GSHR Gulf South Historical Review
Vol. 16 No. 2
The Journal of the Gulf South Historical Association

GSHR

Gulf South Historical Review

Vol. 16 Spring 2001 No. 2

From the Editor . . .

This issue has several unusual features. I hope you'll appreciate them all. We have only one full length article, but it is an outstanding analysis by a well-respect historian, George N. Green, of a prominent southern conservative woman. It is followed by a large and diverse number of fine book reviews. As you have come to expect, the reviews are insightful and written by a varied group of scholars. The books themselves show that there is a lot of good work being done on the history of the Gulf South. We have our hard-working Book Review Editor Dr. James McSwain to thank for this, and for the new feature that follows the book reviews, "Short Notices," about books of local interest that deserve notice. As readers we all can support the authors whose books are reviewed here by buying copies. If books don't sell, publishers shy away from supporting material on similar topics in the future. We who read must buy the books we want to see printed, or we will see fewer and fewer serious historical titles published as time goes on. Those who say that electronic publication is the wave of the future, the answer to all our problems, have never tried to read a book on a computer screen!

"From the Archives" is devoted to a project that Anthony Donaldson, now a Ph.D. student at Auburn University working under Dr. Wayne Flynt, worked on while he was completing his M.A. at the University of South Alabama. He compiled a union list of material held by the various Mobile archives dealing with the American Civil War. He annotated the list to make it more useful to potential researchers and worked with the various archives to be sure their listings were as accurate and complete as possible. The entry for the USA Archives emphasizes the Velma and Stephens Croom Collection. Overall the project is a fine example of archival cooperation in Mobile. The last pages of this issue are devoted to an index to Volumes 11-16, prepared by Elisa Baldwin and Carol Ellis. This is hardly glamorous work, but it is necessary, and brings us up-to-date with our author/title indexes. Ms. Baldwin is working on a more ambitious subject index which we will print when it is ready.

The tricentennial of the founding of Mobile is in 2002. In celebration we are publishing some of the best articles the journal has carried over the years about the city. You will be hearing more about this in the fall, such as the issue's price, but we hope many of our readers will want to order a copy when its available. In September there will be a large, beautiful volume entitled *Mobile: The New History of Alabama's First City*, published for the Mobile tricentennial by the University of Alabama Press. You will recognize many of the authors' names as most of them have published articles in this journal. You will also be hearing more about this during the summer.

Our fall issue will carry articles from the last Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference. That issue will be ready in time to remind you

that the fall 2001 meeting will be held in Mobile as an informal kick-off to the year-long tricentennial celebration. Make plans to join us October 11-13. The host hotel is the Radisson Admiral Semmes, one of our region's finest. You will also hear more about this meeting during the summer. Lots going on, isn't there?

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

ISSN 0892-9025

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Cover Photo: The *Southern Conservative*, October 1959.

Ida Darden at work putting out the Southern Conservative. *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* Photograph Collection, Special Collections Division, The University of Texas at Arlington Libraries.

Ida Darden and the *Southern Conservative*

George N. Green

Freedom of the press is a tradition as well as a body of law. Ida Darden's *Southern Conservative* was a noteworthy example of an extremist newspaper directly stretching that tradition. No newspaper's influence can be precisely measured, but the *Southern Conservative* was surely one of the sparks kindling the political turmoil in Texas in the 1950s, especially robust anti-communism and diehard segregationist sentiments. Moreover, during the past century in Texas, Darden carved her own niche among anti-establishment, independent journalists. James McEnteer, in *Fighting Words: Independent Journalists in Texas*, identified five such journalists, enough for his book, but Darden certainly ranks with them. She was also illustrative of a small group of women anti-feminists important in the right-wing politics of the South, as already ably documented by Elna Green in the *Journal of Southern History*. Darden has also not yet been accounted for in various books on influential Texas women, because, like studies on southern women, they have largely focused on those women with progressive political beliefs.[1]

In outlook and associations the *Southern Conservative* reflected the editor's upbringing in a political family with deep southern roots, fiercely opposed to Texas reform governor Jim Hogg (1891-95). Ida Muse Darden was born in 1886, evidently in Bosque County, but her place of memory was the family farm near the village of Hulltown (later Moran) in Shackelford County, where her brother Vance was born four years later. The family's declining economic circumstances took them to Cleburne when Ida was seven. There she attended public schools and a secretarial school. Later she took classes at the University of Colorado and the University of Texas. In Fort Worth in 1904 Ida married Bert Darden, an employee of Swift and Company. Their daughter, Helen, was born in 1908. In 1909 Burt either died or disappeared from Ida's life.[2]

Ida plunged into secretarial work. By the 1910s she and her brother were employed by lumber magnate John Henry Kirby and financier J. A. Arnold as propagandists for a variety of organizations (e.g., the Texas Business Association and the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage). She and her allies depicted women's suffrage, prohibition, and eight-hour workday legislation as socialistic. The relationships lasted until the deaths of Kirby and Arnold in the 1940s, but her extreme political beliefs sustained her for a lifetime. In 1920 the man she considered her political mentor, former Senator Joe Bailey, ran for governor of Texas.

Bailey made it clear that he embraced white supremacy and that he loathed taxes, women's suffrage, modern songs and dances, labor unions, prohibition, and Woodrow Wilson, but he captured only 40 percent of the vote. Bailey's campaign, as well as a majority of the content of Darden's work (and that of her allies), were part of a regional and national effort to preserve traditional American culture and morality. Their efforts were part of a flurry of what may correctly be termed right-wing activity ranging roughly between the years 1914 to 1925. The Red Scare and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan were the most notorious manifestations of the era that historian Jonathan Kolkey has labeled the WASP Inquisition.[3]

In 1920, the tall, auburn-haired Darden married W. F. Myrick. Moving to the national political arena, Darden (who retained the name) served for some ten years as editor of the *Southern Tariff Advocate* and secretary of the Southern Tariff Association in Washington, D.C. She also helped establish the Western Tax Council, which was devoted to repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment and to the limiting of federal taxes to 25 percent of income. In the 1920s Muse, Darden, and Myrick were not only promoting lower taxes for the wealthy but also attempting "to deceive farmers and workers for a high tariff," as one Texas union saw it. Indeed, their lobbying practices were regarded as so dubious that they triggered a congressional investigation. The 1928 congressional probe and/or the Great Depression apparently put an end to the lucrative part of Darden's corporate lobbying career. In the pre-New Deal era Darden may not have qualified as an extremist because some of her lobbying activities were more-or-less in the mainstream of corporate conservatism. And Darden, Muse, Kirby, and Bailey deviated from the WASP Inquisition in that they opposed the Ku Klux Klan and prohibition in the 1920s. Darden voted for mainstream candidate Al Smith in the presidential election of 1928. She and Myrick were divorced around 1932 and she evidently moved to Houston that year to launch a bizarre campaign for Congress. Running for the express purpose of defeating prohibition, she was trounced in the Democratic primary.[4]

