal or political rights in Great Britain itself. It is within this historical framework that a study of the "Papists" of West Florida, themselves rarely studied, becomes useful in understanding general Imperial policy on religious matters.

Following the end of the war and the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the British attempted to organize their extensive new conquests in America through the Proclamation of 1763. This set out a list of basic common rules and institutions for the new colonies that would integrate them into the existing colonial system of British North America. The recent acquisitions were to receive a colonial government made up of a governor, council, and assembly that had, by the 1760s, become the standard form. Under the terms of the proclamation the assembly was to be called into existence "so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof," a determination that was to be made at the proper time by the appointed governor of the colony. The religious rights of Catholics in all four colonies were granted by the Treaty of Paris "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit," a phrase that would cause a great deal of trouble in the years ahead. Political rights for Catholic subjects were not mentioned in either the treaty or the proclamation. Thus, it was not stated that colonial administrations would be bound by the British Test Act of 1673 that prevented Catholics from either voting or holding public office.[1]

The four "infant" and "alien" colonies of Quebec, West Florida, East Florida, and Grenada came into being theoretically possessing the same governmental structure and regulations. The Proclamation of 1763, however, was typical of most British Imperial plans in the eighteenth century in that its results turned out to be something less than the hoped for uniform colonial system.[2] In fact, there arose a strikingly diverse patchwork of rules and forms that were born out of the differing experiences of each colony and out of the personalities of the original colonial governors. One of the most confused and contentious issues to emerge proved to be that of Catholic political rights.

The decisions that were made concerning these rights were colony-specific. They were based, it will be suggested, on factors that ultimately had less to do with religion and more to do with the relative size of the Catholic population, the secular ideas of colonial administrators and the consideration of class. Because of these issues the British response to their new "Papist Subjects" varied dramatically; from the total denial of political rights at one extreme, to the granting of voting and office holding at the other.

For instance in Quebec, where most of the French Catholic residents remained after the conquest and where they continued to make up the overwhelming majority of the population, virtually no political rights were granted. They could not sit on juries, vote, or hold public office. In Quebec the phrase "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit," was extended past the purely religious aspects of colonial regulation into the political as well. The proclamation was interpreted as a straightforward attempt to establish a British colony on the St. Lawrence River, complete with English law, freehold land tenure, and a representative assembly. All of these features, especially the latter one, were believed to be part of the natural rights of Englishmen in the colonies.[3]

The problem for the first civil governor, James Murray, regarding an assembly would be its unrepresentativeness in this unique colony. Since it was thought that Catholics could not vote or hold public office, any assembly, by default, would be controlled by a few hundred Anglo-American Protestant merchants who had arrived in Quebec since the conquest. This would be at the expense of the more than seventy thousand French Catholics still living there. Murray, a British officer who had served in Quebec as military governor, admired the French Canadians, and he wanted to conciliate them as much as possible. Because of this, he decided that the "state and

circumstance" of the colony was such that assembly rule had to be avoided. This deeply angered the Anglo merchants and it formed one of the grievances against the governor that they included in a series of petitions sent to the British authorities.[4] Thus, because of the prohibition on Catholic political rights, the original civil government of Quebec did not follow the constitutional route formulated for it by the Proclamation of 1763. It did not copy the political system that had evolved in older American seaboard colonies, nor, as it turned out, that had been established in its "sister" colonies of Florida and Grenada.

The Quebec constitutional system was made official by Murray's successor Guy Carleton, who became lieutenant governor of Quebec in 1766 (during Murray's absence) and then governor in 1768. Unlike his predecessor, whose decisions were taken in 1764, Carleton's mandate began after a legal opinion was handed down by the law officers of the crown that claimed Catholics should not be politically discriminated against in the new colonies.[5] This was the Norton-DeGray report of June 10, 1765, that stated, "His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects residing in the countries ceded to His Majesty in America . . . are not subject in those colonies to the Incapacities, Disabilities and Penalties to which Roman Catholics in this Kingdom are subject by the laws thereof."[6] Yet, despite this verdict, and despite developments in other newly acquired North American colonies, Carleton continued the ad hoc policies set out by Murray. In fact, he worked assiduously to have them written into law.

Carleton also favored the French Canadians and was particularly attracted to the ordered and hierarchical society he believed existed in Quebec. His concerns with the growing discontent in the old thirteen colonies to the south reinforced his desire to gain the loyalty of the peasant, or habitant, population of Quebec. To accomplish this he focused his attention on winning over the elites of society, made up of church leaders and the seigneurial landholding class, whom he thought controlled the mass of the inhabitants. One gesture to ensure this loyalty was to refuse to call an assembly, an idea that was greeted with some favor by British authorities grown tired of dealing with the other American colonial assemblies.[7]

By 1774 Carleton had managed to help convince the British government that the pattern that had been set in Quebec since 1764 was the correct one. It was from this concept that the Quebec Act of 1774 emerged. It would form the basis for a constitutional system that only Quebec would be granted, and it would be designed to

recreate the old French Regime as much as possible. The Quebec Act, once passed by Parliament after vigorous debate, expanded the colony's boundaries into the Ohio Valley, entrenched a hybrid mix of French and English law, and gave more legal powers to the Roman Catholic Church. It also established a form of colonial government that would have no assembly. Quebec was to be ruled by a governor and his council. As a result of a revised oath that avoided religion, Catholics were allowed to serve on juries, become judges and be appointed to the council. Catholic voting rights were not an issue since there was nothing for which anyone in the colony could vote. It was all of these innovations that caused many Americans in the seaboard colonies to call the Quebec Act one of the "Intolerable Acts" and made Quebec different constitutionally as well as demographically.[8]

The other newly won North American British colony that had to face the issues of Catholic rights and assembly rule after 1763 was the former French island of Grenada, where solutions to these problems evolved quite differently. The island had a significant number of Catholics who decided to stay after the conquest. They were primarily made up of large plantation owners and middling land owners who believed that the political rights open to Protestants in Grenada should also be granted to them. The first governor, Robert Melville, arrived in 1765 and the following April he called an election for a colonial assembly. Melville, therefore, unlike Murray or Carleton in Quebec, established assembly rule in Grenada. In addition, after accepting petitions from the French inhabitants and conferring with his appointed council, Melville had allowed Catholics to vote in the election of the assembly. He did not, however, permit them to sit as a members of that body.[9]

Soon after the election French Grenadians petitioned the British government for enhanced political rights, including the ability to become judges, to be appointed to the council, and to be elected as members of the assembly. The Board of Trade in Britain recognized the justice of these demands since legal opinion claimed that Catholics should face no civil prohibitions in the new colonies. Expediency dictated caution, however, especially in the face of the situation in Quebec. It was not until 1768 that the Test Act requirement was dropped and a compromise arrived at. The fact that Melville had called an assembly into existence, in contrast to Quebec, made the issue more pressing and difficult to avoid. The Privy Council ruled that Catholics would be allowed to sit in the assembly of Grenada,

but that the number would be limited to three (out of a total of twenty-four elected members) and that their constituencies would be carefully defined. Beyond that, two Catholics could be appointed to the council.[10]

This decision was not well received by many Protestants on the island. It led to a series of petitions and counter petitions that went on for years. Some Protestant members of the council were suspended over their continued opposition to Catholic colleagues. Some Protestants in the assembly refused to attend sessions where Catholics were included. In 1799 the problem ended when Grenada was retaken by French forces.[11] Yet, despite these internal protests, it seems clear that Grenada, with a slave holding, plantation economy was perceived differently from Quebec by the British government. Not only did Grenada receive an assembly, but a limited number of Catholics were allowed to sit in it. Thus, regarding assembly rule and Catholic political rights, Grenada's early years under British administration turned out to be surprisingly different than Quebec's.

The situation in the Floridas was different from that in either Quebec or Grenada. In both East and West Florida the European population had been primarily Spanish and Catholic. However, in both provinces the conquest was followed by a mass migration of colonists, aided by the Spanish government, out of the Floridas and into Cuba and Mexico.[12] This was quite different from the situation in Quebec, where, as has been seen, the bulk of the Catholic population stayed. Catholic rights were not a problem in East Florida since at first there were no Catholics to worry about. Moreover, the need for assembly rule was not urgent because of absentee land holdings and strange settlements of indentured populations. East Florida did not receive an assembly until 1781 in response to the demands of incoming Loyalists.[13]

It is in West Florida that a comparative evaluation of Catholic rights can be made. For although the Spanish settlers also left the area that became British West Florida, not all Catholics left. The western part of the new colony included a section of what had been the French colony of Louisiana. A small number of French settlers remained in that area.[14] Many of these people were French Huguenots, but in and around the Mobile region a relatively small number of French Catholics also remained.[15] They can be compared to their fellow "Papists" in the other British North America colonies. The fact that there were only a few in a raw frontier province no doubt played a role in their treatment. Nonetheless, they represented a

potential problem for the British authorities and for the first colonial administration. What to do about them within the context of the treaty and the proclamation (with accompanying governor's instructions) led to a policy that initially fell somewhere between that followed in Quebec and that followed in Grenada.

As in the other colonies, the key figure in West Florida was its first governor, the controversial and erratic George Johnstone.[16] Johnstone, unlike Murray, but similar to Melville, followed the proclamation and called an assembly in 1766, the same year as in Grenada. As in that island colony, the governor did not shy away from dealing with a Catholic population and its potential political rights. The problem did not give Johnstone pause as it had Murray, who, to be fair, faced a much larger Catholic presence. Johnstone initially indicated that Catholics would gain some civil rights, although he chose only Protestants, including a French Protestant, to sit in his first council.[17]

By the summer of 1766 the governor and his council had determined that an assembly should be formed in order to validate the laws of the province that had been passed under council rule. It was decided that for this first assembly election the districts of Pensacola and Mobile would receive six members to the house and Campbell Town two. All freeholders and householders in the province would be allowed to vote. Under these rules the first election was held and the first legislature was formed in November 1766. So far as can be determined, no prohibitions had been placed on Catholic voting.[18]

During the life of this original assembly (November to December 1766) a series of laws were passed by both houses (council and assembly) and consented to by the governor to formalize the regulations of the colony. One of them was "An Act appointing the number of the assembly and regulating elections," passed on December 11, 1766. It established the criteria for future elections:

> ...that all Persons who shall possess in his own right, town lots, tenements or lands within this province to the value of 40 shillings yearly income shall be deemed freeholders and be entitled to vote at the election of representatives for the town, district, township or county where their lots, tenements or lands are situated.[19]

Also permitted to vote in assembly elections were those who "shall pay the yearly rent of forty pounds sterling for any house or

tenement or for any plantation within this province." A subsequent clause stated that only a freeholder would be allowed to sit as an elected member in the assembly.[20] And finally, at the end of the act, the following prohibitions were added: "And be it further enacted...that no Jew, Indian, free-Negroe or mulatto shall have a right to vote at any poll of election within this province."[21]

This list is interesting in and of itself, but for the topic under discussion it is not so much what is listed but what is not listed that is important. Roman Catholics are not included among the prohibited groups. Was it simply assumed that they would not have the vote and it was, therefore, deemed unnecessary or redundant to include them on the list? This is not impossible given the British penchant for such legal understandings, but it is still very unlikely since surely the other categories of people would also have been, in those times, assumed without discussion to be disenfranchised. Thus, by omission, it can reasonably be concluded that the intention of the government of West Florida was to allow Catholic voting.

The second pertinent act, reinforcing this conclusion, passed the legislature on December 22, 1766. It was "to encourage foreigners to come into and settle West Florida."[22] The provincial government was anxious to woo new settlers, including the French from the now Spanish colony of Louisiana. It was hoped that they would be Protestants, but French Catholics were also seen as potential immigrants.[23] As part of this act, Catholic settlers, having taken an oath of allegiance to the crown, would eventually be guaranteed their rights not only of religious worship but the following: "And be it further enacted...that the Roman Catholics of this province shall be and are hereby intitled to sit on juries and vote at elections of representatives under the same restrictions as are prescribed to His Majesty's Protestant subjects within the same."[24] Because of this clause Catholics would have been able to obtain political rights denied them in Great Britain.

Furthermore, regarding whether the council and assembly believed anything contained in any of the bills was contrary to "His Majesty's instructions communicated to the Council," the members were "unanimously of the opinion that nothing therein contained were contrary to His Majesty's instructions."[25] Governor Johnstone agreed, but the chief law officer of the crown, M.A. Lamb, in his 1768 recommendations to the Board of Trade, raised some concerns. While he claimed that "upon perusal and consideration of the before mentioned acts I have no objections thereto in point of law," he went

on to suggest some practical problems. "The propriety of them and how far they are agreeable to the Governor's instructions will be in your Lordships' judgement and particularly the last act relating to foreigners and the powers therein given to Papists."[26]

This recommendation highlights the two key factors in the debate over Catholic rights: that "in point of law" colonial Catholics could have political roles granted to them that would be prohibited in Britain,[27] but that the propriety of such liberties should be seriously questioned. The impact of a "liberal" policy, for instance, could have had adverse effects on the governing of Quebec, with its large Catholic population.

In the event, the Board of Trade did focus on the propriety of the acts and successfully recommended to the Privy Council that both should be disallowed. It was thought that the acts in question were contrary to the governor's instructions and that the encouragement given Catholics was too general in nature.[28] Therefore, in West Florida, as in Quebec (but not in Grenada), pragmatism overcame a point of law. The legality of colonial Catholic rights was consistently upheld by the law officials of the crown, beginning with the Norton-DeGray ruling of 1765, but political expediency tailored to fit each colony proved to be more powerful.[29]

In West Florida, then, the denial of Catholic political rights was not directly linked to religious issues or to legal prejudice. The Royal Governor, as well as council and assembly members, would have permitted a Catholic franchise. The colony was underpopulated and Catholics were few in number and non-threatening. It would seem, in fact, that Catholics could well have voted as regular freeholders and householders in that first assembly election. Because of the subsequent British disallowance, however, they would not be able to vote again. It is worth speculating whether this was seen as a crucial issue for most Roman Catholics trying to eke out a living on the southern frontier. All of the petitions received by the government from the Catholics of Mobile involved purely religious questions, never anything political.[30]

His Majesty's government had to fall back on expediency regarding the religious issue for a number of reasons. In Britain, there were still anti-Papist sentiments that had to be considered. While most government officials no longer harbored such ideas and had become secular and tolerant in their thinking, not all of their fellow countrymen shared such views. The public could still become inflamed by anti-Catholic causes that sometimes led to protests and

Guilberto Guillemard, architect for the Cabildo building and other important colonial facilities, designed the first Decatur Street or riverfront market building. Expanded from designs of the talented architect Barthelemy Lafon in 1799 to provide for fish dealers, it was located at the present corner of Decatur and St. Ann streets.[5] Residents and visitors can recognize the site today as the "Café du Monde" building, for the well known coffee stand located there. The structure gave New Orleans a professionally designed hall that not only provided for the public health and sanitation, but also reflected its self-awareness as a port. Pork bellies from the Illinois country; livestock from the Attkapas and Texas plains; fish, oysters, and game from the gulf coast and Plaquemines Parish; and vegetables from area market gardens and the Mississippi River's "German Coast" could arrive there by boat and be sold within yards of their landing places.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the New Orleans lady of the house and her maid could provision their table with an impressive variety of inexpensive foods from the old Meat Market. Beef was poor, but cheap at 2-3¢ per pound. One could purchase a pair of hens, chickens, capons, geese, or ducks at a price ranging from 60¢ to $1.40. Two large turkeys cost $4.00, and eggs were about 20¢ per dozen. Fish from Lake Pontchartrain—including trout, eel, redfish, and perch—were considered first-class and cost from 6½¢ to 9½¢ per pound. Fish from the river, probably Tchoupic or mudfish, were considered "common" and were sold directly by the fishermen from boats at an even cheaper price. Other seafood in the market included oysters at 50¢ per hundred, crawfish at 11¢ for 20, and shrimp at 11¢ for 30. Among fruits and vegetables in the market at this time, the shopper could choose from kale, green beans, tomatoes, leeks, Havana bananas, apples, peaches, plums, figs, and pomegranates, all ranging from 11¢ to 20¢ per bunch.[6]

The building where all this was sold lasted about twenty years, but being of wood was subject to decay. In 1808 the city council decided it needed a more ambitious market house of brick, and accepted a bid from the French architect Arsène Lacarrière Latour to design and build one. Latour proposed a highly stylized, Renaissance style building with a flat tile roof and a balustrade like the one then on the roof of the Cabildo. Built of plastered brick, painted grey, and scored with white lines to resemble stone, it was three hundred feet long, had legant black and white marbleized pillars, and roof urns like an Italian

truck farmers with ethnic traditions, butchers with live animals, and fishmongers with a pungent aura—and it still catered to the local population.

One of the better French Market descriptions of the twentieth century came from the pen of a journalist from the *New Yorker* who captured some of its idiosyncrasies in this 1932 piece:

> The Booths are Sicilian, hung with red peppers, draped with garlic, piled with fruit, trayed with vegetables, trailing fresh and dried herbs. A huge fat man...daintily binds bunches for soup, while his wife quarters cabbages and ties up smaller bundles of thyme, parsley, green onion, small hot peppers, and sweet pimentos to season gumbos. Another Italian with a white mustache, smiling fiercely from a tanned face, offers jars of green filé powder, unground allspice, and pickled onion in vinegar. Carts and trucks flank the sidewalk. One walks through crates of curled parsley, scallions piled with ice, wagonloads of spinach with tender mauve stalks...sacks of white onions in oyster-white fishnet....[2]

In 1821 painter Jean Jacques Audubon made notes on an earlier mix of market folk. "Passing through the stalls," he wrote in his diary, "we were surrounded by Negroes, mulattos, and quadroons, some talking French, others a *patois* of Spanish and French, others a mixture of French and English, or English translated from French, with a French accent."[3]

New Orleans' illustrious Cabildo, the city's Spanish governing authority, founded its regulated market system in 1779 to extend supervision over food sales. Although the Cabildo had to work through the problems of an erratic beef and flour supply chain, along with obstacles presented by recalcitrant farmers, hunters, fishermen, vendors, and peddlers long accustomed to an unregulated environment, the public market was a success from its inception. The Cabildo had its first covered facility built on Chartres Street in 1779, and within four years had replaced it with two larger buildings. These having burned in the great city fire of 1788, authorities moved the market in 1790 to the bank of the Mississippi River, where, greatly expanded, it has since been a fixture of the local scene. The legitimizing feature of the public market was to promote public health and sanitation, ensure the accuracy of weights and measures, and control prices. Not coincidentally, the Cabildo realized thousands of pesos from its market system, an underlying condition that would drive municipal decisions about public markets in New Orleans well into the twentieth century.[4]

and looked at all the dead ducks hanging up. The French called this hanging *laisser du gibier se faisander. Faisander* was a verb the Creoles used to mean hanging mallards, teal, snipe, and other game until it acquired a strong and somewhat rotten taste. Game connoisseurs considered this a delicacy. My mother considered it vile, and tried to find graceful ways not to eat it at dinner parties. Whenever anything in the refrigerator went bad, particularly milk products, she would sniff and say "Whew! *Faisandé*!"

Of course, one did not know it at the time, but our family was enjoying the final stages of New Orleans' colorful public market and corner store consumer economy. As market historians have consistently noted, municipally established food markets date to ancient times. During the city's French Colonial period a market was proposed for the square fronting Royal Street between St. Louis and Toulouse, but was never built.[1] In the latter half of the eighteenth century, a regulated public market grew out of the more paternalistic assumptions of the Spanish government, which controlled both prices and sanitary selling conditions for meat and vegetables. Then early in the nineteenth century, the "corner store" or private market was born to serve an Americanized city that was expanding into neighborhoods beyond the Vieux Carré, even while the municipality vigorously maintained a monopoly for its public markets in the sale of perishables. Provisioning the system were flatboats coming down the river from the expanding Midwest, the city's international port, and local market gardeners, bakers, and dairymen. The public market and the privately owned corner store led a sometimes uneasy coexistence for a century or more, until a pair of outside enemies, H. G. Hill Stores and, particularly, Schwegmann's Giant Supermarkets, began to render their internal struggles somewhat moot. And as local newspapers have reported in recent years, the Schwegmann lock on supermarket share gave way only recently to more powerful national concerns.

Few areas of New Orleans were ever as colorful as the old French Market in its heyday. For over a century its diverse people, sights, and aromas inspired writers to attempt the near impossible and translate sensations into prose. Even after the Great Depression, when the French Market Corporation, armed with city, Orleans Dock Board, and federal Public Works Authority (PWA) dollars and workers did its best to sanitize and rebuild the market almost beyond recognition, it hung onto its essential character. As late as the 1950s it still had

Making Groceries: Public Markets and Corner Stores in Old New Orleans

Sally K. Reeves

"Making Groceries" is an old New Orleans expression that the city's residents traditionally used for food shopping, particularly at corner stores and public markets, and even at the late Schwegmann's Giant Supermarkets. The expression derives from the French *faire son marché*, "to do one's market shopping," *faire* meaning to do or make. Many New Orleanians have distinct memories of how they did this market shopping in a pre-industrial setting, that is, before the advent of the oversized supermarket. As late as the 1960s, when the present writer was a student at Sophie Newcomb College in New Orleans, her mother ordered ingredients for the evening meal and the next day's breakfast nearly every day from Von der Haar's corner grocery on Magazine Street. By noontime's return home for lunch, the delicacies would have arrived, all carefully arranged in a crate filled with shaved ice. A typical delivery would include a bunch of water cress and some bibb lettuce; a pint of corpulent Pontchatoula strawberries in a woven strap basket; a mound of tiny, sweet, pink river shrimp; and some thick veal or lamb chops. At dinner, the quality of the butcher's actions or choices was a not infrequent subject of conversation. There was never any soap powder or other non-food items in the Von der Haar order, probably because mother sent everything, including the towels and underwear, to the Chalmette Laundry on Claiborne Avenue and had no need for detergent. Meynier's Hardware on Maple Street delivered all the housecleaning supplies we needed, and we ordered cosmetics and personal items from Katz and Besthoff Drugstore on St. Charles Avenue at Broadway. As for drinks, Bennie Bass Beverages delivered a case of Schlitz beer for Papa and two cases of Pepsi for the children about every other week.

Occasionally the family piled into the car on Sunday morning and drove downtown to the French Market to get coffee and donuts at Morning Call and purchase some speciality items. We bought a box of naval oranges around Christmas time, a white cooking pumpkin at Halloween, and long plaited twists of garlic in early fall. We haggled with the Plaquemines Parish truck farmers over the price of snap beans, Creole tomatoes, mirlitons, huge cabbages, and cauliflower. Then we walked down to the meat section to experience the sounds and odors of squawking white hens and fat, gobbling turkeys in cages,

Figure 1. Old Meat Market on Decatur Street, first built 1813. Sally K. Reeves.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Council Minutes of West Florida, December 22, 1766, C.O. 5/623 and January 2, 1767, C.O. 5/632; Johnson, *British West Florida*, 48.

[23]This generally ran counter to British immigration policy for the colonies. Fabel, *The Economic*, 12-14, 17; Bailyn, *Voyagers*, chapt. 13; Johnson, *British West Florida*, 24-25, 31-33 and chapt. 5. Even the military commander in West Florida (Haldimand) and the Commander in Chief of British Forces in North America (Gage) agreed with this policy. See: Haldimand Papers (microfilm), July 14, 1767, June 25, 1764, March 9, 1770, May 16 and August 28, 1770. Comments can also be found in the Gage Papers at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, see vol. 18, May 1764 for examples. *Georgia Gazette*, January 10, 1765, ran an ad for land granting in West Florida.

[24]Council Minutes of West Florida, December 22, 1766, C.O. 5/623.

[25]Council Minutes of West Florida, January 2, 1767, C.O. 5/632.

[26]Howard, *The British*, 118 (App IV) and Council Minutes of West Florida, C.O. 5/575.

[27]Clarence Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (NY, 1959), 1: 213, 253-65; Lawson, *Imperial*, 97-107. Attitudes toward Catholic political rights can also be found in the Shelburne Papers at the Clements Library, particularly in vol 64, 483-91, Shelburne to the Board of Trade, May 17, 1767.

[28]Johnson, *British West Florida*, 48.

[29]Norton-DeGray ruling, June 10, 1765; Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, Part 1, 236.

[30]Council Minutes of West Florida, November 25, 1764, C.O. 5/625 and December 12, 1764, C.O. 5/632. See also C.O. 5/589, Letter from Chester to Hillsborough, February 21, 1772.

[31]Lawson, *Imperial*, 97-107; Fabel, *The Economic*, 4.

Eric Jarvis is professor of history at King's College, London, Ontario.

[12]Robert L. Gold, *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale, 1969), 35-37 and chapts. 5, 6 and 8; Johnson, *British West Florida*, 24-25.

[13]Gold, *Borderland*, chapts. 5 and 8; Robin F.A. Fabel, "British Rule in the Floridas," in *The New History of Florida*, ed. M. Gannon (Gainesville, 1996), 136, 141; Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West* (NY, 1986), chapt. 12; Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943), especially chapt. 4. By 1768 a small number of Catholics were at New Smyrna but because of the nature of the settlement they had a lot more to worry about than gaining the vote.

[14]Gold, *Borderland*, 58-62, 112-13; Johnson, *British West Florida*, chapt. 1; Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley, 1947), chapts. 2 and 3; Robert Rea, *Major Robert Farmar of Mobile* (Tuscaloosa, 1990), chapt. 3. The area taken from French Louisiana was bounded on the east by the Perdido River and on the west by the Mississippi River.

[15]Robin F. A. Fabel, *The Economy of British West Florida, 1763-1783* (Tuscaloosa, 1988), 18-22; Robin F. A. Fabel, *Bombast and Broadsides: The Lives of George Johnstone* (Tuscaloosa, 1987), 25; Gold, *Borderland*, 140, 152; Howard, *The British*, chapt. 2 and p. 15; Johnson, *British West Florida*, chapt. 1; Rea, *Major*, chapt. 3. It is difficult to determine population statistics for this era, but it would appear that approximately 350 French settlers lived in Mobile, with more in the surrounding region. It is also uncertain as to how many of these were Catholic, but odds are the majority were. There were 112 French in Mobile who had taken the Oath of Allegiance in October of 1764, but not all were Catholic. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766: English Dominion* (Nashville, 1911), 1: 121-22. Very few Church records still exist for this era. My appreciation to the Most Reverend Oscar Lipscomb, Archbishop of Mobile, for his help regarding such records.

[16]See Fabel, *Bombast and Broadsides* for background on Johnstone. James Murray was one of Johnstone's uncles. Fabel, *The Economic*, 9.

[17]Johnson, *British West Florida*, 25-27; Howard, *The British*, 107; Fabel, *Bombast and Broadsides*, 26-32, 36-37.

[18]Council Minutes of West Florida, July 28, 1766, C.O. 5/632. Council records are from the West Florida Papers (microfilm) P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Fabel, *Bombast and Broadsides*, 48; Johnson, *British West Florida*, 46, 84.

[19]Council Minutes of West Florida, December 11, 1766, C.O. 5/623 and January 2, 1767, C.O. 5/632.

[20]Ibid.

nance of the British Empire, 1689-1784" in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol 2, *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. P. J. Marshall (Oxford, 1998); Johnson, *British West Florida*, 14-19. The most recent overview of the topic is H. B. Bowen, "British Conceptions of Global Empire, 1756-83," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26 (September 1998): 1-27.

[3]Neatby, *Quebec*, 3-4, 33, 36, 45, 47; Lawson, *Imperial*, 5-8, 25-2; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Toronto, 1983), 33-34; Brian Young and John A. Dickinson, *A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective* (Toronto, 1988), 59.

[4]Neatby, *Quebec*, 33-38, 48, 50, 52; Lawson, *Imperial*, 28-29, 40, 50-51, 55; Trofimenkoff, *Dream*, 35; Young and Dickinson, *Short History*, 58-60; W.J. Eccles, *France in America* (Vancouver, 1972), 221-22.

[5]Neatby, *Quebec*, 53-55, 87; Lawson, *Imperial*, 45, 52, 97; Trofimenkoff, *Dream*, 35.

[6]Norton-DeGray ruling, June 10, 1765, Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, Part 1, 236.

[7]Neatby, *Quebec*, 100-104; Lawson, *Imperial*, 109, 114; Trofimenkoff, *Dream*, 35; Young and Dickinson, *Short History*, 60; Eccles, *France*, 226, 231-32; A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec*, vol 1, *1760-1778*, (1933; reprint, Toronto, 1968), 138-40, 142.

[8]For the text of the Quebec Act, see "An Act for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec in North America," in *House of Commons Sessional Papers of the 18th Century*, ed. Sheila Lambert (Wilmington 1975), 24: 241-46; Neatby, *Quebec*, 106, chapt. 9; Lawson, *Imperial*, chapt. 7; Trofimenkoff, *Dream*, 36-37; Eccles, *France*, 234; Young and Dickinson, *Short History*, 60, 63; Burt, *Old Province*, 160-61, 168-69, 171, 173-75.

[9]C.S.S. Higham, "The General Assembly of the Leeward Islands," Part 2, Section 3: "Influence of the Other Colonies, Grenada, 1763-71," *English Historical Review* (July 1926): 367-70, 391; George Brizan, *Grenada: Island of Conflict* (London 1984), 32; Patrick Emmanuel, *Crown Colony Politics in Grenada, 1917-1951*, Institute of Social and Economic Research (Eastern Caribbean), University of the West Indies Occasional Paper no. 7 (Cave Hill, Barbados, 1978), 22-23. On Grenada's petition for an assembly, see *Georgia Gazette*, August 12, 1767.

[10]Higham, *EHR*, 372-74; Brizan, *Grenada*, 32-33, 36; Emmanuel, *Occasional Paper*, 24-25.

[11]Higham, *EHR*, 370, 374; Brizan, *Grenada*, 33-35.

whelmed by peasant control of the legislature, something that neither the governors nor the Quebec Catholic establishment desired. At the other extreme, Grenada, a colony that had an important number of French planters and landowners, was given an assembly with a Catholic franchise and even limited Catholic representation in the legislature. In Grenada, religion was not perceived as a theoretical prohibition or a practical one, since all Catholics who did gain civil rights were part of an elite or near-elite group that supported a massive slave-worked plantation economy.

West Florida was granted an assembly and, at first, it was assumed that there would be a Catholic franchise. In this colony the religious problem did not emerge within the colonial administration. Neither class nor Catholicism appear to be motivating forces. It took the British government's rule of expediency to override provincial intentions and deny Catholic political rights. Thus, if the experiences of all three colonies are analyzed together it becomes clearer that the concept that decided the fate of the Papist settlers was not religious prejudice per se, but political pragmatism that varied from colony to colony.

Notes

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[1]"The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763" and "By the King: A Proclamation" (1763) in *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada (1759-1791)*, ed. A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty (Ottawa, 1907), 1: 113-26, 163-68; Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida, 1763-1783* (New Haven, 1942), 14-23. For the issue of Catholics in Britain and the Empire: Philip Lawson, *The Imperial Challenge: Quebec and Britain in the Age of the American Revolution* (Montreal, 1989), chapts. 2-5; R. K. Webb, *Modern England, From the 18th Century to the Present* (NY, 1975), 38-39. Catholics did not gain the right to vote in Britain until 1793. The Test Act was abolished in 1828 and full Catholic emancipation followed in 1829. On the lack of research involving Catholics in West Florida, see: James Patterson Smith, "Reconstructing the Gulf South's Colonial Past: Progress in Recovering the History of the British West Florida Colony, 1763-1783," *Journal of Mississippi History* 60 (Spring 1998): 21-49.

[2]Hilda Neatby, *Quebec: The Revolutionary Age, 1760-1791* (Toronto, 1977), chapt. 2; I. K. Steele, "The Anointed, The Appointed and the Elected: Gover

disturbances, as witnessed in the 1780 Gordon Riots. Then there was the problem of King George III, who took his Church of England duties quite seriously. He could not be pushed too far, too fast, concerning discrepancies between Catholic rights in his new colonies and those denied at home. And, of course, there was the difficulty of Ireland and the possible repercussions that the concept of Catholic political rights for North America would have there. In addition were the concerns of colonial defense that influenced the Catholic issue, since Papists could be viewed as potential security risks in any future wars against France or Spain. This was especially the case in Quebec, but West Florida also existed on an exposed frontier alongside Catholic Louisiana. All of these factors were reinforced by the difficulties arising from frequent changes in government ministries in Britain during this era, which meant a series of new secretaries of state for the colonies and a perpetual rethinking and reworking of colonial policy.[31] This situation greatly increased the power and responsibilities of the colonial governors, as has been seen in the differing actions of Johnstone, Murray and Melville. It all led easily to a system of colonial rule based on pragmatic particularism instead of a systematic policy grounded in law.

Thus, within the comparative context of British North America after 1763 West Florida fit somewhere in the middle of the range of possible relations with the Empire's new Catholic subjects. According to the Treaty of Paris and the Proclamation of 1763 all of the governments of these "infant" and "alien" colonies should have been uniform. All should have had assemblies and Catholics should have been allowed rights, religious and presumably political, only "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." Legal opinion of the day, however, ran counter to the spirit of this qualification by claiming that colonial Catholics did not have to face such restrictions as the Test Act. The combination of these conflicting opinions led to considerable confusion at the time and to a continuation of that confusion by historians ever since.

For instance, it has been generally assumed that Quebec was not granted an assembly because the governors believed that the majority of the population could not have participated in its election. An alternative possibility could be that assembly rule was blocked because if the conclusions of crown law officials were followed any future assembly would be controlled by Catholics and that was perceived to be a threat to colonial security. It would also mean that the Catholic elite of Quebec, the seigneurial class, would be over-

palazzo. Inside, the walls were dark red and there were three aisles, with the butchers' tables in the middle and the fish and vegetable stalls on the sides. Latour topped off the roof with a clock and a lightening rod.[7]

Finally finished in the fall of 1811 after three years of construction and several contract disputes, the building was completely destroyed by an August 19 hurricane in.[8] Devastated, the city council nevertheless voted three days later to provide temporary quarters and build a new facility. That market house, designed by city surveyor Jacques Tanesse and constructed by builders Gurlie & Guillot in 1813 for $25,000, although enlarged and repeatedly repaired, and altered by the PWA in 1938, still stands, a veritable symbol of New Orleans history.[9] (fig. 1)

Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, the French Market grew. Its five primary components were the Meat Market; the Vegetable Market (added in 1823 and enlarged twice); three privately owned "Red Stores" on land with a protracted legal history (built in 1832 and demolished during the Great Depression); the gabled, turreted Bazaar Market (a dry-goods emporium built just after the Civil War and demolished during the depression); and the Farmers' Market sheds near the old U.S. Mint, built by the PWA during the depression. A more modern addition is the complex of "New" Red Stores built by the French Market Corporation during the 1970s on an open site opposite the old Vegetable Market.

The Meat Market was the most important of New Orleans' many public market buildings. It is the oldest and, until after the Civil War, was the only place in the French Quarter where fresh meat could legally be sold.[10] For 125 years the Meat Market was only one block long, beginning at St. Ann Street and ending at Dumaine. Numerous plans in the Notarial Archives of New Orleans demonstrate this abbreviated outline as it stood before the extension built by the PWA.[11] Local residents referred to the building as "the Meat Market," or *Halle des Boucheries*, not "the French Market." Not until the 1850s, three decades after other public markets made their presence around town, did its overriding importance diminish to the extent that it needed greater designation as the "French Market." Indeed, it was the market in the "French" part of town, and many of the butchers *were* French, either Creoles or foreign-born.[12] For a century images of these hatted, aproned butchers standing beside their heavy oak tables imparted a timeless, Old World sense to the market scene. (fig. 2)

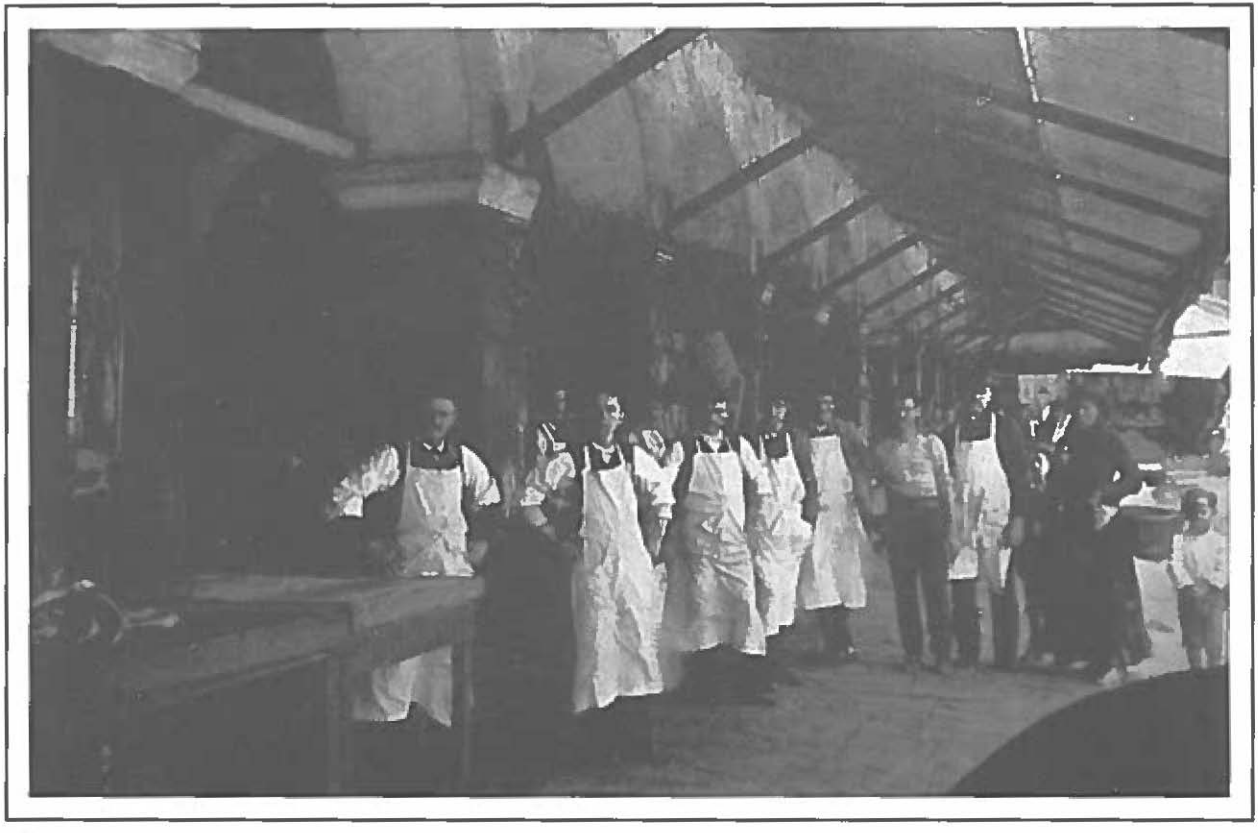


Figure 2. Butchers at old French Market. Photograph by George François Mugnier, Louisiana State Museum.

Until 1850 the butchers obtained beef, veal, and pork on the hoof from wharves along the Carondelet and "New" Canals, to which the stock was shipped via Lake Pontchartrain. In 1850 the nearby City of Jefferson built a stock landing on the Mississippi River at the foot of Louisiana Avenue in what is now uptown New Orleans, where dealers auctioned stock to butchers operating nearby cottage-industry slaughterhouses. In 1866 the French artist Adrien Persac drew and painted a typical cottage slaughterhouse complex in this area to advertise a property auction for butcher Philip Abadie.[13] (fig. 3) Abadie was a member of a family of butchers who leased stalls in the Poydras, French, Claiborne, and Dryades markets.[14] As in the case of this family, butchering was a fraternal occupation—skilled, regulated, and eventually unionized in response to scarcity of outlets and the highly regulated environment. By ordinance butchers paid the highest prices in the markets for stall rentals, and also paid by the head for every large animal brought in. All slaughtering had to be done in prescribed neighborhoods, under cover from the sun or before dawn, and the leavings disposed of according to ordinance. Before the sun rose the butchers transported their product to the market, which was a frenzy of activity from dawn until 10:00 A.M. (12:00 noon in winter), when it had to shut down.[15] Only then did market folk repair to neighborhood restaurants such as Madame Begue's in the Vieux Carré or Madame Esparbé's opposite Poydras Market for traditional restaurant meals.

The butchers got mutton, which people ate much more than we do now, from a sheep slaughterhouse on what is now St. Claude and Frenchmen streets.[16] In 1834 John H. B. Latrobe noted in his journal that the meat market was poor "except in the article of mutton."[17] Pork came down the river salted from the heartland. Professional market hunters supplied wild game in huge numbers from the countryside. When Audubon scoured the market in 1821 looking for game to paint, he was thrilled to find six kinds of wildfowl and nine kinds of wild or domestic birds for sale.[18] The market hunters slaughtered wild game in such numbers that the state eventually put an end to their industry.

The Vegetable Market, built in 1823 and enlarged twice, extends from the triangle formed by the intersection of Decatur and North Peters streets to Ursulines. Its addition to the complex was the first of a long series of expansions that has characterized the French Market for nearly two centuries. The earliest portion, designed by city surveyor Joseph Pilié, was only a half block long, with a heavy, plastered brick "Tuscan" arcade and a pediment.[19] The city added a

Figure 3. Philip Abadie's cottage-industry slaughterhouse on Louisiana Avenue, 1866.
New Orleans Notarial Archives.

triangular extension for fruit in 1830, and a decade later added an extension to Ursulines Street supported by cast iron columns and providing space for a fish market.[20] For generations local dairymen, bakers, and market gardeners delivered their products there in horse-drawn carts. Like the French, New Orleanians enjoyed root crops such as the red round and the yellow turnip, blood turnip beets, long orange and short carrots, and Rouen leeks. They also grew cabbages such as the Drumhead, which was large and late, the Bonneuil, which was early and white, and the York, which was early and small. They also cooked white (and black) salsify, and the Jerusalem artichoke or *topinambour*, which tastes like artichoke and has a yellow bloom like a small sunflower.[21]

Colorful vegetables laid out in linear fashion, stall after stall, were a potent attraction to the eye, as were the even more potent combination of sights and aromas in the fish market. In the fish market, wrote Charles Peale Bishop nearly a century after it opened,

> A black man huge as an executioner hacks the meat of snapping turtles from giant shells, Red-snappers, rose-scaled, lie beside the slender silver-foil Spanish mackerel and pompano from the Gulf of Mexico. Lake trout from Pontchartrain are tied together by strips of palmetto; carried on nappy heads, great round baskets of crabs go by, bedded in Spanish moss. Vast piles of shrimps, transparent shells from Barataria, are cooled under shovels of crushed ice.[22]

The Vegetable Market is on a trapezoid of land with a blunt end. Twenty-five years ago the Morning Call coffee stand identified its narrow end opposite St. Philip Street. (fig. 4) A baker, Arthur Victor Flotte, operated a coffee stand there during the 1860s, calling it the Morning Star. Inside, Flotte installed marble slabs, mirrors, and heavy white crockery, all of which he noted when he sold the business to Bertrand Duffourg in 1879.[23] The Morning Star typified the strong association between market restaurants and drinking coffee. Englishmen Charles Lyell's writings about the French Market in 1856 still ring true: "There were stalls where hot coffee was selling in white china cups," he wrote, "reminding us of Paris." New Orleans people still drip their coffee slowly in French biggins and flavor it with chicory, but no longer consume it at Morning Call.[24] The business abandoned the French Market for the suburbs during the 1970s, owing to frustrations encountered during modernization and a change in the

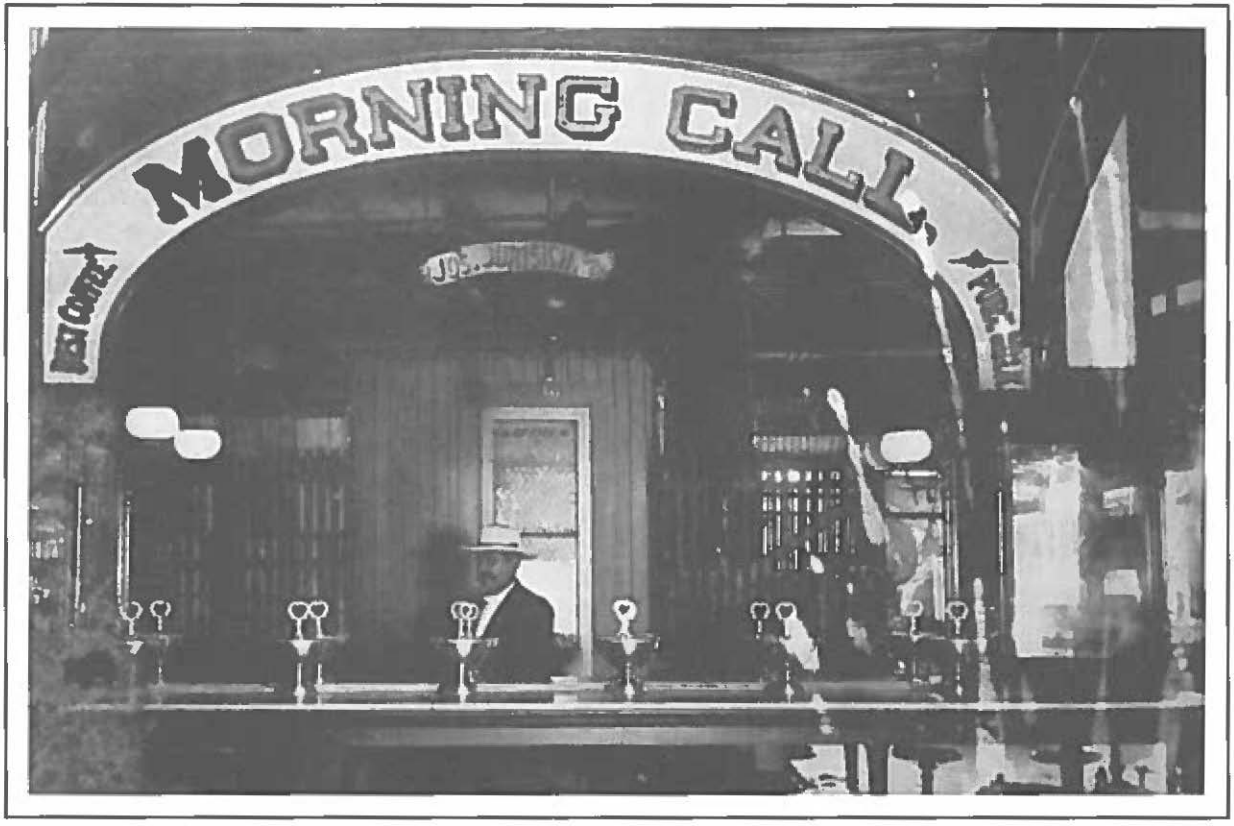


Figure 4. Morning Call coffee stand, c. 1910. Louisiana State Museum.

market's character. In its heyday it was a great competitor to Cafe du Monde.