After 1932 Darden and Muse labored against Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Harry Truman's Fair Deal. Indeed, some racist antics on the part of Muse and Kirby in 1936 caused another congressional inquiry. Darden spent part of the 1930s in Austin, lobbying and writing. Her booklet, *Gentlemen of the House*, was a gentle razzing of the Texas House. Governor Jimmie Allred publicly and incorrectly blamed Darden for the defeat of a constitutional amendment that he and other New Dealers wanted. In later years it was the New Deal that was usually regarded by Darden as the crucial turning point in American history, a national plunge

into darkness that embittered the lady lobbyist and journalist. Once more Darden differed from the typical extremism of the time. Right-wing women of the 1930s were invariably part of the Christian mothers' movement, but religion was a secondary concern of Darden.[5] In the 1930s and 1940s she came to the conclusion that the New Deal/Fair Deal, international Communism, and the civil rights movement were one in the same and constituted a conspiracy.

Although the Roosevelt and Truman tickets carried Texas overwhelmingly in the presidential elections 1932-48, there was a growing backlash in Texas, the South, and the nation because of Democrats' nursing of the labor and civil rights movements and their alleged coddling of Communists both home and abroad. Southerners in particular linked the integration movement and the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to Communism. Communists were in fact well represented in the CIO (until their expulsion from that organization in 1949-50), and they and the CIO actively supported civil rights. The CIO launched Operation Dixie, an effort to organize the South, beginning in 1946, which was also the year that blacks began voting in the Texas Democratic primary. Restless and frustrated about these post-war trends, Darden abandoned her editor's position in Austin at the Texas Motor Transportation Association's newsletter; she went into business for herself, with the backing of former state senator R. A. Stuart and several friends. She began her eight-page newspaper in Fort Worth in January 1950 to "fight against alleged widespread subversion and disloyalty prevalent in Washington under which the American people have been betrayed and constitutional government destroyed in the United States." The *Southern Conservative* was published ten times per year and incorporated with educational status, making contributions tax deductible. With the support of Fort Worth businessmen and other backers around the nation, Darden's paper endorsed various right-wing causes prevalent at the time. Her supporters may not have agreed with the paper's entire editorial policy; many may have simply been repaying a long-time lobbyist friend for her services over the three previous decades. Some contributors, like Fort Worth oilmen George Armstrong and Arch Rowan, donated out of ideological conviction. The editor's claim of twenty-five to thirty-five thousand paying subscribers was exaggerated, but the paper did enjoy a certain vogue among some southern and southwestern businessmen and legislators. The paper was mailed free of charge and unsolicited to all legislators, congressmen, and governors, and to numerous teachers and preachers. In October 1950, Darden observed that she was mailing five thousand copies of that month's issue.[6]

Darden maintained ties with conservative, mainstream politicians, but her ideology prevented a working arrangement with them. Initially she sought funds from a number of old friends in Houston, mostly oilmen and lawyers. One group proposed to pick five directors and make the *Southern Conservative* a national publication devoted to states' rights. Although they promised Darden a $6,000 salary, she was dubious about surrendering control of editorial policy. In any event, the lawyers were unable to devise a scheme whereby contributions would be tax deductible; they evidently feared that the paper's educational status would not have survived a legal challenge. The Houston group managed to donate only $600 to the paper. Darden was suspicious that Republican leader Jack Porter, the oilman who was overseeing the funding efforts, would soon want the editor to support Dwight Eisenhower for president. Darden flatly refused the prospective deal, and outside financing in the early years reverted mainly to Armstrong.[7]

Armstrong subsidized the paper with various gifts and loans, including gifts of $500 to $1,000 per month between January 1951 and April 1952. He envisioned the *Southern Conservative* becoming a weekly with national circulation and as an instrument for promoting a coalition of southern Democrats and Republicans. Armstrong hoped to defeat Senator Tom Connally, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, and other Texas Fair Dealers. He believed that with the help of Dallas oilman H. L. Hunt and Houston oilman Hugh Roy Cullen (who contributed $100), the paper could spearhead the nomination of General Douglas MacArthur for the presidency. Meaningful additional assistance was never forthcoming, and, indeed, Armstrong was forced to curtail and eventually terminate his own subsidies. Thereafter the *Southern Conservative* subsisted on subscriptions and undoubtedly upon donations from Rowan and others. In 1958 Darden claimed that extensive financing came from three individuals in Billings, Montana, Indianapolis, Indiana, and Knoxville, Tennessee.[8]

By 1950 the second Red Scare was well under way. Various foreign and domestic events in the post-war era, including the Roosevelt and Truman administrations' alleged sellout of Eastern Europe to the USSR, the onset of the Cold War, the fall of China to the Communists, and the trial of Alger Hiss, had revived the communist issue with a vengeance. Pent-up hostility against the New Deal boiled over and Communism became the focus of Republican attacks on Democrats, conservative censure of liberals, and congressional and private assaults on the executive branch. The domestic communist problem had been almost eradicated by the strenuous efforts of the Truman administration and the FBI, but the issue lived on.[9] It was personified by Wisconsin senator Joe McCarthy,

whom millions of Americans admired. Some of his adherents, such as Ida Darden—also primarily motivated by hatred of the New Deal and the Cold War—staked out positions well to the right of McCarthy himself.

Minority groups were ignored by McCarthy but were subjected to a large share of Darden's venom. She wrote that blacks were "spawned in the gutter," that they only understood brute force, and that to them liberty meant license. On occasion she professed that the South was fond of "good" (docile) Negroes. Integration was an "insidious plot" hatched by Joseph Stalin, though Darden's writings leave some question as to whether the civil rights movement was ordered directly by the Kremlin in 1922 or indirectly by the "Communistic" New Dealers in the 1930s. She added that integration had been "aided and abetted by a horde of maritally frustrated and emotionally underprivileged females searching for a 'cause' to which they could devote their idle hours and empty brains." Darden's solution for the racial problem was to urge governors to disobey the integration laws of the land, to revive the Ku Klux Klan, and to endorse the tactic of white students pledging non-violence as they "heave Negroes out of class rooms." As school integration began, she told of black boys sending obscene notes to white girls and "making indecent exposure of their persons in the class room." Though she moved from the Moran community at the age of seven, she professed to remember the good old days of the West Texas country fish fries when there were no Negroes or crime in her county.[10]

Anti-Semitism was not nearly as pervasive in Darden's writings, but she did link Jewish Americans to the usual stereotypes as well as to the Negro-Communist conspiracy. When a black condemned to death in Mississippi for an "unspeakable crime" was granted a stay of execution by Supreme Court justice Burton, the guilty man was saved, Darden wrote, by New York lawyers named Rosenwein, Silverman, and Absug. By applying for a stay of execution, they were "following the accepted communist pattern." In another editorial she praised Dr. John O. Beaty of Southern Methodist University for his efforts to stem the un-Christian tide and for his "documentary" publication *Iron Curtain Over America*. The book was a notorious anti-Semitic diatribe. Darden hinted that Americans for Democratic Action was part of the Jewish-Communist international plot. In letters to George Armstrong she excused the *Southern Conservative*'s scanty anti-Semitic efforts: "I don't attack Jews because I'm not big enough to fight them. They could cut off my paper supply or whatever to put me out of business.... One news feature service used my column ten times last year (1951), covering ten million readers, but Jews saw to it that it wasn't used this year. I don't openly attack them."[11]

Other minorities fared no better. Darden denounced the idea of "annexing Asiatic Hawaii." She said that a "rumor persists" that the plan was conceived by a committee of middle-aged Washington officials who made an inspection trip to Honolulu; the promise of statehood was exacted from these officials by Oriental hula-hula dancers who were their "gay companions." Proceeding on the assumption that the rumors were fact, she denounced these seductive lobbying tactics. She insisted that statehood for Orientals, including Alaskans (all of whom she regarded as Eskimos) was a mongrelizing conspiracy leading to the peaceful genocide of the white race.[12]

Darden's racism was subordinate to the main cause of anti-communism and she was sometimes able to combine them in one sentence. On one occasion she noted that Eleanor Roosevelt's strong hold on blacks did not extend to those in "upper intellectual brackets" since a "colored" researcher in Louisiana had connected Mrs. Roosevelt with thirty-eight communist front groups, and suggested that she ought to be "put in a cage."[13]

Darden was unsure whether the Communist "International Conspiracy" (also referred to as the World Conspiracy, the Unseen Master, the Invisible Ruler, and the Unseen Power), which intended to seize power in the United States, originated during the Wilson or Roosevelt administration. The Republican administrations of the 1920s were apparently untouched by the conspiracy. In 1928 Darden voted in a presidential election for the last time. By the early 1930s the Unseen Power controlled both major parties and it had never relinquished control. Darden believed that "the most uplifting impulse in America is the desire to own property" and that "the lowest instinct of the human race is the distribution of property." Woodrow Wilson, she thought, had toyed with redistribution through socialism and centralization, but it was left to the "sneering, tyrannical" Franklin Roosevelt to implement these perversions. All socioeconomic legislation passed since 1933 should be repealed, including the latest regimented follies of the 1950s, urban renewal and federal aid to education. She believed that since the government was run by men like Truman and Eisenhower, whose principles were identical to those of the Communists, it did not even matter whether McCarthy could prove his charges of communism in the State Department.[14]

The Supreme Court was another favorite target of Ida Darden. Its 1954 decision providing for integration of the nation's schools was the "obscene" culmination of the Soviet dream to "mongrelize and conquer America." According to Darden, this deed of infamy was equaled by three decisions in 1959: when the courts supposedly ruled that law officers

could enter homes without search warrants, when dozens of Communists were freed from prison, and when state anti-subversion laws were superseded by federal efforts. Since the Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower justices were "traitorously" betraying the nation to "Soviet plans launched in 1912," Darden recommended that Americans restore integrity to the court by impeaching all its members.[15]

Darden called for a literal reading of the Constitution, which, she believed, gave the federal government very limited powers. As she saw it, the states had the power to abolish Congress. Yet she insisted that the people who pleaded the Fifth Amendment when asked if they were Communist, either were or had been Communists, and concluded that Congress should take some sort of action to deal with these traitors. Darden particularly regretted that the Constitution had given the people of the United States the right to "promote the general welfare," since the phrase had been used to justify actions that had nothing to do with the general welfare, such as Social Security.[16]

Foreign policy was also a major concern of the *Southern Conservative*. Darden had been an isolationist for years and continued advocating that position in her newspaper. Even organizations and actions that the world believed to be anti-communist succumbed to Darden's isolationism. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), for instance, was just a front for the United Nations (UN) and would lead to one-world government. The UN, in turn, was a "rotten and corrupt spy-infested monstrosity," created by Alger Hiss, dedicated to world regimentation, and part of a European conspiracy to obtain America's wealth.[17]

When the Korean War broke out in the summer of 1950, Darden wondered why the United States should fight for others in Korea. By 1952 she had discovered why communist stooge Harry Truman, "of all people," would send troops to fight Communists in Korea. Truman, she wrote, wanted to create a state of emergency, which was essential for maintaining a false economic prosperity and very helpful for keeping him in office. To help implement this goal, the president broke Chaing Kai-shek's "blockade" of the Red Chinese coast, allowing the Communists to replenish war materiel. American-owned ships carried contraband to the Communist Chinese "to help kill our sons in Korea." In this manner Truman threw away victory over the Communists.[18] Eisenhower and Kennedy continued this process during other international crises in the 1950s and 1960s.