In 1938 the old Vegetable and Fish Market suffered a drastic change when it lost its slender iron columns in favor of rather clumsy tapered "Doric" types installed during the French Market Corporation-PWA renovation. This project also removed the fruit market on the triangle at the junction of Decatur and North Peters streets in favor of parking spaces. During the 1970s the city redeveloped the triangle into a small park with a flagpole, and more recently has moved a giant gilded statue of Joan of Arc complete with four flagpoles to the site.

By 1820 New Orleans had grown well beyond the French Quarter both up and downriver, and residents needed to make groceries in their own neighborhoods. The city responded in 1822 by building its first additional public market outside of the original city, in the Faubourg St. Marie. Also designed by city surveyor Pilié as a long narrow hall with a Doric colonnade, the St. Mary Market (fig 5) began life facing the river on the neutral ground at Diamond Street near Tchoupitoulas. Like all New Orleans markets, it was long and narrow, in this case 486 feet long and only 42 feet wide. The linear shape had the effect of compressing the shopping experience into what Benjamin Norman in 1845 called "one heterogeneous mass of delightful confusion."[25]

As did the French Market, the St. Mary expanded. Its main building grew longer in three stages, the last as late as 1901.[26] St. Mary also acquired a vegetable market in the street at the triangular junction of Annunciation and Tchoupitoulas streets. Begun on the riverfront, by the Civil War this market house was five blocks inland owing to the changing bank in this stretch. Today whatever remains of the St. Mary is under a grassy open space in the New Orleans Warehouse District.[27]

Another early riverfront facility was the Third Municipality's Port Market, built in 1840 at the foot of Elysian Fields. Like its French Quarter counterpart, the Port Market set a high store on its butchers, and the city took care to ensure that their stalls and meat hooks were both sturdy and attractive. The Port Market met an early demise in the face of commercial pressures and the strong arm of railroad magnate Charles Morgan, who saw to its demolition after forty years of operation to make way for his freight car ferry landing.[28]

If adequate space, title, a stable bank line, and priority of market use were needed to put the public market on the riverfront, some neighborhoods did not even front on the river. The Tremé Market, built in 1839, straddled the generous width of Orleans Street between Marais and Villere, catering to the working class population clustered

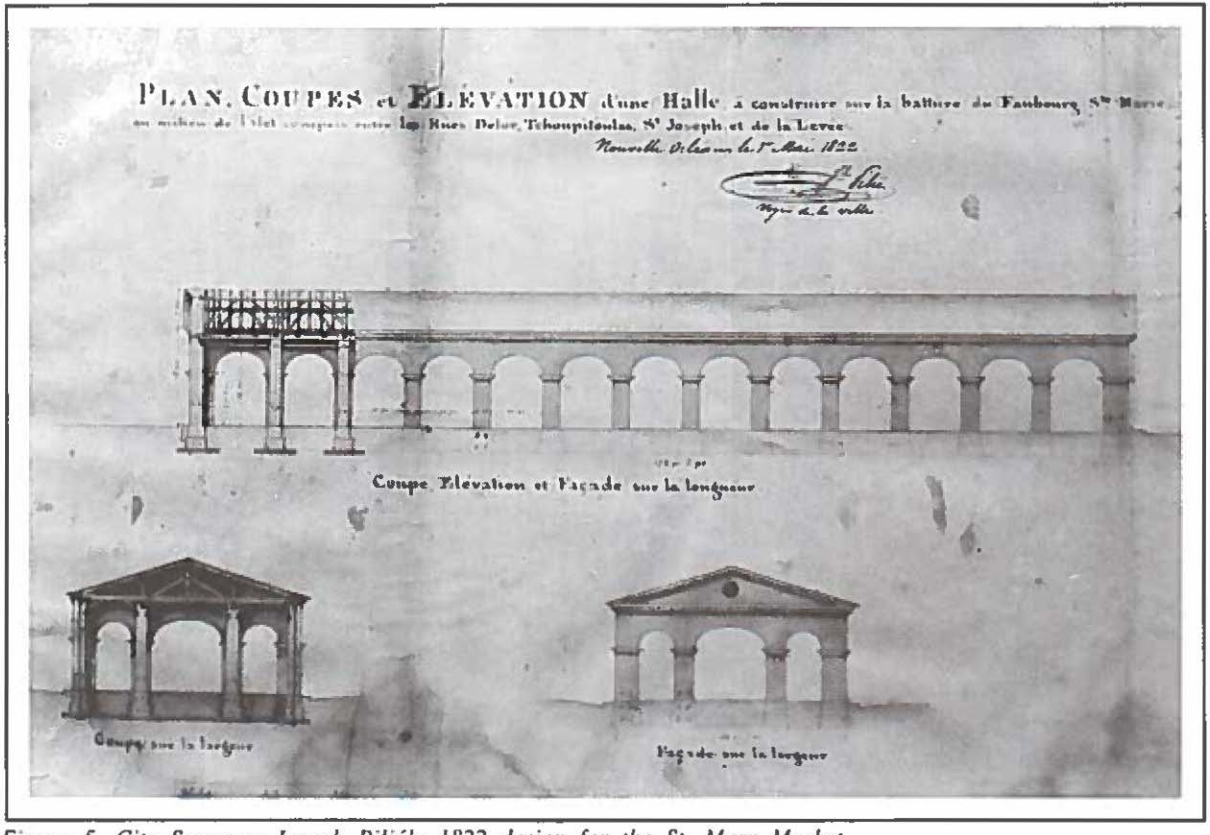


Figure 5. City Surveyor Joseph Pilié's 1822 design for the St. Mary Market.
New Orleans Notarial Archives.

around Congo Square, the old city prison, and the lumberyards along the Carondelet Canal. Like all markets, it had a restaurant inside, the Tremé Exchange. This was operated in the 1850s by Philippe Dours, from a family of restauranteurs and butchers associated with La Louisiane and the *Chênes Verts*, now Tavern on the Park Restaurant.

In the Business District, the Poydras Street Market, built in 1837, was also well inland, eventually stretching from Baronne Street almost to Loyola, and also straddling the neutral ground. In mid-town were the Dryades (1848), the Magazine (1849), and the Claiborne Avenue Market (1852). The Annunciation or Soraparu Market (1851) was in what is now the Lower Garden District. Downtown, the city built the St. Roch Market in 1875, one of the few still operating as a grocery store. By Robert A. Sauder's count, the city built a total of thirty-four public markets, and continued to add them to the system as late as 1911.[29]

The city's numerous, well-dispersed markets played an essential role in its cultural, economic, and political life. The markets gave employment to thousands of citizens, and as George Ewert has pointed out about Mobile's public markets, made few or no distinctions in class, gender, and race among vendors or shoppers.[30] Among many examples of this phenomenon, Louis Augustin, a free man of color and Tremé resident, had a French Market butcher's stall, one of the choicest in town.[31] For private citizens the markets were gathering places where throngs assembled on Sunday mornings to shop for the week's most important meal while enjoying the sociability of making their way through dense crowds. "The greatest market day is Sunday," wrote Benjamin Norman in 1845. "At break of day," he went on, "the gathering commences—youth and age, beauty and the not-so-beautiful—all colors, nations and tongues are commingled...."[32]

Like New York, St. Louis, Mobile, and other American cities, New Orleans made the most for itself with its fleet of public markets and a system that gave it a monopoly over the sale of perishable food.[33] Robert Sauder, in a seminal article on the growth and persistence of the public market system in New Orleans, outlined the city's evolution of purpose in maintaining its monopoly. The municipal government came to depend on market revenues long before 1900, and reinvested heavily in the citywide market system as late as the 1930s. This was well after public markets had lost their monopoly on the sale of fresh foods and municipally-owned markets had largely disappeared around the rest of the nation. "New Orleans began to lose sight of the original purpose for the founding of regulated markets," wrote Sauder. "Instead

of providing protection for the consumer. He continued, the philosophy had shifted to one of sheltering an important source of municipal revenue."[34]

Although Cabildo members managed the market directly during Colonial times, beginning in the American period the city used the *bail à ferme* or "farm lease," modeled on an ancient French taxing system.[35] A highest bidder paid the municipality a flat sum to be "Farmer of the Market," and then collected all the stall rents and supervised operations. City ordinances required that market farmers charge set fees for butcher's stalls, and slightly more than half the meat rate for fish, game, and vegetable rentals. The farmers' duties were to collect the rents, keep registers, and enforce regulations as to deliveries, hours of operation, and cleanliness. Assisting the farmer were municipally paid commissaries who kept the peace and inspected weights and measures.[36] The city also paid directly for market design, repairs, and upkeep, and sometimes indirectly for construction.

Even before 1810 the *bail à ferme* was a valuable business venture for the city and the market lessee. Jean Lanna, who bid 12,000 *piastres* (dollars) a year to win the Meat Market lease in 1809, had to bid over 21,500 to win the lease in 1813. By 1819 Francois Boutin had bid 22,500 to win, and in 1822 Pedro Turegano won with a bid of 25,000.[37] Lino de la Rosa, who paid $13,000 to lease the Vegetable Market as general farmer in 1827, paid over $36,000 for the same concession in 1843, albeit the city had enlarged the building.[38] The Dryades Market, built in 1848 and housed in what was then the rear of the Faubourg Annunciation where there was little development, realized only $7.00-$8.00 per day for its general farmer at first. By 1859, however, having advanced the development of property around it considerably, the Dryades yielded $12,500 to farmer Patrick Irwin in a year's time.[39]

The use of the farmer's lease also provided a sure and low-cost means for the city to finance the construction or expansion of market structures on occasion. The arrangement with Irwin was for him to build the Dryades Market for Municipality Number One at no cost to the city except for commissary's and policeman's salaries and for lighting and cleaning expenses.[40] In return Irwin received all of the Dryades Market revenue for eight years. At the end of the eight years, the facility reverted to the city, which paid Irwin $8,000, or half of the market's appraised value.[41]

Having the city surveyor provide all design and specification services for market buildings conserved costs while also allowing the

city to control spatial and architectural features. George T. Dunbar, surveyor of the First Municipality, provided drawings for the Dryades Market as he had for the Poydras, and as Pilié had for the Vegetable Market and the St. Mary. The markets' architectural contributions to the New Orleans civic persona originated with the designs of the best local architects, Guillemard, Lafon, Pilié, and others, and has remained important to the present day. As veritable symbols of the public well-being, the buildings demanded practicality, durability, a sociable layout, and a certain elegance of design. The linear profile of the rather heavy brick "Tuscan" hall favored during the 1820s by Joseph Pilié for the Meat, Vegetable, and St. Mary Markets gave way during the 1830s to the use of lighter-feeling cast iron colonnades beautifully suited to the concept of a breezy arcade. Cast iron was strong and easy to duplicate for the elongated series of openings that market design required. The local foundry, whose main business was making steam engines, could mold the shafts and ornamental parts from the bases to the capitals and topmost flourishes. The First Municipality's Tremé Market, the Second Municipality's Poydras, Dryades, and Annunciation markets, and the Third Municipality's Washington and Port markets were all built with fashionable cast iron features in the decade after 1837. In a typical turn, the First Municipality in 1840 expanded its Decatur Street Vegetable market with a new building fitted with thirty graceful iron columns drawn by surveyor Bougerol and cast by the Leeds Foundry. Each was fifteen feet high with fluted bases, stylized foliate capitals, egg-and-dart moldings, and anthemion cresting. The Municipality added an overhang to the Meat Market at the same time, supported by fifty-two similar columns.[42] This was all several years before European cities converted to iron designs for their own markets. In 1851 French Emperor Napoleon III stopped work at *Les Halles* during construction of a new stone pavilion and instructed architect Victor Baltard to convert the project into "a vast umbrella of iron."[43] London public markets soon followed suit.

Through a combination of creative financing and direct budget allocations, the city of New Orleans poured money into its market buildings. It has left a record of over one hundred notarized contracts for their construction or expansion, or for maintenance of the buildings in the form of cleaning, painting, plastering, or whitewashing.[44] It was in the city's interest to so protect an investment that yielded such a reliable income by making the shopper's experience as positive as possible. For even with its monopoly on perishables, the system had

competition in the form of the increasingly prevalent "private market," known affectionately today as the "corner store."

The corner store—that once-ubiquitous feature of old New Orleans neighborhoods where the entrance cut the corner, old people relaxed under a painted wraparound canopy, and the immigrant proprietors lived in the rear or upstairs—became a fixture around the city before the market system ever expanded. As Eleanor Shelby Burke has pointed out in a recent Columbia University thesis, the New Orleans corner store's distinctive massing, placement, and interior arrangements became so ingrained in the city's culture as to be designed to punctuate architectural rows.[45] Eventually, they appeared in every type and style—as modest Creole cottages of the 1830s (fig 6), growing into more elaborate affairs during the 1850s, with Greek Revival details or a second story, and evolving into long, narrow shotguns or camelbacks after the Civil War. At the end of the nineteenth century they emerged as effervescent turreted, galleried, balustraded Queen Annes. The corner store prospered in the very face of city efforts to maintain control of the sale of fresh foodstuffs through the public market system. Eventually, the rise of population, refrigeration, and widespread electrification rendered inherently absurd the city's attempts to restrict the sale of perishables in private markets in the name of sanitation.

Corner stores probably evolved from the coffeehouse, an innocuous sounding nineteenth century euphemism for the age-old tavern on the corner. Because the city's monopoly on the sale of perishables limited corner store sales in effect to canned, dried, baked, or bottled goods, liquor long stood as one of the primary products in the corner store's inventory. Still, grocery owners were able to obtain a hearty variety of goods to sell, even while avoiding fresh foods. For example, when Louis Fontaine sold the contents of his grocery, bakery, and wine shop at the corner of Dauphine and St. Peter streets in 1830, his inventory included a great deal of red and white wines, Jamaican rums, beer, Dutch gin, anisette, and cherry bounce.[46] Among staples, spices, condiments, and household items, he carried guava jellies, chocolates, capers, cloves, nutmeg, bread starch, tinned pepper, tallow candles, cases of soap, white whale oil, white sugar, barreled salt and potatoes, boxed coffee, rice, vinegar, candy by the sack, and ten thousand cigars. The city defined these items as "groceries," and forbade public markets to carry them.[47]

Some families had multi-purpose stores that combined a corner grocery with an adjacent bar and restaurant. This was the case with

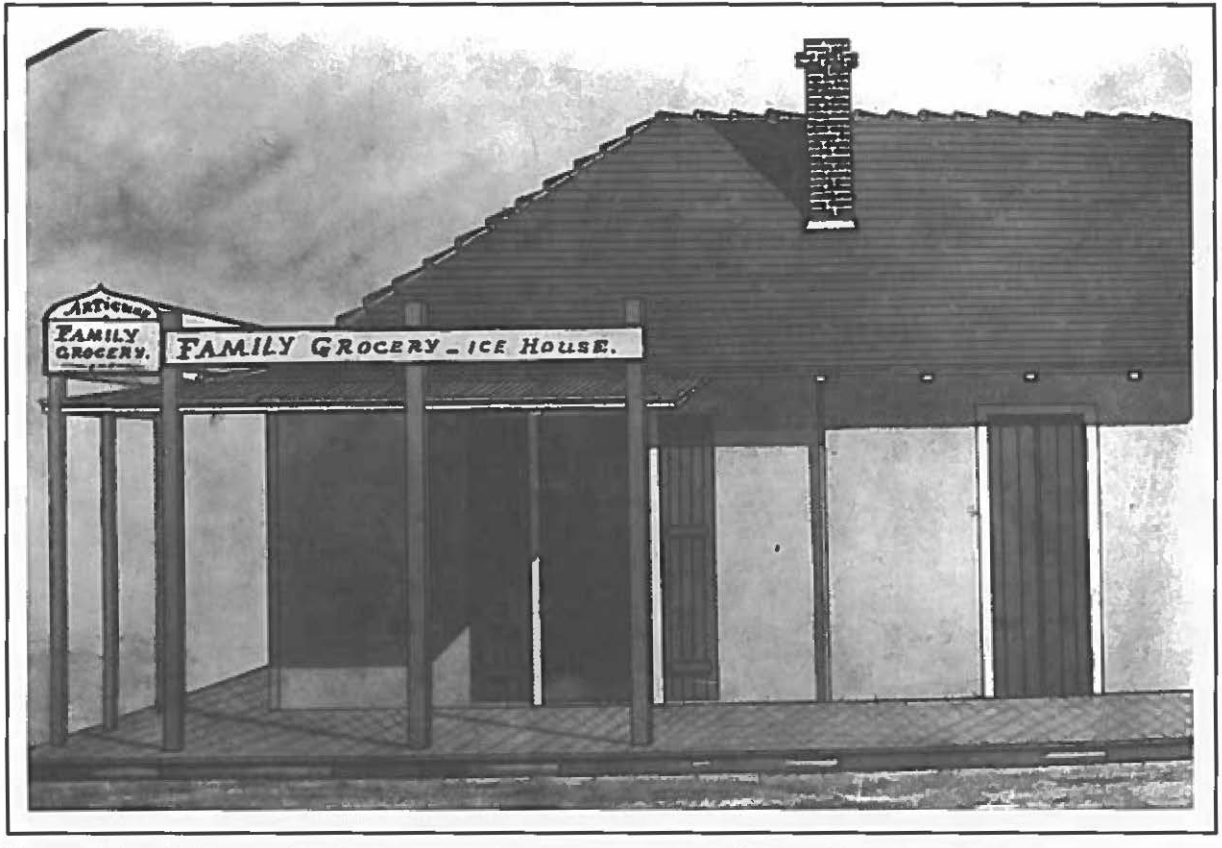


Figure 6. An 1830s-style Creole cottage used as a corner store, Orleans Avenue.
New Orleans Notarial Archives.

Figure 7. Petitjean family grocery and café, Royal Street corner Toulouse, 1874.
New Orleans Notarial Archives.

the Pierre Petitjean family, who had a significant lease investment at Royal and Toulouse in an extant building (fig. 7) where they ran a grocery, coffeehouse, and restaurant called the Café de la Concorde. In the grocery, located on the corner in the drawing, the inventory included boxes of canned "preserves" (meaning peas, mushrooms, asparagus, livers, pickled capers and cucumbers), over forty boxes of truffles, and eighty boxes of sardines. The Petitjeans also carried Goyaves jellies, cases of French mustard, orange flower water, lentils, English pepper, "ketshup," green and black teas, dried beef tongue, and an amazing twenty-two boxes of canned lobsters and oysters. Among the other non-perishables that this corner grocery sold, almost in the shadow of the French Market, were raisins, prunes, dried applies, lard, vinegar, French peas, a keg of herring, sugar cured ham, and Limbourg, Gruyère, and loaf cheeses.[48]

The bar in the room adjacent to the grocery featured a good variety of wines and liqueurs—Curaçao, black cherry (also called Cassis or black currant), Kirshenwasse, anise liqueur, absinthe, port, Madeira, cherry wine, Scotch ale, Bourbon, Cognac or French brandy, Champagne, American brandy, fruits preserved in brandy, tonic, bitters, and Schnapps liquor. The inventory was appraised at about $2,000 when Petitjean died in 1869. He paid $3,000 per year to lease this important early building on a prominent Vieux Carré corner.[49]

In March 1866 a Reconstruction-era state legislature little interested in protecting city revenues ordained that any licensed retailer in a New Orleans private market might sell fresh meat, fish, game, vegetables, and fruit, subject to sanitary regulations.[50] As if in response, the city council let the open space between the [Decatur Street] Meat Market and the Red Stores for the construction of a "bazaar market," where for seventy years groceries and dry goods were sold.[51] In 1886, after Redemption, in a scenario eerily similar to that of Mobile, the city council moved to recapture revenue by restricting private market competition to outside of a three-block radius around the public markets.[52] The city won numerous lawsuits challenging such an exercise of its police powers during the following decade, and in 1900 actually extended the restricted area to nine blocks.[53] But the tide was turning against it, as citizens increasingly viewed the distance restrictions as an infringement of their constitutional rights.[54]

In 1886 the city also consolidated the old market leases into one major contract with enormous potential for patronage. Henry Larquié became lessor of all nineteen public markets for $185,300, a sum that private merchants characterized as "an exorbitant price," which,

combined with the restrictions on fresh food sales around the markets, was calculated to "create a monopoly."[55] Meanwhile, the use of locally manufactured ice, introduced to New Orleans as early as 1864, underlined the private market owner's case. The use of this readily available, increasingly less expensive product spread quickly during the late nineteenth century, making it possible for the store owner to preserve goods without relying solely on hours, covered spaces, or regular discarding and cleansing to promote sanitation. By 1888 Edison Electric Illuminating Company and Westinghouse Electric Company had introduced light poles and copper electrical wiring to businesses and homes from Orleans Street in the Vieux Carré to Poydras Street in the business district.[56] After that it became increasingly untenable for the city to restrict the sale of perishables in the name of health and safety. Eventually, private markets selling perishables did become legal throughout the city. Haggling with the corner butcher became a fixture of the housewife's daily routine. Private grocery stores were everywhere; the first and most facile businesses for growing immigrant families to open.

At the turn of the twentieth century a number of other factors converged to promote the decline of the public markets. In the Vieux Carré, the venerable French Market was in a steep decline. Across Decatur, Gallatin Street was the most notorious area in town.[57] Property values hit an all-time low in the Old Square right after 1900, as Creole families had already moved Uptown, and the immigrant poor were showing their strongest presence. In 1900 the French Market reverted to direct municipal management after its lessors refused to continue their contracts. The French Market was still romantic, colorful—but dirty. The Red Stores' value reached their lowest point in 1906 when an investor sold them for $3,500 each.[58] The market had lost the farmers who sold directly to the public, and was now functioning as wholesale and retail center.[59] The stage was being set for change in both physical conditions and management.