Other foreign policy interpretations were that Franklin Roosevelt had planned the Pearl Harbor disaster ("it could not have been successful otherwise"), that the United States should have stayed out of the war,

that Alger Hiss controlled the Yalta proceedings, and that the American military advised the president at Yalta that Russian help was not needed against Japan. Darden endorsed Joe McCarthy's view that George Marshall had given China to the Communists. She also thought that the "International Communist Conspiracy" preferred Eisenhower to Adlai Stevenson in the 1956 presidential election since the general had four year's advantage over the governor in international contacts and indoctrination. Stevenson, after all, would have to be educated from scratch in all the intricate methods by which a great nation is betrayed.[19]

The Invisible Ruler dominated not only the government but also most other institutions. Post-war preachers, for instance, had naive temperaments and were easy prey for the indoctrination of unscrupulous leftists. The Communists had led the churches away from their only legitimate concern, the Bible, into a "subversive social gospel." The Protestant churches increasingly supported totalitarian and atheistic proposals. Darden looked back wistfully to the humble, unsophisticated preachers of 1900 who knew nothing of social problems. Even the Baptists had succumbed to Communism, she noted, since they embraced integration. She apparently concurred with Joe McCarthy's counsel, J. B. Matthews, that there were some eight thousand Protestant ministers serving the communist cause in this country.[20]

Education was endangered, Darden wrote, by leftist, welfare-state propaganda cranked out by the National Education Association; by the communistic United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; and by the Supreme Court's communistic rulings abolishing segregation and allegedly striking down prayer in the schools (neglecting to mention that the latter ruling referred only to state-sanctioned, group, vocal prayers). She wanted Congress to counter communism in the schools by prohibiting the teaching of any ideology contrary to free enterprise. Some of her attention was directed to Texas schools. She supported various legislative probes, and was especially delighted when Representative Marshall O. Bell, hero of the right-to-work forces, investigated University of Texas economic professor Clarence Ayers. Ayers was charged in 1951 with denouncing free enterprise as decadent. Darden claimed to be thoroughly familiar with the tactics of the "slick breed" of economics professors who were implanting communism. The editor also endorsed the Minute Women's attempted purge of the Houston school system and their success in abolishing the system's annual UN essay contest in 1953. Since many professors and teachers were supposedly peddling left-wing atheism, she favored a 1961 bill requiring all state employees to take an oath that they believed in a supreme being.

She wanted teachers to stay out of politics, and thought local school boards should require Americanism in teachers and courses.[21]

Darden believed that labor unions, especially those in the CIO, were violent and "as vicious as communism." Both the Communists and the unions were trying to destroy free enterprise. She blamed all unions for seeking class privileges and for being corrupt. Darden fully supported state senator George Parkhouse of Dallas in his successful effort to abolish voluntary closed-shop contracts between unions and employers as a violation of Texas anti-trust laws.[22]

In regard to taxation, Darden was sometimes content to continue her's and her brother's work to limit all income, inheritance, and gift taxes to 25 percent, but she was also relentlessly driven to the conclusion that all taxation was a "criminal act of larceny" and that the United States should thus have "no taxes whatsoever." She "reminded" her readers that in 1903 Lenin had ordered the United States to levy an income tax and that Congress had responded with the Sixteenth Amendment in 1913, "the most evil act committed against a free people." The editor also frowned on state taxation; she recommended the whipping post for those legislators who voted for the Texas sales tax in 1961.[23]

Public health was another concern for Darden. The fluoridation of water, for example, was supposed to prevent tooth decay, but she wondered in 1953 why the dentists favored its use. She thought it very odd that dentists would work against their own interests. By 1959 she was convinced that fluoridated water was poisonous and constituted a Soviet plot dating back to the time when the Russians used it to deaden the brains of anti-communists in the USSR. Similarly, mental health bills were part of the Communist conspiracy to achieve power over men's minds and authority to beat down patriotic Americans. She told of a California scientist who was driving spiders crazy in his laboratory by injecting them with serum from human mental patients; he was trying to develop an antidote that would restore these spiders to conformity. The government would then use the antidote on all those who dared oppose internationalism and Communism. Darden thought that, aside from schools and churches, the heaviest infiltration of international Communism had been in the mental health field. She also condemned the Red Cross for removing the designations "white," "Oriental," and "Negro" from their blood donor cards. She averred that the Red Cross was obeying Stalin's order to mongrelize the races.[24]

American literature, movies, and television had also been penetrated by the Unseen Power. The editor castigated the Girl Scouts for recommending a Langston Hughes book and the Houston Public Library for endorsing

such "left-wing, subversive" authors as Henry S. Commager and Carl Sandburg. Edna Ferber's *Giant*, which was unpopular among Texans in general, was singled out by Darden as "Communist propaganda from cover to cover." In *Giant*, the children repudiated their parents for accumulating property and "humiliated their father by marrying down." The film *Anatomy of a Murder* was a vile, depraved plot to hasten the formation of a homogeneous world in which there would be no morality, no religion, and no freedom, where a mongrelized people would be slaves of a dictatorship. The movies *Home of the Brave* and *Broken Arrow* were labeled hate-mongering productions designed to arouse sympathy for tiny racial minorities and contempt for the majority. *Island in the Sun* and *Love is a Many Splendored Thing* constituted "degenerate integrationist propaganda." Television was vulgar and obscene for presenting blacks and whites in the same shows. "Clean, all-white" productions were best, but some all-Negro shows (e.g., *Amos and Andy*) were all right.[25]

Darden also considered modern, abstract art to be part of the communist "world plan of demoralization and contamination of the human mind." In 1955 the Dallas Public Library displayed a mural that Darden believed was "adorned with odd bits of refuse from a junkyard, such as cast off hubcaps, horseshoes, rusty nails...." Public indignation, she thought, won a rare victory when the mural was removed, though similar "nightmarish" objects were still reposing in the Dallas Art Museum in spite of public clamor against them. In 1958 an exhibit of religious art at the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts had a wing devoted to modernistic interpretations. Darden was appalled by all of them. The effigy of St. John the Baptist in welded steel pipe, for instance, portrayed John as a "witless tramp." She believed the work should be dismantled and made into some "good useful plumbing fixture." The modernistic section of the exhibit revealed, to her, the "foul breath of dedicated Communism" slyly degrading our minds.[26] Ironically, Darden's position was close to the Soviet Communist line that traditionally could seldom abide modern art because it did not fit into their dogmatic scheme of the world.

Governor Allan Shivers (1949-1957) was a personal friend of Darden, and friendships could evidently blur her ideology. She cheered the governor's battle with the federal government in attempting to retain the oil-rich tidelands for Texas, but at the same time veered well beyond the governor's position. She endorsed and printed an article on the tidelands issue by H. P. Nicols, a Tyler oilman, who ended his essay by calling for Texas' secession from the union. She favored the governor's re-election in 1954 because he "stood alone" against the CIO, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), "imported

labor goons," and corrupt border boss George Parr. She lamented the fact that the governor lost Parr's Duval County in the 1954 Democratic primary 3,310 to 1,220, never reporting that he carried three other, nearby boss-controlled counties 6,777 to 899. Nor did Darden ever note that Shivers had received Parr's controlled votes in previous elections or that the governor dropped his alleged crusade against Parr after the election. A bit later, Darden devoted a column to the notorious veterans land scandal, but neglected to mention Shivers's involvement. Even after revelations of innumerable land and insurance scandals and after Shivers had raised selected sales taxes and provided higher pay for teachers, better roads, and aid to the indigent—none of which Darden approved of—she labeled him a good, constructive governor.[27]

In 1956, a year of bitter political and racial turmoil in the state, Darden delighted in the gubernatorial candidacy of western historian J. Evetts Haley. Haley labeled integration a Communist plot to destroy the white race and vowed that if the government tried to enforce the Supreme Court's ruling on integrating schools, federal troops would be met at the Red River by Texas Rangers. Another Darden favorite, former governor and senator W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel, also entered the fray and ranted about blood running in the streets and the mongrelizing of the white race. Had Haley dropped out and campaigned for O'Daniel, the former senator might have edged into the runoff with Price Daniel.[28] That September, seventeen miles southeast of Fort Worth, the small Mansfield school district was the first in the state ordered to desegregate by a federal court. A handful of blacks who were ordinarily bused to Fort Worth were prevented from attending their home town school by cross-burnings, the hanging of a black in effigy, and agitated crowds of three to four hundred whites ringing the high school. Darden cheered the white mob that took over the town. She printed the names of several Dallas NAACP leaders who supported the Mansfield court case and labeled them a "mob-inspiring hate group" dominated by Communists who should be driven from the state.[29]

Other leaders of the Texas political establishment were castigated by the editor. Price Daniel was upbraided for remaining in the Senate after he had been elected governor, for his "clear, brilliant, and eloquent insipidity," and for his cowardice in failing to block the integration of the state's schools. Lyndon Johnson was flailed as a turncoat on civil rights and states' rights, and for his "theft" of the 1948 senatorial election. By comparison, the anti-establishment Ralph Yarborough, who led the embattled liberal opposition in Texas, got off lightly as a mere tool of the labor bosses and Negroes. She preferred "a liberal who stuck to his guns" to "arch hypocrites" like Daniel and Johnson.[30]

Her greatest encomiums were reserved for Senator Joe McCarthy, whom she considered to be America's premier patriot. As McCarthy was brought down and censured by the Senate in 1954, Darden denounced the "political and press pimps." Unlike more opportunistic rightists, Darden continued to embrace McCarthy in his years of travail and after his death. Upon learning of the senator's death, Darden wrote that McCarthyism would live forever as a "shining symbol of loyalty" and proclaimed that the senator had exposed much treason and that there was nothing wrong with his methods of uncovering Communists.[31]

Throughout her twelve years as editor Darden issued last ditch warnings that the Unseen Master was about to absorb America, the last bastion of freedom. In 1952 she warned that the delegates to the national party conventions faced an awesome and glorious opportunity that might never come their way again—the selection of a presidential candidate (Douglas MacArthur) who actually believed in Americanism. This feat was not accomplished, however, and by 1954 the government was "all set for surrender of the United States into International Bondage." That year, our armed forces were "turned over to the United Nations." Somehow, though, Americans were given another chance to reverse the treasonous trends—the 1956 conventions—but the opportunity was muffed. The nation's "errant ministers" had still another chance to save the Republic from imminent collapse, but only in the unlikely event that they were converted to Christianity (as opposed to the communistic social gospel). One of the few professors who Darden admired, Dr. Revilo P. Oliver of Illinois, predicted in 1960 that the United States would be taken over within four years. Darden thought Oliver was too optimistic and commented, "It looks like it won't be long now." In the spring of 1960 she wrote, "This looks like it might be it." After the Invisible Ruler, supporting both Kennedy and Nixon, had won the 1960 election, the editor again spoke of the nation's imminent doom. In the summer of 1961, after the Freedom Riders in Mississippi had been protected by the federal


THE SOUTHERN CONSERVATIVE

–To Plead for a Return of Constitutional Government–

Vol. II FORT WORTH, TEXAS, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1960 No. 11-12

Unless Freedom-Loving Americans Organize And Start Fighting It Won't Be Long Now

Ida Darden's November-December 1960 headline. The Southern Conservative.

government, the nation was still "nearing the end of the row." By October 1961, the United States had lost the Cold War.[32]

Even as she issued these warnings, Darden maintained that "a simple plan would stop Communism dead in its tracks." The United States need only withdraw recognition from Communist Russia and pull out of the United Nations to paralyze Russia's influence in the world. Their international standing would be reduced overnight to their pre-1933 status. For minor irritations, such as the rise of Fidel Castro, the editor recommended force: "A company of Marines could take care of the Cuban beatnik."[33]

In spite of her hatred for Communists and liberals (who were just "Communists who are too yellow to be Red"), Darden saluted them for adhering strongly to their goals and for making no concessions to anyone. Indeed, her anti-Semitism and her denunciation of the Korean War mirrored the policies of the Soviet Union, and she was as rigidly intolerant of modern art as were the Communists. She wished that American Communists could be as successful as their Russian counterparts in banning lewd and obscene books from school libraries. She appeared to envy the USSR for its ability to execute its domestic enemies and she hailed Premier Georgi Malenkov for his pride in and determination to keep the Soviet government and way of life intact. Her affinity for states' rights gave way at times, such as when she proposed that congress prohibit the teaching of any philosophy contrary to free enterprise. Moreover, history was conspiracy both to Darden and to Lenin, with accident and contingency ruled out. There was an implication in some of Darden's writing that if she could not find an authoritarian government that upheld private rights, she would still choose authoritarianism over all else.[34]

Seemingly alone among Texas rightists, Ida Darden had a sense of humor; just as unusual for an avowed fundamentalist, Darden's humor was almost risqué. In one of her typical "My Night" columns, a parody of Eleanor Roosevelt's "My Day," she told of her trip to Zanzibar and of her disappointment in the native women there. The United States had sent a shipload of brassieres, which, coming "under Point Two of the President's program to uplift the people of backward countries," were being used to catch minnows. When this writer interviewed Darden, she complained that "the welfare state does everything except escort us to the bathroom."[35] One of her typical asides lambasted Senator Francis Case, who had planned to vote for a bill deregulating natural gas but reversed his vote because an oil company president tried to bribe him. Of the senator Darden wrote, "One of the few basic rights which have not been taken away from the American people through either the Executive, Legislative, or Judicial branches of the Federal government is the inherent

right of a man to make an ass of himself and the South Dakota senator was obviously determined to invoke this privilege to the fullest."[36] A colleague on the right, Lucille Miller of Vermont, praised Darden as "the one who started this very healthy business of ribbing the high bracket American Marxists and it has turned out to be the key that has unlocked American minds.... So any of us who borrow your formula are mindful of our obligation to Ida, who made Red-baiting FUN."[37]