During the 1930s a group of lower French Quarter merchants and wholesalers united to bring new management to the French Market. They persuaded Mayor T. Semmes Walmsley and the council to support an ordinance giving the newly formed French Market Corporation full managerial control of the complex. By 1935 the city, the Port of New Orleans "Dock Board," and the PWA were set to spend significant sums on building renovations, reconstruction, repaving, and the acquisition of the hitherto private Red Stores, along with Squares 12 and 15, where the Farmers' Market sheds are located

today. The project added an exterior colonnade to the meat market (much to local architect Samuel Wilson's disgust), demolished the Bazaar Market to extend the meat market into its space, and demolished the Red Stores. Finally, the French Market Corporation took down two squares of 1830s Creole townhouses in the 1100 and 1200 blocks of Decatur, and there built the Farmer's Market sheds, a twentieth-century addition that is ironically the last place left in the French Market where fresh food is sold today.[60]

As Sauder has demonstrated, the City of New Orleans, reluctant to let go of the revenue from its public markets, continued to reinvest in them around town during the 1930s, with financially disastrous results. With the exception of the French Market, every public market in the city had closed within a decade.[61]

Why the French Market did not close lies deep within the local culture. At a fundamental level, the French Quarter held onto its idiosyncratic residential population through the depression, war, prosperity, and a post-war population shift to the suburbs. The Vieux Carré Commission, founded in 1936 with authority embedded in the Louisiana state constitution, protected its historic district, not infrequently with the dogged assistance of the Vieux Carré Property Owners, Residents, and Associates, Inc. The French Market Corporation, having reinvented the management structure of this market as a public-private entity during the 1930s, over-renovated the buildings, but retained the compelling allure of their meat, vegetable, and fruit vendors. The market was able to attract both neighborhood and citywide patronage for another half-century, as tradition-loving New Orleans residents in search of specialty or bulk items, a distinctive shopping atmosphere, or a coffee-and-beignets outing continued to visit. The city remained committed to the French Market even after the public-private entity essentially failed to survive the depression and it had to reassume full control.[62]

In 1971 the city once again renovated, refinanced, and restructured the French Market, doing what it had to do to maintain its viability. The project had little success financially or culturally at first, driving out the food vendors without replacing them with a successful retail mix. Losing institutions like the venerable Morning Call and the mirror-lined Battistella's, where for generations farmers and butchers had sat elbow-to-elbow with bankers and artists savoring poor-boy sandwiches and thick oyster stews, took its toll.[63] The city ended up subsidizing operations for twenty years, partly because New Orleans would have been unthinkable without the French Market. Today there

is a different story as the French Market Corporation, with new management personnel given a free hand to rationalize the leasing structure and tenant mix, realizes more than one million dollars profit for the city treasury with the help of revenue from specialty shops catering mainly to tourists, three parking lots, and Upper Pontalba Building apartment rents.[64]

The corner store prospered for part of the twentieth century. Freedom from market restrictions, refrigeration, densely occupied inner-city neighborhoods, large families, inexpensive delivery services, and relatively safe streets brought the corner store into its economic heyday for a half-century. More recently, a steep decline in the face of supermarket competition, the threat of crime, and the snuffing out of commercial zoning in upscale neighborhoods has led Eleanor Shelby Burke to mount a plea for the preservation of the corner stores' very legality. Their contribution to the fabric of neighborhoods derives as much from increased pedestrian flow, personal interaction, and a shared sense of place, as it does from convenience, she notes.[65]

Looking back over two hundred years of going to market, whether on the levee at Jackson Square, or throughout the neighborhoods of New Orleans, one is struck by both continuity and change. The City of New Orleans put a huge store on its public markets, which became almost symbolic with urban life. Competitive bids on leases during the nineteenth century gave the municipal government a market-tested and guaranteed return, which provided a revenue source even after capital expenses and repair costs were amortized. In time, the city abandoned the pretense of paternalism, as the markets became more a revenue source than a regulator of prices or protector of the public health. If the French Market is a sole survivor, its Meat and Vegetable buildings still stand and are filled with people. The complex has steadily expanded downriver, occupying increasing square footage on the quay until as late as the 1970s. Other public markets are long gone, although some of the buildings remain.

In the neighborhoods, hundreds of corner store buildings survive, some as shells, many prospering in African-American neighborhoods where street life is vibrant, other converted to other uses Uptown, mute reminders of an earlier way of life. Few, very few, employ skilled butchers. The independent neighborhood butcher, who still prospers throughout Europe, may have been only a twentieth-century phenomenon in America.

Today the modern economy has diminished the role of the local purveyor of food in the great drama of New Orleans as a stronghold

of romanticism and the exotic. Even the formidable French Market plays only a marginal role in the wholesale or retail distribution of food. But in their day, the public markets and corner stores made their mark on the city's history, one that will not be erased as long as New Orleanians of all ethnic backgrounds stay true to form and continue to value old things. "The traveler, who leaves the city without visiting one of the popular markets on Sunday morning, has suffered a rare treat to escape him," wrote Benjamin Norman in 1845.[66] That remark may still ring true today, as both the resident and the visitor still find it fascinating to stroll among pumpkins and mirlitons, stage debates over red beans and garlic, and drink chicory coffee from enameled white pots.

Notes

[1]Thierry, *Plan de la Ville la Nouvelle Orlèans Capitale de la Province de la Louisiane*, 1755. The New Orleans French Colonial era was from 1718 until 1766; the Spanish era was from 1766 to 1803.

[2]John Peale Bishop, "New Orleans Decatur Street," from *The New Yorker*, January 11, 1936, in Etolia S. Basso, ed., *The World from Jackson Square: A New Orleans Reader* (New York, 1948), 396-98.

[3]John James Audubon, "Journal of John James Audubon, Made on his Trip to New Orleans, 1820-21," in Basso, *World from Jackson Square*, 112-15.

[4]Gilbert C. Din and John E. Harkins, *The New Orleans Cabildo: Colonial Louisiana's First City Government, 1769-1803* (Baton Rouge, 1966), 184-86; Gilbert C. Din, "The Offices and Functions of the New Orleans Cabildo, *Louisiana History* 37 (1996): 18-19; Cabildo Records, Book 4087, 101, 110, 213, and 215, cited in Vieux Carré Survey Archives, Historic New Orleans Collection; Robert A. Sauder, "The Origin and Spread of the Public Market System in New Orleans," *Louisiana History* 22:3 (Summer 1981): 281-97.

[5]Cabildo Records, Book 4087, 101, 110, and 213; Din and Harkins, *New Orleans Cabildo*, 188-90.

[6]Pierre Clement de Laussat, *Memories of My Life*, translated by Sister Agnes-Josephine Pasta and edited by Robert D. Bush (Baton Rouge, 1978), 122.

[7]Michel de Armas, N.P., December 23, 1808; contract April 30, 1808, New Orleans Notarial Archives (hereafter NONA).

[8]City Council Records, August 22 and September 25, 1812, Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library; Guillermo Nanez Falcón, ed. and comp., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera: The Rosemonde E. and Emile Kuntz Collection* (New Orleans, 1981), "Municipal Papers," 177.

[10]Falcón, *Rosemonde E. and Emile Kuntz Collection*, 178.

[11]See for example Plan Book 59, folio 23, NONA.

[12]Some eighty-five notarized building contracts relating to markets between 1808 and 1879 identify markets such as St. Mary Market by name but use "the Meat Market" or "the Vegetable Market" when referring to the French Quarter market building.

[13]The City of Jefferson, annexed in 1870, is now the Sixth Municipal District of New Orleans. For stock landings, see Plan Book 77, folio 24, NONA, and *Inbau, Aycock & Co. v Crescent City Livestock and Landing and Slaughterhouse Co.*, Louisiana State Supreme Court docket no. 2506, filed July 22, 1869; for slaughterhouse, see Plan Book 41, folio 20, NONA and A. Ducatel, N.P., November 30, 1866, NONA.

[14]John Gardner, *Gardner's New Orleans Directory for 1859* (New Orleans, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1866); *Graham's New Orleans Directory for 1867* (New Orleans, 1867).

[15]Henry J. Leovy and C. H. Luzenberg, *The Laws and General Ordinances of the City of New Orleans, Together with the Acts of the Legislature...Relating to the City Government* (New Orleans, 1870), 215; *Live Stock Dealers and Butchers' Assn. v Crescent City Live Stock Landing and Slaughter House Company*, Louisiana State Supreme Court docket no. 2506; Sally K. Reeves, "The Founding Families and Political Economy of Jefferson City," in *New Orleans Architecture*, vol. 7, *Jefferson City* (Gretna, Louisiana, 1989), 29-31.

[16]L. T. Caire, N.P., April 28, 1830, NONA.

[17]Samuel Wilson, ed., *Southern Travels: Journal of John H. B. Latrobe, 1834* (New Orleans, 1986), 47.

[18]"Journal of Audubon," in Basso, *Jackson Square*, 112-15.

[19]Michel de Armas, N.P., November 4, 1822, NONA.

[20]Gibson, John, *Gibson's Guide and Directory of the State of Louisiana, and the Cities of New Orleans and Lafayette* (New Orleans, 1838), 312; J. Cuvillier, N.P., December 9, 1840, NONA.

[21]*Louisiana Courier*, January 11, 1830, 4; Bibliothèque de L'Image, *Les Plantes Potagères: L'Album Vilmorin* (n.p. [Paris], 1996, pl. 1, 7, 12, 1321; J-F. Lelièvre, *Nouveau Jardinier de la Louisiane* (New Orleans, 1838), 41, 53, 55, and 110.

[22]Peale, "Decatur Street," in Basso, *Jackson Square*, 398.

[24]Oscar Drouet, N.P., May 15, 1879, 13:11 and 1879, 13:44, NONA.

[25]Chicory is the roasted and ground root of *chicoroium endiva*, which probably came into use in New Orleans about 1820, soon after the French began to grow it in Paris market gardens.

[26]Benjamin Moore Norman, *Norman's New Orleans and Environs*, ed. Matthew J. Schott (1845; reprint, Baton Rouge, 1996), 135.

[27]W. Y. Lewis, N.P., February 2, 1833; L. R. Kenny, N.P., December 12, 1851; F. J. Dreyfous, N.P., April 4, 1901, all from NONA; Gibson, *Gibson's Guide and Directory*, 312.

[28]Elizabeth M. Boggess and Archaeologists Unlimited, "A Survey of Archaeological Resources at St. Mary's Market, New Orleans, Louisiana," (n.p. [New Orleans], 1990), 14-20.

[29]Sally K. and William D. Reeves, "Riverfront History, for the Audubon Institute," (n.p. [New Orleans], 1990), 84; City Council Ordinance 6015 A.S., June 18, 1879.

[30]Sauder, "Public Market System," 288.

[31]George Ewert, "The Politics of Food: Mobile's Public Markets in the Gilded Age," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 10:1 (Fall 1994): 146.

[32]Gardner, *Gardner's New Orleans Directory for 1859*.

[33]Norman, *Norman's New Orleans*, 135.

[34]Ewert, "Politics of Food," 146; Thomas F. De Voe, *The Market Book: A History of the Public Markets of the City of New York* (1862; reprint, New York, 1970), 141; Soulard Farmers Market, "History," http://stlouis.missouri.org/citygov/soulardmarket.htm.

[35]Sauder, "Public Market System," 286-88.

[36]Falcón, *Rosemonde E. and Emile Kuntz Collection*, 55, 75.

[37]Leovy and Luzenberg, *Laws and General Ordinances*, 214-27.

[38]Falcón, *Rosemonde E. and Emile Kuntz Collection*, 174, 177, 185-86, 188.

[39]Ibid., 196-98; *Lino de la Rosa v Mayor, Aldermen, etc*, Louisiana State Supreme Court docket no. 2281, February 1832 (University of New Orleans); J. Cuvillier, N.P., December 29, 1842, NONA.

Heirs of Adolph Livaudais v City of New Orleans, Louisiana State Supreme Court docket no. 6332, May 27, 1850, 13.

[40]In 1836 squabbles between the Creole and American communities led the city to divide into three political subdivisions or "municipalities," a system that lasted until reunification in 1852.

[41]William Christy, N.P., June 1, 1848, NONA.

[42]Joseph Cuvillier, N.P., December 4 and 9, 1840, NONA.

[43]Marie de Thezy, *Marville, Paris* (Paris, 1994), 19, 154; James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls, *The British Market Hall, A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, 1999), 114-15.

[44]Building contract file, NONA.

[45]Eleanor Shelby Burke, "The New Orleans Corner Store-House Type: An Argument for their Preservation" (master's thesis, Columbia University, 1998), 3.

[46]Plan Book 55, folio 36; Plan Book 81, folio 30; L. T. Caire, N.P., April 28, 1830, NONA.

[47]The ordinance limiting the sale of groceries went into effect on January 1, 1846. *First Municipality v Cutting*, *Louisiana Annual Reports* 4: 278.

[48]E. Eude, N.P., April 29, 1869; Plan Book 2, folio 19, NONA.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Leovy and Luzenberg, *Laws and General Ordinances*, 223.

[51]Ibid., 225; W. J. Castell, N.P., July 22, 1869, NONA.

[52]New Orleans City Council Ordinance No. 2024, Council Series, November 19, 1886, Section 19; Ewert, "Politics of Food," 141-43.

[53]For example, *State of Louisiana v John L. Sarradat*, 46 *Louisiana Annual Reports* 704; *Anna Gossigi et al v New Orleans*, Louisiana State Supreme Court docket no. 10,338; *State v Schmidt*, 41 *Louisiana Annual Reports* 27; Ordinance No. 312, New Council Series, October 24, 1900.

[54]See, for example, plaintiff's petition, *Gossigi et al v New Orleans*.

[55]Ibid.; J. D. Taylor, N.P., December 30, 1886, NONA.

[56]Leonard V. Huber, *New Orleans: A Pictorial History* (New York, 1971), 318; A. V. Phillips, N.P., July 21, 1888, NONA.

[57]Herbert Asbury, *The French Quarter: An Informal History of the New Orleans Underworld* (Garden City, NY), 238.

[58]Robert Legier, N.P., July 23, 1906, NONA.

[59]Sauder, "Public Market System," 286.

[60]Emile V. Stier and James B. Keeling, *Glorified French Market: Progressing with Commerce, 1813 to 1938* (New Orleans, 1938), 12-13.

[61]Sauder, "Public Market System," 286-88.

[62][Staff] Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans City Archives, "French Market Corporation Records, Historical Note," 1-2.

[63]*Times Picayune*, October 6, 1974.

[64]Interview with Stephen L. Hand, Director, French Market Corporation, July 20, 2000.

[65]Burke, "New Orleans Corner Store," 3.

[66]Norman, *Norman's New Orleans and Environs*, 136.

Sally K. Reeves is Archivist at the Notarial Archives of New Orleans' Archives Research Center.

Blacks Demonstrate At UNO; SUNO March 'Tactical Move'

By RENE ABADIE

When 600 SUNO students :athered in front of UNO ast week and marched be- ;ind the black flag of liber- ;ation, students of this uni- 'ersity stood by in awe, sur-)rise, and a little fear.

No incident occurred, however,

VAL FERDINAND
. . . SUNO leader

as the Southern students walked peacefully to the administration building, formed an orderly line, and received materials for registration at UNO. The students then made an informal tour of the campus.

At the time the students were in the midst of a 12-day boycott which ended early this week when Governor McKeithen made an unscheduled visit to the campus at the request of the black students. McKeithen went over SUNO's ten demands and promised to set up a meeting between a committee of the State Board of Education and a SUNO group composed of faculty, students, and parents. Negotiations began early this week.

The whole registration drive was simply a tactical move explains Val Ferdinand, Co-chairman of SUNO's Afro-American Society. "You all don't want a thousand more students, mainly because you don't have any room for them."

Ferdinand added that the move is to make Southern a black university. "Too many people don't understand what a black university really is," he added. "A university must be relevant to the community it serves," in this case the black community of New Orleans.

Asked if Southern hasn't been relevant, Ferdinand said, "No, it's been relevant; it's just deficient."

Educators and politicians are quietly discussing the possibility of merging SUNO and UNO, especially since the Health, Education and Welfare department does not look favorably on segregated institutions. Fred Tannerhill, head of the State Board of Education which governs SUNO, has confirmed reports that the measure is receiving consideration.

However Southern students are definetly against the merger of the two universities. "Enrollment is going to jump at

SUNO students march on LSUNO. LSUNO *Driftwood*, April 25, 1969, Louisiana State University, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans.

Student Power, Black Power, Class Power: Race, Class, and Student Activism on Two Southern Commuter Campuses

Jeffrey A. Turner

The wave of student activism that swept American college campuses in the 1960s took many forms. Images of protesting students at elite public and private institutions on both coasts and in the Midwest dominate the popular consciousness. But the student movement left a deep imprint on all kinds of institutions throughout the nation, and especially in the South, where the unprecedented political mobilization of college students coincided with the end of legalized segregation and the expansion of higher education. The collision of these forces brought to the forefront difficult questions about the role that higher education should play in the modern South.

One episode—a demonstration that linked two commuter campuses in New Orleans—embodied the ambiguities of late-sixties protest in the South. By the spring of 1969 students on the New Orleans campus of predominantly black Southern University (SUNO) were frustrated with their under-funded institution. The university's eighteen hundred students were crammed into four buildings; departments were understaffed; tuition was going up. The situation was all the more galling because the New Orleans branch of predominantly white Louisiana State University (LSUNO) was just minutes away. It too was a commuter campus, but compared to the predominantly black SUNO, LSUNO was a higher-education utopia. So in April 1969, in the midst of a twelve-day boycott of classes, about five hundred SUNO students left their campus and ventured to the wealthier neighboring university. There, the students marched peacefully to the administration building, formed a line, and requested the necessary materials to register at LSUNO.[1]

The students did not follow through with their threat to register. A few days later Louisiana Governor John McKeithen visited SUNO and promised to take steps to improve the university's facilities. The boycott ended. In fact the demonstration ran counter to the protesters' larger goal of creating a true "black university" at SUNO—one that was relevant to the needs of the students and the African-American community. In addition to increased funding, SUNO students wanted a new Black Studies department, a Black Draft Counseling Center, and a non-credit course in black liberation to be taught by a local activist.

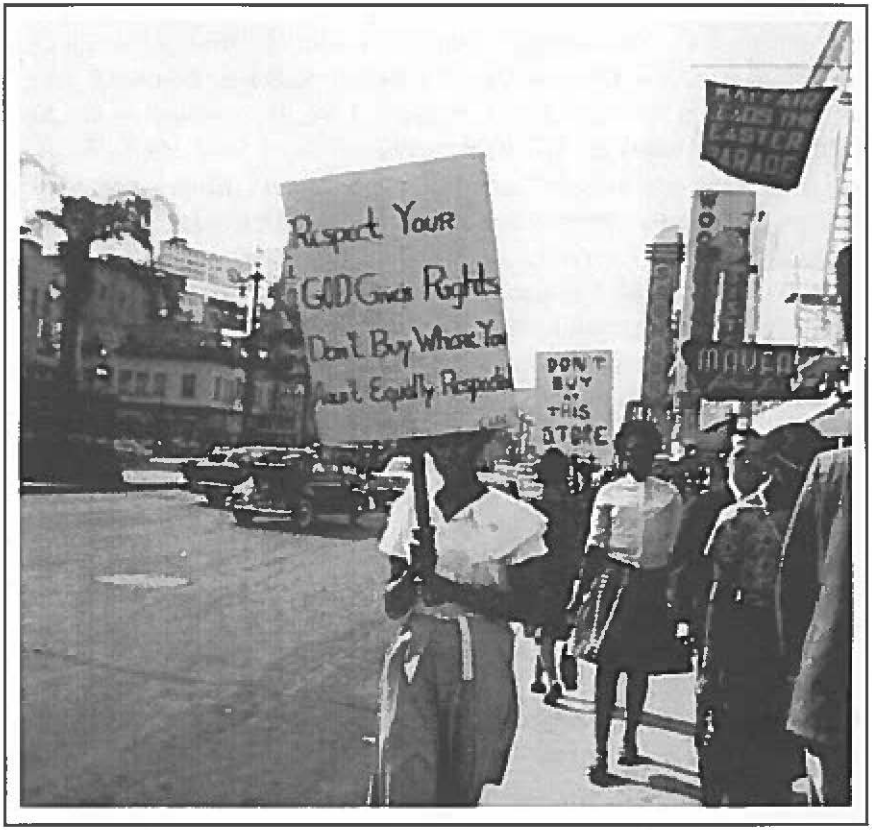
whether or not we registered wasn't important," protest leader Vallery "Val" Ferdinand III later recalled. "The important thing was to put in the minds of the community the dichotomy of SUNO and LSUNO. LSUNO having all this and SUNO not having much."[2]

Comparisons of the two universities in the late sixties and early seventies came naturally. The Louisiana State legislature created both branches in 1956. But when LSUNO opened in 1958, it did so as a desegregated institution, thanks to a court order; fifty-nine African Americans were among the almost fifteen hundred students who attended LSUNO's first classes. By the end of the sixties, an open admissions policy made it possible for African Americans to make up one-fourth of the LSUNO student body.[3] But despite LSUNO's desegregated status, SUNO continued to operate for the city's black students. Having opened in the fall of 1959 it remained a yardstick to measure the state's commitment to equal education throughout the sixties. However, while LSUNO grew rapidly, SUNO struggled. Indeed, few could have doubted that the state created SUNO to prevent the true integration of LSUNO.

The issues raised by the creation and existence of predominantly white and black universities in a desegregating South took on added meaning in an era in which college students became major players in national politics. But the images of student activism that dominated media accounts during the sixties—and that have loomed large in many historical treatments of the decade's student movement—were of students from affluent backgrounds at the elite institutions of the East, Midwest, and West Coast. In a number of respects SUNO and LSUNO stand in stark contrast to institutions such as Columbia University and the University of California at Berkeley. Created as commuter schools, both branches offered a low-cost road to a college degree for the city's white and black residents. They appealed to students from working-class families during a time in which American higher education was opening its doors to more and more people who otherwise would not have had access to college. Viewed in these terms, both institutions seemed to serve as examples of the democratization of higher education. Nevertheless, students at both universities were conscious of the differences between the college education they were receiving and that offered by more established universities in and outside New Orleans. They often expressed a keen awareness of the role that their college education could play in their own aspirations for class mobility. This consciousness of class-related issues colored the content of activism on both campuses.

But if class provided common ground for black and white students at these two urban institutions, then race created powerful crosscurrents that, by the end of the decade, simultaneously ignited activism and divided student activists. The emergence of Black Power fundamentally reoriented student activism on New Orleans college campuses and throughout the South and nation. But even before the rise of Black Power, race had exerted a profound influence on student activism in New Orleans. Indeed the politics of the desegregation era provided much of the context for the emergence of student activism at SUNO and LSUNO.

The wave of direct-action protest that swept the South after the Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins of February 1960 reached New



Students picket on Canal Street, September 9, 1960. Connie Bradford Harse Papers, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University.