It was all too easy, especially after Joe McCarthy's political demise in 1954, to underestimate the Ida Dardens of the nation as mere right-wing crackpots. An aide to President Richard Nixon recalled that in the 1950s and 1960s the radical right was populated by "self-appointed leaders who were egotists, dogmatists, hucksters, and eccentrics, all engaged in a childish sandbox politics and being very noisy about it." They seemed well on their way to becoming the "irrelevant right." The president of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action argued that the radical right was a "mythical bogey" that would rank twenty-third in realistic fears "between the fear of being eaten by piranhas and the fear of college presidents." Howard Green and Don Kennard, former legislators from Fort Worth, remember Darden as a screwball who was certainly no threat to society. Clearly Darden and her peers were not detected as the forerunners of the disciplined, well-organized, well-financed New Right of the last thirty years.[38] As one scholar observed, "If the effect of this sub-literature, in the Southwest and elsewhere, were confined to the few who are constitutionally disposed to hate and would always find some victim or other on whom to vent their twisted emotions, it might not be of enough general importance to warrant serious study."[39] But there was no way to limit the impact of Darden's paper or other hate literature to fringe groups.

It was in the late 1940s, in fact, when the state of Texas turned farther to the right and began to compete with the isolationist Midwest in vehement opposition to Roosevelt-Truman policies. During the next ten years Minute Women took over the Houston school board, terrorizing and firing teachers and administrators for alleged communism. Ida Darden's

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If You're A Good Conservative American Patriot - - - Let's Face It - - - You're Nuts

The *Southern Conservative*, April 1957.

THE SOUTHERN CONSERVATIVE

—To Plead for a Return of Constitutional Government—

Vol. 13 FORT WORTH, TEXAS, OCTOBER, 1961 No. 10

IT'S TOO LATE TO WARN ABOUT LOSING THE COLD WAR BECAUSE WE'VE ALREADY LOST IT

Ida Darden's continuing preoccupation with Communism.
The Southern Conservative, October 1961.

daughter, Helen Thomas, who was very close to her mother, was one of the two original organizers of the Minute Women in Houston, and was their resident intellectual. Many anti-Communist protests and letters to the editors in local newspapers were based on her research, especially in the notoriously unreliable files of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The national leader of the Minute Women said the *Southern Conservative* should be required reading for all its members. The *CIO News* blamed the *Southern Conservative* for helping the Minute Women bar the annual United Nations essay contests in Houston schools. In San Antonio, Minute Women purged books from library shelves. The Rio Grande Valley was subjected to a campaign to abolish public schools and most other public agencies. An inordinant number of Dallasites were obsessed with the supposed internal communist menace, including club women who successfully ousted from public display a few pieces of artwork done by communists and accused communists. Governor Allan Shivers, reelected in 1954 on a wave of racism and anti-unionism, proposed that all members of the Communist Party be put to death. The state land commissioner thought that Texas should secede from the union. There was a race riot in Mansfield in 1956. Public employees and students were compelled by law to sign loyalty oaths, and in 1959 the Texas legislature resolved that the federal government should repeal all income, estate, and gift taxes.[40]

State and local politics in Texas continued to be affected in the 1960s. As Don Carleton noted, public employees and college students continued to be singled out for compulsory loyalty oaths. The Texas anti-Communist law continued to be enforced on occasion, notably in the seizure of John Stanford's private library in San Antonio in 1964. Special units of state and local police wire-tapped and spied on Texans whose political views differed from those of the conservative establishment.[41]

Measuring influence is elusive, but it is worth mentioning that Darden's columns were occasionally carried by or quoted favorably in the *Dallas*

Morning News, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, *El Paso Times*, *Lubbock Sunday Sun*, and out-of-state organs (e.g., the *New York Daily Mirror*, *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, *Tulsa* (Oklahoma) *Tribune*, *Savannah* (Georgia) *Morning News*, the *Register* in Santa Ana, California, and the *Mercury News* in San Jose. She was also heralded in the *South African Observer* (Capetown), various smaller newspapers, and the *Congressional Record*. Syndicated columnists Westbrook Pegler, Ruth Alexander, and George Dixon cited her occasionally. She received letters from congressmen and legislators praising her newspaper. The *Southern Conservative* attracted hostile opinion, too, but apparently just from the *CIO News* and the University of Texas newspaper, the *Daily Texan*.[42] Darden's paper would have enjoyed more local legitimacy and a wider reputation had it been located in the red scare hotbed of Houston, but she probably wanted to stay close to Armstrong, Rowan, and other Fort Worth associates. In such a decade as the 1950s and in such a state as Texas—where the political system was vulnerable to extremism—the *Southern Conservative* undoubtedly wielded some influence.

Scattered among Darden's vituperative and preposterous columns are a number of rational observations and stories that could be considered as part of conservative mainstream opinion, including her support of Americanism courses, the open shop, and Allan Shivers. She thought it was a fine thing that some blacks voluntarily rewarded a white boy with $200 for saving an old black couple's lives in a fire. She praised Henry Cabot Lodge for some of his work at the UN. Her notation that a particular modern art exhibit, praised by an official, turned out to be an ink-stained stencil put up as a joke, may or may not have been true, but it was similar to many Americans' opinion of modern art. Darden scorned state senator Archie Parr's corrupt South Texas political machine (1910s-1930s), but remarked that it was at least based on Parr's innumerable acts of kindness and charity toward Hispanics through the years. The George Parr machine of the 1940s and 1950s, she noted, was more heavy-handed, and resentment was growing against him. These observations jibe with those of scholars.[43] Some of her columns could have been written today, such as the one calmly decrying the presence of thousands of illegal aliens from Mexico who should be rounded up, or the one lamenting the lack of United States control over the incursion of Japanese textiles in the American market.[44] Such stories were hardly numerous enough to allow her to be characterized as anything but a right-wing extremist.