Orleans a few months later. In April a handful of the city's college students participated in a picket campaign organized by the Consumers League of Greater New Orleans, which sought to increase black employment in retail stores that targeted black customers. In August, spurred in part by students from Southern University in Baton Rouge, who had conducted their own sit-ins in the spring, these New Orleans students formed a local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). On September 9 five black students and two white students conducted a sit-in at one of the Woolworth's stores on Canal Street. The next day members of the NAACP Youth Council picketed both Canal Street Woolworth stores. In the following months students from all six New Orleans-area universities, including SUNO and LSUNO, took part in nonviolent direct-action protests.[4]

SUNO and LSUNO both played important roles by providing key players in the New Orleans student movement. The acknowledged leader of the New Orleans CORE chapter, Rudolph Lombard, was a student at Xavier University, a black Catholic institution in New Orleans. Lombard later recalled that he was the only Xavier student actively involved; fear of expulsion kept others from participating. Across town at the other privately controlled black institution in New Orleans, Dillard University, President Albert W. Dent reportedly warned his students against participating in CORE- or NAACP-sponsored demonstrations. A few white students came from Tulane, which had yet to admit black students, and Loyola, which was only recently desegregated. But LSUNO and SUNO played particularly important roles, providing rank-and-file participants and leaders in CORE and the NAACP Youth Council.[5]

LSUNO became a stronghold for the NAACP, thanks in part to the participation of student Raphael Cassimere, who was president of the Youth Council throughout the early sixties. A native New Orleanian who had attended segregated institutions all his life, Cassimere was part of the second freshman class at LSUNO. Though he had earned a scholarship to attend Southern University in Baton Rouge, Cassimere relished the excitement of attending a desegregated institution. A tuition of thirty-five dollars a semester also enticed this resident of the working-class Ninth Ward. In those early days campus administrators quelled incipient disturbances by white students who opposed desegregation, and LSUNO avoided the violence that plagued other southern institutions when they desegregated. A past of racial violence would not burden LSUNO, though racial tensions would surface. Moreover, the size of the entering class of African Americans

was considerably larger than the handful that desegregated other southern institutions.[6]

Unlike students at Xavier and Dillard, Cassimere and his LSUNO cohort met with little resistance from the university to their participation in demonstrations. Cassimere later recalled an institution that, in some ways, supported his extra-curricular activities. Though the faculty included some segregationists, it also contained a number of young, liberal, white Northerners. Sometimes, Cassimere's academic life reinforced his political commitment. His study of revolutions in a Western Civilization class coincided with the spring 1960 sit-in movement; his introduction to C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* provided intellectual ammunition against segregation. Nevertheless, LSUNO was not free of segregationist impulses. A private company operated the campus cafeteria and refused to admit black students, though it did offer them a snack bar. As sit-ins spread throughout the South in early 1960, LSUNO's black students decided to boycott the snack bar, and that action prompted the university to ask the company, Morrison's, either to desegregate the cafeteria or vacate its lease. Morrison's chose the latter option and a desegregated cafeteria opened under new management in the spring of 1961. The cafeteria boycott at LSUNO actually preceded—and reinforced—the more publicized Canal Street activities. In the process LSUNO students became acquainted with the concept and practice of student activism, on and off campus.[7]

Students at Southern University in Baton Rouge made that acquaintance early in 1960 and met with stiff resistance from Felton G. Clark, the longtime president of the university. Clark, not unlike other black university presidents throughout the South, was in the precarious position of running a black university while answering to a State Board of Education made up of white politicians. He responded to this daunting task by ruling Southern autocratically. When the sit-in movement arrived in Baton Rouge in March 1960, Clark reacted by suspending seventeen student participants and effectively shutting down the effort. His actions met with opposition from many blacks, but Clark appealed to the loyalty of Southern alumni and argued that what he did, he did to protect the interests of the university.[8]

After the premature end of the Baton Rouge sit-ins, some of the Southern-Baton Rouge leaders ventured to New Orleans in order to prompt that city's students to action, but Clark did not respond as forcefully to the participation of SUNO students in the 1960 sit-ins. At that point SUNO was almost too small to merit much attention.

State officials had opened the campus quietly in the fall of 1959 after the federal courts ruled that LSUNO must be desegregated. SUNO opened with 158 students, fifteen faculty members, and one building, and it operated throughout the sixties with some difficulty. The New Orleans NAACP chapter opposed SUNO's existence and African Americans made up a significant minority at nearby LSUNO. State officials channeled little money to the struggling campus. But SUNO's enrollment grew gradually throughout the decade, from 625 in 1960 to 1,783 in the fall of 1968.[9]

Meanwhile, the level of student activism in New Orleans declined after 1962. This occurred not only in New Orleans but throughout the South for a number of reasons, not the least of which was resistance on the part of segregationists. In New Orleans the CORE chapter lost such leaders as Rudy Lombard and Jerome Smith, who became important players within the national leadership of CORE. A messy dispute regarding interracial dating also weakened the local CORE chapter. In February 1962 chapter chair Oretha Castle, a SUNO student, led a movement to expel some white males and black females in the chapter after some negative comments in a local newspaper regarding interracial social activities within the organization. Though a handful of white students had been involved with CORE from the beginning, the fall of 1961 had seen an influx of whites from Tulane. An additional influx of white students from Tulane and LSUNO occurred in early 1962. According to Castle, "the word was, the CORE chapter was the place where you could come into contact with black women without any problem." Some interpreted the suspensions as an effort by the older leadership to maintain control of the chapter despite recent membership increases, which also included black students from SUNO and Dillard. Though the national office eventually intervened and ordered the suspensions lifted, the split sapped the chapter of much of its strength.[10]

Looking back on the early sixties activism, Oretha Castle Haley later concluded that New Orleans "never really had a student movement or a real overall mass movement." Though there was activity, Haley argued that "the base of it was extremely, extremely limited, and not like what you'd find in many other southern cities when at that time you had three all-black colleges here." Haley suggested a number of factors that inhibited a real mass movement, including divisions resulting from a "creole" community within the black community and a tendency for New Orleanians to see them-

serves as occupying a better position than those in neighboring Mississippi.[11]

Perhaps the early sixties student movement in New Orleans did not realize its potential, especially after the CORE controversy of 1962. Nevertheless, picketing—spearheaded by the NAACP Youth Council—continued on Canal Street, and it produced results, especially after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: desegregation of public establishments and the increased hiring of African Americans in Canal Street stores. Cassimere later estimated that from 1963 to 1965 between two and three hundred people picketed at one time or another. But only five people continued throughout the whole two-year period.[12]

The sit-ins and picketing campaigns established important precedents. When a second wave of activism moved through New Orleans college campuses during the late sixties, its participants often drew from the tactical arsenal of the first wave. More importantly, a handful of people who had participated in the first wave stayed in New Orleans long enough to influence the second wave. At LSUNO Cassimere provided continuity for an interracial community of student activists. A change in major lengthened his undergraduate studies to six years; he then decided to stay at LSUNO to work on a master's degree in history. Until 1966 Cassimere was the NAACP Youth Council president. The next year he and other students formed a NAACP campus chapter, which soon became one of the nation's largest.[13]

Nevertheless, despite these signs of continuity, the second wave was, in a couple of important respects, discontinuous from the first. The split within the New Orleans CORE chapter over interracial dating signaled the fragility of early-sixties interacialism. The rise of Black Power after 1966 brought an explicit rejection of integration as a central goal of the black freedom struggle and a corresponding rejection of nonviolence as a philosophy (even if black activists continued to employ some of the tactics of nonviolent direct action). These developments influenced the path of student activism at LSUNO and SUNO during the late sixties and early seventies. The second half of the sixties also brought a greater tendency for student activists to scrutinize their own campuses. If racial discrimination within the community provided the main target for early-sixties student activism, then violations of the rights of students on the campus became a common target later in the decade. These developments—the rise of

An unidentified demonstrator pickets a segregated Canal Street establishment in the early 1960s. Constance Bradford Harse Collection, Amistad Research Center at Tulane University.

Black Power and "student power"—both affected SUNO and LSUNO, but the different institutional environments of the two institutions modified the effects.

During the second half of the decade, at predominantly white universities throughout the South, it was not uncommon for black students to form an organization to represent their interests as they achieved a critical numerical mass. What was unusual was for students to organize under the NAACP umbrella at a time in which the Black Power slogan was becoming increasingly important on campuses. Cassimere's original decision to devote his energies to the NAACP and not CORE was a matter of timing rather than ideology. He simply came in contact with the NAACP first. And Cassimere has argued that, by the late sixties, the conservatism of Roy Wilkins did not necessarily influence the stance of local chapters, which could be quite radical. Nevertheless, LSUNO's NAACP chapter—formed in part because of

the encouragement of the NAACP national organization, which was pushing for campus chapters in an effort to make the organization more relevant to college students—was a bit different from other black student organizations of the period.[14] In contrast with the Afro-American Congress of Tulane, which formed about the same time, NAACP-LSUNO was interracial. Its goals were also integrationist—among them, the election of a black homecoming queen and the increased involvement of black students in student government. The chapter did not escape criticism for its moderation. In 1969 a writer in a local underground newspaper labeled the organization "a black fraternity-sorority surrogate."[15] The continued presence of such longtime leaders as Cassimere and Llewelyn Soniat no doubt help explain the formation of the chapter. But by the late sixties a new generation of black students, increasingly impatient with the slow pace of change in society and on campus, was beginning to make its presence felt. Some of these students eventually would set aside the structure of the campus NAACP chapter to organize demonstrations that more closely resembled the Black Power-informed protests on other campuses. The issues that would mobilize a more militant form of protest among LSUNO's black students after April 1969 were calls for a black studies program and the desegregation of the faculty.[16]

Other currents were moving through the LSUNO campus that carried white students toward activism. Escalation of American involvement in Vietnam after 1965 prompted some students to participate in anti-war demonstrations on campus and in the community. Another constellation of mobilizing issues fell under the rubric of "student power" and called for greater student control over their own lives and in the decision-making process of the university. In both of these areas, white student activists at LSUNO followed the lead of their cross-town colleagues at Tulane.

Debates about student power raged on the Tulane campus during the 1967-68 academic year. The high point of the year came in the spring of 1968, when thousands of students turned out to protest the censorship of two pictures of a literary supplement of the student newspaper. *The Driftwood*, the LSUNO student newspaper, followed the events at Tulane closely. What emerged was a continuing discussion of student power that followed the terms being laid out in debates at Tulane. That debate offered two interpretations of student power. A liberal version argued for greater student control over their lives and greater participation in the university's decision-making process as necessary elements of a quality education. A more radical

version, which emanated from the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), saw the university as a key participant in corporate liberalism and called for students to "make a revolution."[17] LSUNO students who wrestled with these issues in the pages of *The Driftwood* started by asking whether administrative procedures on their own campus provided students with the room for dissent. Would administrators allow demonstrations to occur? Would they censor publications if they saw the need? Underlying these questions was a set of assumptions that a university was a setting for free inquiry. "What is student power," one student argued, "except a means for achieving the basic student rights of an educational system in which all ideas are brought forth and discussed rationally and objectively as part of the intellectual process?"[18]

A small contingent of New Left-influenced students attempted to generate a student movement that moved beyond discussion to action, but they ultimately achieved little success. In early 1968 a group calling itself the Student Liberal Federation (SLF) invited Texas Southern University student Floyd Nichols to speak, but Chancellor Homer Hitt barred Nichols from the campus. Nichols was under indictment for murder after a policeman died during rioting on the Houston campus in May 1967. The SLF took the case to court and won when a Federal District Court judge halted Hitt's ban. But the SLF, which eventually affiliated with SDS, had difficulty building on its success. In the fall of 1968 the organization attempted with its "Screw the Lousy Overpriced Coffee Days" to mobilize students around the issues of rising prices in the cafeteria and the poor pay given to cafeteria workers. In its leaflet, *The Thorn*, the SLF portrayed the university, through its practices in the cafeteria and bookstore, as profit-hungry corporation that ran roughshod over students and employees.[19]

But other questions regarding the university's financial situation overshadowed the SLF's critique of LSUNO. In November 1968 the Student Government Association (SGA) organized the university's largest demonstrations of the sixties over the issue of state funding. On November 8 between two and three thousand students gathered in front of the library to protest discrimination against LSUNO by the state government. SGA leaders charged that, though the New Orleans university was the fastest-growing in the state, it received the smallest per-student allocation of all state-supported universities. A week later, "some 4000 tuition-concerned students," as *The Driftwood* described them, gathered on campus to hear Gov. John McKeithen declare that

he would push for a tax increase to pay for improvements at LSUNO.[20]

The November 1968 rallies were a good indicator of what constituted acceptable activism for LSUNO's working- and middle-class students. For students who were living at home—with a significant portion of them probably working in addition to attending classes—a bread-and-butter issue such as the funding level at their university would have been compelling. An editorial in September 1967 reveals the kinds of forces that prevented students at a commuter school like LSUNO from becoming activists on other issues. The editors began by noting the changing nature of higher education in the twentieth century, from a luxury reserved only for the "rich or the religious" to something available to "nearly everyone."

> In addition to the traditional playboys out for a merry old time in college, there are (and this is perhaps the largest group) students who are almost desperately eking out a stake in the economic system and seeking a means to the type of life and work they want. It follows quite naturally that fewer students have the inclination to risk their chances at completing the formal schooling they want so badly.[21]

The message was clear: student activism, however admirable, was a luxury for those students who depended on higher education as their means for upward mobility.[22]

The same kind of issue that mobilized the largest number of white students at LSUNO—the relative deprivation of the university in the state funding scheme—also helped to generate at SUNO the most controversial black-student uprising on a New Orleans campus during the sixties. But at SUNO, under-funding was one ingredient in a recipe that also included the application of Black Power to higher education, repression at the hands of police and the university administration, and charismatic student leadership. The event that triggered SUNO's burst of activism was a fifty-dollar tuition hike that was announced in the fall of 1968. The tuition increase disturbed students who wanted more for the money they already were spending. They believed that SUNO already had inferior facilities and a poor academic reputation—so poor, in fact, that some referred to the institution as "SUNO High School."[23]

Early in 1969 a small group of students attempted to block registration as a protest against the tuition hike. They were unable to mobilize a significant number of their fellow students, and eleven of

them were arrested for their participation in the demonstration. It didn't go as well as we expected," said one participant, political science major Charles Williams. "I'd even call it a flop, and I think the reasons for this failure can be found in the complacency of the students and the incredible lack of interest in improving the standards of the university." Williams complained that SUNO students limited their campus involvement to attending classes, and this tendency mitigated against students protesting the tuition hike. Even if they had wanted to participate in extracurricular campus activities they would have had a difficult time. SUNO offered only one public lecture the preceding semester, Williams noted, and a lack of space on campus forced the university to hold that event at Kennedy High School.[24]

Despite the disappointing reaction to the January demonstration, anger at the tuition hike grew slowly during February and March. The tuition hike provided some focus for a deeper level of frustration among African-American students at a time in which "black power" was becoming to dominant rallying cry. These two areas of concern—the quality of education students were receiving at SUNO and racial exploitation that was embedded in American society—merged in the spring of 1969. Organizational leadership came in the form of the Afro-American Society (AAS), a student group that in late March formulated a list of ten demands. On March 31 the AAS chairman, Lynn French, presented these demands to students at an assembly commemorating the death of Martin Luther King Jr. They were wide-ranging, addressing the university's poor physical facilities, its limited curriculum, and the need to reorient the institution as an instrument of black liberation. The AAS called for: a Department of Black Studies that offered a bachelor's degree; a non-credit course in Black Liberation to be taught by the director of the New Orleans chapter of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; fulfillment of the original construction plan for the campus, which called for a new building every year; increased hiring of faculty; a Black Draft Counseling Center to be headed by Walter Collins, whose fight against draft-evasion charges made him "unofficially one of the foremost authorities on the draft"; immediate removal of the tuition hike; more books by black authors in the library; a revision of the university handbook to remove arbitrary rules and regulations governing the lives of students; a Department of Education; and administrative changes to ensure "that there shall no longer be a Dean of the University to serve as Fuehrer and honky overseer of the campus."[25]

Two days later Val Ferdinand and several other students walked up to the flag pole in front of the administration building, lowered the American flag, and replaced it with a black, red, and green flag of black liberation. The flag flew for several hours, drawing the attention not only of other students and the administration, but of the local news media. At 3 P.M. the students lowered the flag and carried it to a press conference, at which AAS leaders announced that they would raise the flag again and call for a boycott of classes if the demands were not met by April 9.[26]

Ferdinand's background reveals the potential for activism that existed at SUNO, which a couple of months before had seemed like an unlikely locale for student protest. A native of the lower ninth ward in New Orleans, he had attended St. Augustine High School, a Catholic institution that prided itself on sending black students to good colleges. As a high school student, he was a member of the NAACP Youth Council and participated in the picketing on Canal Street from 1961 to 1963. He graduated from St. Augustine in 1964 and that fall was one of eight entering freshmen at Carleton College in Minnesota. But Ferdinand was not comfortable with the Carleton social setting and left in March 1965 to join the army, where he eventually wound up repairing nuclear missiles. He served for a year in Korea and then for a period in El Paso, Texas. The whole time, he was reading and developing a critique of American military involvement in Southeast Asia and economic exploitation throughout the world. Thus, by the time he left the army in 1968 and returned to New Orleans to enter SUNO, he had had a wide range of experiences. And he was not the only one with this type of background. Of the seven students who lowered the American flag and replaced it with the flag of black liberation on April 2, Ferdinand later recalled, three were military veterans.[27]

However, despite the maturity of the leaders of the April 2 demonstration, the SUNO movement might not have galvanized such a large number of students had not the New Orleans superintendent of police inserted himself into the equation. In the wake of the April 2 flag lowering, Joseph Giarrusso announced that the police would tolerate no more "desecration of the flag." Complaining that the "silent majority must quit being so complacent about these events," Giarrusso sounded chords that resonated with whites who had voted for Richard Nixon the preceding November: "Let no one mistake kindness and patience on the part of police officers for weakness."[28]

Meanwhile SUNO Dean Emmett Bashful attempted to calm the situation by mobilizing dependable students and faculty members. Shortly after the flag incident, the university's Faculty Association, led by political science professor George Haggar, issued a resolution essentially supporting the demands of the students. By April 7, however, Bashful had convened his own faculty group—without Haggar or others who sympathized with the students. This group voted to deplore "many of the extreme methods used by the students, such as the removal of the American flag." Bashful also appointed a negotiating committee of students and faculty that was heavily stacked in his favor.[29]

But Giarrusso's dare had virtually ensured that efforts to calm the situation would fail. Shortly before 8 A.M. on April 9 Ferdinand and several others approached the flag pole, opened up the flag of black liberation, explained its symbolic meaning, read off the list of ten demands, pulled down the American flag, gave it a military fold, and raised the flag of black liberation. Giarrusso had organized a sizable police force to deal with the situation. They allowed the students to raise the flag, at which point Giarrusso stepped up to tell the students they were desecrating the American flag. Policemen then moved in to arrest the perpetrators; they formed a circle around the flag pole, but the circle was so large that it included many of the estimated two hundred students who were only observers. Police efforts to disperse the students only angered them; some began to fight back.[30]

Meanwhile Bashful had called an assembly to report on the administration's progress in responding to the demands, but news filtered into the meeting about the clash outside between students and police, and many left. During the next few hours, some twenty-five students took over the first floor of the administration building, while Bashful locked himself in his office. By the time quiet was restored, one woman—a student at nearby Delgado Community College—and two policemen had suffered minor injuries. Police had arrested more than twenty people, including AAS leaders Ferdinand and French. No classes were held on that day, and students began a boycott of classes.[31]

Ferdinand, who in the early seventies changed his name to Kalamu ya Salaam, later recalled the boycott with pride, referring to it as "one of the least well-known but best organized student strikes." The strike leaders met every day, reviewed what went on the previous day, and took suggestions regarding what the next step should be. To prevent leaks, "the leadership never made a decision until it was time to make a decision." One student published a weekly newsletter, the

Black Liberation Express, to air the striking students' opinions. Some students organized fund raisers. Others organized telephones.[32] The strike continued with remarkable effectiveness while student leaders declared that they would negotiate only with the governor or someone with his power. Southern President Leon Netterville set up a student-faculty committee to address the demands of the AAS, but its leaders refused to meet with the committee. Finally on April 21 Gov. John McKeithen came to SUNO. McKeithen previously had declared that he would not negotiate with students until they returned to class, but an estimated three hundred striking students confronted him at a speech in town. Put on the spot the governor chose to visit SUNO. But McKeithen's effective performance before the students took the steam out of the movement. He acknowledged that some of their demands were legitimate, at one point declaring that he would fill in ditches that became mosquito breeding grounds after a rain. McKeithen also agreed to set up a meeting between SUNO representatives and the State Board of Education and suggested that he would approach Orleans Parish District Attorney Jim Garrison about amnesty for all SUNO protestors. For the moment, AAS leaders seemed optimistic. Said Ferdinand: "We're back in classes. As far as I'm concerned, negotiations are under way."[33]

But the ultimate effect of McKeithen's intervention was to rob the AAS of its mass support just as the organization had achieved a signal victory—getting McKeithen to campus to negotiate. In the wake of the governor's visit, one student opponent of the AAS had to concede the group's success in prompting negotiations, but he nevertheless called on them to tone down their protests. Raphael Velasquez, who had been one of Bashful's handpicked members on the dean's early negotiating team, argued that the AAS needed to step back and let the SUNO student government step in to chart a new "road to respect."[34]

The end of the boycott did not mean the end of the spring 1969 protests at SUNO. Students soon learned that McKeithen had no intention of acting fully on their demands; moreover, the governor soon reneged on the suggestion that he would ask Garrison for amnesty. However, AAS leaders saw little potential in effectively renewing the boycott, so they tried a variety of other tactics. On May 5 members of the AAS took over the university for a day and declared that students now served as dean, registrar, business manager, and director of freshman studies. In response McKeithen stationed five hundred National Guardsmen near the university, and the takeover fizzled out by the end of the day. Hugh Murray, an instructor at

SUNO during the 1969 protests, later described this short-lived takeover as the crucial point at which SUNO student protesters failed to live up to their own threats. In the preceding weeks the AAS had avoided violent confrontation by constantly shifting their tactics to something new. But now as Murray saw it, there could be no more shifting. "Students would have to put up, or shut up; and as their policy had evolved, it seemed most probable that the protest movement had come to an end by the afternoon of Monday, May 5," Murray argued. In the following weeks the university expelled eight of the protest leaders, including Ferdinand and French.[35]

During the summer a community group, the Concerned Citizens Organization of the SUNO Community, called for a student boycott of registration in the fall, but the group rescinded that call shortly before the beginning of the school year. It appeared that SUNO was making some progress by restructuring the administration, creating a department of education, and hiring more faculty members. In December SUNO announced the creation of an interdisciplinary Black Studies Program, to be headed by SUNO's music department chairman. Black professors would teach the courses.[36]

Yet despite these developments, the larger goal of the SUNO student movement—the creation of a "black university"—remained elusive. Reflecting on the results of the movement a few months later, Lynn French was pessimistic. "To say that SUNO has improved or has become more relevant for Blacks because of these few things would be a lie," French stated. "In essence, SUNO is still nothing more than the 'secondary high school' it was before..." Why had the movement failed? French argued that it lacked a true sense of direction, relying instead on a "tide of emotionalism." Students were confused as to what they were doing and why they were doing it. Opportunists who tried to use the movement for their own personal gain also plagued the movement, as did "party seekers who were only out to party, have fun and be where the action was."[37]

Others criticized the students for employing violent rhetoric that alienated people who otherwise believed their complaints were legitimate. But SUNO protesters were after more than filled-in ditches and new buildings—the things that seemed to arouse the most community sympathy. Concentrating on the in-your-face rhetoric was to miss the substance of a serious, yet not fully developed, critique of higher education for African Americans in Louisiana. This critique grew from the frequently heard assertion that white politicians had created SUNO to prevent real integration at LSUNO. The leaders of

the SUNO protests wanted to free their university from the control of white politicians and ally it with the black community. Their program grew from frustration with "Uncle Tom" university administrators who answered to an all-white state board of education. They wanted a university in which control resided within the black community. As Val Ferdinand argued in a column published in the *Black Liberation Express* after he had been expelled, SUNO was a "weapon of oppression," designed to perpetuate a racist system by indoctrinating African Americans into the tenants of a corrupt white culture. Reformulated as a "black university"—that is, a university controlled by African Americans and in tune with the needs of the black community—SUNO would be a tool for social change, "an institution for the people and a wellspring of liberation."[38]

Ferdinand's pronouncements, however, left many questions unanswered. Presumably, he and other protest leaders wanted first to wrest control of the campus from the all-white board of education and the "Uncle Tom" administrators. But what would happen then? What form should SUNO's ties to the community take? How much control over the university would the community have? Which constituencies within the black community would exert the greatest amount of control? Such questions remained unarticulated and the SUNO movement paid a price as a result.[39]

The apparent willingness of the majority of SUNO students to surrender the larger aims while settling for improvements in physical plant and curricular and administrative adjustments suggests that the vision of a "black university," for most SUNO students, was negotiable. The April boycott had represented an effort by students to strike back at racial discrimination and lack of economic opportunity for African Americans as symbolized by SUNO's inadequate campus and curriculum. But once the students received some concessions, they did not deem it necessary to risk their college degrees for larger, less well-articulated goals. Imperfect as it was, SUNO represented access to a college education and, presumably, a better way of life for people who would not have had such a chance in previous generations.