The Christian Right, which dates back to colonial times in its anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic incarnations, was spearheaded in the 1950s and 1960s by the Reverend Billy James Hargis, who was based in nearby

Tulsa. Reverend Hargis preached that the UN was a "traitorous outfit" and that the civil rights crisis was a Communist conspiracy. Dallas multimillionaire oilman H. L. Hung funded the pervasive *Facts Forum* on radio and television, replaced by the more religious *LIFELINE* in 1958. The programs cursed the UN and mainline churches, and implied that the income tax and big government were Communist conspiracies. The similar *Dan Smoot Report* also emanated from Dallas. Mary Cain's *Summit Sun* (Mississippi) was another southern racist, anti-feminist newspaper, also noteworthy for the individuality of its female editor. The notorious John Birch Society, established in December 1958, did not share much of Darden's ethnic animus, but it attempted to revive the Red Scare. Darden usually ignored them and many others not named, and they all largely ignored each other. Darden's unaffiliated, independent stance was consistent with the disorganized nature of right-wing extremism in the 1950s—it was a period of festering before stronger organizations arose in the 1960s. In the 1960s political participation on the right became more widespread, domestic social and economic content were added, fundamentalism and evangelism grew in importance, and the first concerted, grass-roots efforts were made to identify with and even to take over one of the two major parties.[45]

In 1962, the authors of *The American Right Wing* stated that anti-Communism was the current *cause célèbre* of the right, but that racism might be the issue upon which the right would finally present a united front. And so it was, especially in the South. Widespread gains in the South in the 1960s by the Republicans and by George Wallace's American Independent Party were based on backlash against the civil rights movement. Darden and others on the right had helped lay the groundwork. In the 1960s and 1970s the far-right in the South entered the ongoing battle within the GOP, still being waged today. Many on the right are attempting to take over the Republican Party, often learning at the state and local level that control of party machinery is not the same as control of candidates and office holders.[46]

Different components of the American right-wing in the 1960s have been identified and labeled as reactionary community elites. These groups include Sunbelt *nouveau riche*, southern rednecks, many small-town Republicans with Midwestern roots, evangelical or isolationist Protestants, Catholic reactionaries or isolationists, the military, and the reactionary wealthy including southern fire-eaters. Many of these groups were not as cohesive in the 1950s as they were to become, but they were taking form. Darden clearly belonged to the southern fire-eater branch of the reactionary wealthy and to the Protestant (fundamentalist) isolationist

camp, though her fundamentalism was seldom trumpeted. She appeared to live in upper-middle-class circumstances in her retirement, but she had long since identified with rich Old South spokesmen such as Kirby, Arnold, and Armstrong. Among other things, they were concerned with the protection of the nation's traditional values and with their own economic and social positions in a rapidly changing society. These people, along with a newer entrepreneurial elite, bitterly denounced unions, government regulation of business, foreign aid, high taxes, progressive taxes, intellectuals, and Wall Street bankers and financiers. They lived in a politics of despair, warning that the nation was in a continuous crisis and was about to fall victim to internal Communist subversion. The issues that activated the radical right after World War II were certainly similar to those that had helped create the WASP Inquisition at the time of World War I. Darden had moved farther to the right in the interim. The openness of her anti-black bigotry, however, as well as the anti-Semitism, was outmoded within most radical right groups of the 1960s.[47]

The *Southern Conservative* exemplified the five traditional identifying characteristics of radical rightists. One of those characteristics is the assumption that there are solutions to all international and American domestic problems, and that when such solutions are not found the failure is due to conspiracies of evil people and their dupes. Radical rightists label the leaders of prominent social groups such as churches and unions, and those striving for equality such as black activist organizations, as part of the unpatriotic conspiracy. The major parties, the basic norms of the political system, and the give and take of political compromise are rejected as part of the betrayal. They also reject social and economic foundation programs such as the National Labor Relations Act, and propose a drastic rollback. To break the conspiracy, they advocate direct political or physical action.[48]

Communism and integration have faded as issues—the right's fear of both having been thoroughly discredited—but some of Darden's other favorite causes remain on the right-wing's agenda (e.g., the compelling need to slash federal taxes and to abandon, if not destroy, the United Nations). Darden also occasionally touched on issues that have since loomed large with the political right: the dire federal threat to local control of schools; history textbooks that brainwash children; Hollywood as a den of iniquity; offensive art; and the desirability of group, vocal prayer and religion in the public schools. The latter concern, a hot issue since 1962, had not emerged in 1957, but Darden presaged it in three short columns she wrote that year. The Florida PTA barred Christian prayer from the opening of its meetings, the attorney general of New Jersey banned grace before school meals, and the New Hempstead, New York schools

prohibited the posting of the Ten Commandments. While McCarthyism was devoid of social and economic content or religious inspiration, Darden was one of those who anticipated the New Right with her arguments on behalf of Christian dominance in public schools. One can easily imagine the rhetorical zest with which she would have attacked other current right-wing horrors such as gay marriage, women's right to abortion, gun control laws, and the teaching of evolution rather than creationism in the schools.[49]

These views are antithetical to those of most women who are the subjects of historical accounts. Elna Green notes, "As the academic daughter of the modern women's movement, women's history has focused most of its attention on suffragists, reformers, and feminists." Green places Darden in the context of female anti-feminism, strongest in the South and largely overlooked until recently, and argues that anti-feminists like Darden believed in "sex" rather than "gender." Such women contend that female characteristics are unchangeable, ordained by biology, and that women are by nature not equal to men. Green asserts that Darden was defined in part by this deep-seated belief, while not denying the importance of her intellectual independence, bedrock racism, fierce anti-Communism, and slavish devotion to pure *laissez faire* capitalism. Green presents a compelling case, and, as she notes, Darden did indeed preserve some of her most bitter invectives against feminists. Accepting this evidence as it unfolded year after year in the *Southern Conservative*, it was startling to come across columns in 1953 and 1960 in which Darden embraced women's suffrage and asserted that women might be the last great hope of saving the nation.[50] These two articles hardly serve to shake Green's overall thesis, but they may indicate that Darden's views on women had evolved in forty years in a somewhat more positive way than her views on liberalism or minorities.

The recent spate of books that include accounts of activist women in twentieth century Texas have also emphasized their progressive contributions. Such books as *Texas Women in Politics*, *Women in Texas*, and *Women and Texas History* reveal a rich record of reformism that has been overlooked in traditional histories of Texas.[51] Those opposed to reformism, women whose politics range from the conservatism of Kay Bailey Hutchinson to the extremism of Ida Darden, will also need to be accounted for. Indeed, since Texas has not exactly been in the forefront of reformism over the years, conservative to reactionary women may have played a larger role in the making of Texas' political culture than most chroniclers now suspect.