Indeed the 1969 SUNO protests occurred precisely at a time when the future of that university seemed to hang in the balance. In early 1969 Leon Panetta, who headed the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Office of Civil Rights, informed Louisiana and several other states that they must begin formulating plans to dismantle their dual systems of higher education. Some felt that the

[8]Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 265-71.

[9]Charles Vincent, *A Centennial History of Southern University and A & M College, 1880-1980* (Baton Rouge, 1981), 297.

[10]Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 295-96; Carlene Smith to Jim McCain, February 22, 1962, Series 5, Folder 351, CORE Papers.

[11]Oretha Castle Haley interview by Kim Lacy Rogers, Rogers-Stevens Collection, Amistad Research Center.

[12]Cassimere, author's interview.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Militant black students took aim on at least one other southern campus at what they viewed as a too moderate NAACP during the late sixties, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In the fall of 1967 they revolted against the campus NAACP leadership and voted to dissolve the chapter and form a new organization, the Black Student Movement. The NAACP leadership fought back, and ultimately the two factions agreed to coexist. Preston Dobbins interview by Jacquelyn Hall, December 4, 1974, transcript in Southern Oral History Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; *Daily Tar Heel*, November 17, 1967.

[15]*The Ungarbled Word*, March 21-28, 1969.

[16]LSUNO *Driftwood*, March 21, 1969; April 18, 1969; April 25, 1969; May 9, 1969. Mohr and Gordon provide a useful discussion of the Afro-American Congress of Tulane University in *Tulane*, 496-98, 574-81.

[17]Tulane *Hullabaloo*, October 27, 1967. For a discussion of "student power" at Tulane see Mohr and Gordon, *Tulane*, 527-62.

[18]"Power, Censorship, Filthy Buttons," *Driftwood*, December 15, 1967.

[19]*The Thorn*, September 30 and November 15, 1968, Louisiana Collection, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans.

[20]*Driftwood*, November 15 and November 21, 1968.

[21]Ibid., September 22, 1967.

[22]The role played by socio-economic background in producing activists has been a controversial one. Contemporary accounts and some more recent studies have emphasized the participation of students from middle-class and privileged backgrounds. See, for example, Richard Flacks, "The Liberated Generation," in Shirley M. Clark and John Clarks, eds., *Youth in Modern Society* (New York, 1972), 319-39; and Stanley

Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians, and the New Left* (New York, 1982). Kenneth J. Heineman has challenged this emphasis in *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York, 1993), especially 76-83. The four case studies in Heineman's book reveal that student peace activists came from a variety of class and cultural backgrounds. Among the activists Heineman studied at four eastern and midwestern state universities were working- and lower-middle-class Catholics or "low status" Protestants, groups that would have been well-represented at LSUNO. However, Heineman notes that these student activists experienced psychic tensions caused by a variety of factors. At times parents opposed either their decision to go to college or their decision to spend time protesting rather than studying once there. Less privileged students also had to worry about paying for their education, which imposed limits on their degree of activism. These kinds of limits appear to have been in play at LSUNO.

[23]Lynn French, "Progress at SUNO High School," *The Plain Truth of New Orleans* (October 1969). Hugh T. Murray Jr., an instructor at SUNO at the time of the 1969 demonstrations, provides a detailed account of the events in "Black Eruption: Southern Style," Hugh Thomas Murray Jr. Papers, Tulane University Special Collections, New Orleans, Louisiana.

[24]"Separate but Equal," *The Ungarbled Word*, February 6-12, 1969.

[25]Murray, "Black Eruption," 11-12; Harlette Smith, "SUNO Revolts," *Southern University Digest*, April 24, 1969, 5,7.

[26]Ferdinand, Rogers interview.

[27]Ibid.

[28]*The Times-Picayune*, April 4, 1969.

[29]Murray, "Black Eruption," 19-22.

[30]Ferdinand, Rogers interview; *The Times-Picayune*, April 10, 1969.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ferdinand, Rogers interview.

[33]*Louisiana Weekly*, April 26, 1969.

[34]Murray, "Black Eruption," 89.

[35]Ibid.; *Louisiana Weekly*, May 10, 1969.
[36]Ibid., September 13 and December 13, 1969.

[37]*The Plain Truth of New Orleans*, October, 21, 1969.

[38]*Black Liberation Express*, undated (vol. 1, no. 6), 3-4, Political Ephemera Collection, Tulane University Special Collections.

[39]For a discussion of the Black University concept see William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965-1975* (Chicago, 1992), 77-82. Van Deburg notes that attempts at creating Black Universities in a variety of locales; in all cases, the concept was modified to meet local circumstances. Thus, the concept appears to have had a certain amount of flexibility.

[40]Raphale Cassimere, "Crisis of Public Higher Education in Louisiana," *Integrated Education* (October 1975): 8-13; "To Be or Not to Be? That is Big Southern Question," *Times-Picayune*, April 7, 1973.

[41]Tim Thomas, "The Student Movement at Southern University," *Freedomways* (First Quarter 1973): 14-27; "Southern Crisis Traced to Quiet Student Protest," *Times-Picayune*, November 19, 1972; "Southern University: One Year After," *Black Collegion* 4 (November-December 1973): 40.

[42]In a chapter entitled "The Nerds Take Revenge," from her overview of undergraduate cultures, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz argues that a souring economy in the early seventies was important in displacing rebellion from the center of college life. In the place of the "rebels" stepped the "outsiders," an undergraduate subculture that had long been present on American college campuses. Outsiders saw college as time for preparation for a profession and focused on academic, not extracurricular, success. During the seventies, Horowitz argues, this group became the dominant subculture on American campuses. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York, 1987), 245-62. At SUNO and LSUNO, however, where a lack of dormitories limited the influence of "college life," Horowitz's "outsiders" appear to have dominated long before the economy soured.

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Sarah Hart Brown. *Standing Against Dragons: Three Southern Lawyers in an Era of Fear.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000, 300 pp. $17.95. ISBN 0-071-2575-X.

When author Sarah Hart Brown was growing up in Pensacola, she heard plenty of stories about the local "commie" lawyer, Joe Coe, known to most as Moreno Coe. He was so "red" that even the Kiwanis Club voted him out of their ranks, despite the fact that he served as state governor of the organization. As Brown pursued her research into one of the few white southern civil libertarians and civil rights attorneys of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, she discovered that a lot of the stories about Coe were true.

The "distinguished brethren of the Kiwanis Club of Pensacola...tried me for impure thoughts and expelled me therefrom," Coe wrote in a 1951 letter to congresswoman Bella Abzug. "We had a hell of a trial. I plead with the boys...for an intelligent understanding of things democratic and American and free."

And that's the way it was for Coe, and for attorneys Clifford Durr of Montgomery and Ben Smith of New Orleans—the subjects of Brown's book, *Standing Against Dragons*. All three suffered personally and professionally for defending American communists or persons accused of being communist or associating with "subversives" and charged with violating the repressive laws that defined the McCarthy era (many of which were eventually declared unconstitutional by the Warren Court). It was a political and social climate that sent most southern lawyers—the good liberals whom Coe, Durr, and Smith held in particular disdain, and whom Durr derisively called "respectables"—scurrying for cover. But these three, and a few other southern attorneys, stood their ground.

None of the three were ever members of the Communist Party, but that did not matter to the Kiwanians of Pensacola. Nor did it matter to the House Un-American Activities Committee, before whom all three appeared on behalf of clients; or to Mississippi Senator James Eastland's subcommittee investigating the administration of the Internal Security Act; or to the neighbors and some family members of the three; or to the local newspapers that regularly excoriated them for their work doing battle for the Bill of Rights.

Later, when all three men shifted their focus to defending activists in the Civil Rights Movement, the vilification intensified as they were

further branded un-American for representing "outside agitators" at a time when white southerners "feared dissent and saw conspiracy everywhere, and 'black' still meant 'red'."

Standing Against Dragons tells an important story about Coe's, Durr's, and Smith's commitment to fighting their government's excesses and the South's lamentable defense of white supremacy, and the "era of fear" in which the three men lived. As Brown takes great pains to emphasize, all three loved the South and considered themselves southerners all their lives. Indeed, the author's justification for focusing upon the three attorneys in this study is that they alone among white southern lawyers stayed true to their progressive causes, and true to the South.

Unfortunately, Brown is forced to stretch her definitions in some awkward ways in order to maintain this and other artificial criteria for their subjects, and in the process excludes some important civil liberty and civil rights attorneys—figures such as Herman Wright of Texas, whom she says was more western than southern, and William Higgs of Mississippi, whom Brown notes was eventually pressured into leaving the South. These are contortions forced on dissertation writers seeking to break new scholarly ground. Brown might have been better off sticking with her original subject, Coe, or the more colorful and much younger Smith, as the sole subject for her book. (Durr, who first came to prominence as a New Deal figure in the Roosevelt administration, had already been the subject of a book-length study, and most of what Brown writes here about him had been amply covered elsewhere.)

As it is, *Standing Against Dragons* tends to be long on social and political context and short on exploration of the lives of the three progressive attorneys. Their personalities, and at times their careers, disappear in the encyclopedic lists of names and cases from the decades covered in roughly chronological order in the book. A closer study of Coe or Smith would have allowed Brown to go much deeper into the personal life of her subject, and also would have allowed her to examine in greater detail, and with greater clarity, the legal philosophies and strategies that marked the attorneys' work.

Standing Against Dragons does make an important contribution to the written history of the South, and the nation, by highlighting the careers of Coe, Smith, and Durr. Condemned by the James Eastlands of their day as subversives and worse, they proved themselves to be greater patriots, finally, than any of their detractors. Their work

endures, and Brown's book will help insure that their names endure as well.

Steve Watkins — Mary Washington College

David J. Eicher. *Mystic Chords of Memory: Civil War Battlefields and Historic Sites Recaptured.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998, 232 pp. $39.95. ISBN 0-9071-2309-9.

> The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.
>
> —Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural address
> March 4, 1861

According to David J. Eicher, managing editor of *Astronomy* magazine and author of several recent Civil War books, these "mystic chords" apply not only to Civil War America but they also stretch across generations from the Civil War era to the present, bonding modern Americans to their nation's defining moment.

In the last few years, interest in the American Civil War has grown to monumental proportions. Millions of Americans watched and were inspired by Ken Burns' *The Civil War*, and the motion pictures *Glory* and *Gettysburg*. Many treasure the relics and papers of their ancestors who participated in that great event. Others "refight" the war each month in round-table discussions, and some even don the "blue" and the "gray" and participate in reenactments. David J. Eicher, author of *Mystic Chords of Memory: Civil War Battlefields and Historic Sites Recaptured*, was not immune to this "fever," either. He caught is after he inherited relics and papers of his great-great-grandfather, who was a private in the 74th Ohio Infantry.

Such personal connections to the Civil War, according to Eicher, are strengthened most when Americans visit Civil War battlefields and sites. Eicher began photographing these places in the mid-1980s, after he and his father had taken a series of annual trips to all the important places associated with the war. They wanted to see what remained of the places so well-known by the people of the Civil War era.

In recent years Eicher has published these photographs in a calendar called *Civil War Journeys*, and, in the process, has amassed

a collection of more than ten thousand images. Beside providing photographs for the calendar, Eicher's collection has also supplied images for his other Civil War books: *Civil War Battlefields: Touringuide* (1995); *The Civil War in Books: An Analytical Bibliography* (1996); and *Robert E. Lee: A Portrait* (1997). The best of these pictures, however, have been reserved for Eicher's most recent work, *Mystic Chords of Memory: Civil War Battlefields and Historic Sites Recaptured.*

What makes *Mystic Chords of Memory* unique is that Eicher takes us not only to the more famous battlefields such as Manassas, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Chickamagua, or Antietam, but also to lesser-known battlefields such as Wilson's Creek, Missouri; Morris Island, South Carolina; and Fort Fisher (Wilmington), North Carolina. Familiar places such as Fort Sumter, Ford's Theater, and the Lincoln Memorial are also included, but Eicher introduces us to more obscure ones such as the John Morrow House in Prairie Grove, Arkansas, and the rebuilt federal ironclad gunboat USS *Cairo* at Vicksburg, Mississippi.

As an added bonus, accompanying Eicher's collection of photographs is a fine, concise survey of the bloodiest war in American history. Eicher's analysis provides background on the war's origins, interpretations of its major battles, and a summary of the conflict's immediate aftermath. He details the firing on Fort Sumter; the shock of "seeing the elephant" for the first time at Bull Run (first Manassas); the carnage of Shiloh; the transformation of the war from a "war to save the Union" to a war to free the slaves after the battle of Antietam; the critical turning point at Gettysburg and Vicksburg; the decisive, grueling campaigns of 1864; and the painful surrender at Appomattox. In addition, Eicher's survey is laced with more than one hundred and fifty quotations from the journals, letters, and dairies of those who lived during the Civil War era. These quotations allow us to "absorb the humanity" of the greatest of America's national tragedies.

Also contributing to the book's charm are dozens of images of forgotten places touched by the war, such as an abandoned graveyard in a Mississippi wood, the sandy strip of South Carolina beach made famous by the charge of the 54th Massachusetts, trenches along a Virginia county highway, and a brick church in Virginia damaged by artillery shells. Eicher's photographs capture the "terrible beauty" of contemporary Civil War monuments and battlefields. Each commemorates the bravery and savagery, heroism and cowardice,

victory and defeat, and death and rebirth of the war. All of these contrasts help us to see how a new United States emerged from the fires of civil war.

Civil War sites, according to Eicher, should be viewed as "fields of death and glory" as they continue to retain a powerful hold on American imaginations. Eicher's words and his exquisite photos have captured the drama of *the* defining moment in American history. Casual readers of Civil War history, buffs, and collectors will certainly enjoy and benefit from Eicher's *Mystic Chords of Memory*, especially those planning to visit the places shown in the photographs.

Michael S. Davis — Kansas State University

Wayne Flynt. *Alabama Baptists: Southern Baptists in the Heart of Dixie*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998, *xxi*, 731 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-8173-0927-6.

Baptists exemplify the old remark that people will say they are of the same religion, but scarcely two or three of them will agree on all points. Despite this, Professor Flynt has captured as much of their elusive essence as anyone could. His book represents the coming of age of religious history and its emancipation from the filiopietistic balderdash which so long marred church histories. Realizing the extreme difficulty of achieving objectivity about one's own religious tradition, professor Flynt informs the reader of his position as an Alabama Southern Baptist of moderate views.

Arriving on an untamed frontier, the early Baptists of Alabama struggled with poverty, isolation, and ignorance. Later, they strove to build educational and denominational institutions hampered not only by poverty but also by doctrinal issues which led many Alabama Baptists to oppose new measures. The antimissionary movement among Alabama Baptists gave the denomination a severe blow during the 1830s and remained influential in some areas up until the twentieth century. Having once dismissed the antimission, or Primitive, Baptists as "a marginal, stagnant blip on a dynamic American religious landscape," Flynt handles the antimissionary controversy with remarkable sensitivity. He points out that the antimissionaries were not just a sectional or class movement, but were motivated by doctrinal concerns deeply rooted in Baptist history. A point here about the use of certain terms: although they agree with the "five points," Primitive Baptists disagree with Calvin on many crucial issues and intensely

dislike being called "Calvinists." Also, all predestinarians dislike "hyper-Calvinist."

Despite initial misgivings about slavery, by the mid-1800s the Baptists of the South heartily endorsed slavery and eventually supported the southern war effort. The turmoil of the Civil War and of Reconstruction dealt the denomination a great blow: increased poverty and the departure of black Baptists to organize their own churches. The late 1800s saw intense conflict among Baptists over the Populist movement and even greater dissension over the Landmark movement, which threatened to tear the denomination apart.

During the twentieth century Alabama Baptists completed their transition from a separatist sect to the "Catholic Church of the South." Like all churches which largely comprehend the societies in which they exist, Alabama transformed the Baptists as much or more than the reverse. The twentieth century saw the denomination involved almost constantly in the support of racial, ethnic, and religious bigotry. Flynt's latter chapters make some of the most painful reading in the book, and doubtless were equally distressing to write. Although Baptist leaders often spoke out against the worst excesses of racism, such as lynching, they usually defended the basic racist assumptions which gave rise to them. With the end of the struggle for civil rights, Republican conservatism swept Alabama Baptists, shifting the moral focus of the denomination from such issues as liquor and dancing to abortion and sexuality. Professor Flynt closes on a somber note, reflecting on the growth of intolerance and the resurgence of Calvinism among Alabama Baptists.

Throughout the book, capsule biographies of distinguished Baptists enliven the narrative and illustrate Baptist diversity. Delightful descriptions of Basil Manly, L. L. Gwaltney, and Judson Baggett reveal the vast range of opinion and talent gracing the denomination. Women were often the heart and soul of the church, although hampered by Pauline gender mandates and mail pigheadedness. They usually coped by giving lip service to gender restrictions which they then ignored in practice, particularly in the mission field. Martha Foster Crawford, an Alabama-born Baptist missionary in China from 1852 to 1909, epitomized the indomitable character of many Baptist women. Judging from Professor Flynt's description and her photograph, she was at best what Sut Lovinggood called "an ol' discernin' she-pillar of the church," and perhaps what he also described as a "reg'lar steel trap of a woman."

Professor Flynt documents many Baptists who stood against racial, social, and theological atrocities throughout the history of Alabama. While they were few, their virtues shine the brighter because of the darkness surrounding them. He also illustrates that while many Alabama Baptists were narrow-minded on some issues, the same people were often quite progressive on other fronts. He concludes that despite great differences in doctrine and practice, several unifying factors have held them together: refusal to be bound by a definite creed, devotion to missions, and generous support of their denominational institutions. Sadly, several of these traditional sources of unity seem to be under pressure.

This is a fine book in every way. Any objective book about a church always calls to mind the cynical saying that church history is the greatest school of atheism. Still, there is always much good to counterbalance the bad. Perhaps inevitably, as a Baptist writing about fellow Baptists, Professor Flynt has told the story of his people with more detail about some things than outsiders care to know. He has described the Alabama Southern Baptists, however, very fairly and fully, "warts and all." To stand back and write so plainly of something as near to the heart as the religion of one's childhood is a great accomplishment.

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Timothy S. Huebner. *The Southern Judicial Tradition: State Judges and Sectional Distinctiveness, 1790-1890.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999, *xiii*, 263 pp. $45.00. ISBN 0-8203-2101-X.

Timothy Huebner has written intellectual biographies of six southern state supreme court judges: Spencer Roane, John Catron, Joseph Lumpkin, John Hempill, Thomas Ruffin, and George Stone, all of whom made their careers in the state courts. Only Catron served on the United States Supreme Court. Huebner researched the published opinions of the state supreme courts, focusing on homicide and violence, economic growth and development, federalism, and slavery. Most of the book covers the antebellum period. Only one of the six judges had a professional life during and after the Civil War. The result is a history of state supreme courts and legal reasoning in the nineteenth-century Deep South.

Huebner's book is carefully organized and well written. His plan to look at how leading jurists handled the most sensitive issues in

southern society—power, property, slavery, and violence—is brilliant in its simplicity. Huebner has a good eye for the arresting detail. Joseph Lumpkin, we learn, so electrified jurors that they "sprung from their seats" uttering an "audible response to his stirring appeals." The zealous Thomas Ruffin sometimes rapped his knuckles on the floor while interrogating witnesses or arguing before a jury.

In some ways the lives of these men follow the evolution of southern society. Early in the nineteenth century many white Southerners hoped to see an end to slavery, but as time passed they clung to slavery with ever greater ferocity. Similarly, three of Huebner's judges began their careers with doubts about prevailing racial attitudes. Steeped in the Revolutionary generation's concern with liberty, Spencer Roane began his career questioning the morality of slavery. John Catron of Tennessee harbored sympathies for the Cherokee. In 1833, Georgian Joseph Lumpkin's evangelicalism led him to tell a Boston audience that he passionately desired an end to slavery. Within a few years all three of these judges had jettisoned their doubts about white oppression. Perhaps because they came along a little later than Roane, Catron, and Lumpkin, John Hemphill of Texas and Thomas Ruffin of North Carolina never doubted the morality of white racism.

In other ways Huebner's judges did not follow the principles pursued by the larger society. None of the judges embraced the honor ethic Huebner's mentor Bertram Wyatt-Brown described in *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (1982). Like other lawyers, Catron carried a set of dueling pistols while riding circuit but avoided using them and condemned the honor culture. In fact, Catron actually denounced so-called "men of worth" engaged in dueling as "wicked." Moralist Lumpkin campaigned against letting murderers off the hook, as did Ruffin in North Carolina and George Stone in Alabama. Stone explicitly castigated the honor code. Hemphill proved similarly intolerant of homicide in violence-prone Texas. As Huebner writes, the Texas supreme court stood against "the tide of popular behavior and arrived at decisions based on higher principles rather than community norms."

The great philosopher of history, Hayden White, described the biographical approach to the subject as "formist," the weakest of the "modes of consciousness" an historian might adapt. Formist historians (White cites Alexis de Tocqueville as an example) believe leaders guide events. History is a story of great people doing important things. Contextualism, White argued, is a more sophisticated platform from

which to work. Context—the social, cultural or intellectual universe within which historical actors operate—really guides the actions and thinking of individuals. While Huebner's treatment of slavery suggests that southern jurisprudence illustrated the state of white southern society, the stance of southern judges against honor and violence will prompt many readers to wonder what role these judges really played in southern history. Their apparent failure to curb violence suggests they could not really mold events. On this level they seem irrelevant.

In one way, however, Huebner believes that his actors guided events. The judge Huebner profiles first, Roane, invented judicial review in Virginia. The last judge covered, Alabama's Stone, reflected national trends toward using the law to promote economic development, suggesting that a unified legal paradigm had at last been constructed by these leading jurists and their peers. The argument is not so strongly made, but Huebner suggests that these six men, and their fellows, built a southern judicial tradition. What relevance that tradition has to the larger society is a question readers of this book can consider.

Many historians may turn aside this book, seeing it of interest only to narrowly-focused legal scholars. In fact all libraries should buy this book, and all historians with an interest in the nineteenth-century south should read it carefully for the questions it raises about the role of law in society.

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Alexander P. Lamis, ed. *Southern Politics in the 1990s*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, *xv*. $39.95. ISBN 0-8071-2374-9.

This work aims in Lamis's words, to "thoroughly explain how and why the GOP reached majority status in southern politics in the 1990s." The volume contains thirteen chapters, eleven of which focus on the states of the old Confederacy, with the introductory and concluding chapters penned by Lamis. Each of the state chapters has at least two authors (some have as many as four), political scientists and journalists. The various authors demonstrate the plethora of ways Republicans gained parity and then dominance in many southern states. Although making no explicit claim, this work is an update of V.O. Key's classic *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949). On

the whole, even though it sounds some disconcerting notes, this book is a rewarding study of southern politics in the 1990s.

The volume delineates the effects of race, redistricting, and the unique primaries in many southern states. One worthwhile contribution that it makes is to demonstrate how African Americans, for a variety of reasons, sometimes united with Republicans in redistricting efforts, which helped both groups but hurt the mainstream Democratic Party. This point should cause many to take another look at recent politics and coalition building. Another strength of the volume is its examination of more than just the gubernatorial and congressional races. It also discusses other statewide offices, as well as local races and county offices. It shows how Republicans greatly varied in their success at those levels, with some states remaining very heavily Democratic, while in others Republicans and Democrats were almost at parity. These elections are discussed through the use of statistics, charts, and short sketches of the legislators. Throughout, the authors demonstrate the varying levels of Republican and Democratic strength, the differing character of the states, and the interaction between national and local politics.

Colorful vignettes are sprinkled throughout this volume, which should provide professors with good lecture material and anecdotes. The various strategies that the Republicans used to win voters and to gain power, along with the tactics (or lack thereof) that the Democrats used to counter the GOP, are traced by the writers. The book also demonstrates the current difficulties Republicans are having both in coalition building and in governing, revealing how, on a party level, being in opposition is often easier than ruling. Additionally, it notes the difficulties Democrats have had, the reasons for their recent decline, and what they must do, depending on the state examined, to remain competitive or return to competitiveness. The authors also discuss what Democrats and Republicans need to do to build coalitions, and the problems facing both parties. The work presents a large amount of information about each state in passing, so readers can have an understanding of each state's politics and culture. This work contains eighteen figures, thirty tables, and fifty pages of notes, all of which enhance the text, and Louisiana State University Press should be praised for allowing their inclusion.

Readers should note that this is much more a work of political science than history. Its focus is on the 1980s and 1990s. Other works should be consulted for the details of the historical, constitutional, and political changes taking place in the voting processes of the South in the 1960s and 1970s. This work does not explain how the South had become a one-party region. The gulf south is not the main focus of this work; that term is not explicitly used anywhere, but the states are clearly discussed in individual chapters.

This work has a number of failings, however. It is disjointed, with few common points of reference. For example, no clear reason is given for the order in which the state chapters appear. The introductory and the concluding chapters, both written by Lamis, tie the work together, but few other chapters offer much comparative analysis of the various states. This lack of continuity may be more apparent in this volume than in others because it focuses more on a unified theme than other edited efforts. The end of the acknowledgments also might give some pause. Lamis writes, "when one is working near the shores of Lake Erie in a land where the 1861-1865 monuments are not to 'the glorious Confederate dead,' it was a pleasure to hear all those soft southern accents every time I called the [Louisiana State University] press."

On the whole, this is a very worthwhile work focusing on, as the title promises, southern politics in the 1990s. This effort provides a detailed account of the rise of Republicans, struggles of the Democrats, and possibilities for the future.

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Chana Kai Lee. *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999, 255 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-252-02151-7.

Fannie Lou Hamer, a black grandmother and the twentieth child of a Mississippi sharecropper, did not know until she was past forty that black people had the right to vote. She challenged the Democratic national leadership, forcing even a president to acknowledge, if not recognize, her Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Chana Kai Lee's *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* is an attempt, in Lee's words, to understand the meaning of Hamer's life for Hamer—a worthy undertaking. Lee looks at Mrs. Hamer's achievements in terms of her Christian background and its influence on the image she created for herself. It is less a traditional biography than a retrospective, coming only few short years after Kay Mills's definitive, *This Little Light of Mine.*

Lee questions much of the Hamer legend without seeking to destroy it. Her goal is to explore Hamer's carefully honed image and show how it sometimes backfired, keeping her outside the circles of power and leaving her vulnerable to exploitation by the very people she trusted.

Like other movement leaders Hamer was concerned about her legacy. Lee highlights this by pointing to Hamer's contradictory

versions of her experiences—comparing the accounts she told initially with later ones crafted for posterity. Lee's conclusion is that Hamer sometimes "masked the truth," especially in her retelling of the events of her involuntary sterilization, and her refusal to accept public assistance. Lee surmises that Hamer became a "moral pragmatist."

"Ain't no such of a thing as I can hate and hope to see God's face," Hamer said in 1964. Yet, by the end of the sixties, she sometimes spoke bitterly in support of retributive violence against the system. She reflected that she had "learned the hard way that even though we had all the laws and all the righteousness on our side—that the white man is not going to give up his power to us.... We have to take it for ourselves." Lee notes that "this was one of the larger, unremitting paradoxes in the life of a very devout and politically inspired Christian woman."

In her attempts to create a spiritually based political perspective, Hamer discovered that she could not easily marry her Christian ideals to an effective political strategy. Compromising with the devil to achieve a partial good, however, was difficult for her. She couldn't bring herself to do it in 1964 on her first foray into national politics. Lee speaks of Hamer as indecisive, even desperate, over the decision to either accept a compromise that dictated sharing representation with the segregationist delegates, or walking out on principal, as she ultimately did.

Lee suggests that Hamer was less an uncompromising crusader than a reformer who focused on local and immediate needs, one who was more concerned with getting tangible change accomplished for her neighbors (some of whom still believed as she had that blacks were not entitled to the vote) than negotiating for broader reforms. This often put her in conflict with the national civil rights and Democratic Party leadership who placed a higher priority on compromise.

While Lee offers little new material, she presents another valuable perspective on this complicated life. She contrasts the public Hamer, a gifted orator, organizer, and fund raiser with the private woman whose great strength was her ability to endure, and to teach others to coexist with defeat and pain and keep on moving.

While Hamer openly shared the events of her life and permitted her stories to be exploited to raise funds and support for the movement, she always regarded herself as a strong, God-fearing, nurturing mother. What she did not realize, Lee says, was that her enthralling story-telling could make her vulnerable to exploitation by even the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the

Mississippi Freedom Democrats. They depicted her as a grass-roots prototype of deprivation and showcased her as a means of indicting the oppressor.

Hamer's foibles and eccentricities added to her complexity. Yet, in Lee's determination to provide a balanced assessment, she also seems guilty of sometimes objectifying Hamer. Mrs. Hamer made decisions that her family could neither understand nor fully accept. She lost her own job and made it virtually impossible for her husband to find steady work. She railed against the local self-serving black leaders and "chicken eating preachers," traveled extensively, and frequently left her husband with the care of their adopted daughters and granddaughters. Lee says, "[Hamer] worried about her relationship with Pap (her husband), who was not always pleased about the time she spent away from home." Yet, Lee tells us virtually nothing about either Pap Hamer or their daughters, or how the extended family of brothers, sisters, and cousins ultimately coped with Mrs. Hamer's non-stop activism. This leaves an unsatisfying gap in an otherwise enlightening work whose stated purpose is to help us understand what Fannie Lou Hamer's legacy meant to Fannie Lou Hamer, and how much it cost her.

Mary Stanton Rutgers University

William A. Link. *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880-1930.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992, *xviii*, 440 pp. $19.95. ISBN 0-8078-4589-2.

Rather than produce a comprehensive history of southern progressivism, William A. Link (University of North Carolina at Greensboro) has written of the interplay between reformers and the rural communities that they targeted for improvement. Link views the prohibition, public health, school improvement, women's suffrage, child labor reform, and race relations crusades from intellectual and social, rather than political, perspectives, paying particular attention to the bureaucracies they engendered. State and philanthropic archival sources are plentiful, but the personal papers of such prominent reformers as Will W. Alexander, Eugene C. Branson, and Alexander J. McKelway form the centerpiece of the author's research. Unfortunately, reform's opponents do far less of their own talking. The book's geographic focus is similarly skewed. All parts of the new

South are covered, but the eastern seaboard receives by far the most attention.

In accordance with the current trend in Progressive historiography, Link writes not of a single movement but of several single issue crusades competing for resources, enjoying varying degrees of success, and sometimes working toward conflicting goals. Southern progressivism's paradox—the increasingly sharp clash of altruistic ends with coercive means—emerges as the most prominent of several denominators common to all reform movements under scrutiny. Link's numerous glimpses of reformers in action also demonstrate that the South's one-party politics and black disfranchisement usually enhanced their chances of success.

Post-Civil War temperance crusades provide Link's point of departure. These were the first social engineering efforts to gain significant popular support in the South's isolated rural communities. Ironically, the temperance campaign's overlap with evangelical Protestantism sometimes proved awkward. Until 1880 alcohol consumption was common among rural preachers, who sometimes provided poor examples for their congregations. Over the next two decades, the initial flirtation with individual free will salvation gave way to a prohibitionist activism that stressed collective responsibility and legal authority imposed from distant state capitals. Moonshiners became heroes for resisting that authority. Educational reformers backed by state authority also encountered local resistance that, if less violent, was also widespread. Rural Southerners realized that their schools were out of date, but the principal state remedy, consolidation of school districts, was seldom practical without school buses and paved roads. So, too, did locals prefer a ramshackle one room schoolhouse to a more distant, albeit modern facility over which they exercised no control. "Modern permanent structures that projected the new power of the bureaucratic state" were sometimes tolerated merely because even particularists demanded their fair share of state funding. Patterned on the education reform model, philanthropic and state-supported health reform often encountered similar opposition. Increases in taxation led some country people to believe that the germ theory of disease had originated with profiteers rather than scientists, and, taxation aside, interference by outside experts often alienated country doctors. Link's reconstruction of the resulting bureaucrat's nightmare effectively highlights the limits of moral suasion. Not only did smallpox sufferers break quarantine but also, in one case, a health official felt compelled to vaccinate his patients at gunpoint. Against

this backdrop of under-funded and under-staffed failures, the anti-hookworm campaign of 1909-1913 stands out as a lone success. Easily diagnosed and quickly cured, hookworm infestation was "an ideal disease around which to organize a mass mobilization" that depended as much on publicists as doctors.

Although southern progressives regarded rural society as primitive and malleable, they were generally careful to abide by custom where necessary. Suffragists argued that their agenda reinforced white supremacy and portended no revolution against traditional female roles. Child labor reform advocates attacked mill work as unhealthy and the parents of juvenile mill workers as parasites, while heaping praise on the purportedly salutary effects of dawn to dusk farm work on young bodies. Similarly, the initial philanthropic promotion of black education rested on an assumption of white supremacy, and, even later, white interracialists sought not to eradicate Jim Crow, but merely to "soften its worst features."

Link's numerous glimpses of the ideological skirmishes between uplifter and uplifted cast much light on the cultural war of which they both were a part. Equally important, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism* supplies a necessary counterbalance to Arthur Link's emphasis of progressivism's Populist roots by reminding readers that Populists tended to reject state intervention rather than embrace it. However thorough Link's elucidation of southern progressivism's inherent paradox, not all components of that paradox are distinctively southern. He allows that southern progressivism and progressivism elsewhere were functions of the same Zeitgeist, but a few additional remarks on northern progressive paternalism and its more obnoxious features—a fascination with eugenics, a determination to acculturate by force in the public schools, and the marginalization of northern blacks, for example—would have helped gulf south readers place their own region's oft frustrated quests for social justice in the proper perspective. One might easily argue that without large doses of moral suasion, state-enforced moral stewardship, money, or combinations thereof, large scale reform is impossible in any period or place. In the last analysis, paternalistic, coercive social engineers failed in the South because local particularists who stood to lose the most were often every bit as paternalistic and coercive.

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Walter W. Manley II, E. Canter Brown Jr., and Eric W. Rise. *The Supreme Court of Florida and Its Predecessor Courts, 1821-1917.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997, *xvii*, 417 pp. $49.95. ISBN 0-8130-1540-5.

The authors of *The Supreme Court of Florida* offer a narrative that details the workings of the Florida courts from territorial days to the threshold of American participation in World War I. They provide an institutional history of the growth of the Florida court system, showing the way in which it adapted and changed. The authors also expand the boundaries of knowledge by focusing on how the justices shaped Florida's public life. In this manner they move beyond a simple institutional approach by describing how jurists' impact went beyond their activities on the bench.

The Supreme Court of Florida has five distinct parts: a discussion of the federal court system during the territorial period, the antebellum years, the Civil War and Reconstruction period, the Bourbon period from 1877-1897, and the onset of the Progressive movement. Each chapter begins with an overview of the time period being discussed, followed by brief biographies of the judges who served on the court, and concluding with a fairly brief examination of important cases and legal doctrines that faced the jurists. The success of the authors' treatment of each period varies.

Perhaps the most engaging section of the book is the frontier period. The authors amply convey Florida's frontier experience, delineating how the courts and Florida were often ill served by the territorial system in which the caprice of Washington executives had a profound effect on the area. They also demonstrate how the issues of sectionalism and the Civil War affected Florida in different ways from other southern states. Obviously this was due in part to the lateness of Florida's admission to the union, but it also reflected the embryonic nature of Floridian political development, a theme the authors explain well.

Less satisfying are the sections of the book that deal with Reconstruction. The authors seem to suffer from an old-fashioned antipathy to this period of ambitious reform. Admiring moderation and centrist political and economic policies, they view with disdain the process of Reconstruction. When that period at last comes to an end, the authors manifest complete approval of the way in which the Court sold out the rights of African Americans and poor whites in the Compromise of 1877. They evidently see this action not as a tragic

moment in the history of Florida, but as an occasion to laud the court for showing moderation and good sense in ending political conflict. This view merely reinforces earlier chapters on Reconstruction which stressed Republican fraud and political and economic ineptitude. They do not consider that that period might be viewed as one of remarkable social, economic, and political advancement.

Such an interpretation is the natural result of a study that places little emphasis on race whether in terms of discussing the law of slavery, African-American advancement during Reconstruction, or the way in which the political, economic, and social system worked in the aftermath of Reconstruction. This may partly be the result of the need to compress large sections of Florida history into a manageable volume. Yet it shows a lack of strategic vision. It fails to appreciate how law was a weapon of oppression wielded by the white majority. African Americans appear very briefly in this volume, seemingly viewed by the authors as rather unimportant in this story of material advancement in Florida.

More satisfying is the material dealing with the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Especially important is the way in which the authors connect the judicial roles of judges with their larger role in the political system. This is an observation that the authors make throughout their volume, but is especially true of their discussion of the post-Reconstruction period. Justices operated in a world beyond that of legal opinion making. They were also political actors whose service on the court was directly connected to political activity. The authors correctly note the way that law and politics operated together in Florida as part of a larger social context.

The authors' emphasis on legal issues presented before the court is quite strong. With real skill, they move through a variety of related issues, demonstrating a keen grasp of the focus of the court during each time period. Like many bodies in the nineteenth century, the Florida Supreme Court was concerned with economic development. Nevertheless, by the dawning of the Progressive era, the Florida court was also a key source of support for reform. At times, one wishes that the numerous cases cited were developed a bit more, but this in no way detracts from the rich material presented. While *The Supreme Court of Florida* is not without flaws, the work will be quite valuable to historians and students in terms of providing key insights into Florida history and the creation of Florida law.

Lewie Reece Bowling Green State University

James R. Mellow. *Walker Evans*. New York: Basic Books, 1999, 654 pp. $40.00. ISBN 0-465-09077-X.

Though Walker Evans is usually remembered as a photographer of the depression, his career continued well beyond the decade that made his famous. Time and again his honest and unpretentious photographs captured what his friend and sometime collaborator James Agree called "the cruel and radiance of what is." It is all the more disappointing then that the latest biography of the great photographer fails to find the radiance in the life of a man whose work contained so much.

Though he scrupulously compiles and collates the facts of Evans's life into an impressive catalog of whereabouts and friends, James Mellow is unable to weave them into a deeper sense of the man or his work. Instead, he tends to flesh out Evans's life with anecdotes about people whose relation to the photographer seem tenuous. In attempting to capture the adventurousness of Evans's youthful trip to Paris in 1926, Mellow treats the reader to anecdotes about Hemingway and the Fitzgeralds. These anecdotes feel strained, more strongly related to Mellow's earlier biographies of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and Gertrude Stein than to Evans, who never met the Fitzgeralds and only briefly made Hemingway's acquaintance years later in Cuba. Still, such tangents would be excusable, even pleasurable, were the treatment of Evans more insightful.

One of the book's strengths is its attentiveness to the writers in Evans's life, a notable list that includes Hart Crane, James Agee, and John Cheever (who claimed a homosexual episode with Evans). Mellow's treatment of Evans's own literary aspirations is valuable, as are the generous excerpts from his early stories and prose poems. Strangely, Mellow is not as strong in his analysis of the literary aspects of Evans's photography. An unfortunate failing this is, because although the book fumbles as a biography, it has an opportunity to redeem itself as a critical assessment of Evans's work. Yet here, too, it seems curiously thin. On occasion, Mellow analyzes individual photographs, and he does make some interesting observations regarding them. His best is his treatment of *Havana Citizen, 1933*:

> A tall black man in a white linen suit and straw hat stands in front of a newsstand. The magazine racks are loaded with movie magazines and other periodicals. The eyes of Kay Francis, a reigning white queen of the silver screen in the thirties, peer out from the picture on a level with the black

> man's silent stare. With the devious simplicity of photography, the picture says Man and Woman, black and white,...it says Hollywoodism and American enterprise.

Mostly, though, he approaches the photographs as a biographer, looking for internal evidence of when and where each shot was taken. The problem is compounded by an unfortunate choice that may not have been Mellow's. The photos are reproduced, without exception, on the page alongside the text. Due to the textural quality of the paper they lack the definition of photographic plates. At one point Mellow astutely notes that a silhouette of the photographer can be seen in James Agee's eyes. Unfortunately, the reproduction is not sharp enough for the reader to verify this fact.

Surprisingly dissatisfying is Mellow's chapter on Evans's trip to Alabama with Agee, a trip that began as an assignment for *Fortune* magazine, and that eventually resulted in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, their acclaimed account of tenant farming in the state. As biography the chapter offers little that the reader could not find in most editions of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Evans's impressions are taken from his foreword to the 1960 edition, while Agee's are gleaned from the book itself. More frustrating is the fact that Mellow again declines to analyze Evans's photographs in any depth. Though in his early analysis of Evans's photographs for *The Crime of Cuba* Mellow comments that "throughout the thirties, Evans gave every evidence that he was considering photographs and images in sequential terms, not just as individual pictures," he says nothing about the brilliant arrangement of the photographs that open *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Even the individual picture that Mellow considers "the most fascinating of the portraits" (that of young Lucille, "her head haloed in a straw hat") is passed over with scarcely five lines, most of them descriptive.

James Mellow died before he could finish *Walker Evans*. The most obvious way his death damages this book is in its incompleteness. The book ends with eighteen years remaining in Evans's life. The editors have offered a chronology of those final years in place of the chapters Mellow never had the chance to write, but the abruptness of the ending only makes the sketchiness of the whole more dissatisfying. One cannot help but wonder if, had he lived, Mellow would have gone over what he had written and given it the polish and deft coloring that could have brought the story to life. There is a sort of gestalt that occurs in successful biographies, an illusion of having gained a

sense of the subject's personality from the biographer's arrangement of facts and impressions on the page. For any number of reasons this gestalt is exactly what does not happen here. On the contrary, *Walker Evans* is very much the sum of its parts.

Seamus Thompson Altadena, California

Virginia Parks, ed. *Santa María de Galve: A Story of Survival.* Pensacola: Pensacola Historical Society, 1998, *x*, 174 pp. $14.95. ISBN 0-939566-10-9.

As an historical archaeologist who has worked primarily with sites and documentation relating to St. Augustine and Fernandina, I was delighted to read this recent edited volume on the early history of Pensacola. *Santa María de Galve,* published to commemorate Pensacola's three hundredth anniversary, is an invaluable guide to the years 1698-1722, serving simultaneously as introductory primer, bibliography, and basic reference tool. Well-written and attractively illustrated in black and white, the book is both readable and authoritative. It is presented in five sections. In the first three William Coker, R. Wayne Childers, and Judith Bense document the life of Admiral Andrés de Pez, the founding of the town and its struggle to survive, and recent archaeological excavations at the praesidio, while in the final two Sandra Johnson and Jane Dysart consider the significance of French, Spanish, and Indian interactions in Pensacola's history.

The chief value of the work is that it brings together under one cover a solid overview of recent research about Spanish settlement on the gulf, updating such notable older works as William Edward Dunn's *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702* and Earnest F. Dibble's and Earl W. Newtons' *Spain and her Rivals on the Gulf Coast.* I find that I now keep this work alongside N. Orwin Rush's *Battle of Pensacola,* William Coker's and Thomas Watson's *Indian Traders of the Southeast Spanish Borderlands,* and Judith Bense's *Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola* as part of my standard reference library for events and primary source material about Spain's westernmost settlements in Florida.

The centerpiece of the volume is Coker's and Childer's historical chronicle of early explorations in the Bahía de Santa María de Galvez and of Spain's subsequent efforts to establish a praesidio. Their contribution takes up more than half of the total book and is quite

detailed in its presentation, counterbalancing the recent work of Amy Bushnell, John Hahn, and John Worth on the settling of St. Augustine, Santa Elena, and the Spanish missions during this same period. Drawing on documents in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, as well as the Mississippi Provincial Archives, the authors cover the intrigues, military excursions, and alternating cooperation and conflict that characterized life in early French Mobile and Spanish Pensacola. While treatment of some of the initial exploration, such as the Reverend Dr. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora's reconnaissance of the region, owes much to previous scholarship, the discussion of Spanish and French interaction in the 1700s, and in particular the war-torn governorships of Sebastián de Moscoso and Gregorio de Salinas Varona, relies almost exclusively on primary source material. Relationships between the Pensacolans and their French neighbors prove far more complex than the contemporaneous hostility exhibited between St. Augustinians and their British counterparts in the Carolinas and Georgia. The initial settling of the gulf was marked by mutual dependency, a dependency enforced by English designs upon the gulf region during the War of the Spanish Succession. By 1719, however, Pensacola was rapidly changing back and forth between Spanish and French control. The breakdown in amicable French and Spanish relations, combined with an endless series of storms and hurricanes, reduced the praesidio and settlement to destitution by the conclusion of the War of the Quadruple Alliance.

Cocker and Childers dedicate a good deal of attention to the construction and destruction of Pensacola's early forts, and this historical narrative provides both background and introduction to the following chapter by Judith Bense. As Pensacola's foremost archaeologist, Bense has been the driving force behind excavations of colonial Pensacola for more than fifteen years. In this volume she focuses on the early settlement, whereas her more recent edited volume (which also includes chapters by Coker and Dysart) discusses the late colonial period. Readers seeking a concise introduction to early Pensacola should therefore consult *Santa María de Galvez*. Bense relates the almost miraculous preservation of Praesidio Santa María de Galvez, located at the Naval Air Station, through centuries of storm surge and land development. Excavation of the fort was spectacular, revealing bastions, wall trenches, stockade lines, and abandoned cannons, as well as concentrations of artifacts clearly associated with the barracks, church, and cemetery.

Sandra Johnson's contribution on French and Spanish interaction recapitulates themes and sources mentioned by Coker and Childers but focuses on the specifics about how groups at Pensacola and Mobile exchanged information, transportation, and commercial goods. In some respects, readers interested in this topic should read Johnson's chapter first, followed by Coker and Childer, where the information on trade and cooperation is spread out and interwoven into a larger story. The volume then concludes with Dysart's short but informative review of Native American populations in the area. Dysart summarizes the observations of Sigüenza and the polices of the early governors.

Santa María de Galve is thus a well-researched and highly readable account of Pensacola's early history and should serve a wide readership from student to advanced scholar.

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Joseph A. Pratt and Christopher J. Castaneda. *Builders: Herman and George R. Brown*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1998, 352 pp. $36.95. ISBN 0-89096-840-3.

In America's twenty-first century, things such as roads, dams, pipelines, and offshore drilling platforms operate so efficiently as to seem commonplace. The general public accepts their existence without much thought, and many historians are equally oblivious. This may be because modern scholarly discourse revolves around social flaws rather than physical achievements. To celebrate the powerful is viewed as insensitivity to the oppressed. The authors of *Builders*, however, ignored these biases and wrote about twentieth-century businessmen Herman and George Brown, who benefited society at the helm of Brown and Root and Texas Eastern Corporations through their construction projects, civic activism, and philanthropy. *Builders* describes the Brown's unabashed accumulation and use of power. It will hold particularly interest for students of the gulf south because of the brothers' ties to Houston's defense and petroleum industries. The book is a model in presenting information about people from the recent past through the use of interviews and institutional and journalistic sources.

Builders is Pratt and Castaneda's third volume on the Browns. Earlier books focused on Brown and Root's role in developing offshore drilling and on Texas Eastern's natural gas transmission

network. This book carries the Brown story to a higher level by merging all of their business activities into a single narrative. Pratt is the Cullen Professor of History and Business at the University of Houston and has co-authored several books dealing with gulf south economic development. Castaneda is a professor at California State University, Sacramento, and directs its oral history program. He contributed more than seventy interviews to *Builders.* These interviews included conversations with the Brown family; with Brown and Root senior managers and associates; with Brown political friends such as Lady Bird Johnson, Oveta Culp Hobby, and Lloyd Bentsen; and with other "builders" in business, civic life, and academia.

Pratt and Castaneda point out that the Browns' firms built 359 ships in Houston for the U.S. Navy in World War II; fifteen dams for flood control and hydroelectric power in the U.S. and abroad; massive U.S. Air Force and Navy bases in Spain, France, and Guam; Corpus Christi's Navy Air Station; the Red River Ordnance Depot; the Houston/Galveston freeway; and the Lake Pontchartrain Bridge. Industries such as Union Carbide, Geigy, and Celanese commissioned them to build facilities around the globe, including chemical and gasoline plants, steels and paper mills, and harbor and mining operations. Herman Brown once explained that "a refinery is just a good-sized pipe fitting job." George Brown, meanwhile, led the engineering team that designed the world's first offshore drilling platform. By the 1970s, Brown and Root's North Sea platforms could withstand 130-mile-per-hour winds and 94-foot waves. One rig, the *Gulf Tide,* rose 252 feet in the air, weighed 2,200 tons, and was towable from Houston to Norway. Brown companies also built the Johnson Space Center in Houston and drilled Operation Mohole, the National Science Foundation's highly experimental drilling into the earth's core for geological samples.

As Pratt and Castaneda show, the brothers' achievements were even more remarkable considering the relative obscurity of their origins and the fact that, throughout their lives, they were equal partners, splitting all proceeds and living next-door to each other. Lady Bird Johnson, who knew them well, called Herman "the bulldozer." A plain-spoken contractor, he first learned his trade in Central Texas in 1914 building roads using mules and scrapers with goatherds pacing the roadbed to pack the dirt. When he married schoolteacher Margarett Root in 1917, they had their honeymoon in a tent that served as his office and home. When Dan Root, Margarett's cotton-farming bachelor brother, gave Herman money to

prevent a hostile takeover in 1919, he was honored with inclusion in the firm's name. George entered Brown and Root in 1922, bringing the company his formal engineering training and talents as a salesman. Herman ran the company and George sold its services. "Even strident critics...shook their heads in wonder at the capacity of these men to get things done." Much of the book examines connections between the Browns and other business leaders of Houston as the Browns used friendships and acquaintances to gain wealth, and then worked just as hard to give it away. For example, George parted with $150 million through the Brown Foundation from 1951 until his death in 1983. Much of this philanthropy was in matching funds, so institutions had to exert strenuous efforts to help themselves before getting the gift. According to the authors, George's "creative use of charitable contributions stands as one of his outstanding achievements." Brown money literally transformed Rice and Southwestern Universities. The Houston Museum of Fine Arts and Houston Medical Center also bear the Brown's imprint. Brown and Root, on the other hand, now belongs to Haliburton, and Texas Eastern to Duke Energy.

Today the Browns are chiefly remembered for having cultivated Lyndon B. Johnson as a freshmen politician and for staying on intimate terms with him throughout their careers. Labor historians recall Herman's fierce opposition to unions and his lobbying on behalf of Texas right-to-work laws. Pratt and Castaneda argue convincingly, however, that critics of LBJ overstate the degree to which the Brown's financial success depended on his patronage. Indeed, they exonerate all three of "corruption" in light of what was acceptable political practice at the time. The authors also note that Herman's anti-unionism sprang logically from his shared experiences with workers in his early years, believing that unions crippled their ability to advance by limiting them to certain crafts. Herman thought the man should define the position, not the position the man. Ironically, it was employers like Herman, paternalistic and well-meaning, who felt betrayed when their companies grew to a global presence, and the workers felt estranged. *Builders* is an extremely valuable book on many levels. Historians should imitate Pratt and Castaneda's use of oral and non-traditional sources for writing about the recent past. Our country abounds with interesting achievers still living or recently deceased, most of whom will go unremembered due to lack of interest on the part of our profession.

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William Warren Rogers and Erica R. Clark. *The Croom Family and Goodwood Plantation: Land, Litigation, and Southern Lives*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999, 299 pp. $35.00. ISBN 0-8203-2069-2.

The Croom Family and Goodwood Plantation is an interesting and thorough account of one family's history in the agricultural South during the antebellum period with the backdrop of war looming in the future. It is a story common to all "families of substance" in the South of that period, made worse in this case by interfamily dispute and litigation.

The book, however, adds more to this scenario of agriculture, war, and defeat. It adds the location of the plantation, Goodwood. North Florida (then called Middle Florida), just below the Georgia line, was an agricultural extension of the Georgia expanse of fertile land. This fertile area, however, was confined to the north. Below was sandy heath similar to the pine barrens of southeastern Georgia and very infertile. Planters were slow to move into the area because of its frontier character and disputed claims with the Indians. The last Seminole War raged from the mid-1830s to 1842. Florida was not admitted to the Union until 1845. Still, some planters did move into the area in the early 1800s. Perhaps because of the newness of the agricultural region and its restricted nature, historians have been hesitant to examine the area. Outside of William Rogers and Erica Clark, few historians have dealt with the agricultural history of Florida, especially the mid-area of North Florida. It is to this neglected area that these authors have made a contribution. The area had an interesting and important antebellum history, and Rogers and Clark have expressed that.

The book centers on the Croom brothers, Hardy and Bryan. It shows an aristocratic family completely wedded to the agricultural life. Hardy Croom was an important member of the southern planter elite who can be compared with other enlightened planters of the period—a real "Renaissance man." He was a paternalistic slaveowner, botanist of note, and scientific agriculturalist. He was also a frequent contributor to Edmund Ruffin's *Farmers Register,* and on one occasion asked to submit an essay on the crops and soils of North Florida. In the area of scientific agriculture he can be compared to men like James Hamilton Couper and Thomas Spalding who were some of the main practitioners of this science on the Georgia coast. In one of his essays to the Ruffin's *Register* he "corrected" Thomas

Spalding's assertion that long staple cotton could be best grown on the sea-islands of Georgia and South Carolina. Croom pointed out that he had been growing the staple for years in North Florida. Time proved Spalding correct, however, Sea-island cotton did flourish best in the saline atmosphere of the Georgia-South Carolina coast.

Another real contribution of the book is the treatment of the sinking of the steamship *Home* in October 1837. The next year the *Pulaski*, a similar ship, sank in almost the same area off the North Carolina coast. The newly constructed *Home* was making a passage from New York to Charleston, South Carolina, with many of the well-to-do planter families on board. Among them were Hardy, his wife, and children. The Crooms perished in the tragedy, as did about a third of the passengers. After the fact, the ship's improper design, favoring beauty over practicality, plus the intoxication of the captain, were blamed for the mishap.

The book then chronicles the Crooms in litigation and dispute concerning the property of Hardy Croom. His mother-in-law claimed much of the property due to the fact that Hardy and his wife, Frances, left no will. Complicating the issue was the fact that there were no children left to inherit. Therefore, the indomitable Henerietta Smith moved in for the kill. After more than a decade of litigation, she received all the property in what the authors called "a most unrighteous judgement."

During the time of long legal delay, Bryan, Hardy's brother, and his wife, Eveline, ignored the complicated litigation and went about constructing the beautiful mansion Goodwood, which is still extant and restored to its original splendor. They fashioned a large and quite successful plantation out of the Goodwood property.

The book ends on a tragic note. Bryan and Eveine lost Goodwood in litigation, moved to the Montgomery, Alabama area, bought more land and slaves on credit, and began planting again. Then the war came and took what little the Crooms had left. Bryan and Eveline died penniless in their old age.

In sum, the work was both interesting and worthwhile. Too much space, however, was devoted to trivial details that would have been better left out. The involved account of litigation and the care taken to identify every person mentioned in the narrative became tedious. Even so, the book is valuable for treating an area long neglected by historians and fills a gap in the historical scholarship of Florida and the South.

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Seymour Shubin. *The Man from Enterprise: The Biography of John Amos, Founder of AFLAC.* Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998, 228 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-86554-615-0.

This is a biography of John Beverly Amos, entrepreneur and philanthropist, who was born June 5, 1924, in Enterprise, Alabama. It is also the history of the American Family Life Assurance Company (AFLAC), the international life insurance company he founded in 1955.

Seymour Shubin describes Enterprise, Alabama, in the early twenties as a farming town of around two thousand people, its Main Street crowded with mules and wagons as well as Model T Fords. John Amos's father was postmaster of the community and sold insurance on the weekends. His two brothers remember that John's entrepreneurial spirit appeared early when, just a child, he talked about opening an insurance company.

The Amos family moved frequently beginning in 1932 when they moved to Mobile, where John's father sold insurance. Eight months later the family moved to Pensacola. Life insurance did not sell well during the depression, so John and his family moved back to Enterprise where the family opened a five and dime store. Seeking a less competitive market for the dime store, the family next moved to Milton, Florida. There, at the age of thirteen, John bought an old printing press and started a newspaper with his older brother Bill.

As industrious teenagers, John and Bill Amos decided to publish a weekly paper for Jay, Florida, a farming community thirty miles from Milton. Subsequently, the entire family moved to Jay where John dropped out of high school during his junior year. The frequent moves continued, with John and Bill going to Jacksonville, Florida, in search of a more prosperous town for their newspaper, then finally to Auburndale, Florida. The two were risk takers.

Eventually John Amos decided to finish his education. In 1943 he convinced the superintendent of his old school district to give him an equivalency diploma for high school so that he could enter college. After spending a semester at Birmingham Southern College and two semesters at the University of Florida, he finally enrolled at the University of Miami. It was there that he met Elena Diaz-Verson, an exchange student from Cuba and daughter of a distinguished journalist and author. Six weeks after meeting, they were married. The two moved to Gainesville to attend the University of Florida where John graduated from law school in 1949. Elena needed only six hours to

complete a law degree when the couple moved to Fort Walton Beach. John became a country lawyer in the gulf coast gambling town. He was twenty-four years old, and his hair was already turning gray.

After practicing law on the Florida Panhandle for five years, John Amos used his $40,000 fee for work on the Okaloosa Gas District to start an insurance company in Columbus, Georgia. He was only thirty-one years old. As with most start-up or growing companies, Amos endured years of difficulties, including lack of capital and SEC investigations. In the end he built a billion-dollar company by selling low-cost, supplemental cancer insurance, and then successfully expanding into the Japanese market. Ironically, he eventually developed lung cancer but continued to smoke until his death at age sixty-six.

In the foreword to the book by Dick Schweitzer, the volume is described as an "anecdotal biography." It has no bibliography, no footnotes, and no index. Furthermore, it is filled with laudatory anecdotal wanderings. The author does not present an objective portrait of John Amos, nor does he analyze what motivated this man. Was it the Great Depression? We will never know because Shubin offers little historical perspective on the depression in southeast Alabama and northwest Florida.

In the final analysis, this biography of John Amos is amateurish, with sloppy construction, typing errors, and incomplete sentences that tax the reader unmercifully. It is really a shame that Mercer University Press released the book without better editing. Actually, one is surprised to find such a poor quality work coming from a university press, especially when compared to the excellent material put out by the University of Alabama Press and Louisiana State University Press. Certainly John Amos deserves better.

Charlotte W. Chamberlain — Daphne, Alabama

Joseph G. Tregle, Jr. *Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Clash of Cultures and Personalities.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. x, 369 pp. $37.50. ISBN 0-8071-2292-0.

Tregle's study of Jacksonian politics in Louisiana is both a history and a historical artifact. It was written as a dissertation in 1954 and appears almost fifty years later virtually untouched by the historical currents of the past half century. The book has a Rip Van Winkle quality—sometimes engaging, but oddly out of step with current

trends. The author claims that the work has been revised and updated, but a glance at the works consulted reveals only a handful written after the 1950s. The author confesses, with a degree of understatement, that his "work retains...what some might call the old-fashioned narrative style of historical writing."

In Tregle's view, Louisiana politics revolved around what he calls the "ethnic imperative." Louisiana's history as a colony of France and Spain, combined with its slave-based economy and position as a major international port, gave it a diverse and complex ethnic mix unique in the Old South. The largest group in the state was the *ancienne population*, the descendants of the French and Spanish colonists. Tregle attempts to strip away the myths surrounding these Latin Creoles, but only replaces those myths with impressionistic and condescending stereotypes of his own. He describes them as "a people with little initiative and only a limited awareness of the facts of nineteenth-century life...complaisant, unlettered, and unskilled" who "lived in sensation rather than reflection." His description of Latin women was no more complimentary.

By contrast, the American immigrants to the state, the second largest group, were young men of ability and ambition; lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and merchants who "represented a select strain of the American stock." The major challenge to these capable men came from the foreign-born French who "generally possessed at least some education and training." Many other foreigners poured into the city, but these Irish, German, Spanish, and Mexican residents lacked the cohesion and leadership to become a political force.

Free and enslaved blacks made up the majority of the state's residents, but Tregle's descriptions of the African Americans are shocking to current sensibilities: "Hearty and fat, fitted out handsomely in the best of broadcloth and the finest of hats, they might be seen headed for balls and carousals, raising their voices in joyous and carefree song." Women of color appear here as whores and mistresses. In his view, blacks "enjoyed an unbelievably free and undisciplined existence" even in the plantation districts. Unbelievable indeed.

Outside New Orleans the state was divided between the sugar producing section of the southwest where Latin Creoles predominated and the Florida parishes and the north-central cotton parishes where the Americans were in the majority. These rural areas where at odds with one another and with New Orleans. Tregle focuses on these ethnic divisions as the key to Louisiana politics in the Jacksonian era,

and takes issue with the view that the state's politics were controlled by a planter and commercial elite who dominated the plain folk outside the plantation regions. Tregle argues for a more complex political picture where local and national politics sharply diverged since the state's peculiar ethnic politics had no national counterpart. He suggests that religious differences between Protestants and Catholics may also have influenced the state's politics, though this promising topic merits only a brief discussion. The author focuses on the men who led the state's political factions and the bonds and antagonisms that swirled between them. Personal ties were also important at the national level where Andrew Jackson competed for favor with Henry Clay. Jackson had many firm friends, but his heavy-handed tactics in 1812 had won him many enemies, especially among the French. Clay had close family ties in the state and his support for protective tariffs also won him favor among the sugar planters who relied on that protection. Despite his personal ties and strong support from the sugar barons, Clay was swamped by the rising tide of Jacksonian democracy.

On the surface, at least, Tregle's focus on the ethnic underpinnings of the state's politics links his work to the best of the "new political history" which began in the early 1960s when historians began to reexamine politics in the Jacksonian era. They offered a complex view of America's political past in which socio-economic class interests, the primary focus of the old political history, was enhanced by an appreciation for ethnic and religious differences. Some of the best scholarship paid careful attention to communities, religious values, migration, family, and ethnicity, a research agenda with obvious relevance for Tregle's study. Unfortunately, Tregle ignores the new political history and misses an opportunity to situate his work within a rich and important historiographical debate. Perhaps the biggest question raised by Tregle's book is why a major scholarly press would agree to publish an outdated dissertation from nearly fifty years ago with such deep and obvious flaws.

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Morton D. Winsberg, comp. *Florida's History Through its Places.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995, *xiv*, 144 pp. $19.95. ISBN 0-8130-1524-3.

Mark Derr. *Some King of Paradise: A Chronicle of Man and the Land in Florida.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, 416 pp. $17.95. ISBN 0-8130-1629-0.

Tourists meandering their way through Florida are likely to plan any number of stops to see the famous and not-so-famous sites across the Sunshine State. Some will head for the coastline to view the Atlantic or Gulf of Mexico and soak up generous portions of sun, sand, and surf. Others will flock up and down the theme park corridor to pay homage to the mouse, view marine life, or wait in endless lines to ride roller coasters. Very few of the millions arriving in Florida will spend much time at the locations listed in *Florida's History Through its Places.* Sadly, both natives and tourists are more interested in the more publicized and commercialized attractions of Florida than they are in the historic sites that patch together a more interesting and accurate portrayal of the state's history.

Compiled by Florida State University geographer Morton D. Winsberg with the assistance of the Bureau of Historic Preservation, a component of the department of state's Division of Historical Resources, this resource guide is a catalog of properties which have achieved "historical significance at least fifty years before and (must) have maintained their historical integrity in respect to design, setting, material, and workmanship." Four criteria are the rubric for acceptance into the registry: "association with events in the nation's history, association with the nation's past, embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or representation of the work of a master, or possession of high artistic value, or existence as a significant and distingishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction, and they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, archaeological information important in prehistory or history."

The catalog is divided by county and is thoroughly indexed by description of the type of building or purpose of the facility. Within the listing the address, size, approximate age, and ownership of the building are provided so that prospective visitors will have a working knowledge of the site before they arrive. Many of the listings include photographs, illustrations, map grids, or renderings. Nominations for

inclusion into the catalog come from interested individuals and local historical organizations, which likely accounts for the fact that some counties, such as Sarasota, are well represented while others, such as Hernando, have no listings at all. As would be expected, schools, churches, and homes of prominent citizens are well represented. Unfortunately, slave quarters, sharecropper shacks, turpentine camps, company town remnants and other places which come closer to telling the real story of life in Florida are substantially less prominent. Until local historical associations become interested in a more inclusive definition of state history, catalogs like *Florida's History Through its Places* will be a useful yet incomplete listing of the story of the state.

Though several of Henry Morrison Flagler's hotels appear as historic properties in Winsberg's compilation, they receive a decidedly less reverential description in Mark Derr's *Some Kind of Paradise*. Derr's work is an environmental history of Florida, and as such, the protagonists are the land and its indigenous animals, flora, and fauna. One thing in this book is perfectly clear: Derr believes man's vision of progress has been an unmitigated disaster for the ecological and biological needs of the state. For Derr, commercial fishing, alligator hunting, timber extraction, road construction, swamp draining, real estate speculation, and development—all done for the pursuit of the dollar—have radically transformed a natural paradise into a sanitized faux-Mecca of concrete, plastic, and greed.

Much of Derr's work, despite its persistent myopia, is right on target. Politicians, speculators, and railroad barons conducted no reliable census of the natural environment before they unleashed their will; consequently, the dramatic changes to the landscape may never be fully documented. Railroad construction ripped through pristine hammocks, opportunistic farmers razed forests, entire species of plants and animals were eliminated, mangroves were mowed down, and wetlands drained. Men like Ed Watson, Henry Plant, Henry Flagler, and others used up human capital as quickly as they ransacked the environment.

The state complied with the business boom by supplying convict-leasing, by looking the other way when a little lawlessness served the interests of both labor and management, and by pushing ridiculous ideas like the Cross-Florida Barge Canal. State officials, according to Derr, were only too happy to delay protecting wetlands if it meant placating mineral rights owners. Clearly the state encouraged "progress" by contributing tax incentives, donating huge parcels of land, and endorsing canal and drainage projects. Even when the state

had good intentions the result could be devastating. An arsenic dipping program, mandated to fight Texas tick fever, damaged the cattle, contaminated the water supply, seeped into the soil, and bankrupted more than a few ranchers. DDT fogging, which provided welcome relief from Florida's legendary and formidable mosquito population, so severely affected the aquatic food chain that it led to a ban on the powerful chemical.

Though the overall tone of the book is fatalistic, Derr offers some hope in his description of more recent state involvement. Derr praises the work of Governors Claude Kirk and Reuben Askew for pushing sunshine laws, campaigning openly against developers on a handful of projects, preserving land and water, and making environmental issues a priority. Even so, Derr remains somber. "Nearly every county has a site worthy of protection, but even where officials are willing to acquire land threatened with development, they are unable, despite the state programs, to raise sufficient funds to do so and therefore must postpone the purchase." The resulting delays increase the chances for sale of the land to private developers. Even if the state is able to eventually purchase the tract, the price of the land has undoubtedly risen during the interregnum. On balance, Derr's study of the state's role is largely anecdotal. A detailed historical analysis of Florida and the environment from statehood through the administration of the recently deceased Lawton Chiles would seem to be a wonderful opportunity for a new dissertation or monograph.

Derr is at his acerbic best in his discussion of Walt Disney world and its impact on Central Florida and the rest of the state. While the Disney complex attracts millions of domestic and international visitors each year, the park offers little if anything related to natural Florida and "no one seems to care." Disney is almost completely unregulated by the state or county and, as would be expected, their rendering of a Flagler hotel offers no description of the racism, environmental impact, or rampant profiteering associated with that man and his era.

Though this work is a much-needed palliative for the inaccuracies of accounts far too sympathetic to development and developers, it is not without its flaws. Derr relies too heavily on the writings of naturalists William Bartram and Charles Torrey Simpson and a handful of secondary sources. Too much information is offered without notation, and the author has a penchant for injecting opinion—"these forests should be exempted from logging and restored to vital natural systems benefitting people and animals"— instead of offering evidence and documentation. His discussion of both Reconstruction and

Populism is overly simplistic. Derr fails to include any detailed solutions for the problems he so thoroughly documents. His description of development often fails to take into account human factors: employment options, subsistence issues, notions of community, the necessity of corporate charity, and the lack of meaningful alternatives to development. Derr is a brilliant writer and appears to be a capable researcher, but his analysis is too rigid. The subject demands a more nuanced account that avoids both the polemics of alarmist environmental destruction and romantic industrialists charging off to conquer the world. Walt Disney world may be homogenized and plastic, but most of its patrons leave satisfied and Central Floridians have plenty of reasons to be thankful for it. Haphazardly structured, *Some Kind of Paradise* begins with a description of Flagler but then leaps forward and backward for no discernible reason. A simple thematic or chronological organization would have been much less distracting.

As one who has camped in the Ocala National Forest, canoed down the Wekiwa River, surfed in the Atlantic Ocean, dove into several natural springs, and thrilled at the natural beauty of Florida, I am thankful for Derr's book. Despite its flaws, it has advanced the case for seriously protecting the natural and irreplaceable resources of the state more than any other recent work. The challenge for Floridians is to merge the interests of the land and the citizenry so that the rights of both are not trampled again.

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