James McEnteer's study of notable independent journalists in Texas illustrated another position that Darden occupies. McEnteer observed that

the five editors he studied—embracing a time span from the 1890s to the 1970s—had an urge to instruct based on clear moral choices. Darden certainly epitomized this trait. All of McEnteer's choices, William C. Brann, Don Biggers, John Granbury, Archer Fullingim, and Stony Burns, were angry, ironic, humorous, despairing, anti-establishment, and all were free from organized social movements. So was Darden. All five were also caught up in conflict with churches, as was Darden. Only Darden accused the churches of Communism, but she concurred with the others that Jesus was a prophet without honor in his own land. All of these journalists liked to reprint material from obscure and distant sources, apparent spiritual nourishment that helped create a sense of community among isolated writers. All were hostile toward the existing media. Like the other five, Darden generally refused to compromise or pull her punches, and was not worried about her standing in the community. Darden, however, pulled back from full-fledged anti-Semitism, just as the fiery Brann eased his harsh criticisms of Baylor after the spasm of violence in 1895. Darden and Brann were the only racists in the group, and the only ones who were sometimes susceptible to writing self-intoxicating prose. Like Fullingim, Darden seemed to become more impatient through the years and possessed by a sense of urgency while growing older. In Darden's case there were a growing number of statements that the end was near. All of these writers enlarged the scope of public discourse. McEnteer believes that his five journalists also enlarged the substance of public discourse. In this category Darden probably contributed the least. All six forced many contemporary and later readers to examine the First Amendment.[52]

The *Southern Conservative* came to a sudden, unexpected end in December 1961. Darden's daughter was dying and the editor suspended publication of the paper, which was struggling financially in any event, and moved to Houston to be with her only child. After the death of her daughter, Darden decided not to resume her editorship, and she lived most of the rest of her days in Bayou City. She died March 24, 1980 and is buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery in Fort Worth.[53]

Theoretically her writings could have caused a few citizens and public officials in those pre-*Sullivan* case days to consider suing her for libel, but the vitriolic accusations were usually borderline shots made in passing. Thaddeus Stevens was dubbed "bestial" and "degenerate," but the congressman had been dead since Reconstruction. Adlai Stevenson, Dwight Eisenhower, Harry Truman, and many other leaders allegedly pursued traitorous policies, but Darden did not directly brand them as traitors. She named a majority of U.S. Senators in 1961 as forming a bipartisan bloc of treason on a bill that would allegedly send strategic

materials to the USSR and Communist China. Dr. George Sanchez, a University of Texas education professor and prominent lobbyist for minority rights, was dubbed "a Communist-fronter." And once, as mentioned, she printed the names of several NAACP leaders from Dallas and labeled them "Communist-dominated, mob-inspiring haters" who should have been ousted from the state. Darden may have been lucky that some of the *Southern Conservative's* fusillades were not challenged in court.[54]

Perhaps a traditional essay about freedom of the press, at this point, would conclude with a warning about the dangers of not tolerating unpopular political ideas. It would be admitted that Darden's newspaper was part of the desperate, reactionary wing of McCarthyism and a precursor of the New Right, and that some of these types of individuals damaged U.S. institutions and undermined the legal protections of the Bill of Rights. But—the traditional argument goes—the integrity of our democratic system of government depends on the protection of freedom of political expression and dissent. If we reject this obligation, we help the extremists split our society into warring camps. Judge Learned Hand wrote, in an opinion on a free speech case, that the First Amendment to the Constitution "presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues, than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this is, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all." Shortly after Darden retired from her editorship, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the *Sullivan* case that "debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials."[55] Ida Darden probably considered it a licentious decision, since it protected Communists' speech, but society's tolerance of her calumnious newspaper—it would be traditional to conclude—is a testimony to the strength of freedom of the press in Texas and in the United States.

The survival of the *Southern Conservative* can be viewed as evidence of tolerance, but a better test would have been presented had Darden staked out a much lonelier position in Texas: as a calumnious integrationist or leftist—farther left than the iconoclasts identified by McEnteer. The Texas editors who have paid a high price for their views have not been those on the right, e.g., Darden, or Peter Molyneaux and his *Texas Weekly* in Dallas in the 1930s, or Vance Muse and his *Christian American* in Houston in the 1940s, or Dan Smoot and the *Dan Smoot Report* in Dallas in the 1950s and 1960s. It has been some of those on the left who have been victimized—William C. Brann was assassinated

in Waco in 1898, Tom Hickey was jailed and saw his paper permanently shuttered by federal authorities in Halletsville in 1917, John Granbury was fired from his university position in Georgetown in 1938, and Stoney Brooks was constantly harassed by the Dallas police (1967-73). In Texas over the decades the right has gotten away with its rhetoric much more easily than has the left. Darden and other McCarthyites attempted, with some success, to introduce into the democratic arena a politics of intimidation and frenzy, and some of it has persisted. Darden's legacy may be more testimony to the fragility of democracy and the constant challenges to it than to the strength of freedom of the press.

Notes

[1]See Timothy Gleason, "Historians and Freedom of the Press since 1800," *American Journalism* 5, no. 4 (1988): 234, on the free press as a tradition. The paper's importance was noted in Ralph Ellison and Sarah Harris, *The American Right Wing* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 5, 35, and in Don Carleton, *Red Scare* (Austin, 1985), 130-31, 142. See James McEnteer, *Fighting Words: Independent Journalists in Texas* (Austin, 1992) and Elna Green, "From Antisuffragism to Anti-Communism: The Conservative Career of Ida M. Darden," *Journal of Southern History* 61 (May 1999): 287-316.

[2]*Southern Conservative*, April and July-August 1950, May 1957, February 1961; *Houston Chronicle*, March 25, 1980; E. Green, "From Antisuffragism to Anti-Communism," 288-291.

[3]Ida Darden, interview by author, June 28, 1966, Houston; *Bob Shuler's Free Lance*, April 1920; Louis Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists* (Austin, 1973), 262-77; E. Green, "From Antisuffragism to Anti-Communism," 291-98; Jonathan Kolkey, *The New Right, 1960-1968, With Epilog., 1969-1980* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 17-18.

[4]*Southern Conservative*, April and July-August 1950, February 1952; Darden interview; Tom Morgan, interview by author, July 30, 1974, Houston; Milton L. Ready, "The Southern Tariff Association," (master's thesis, University of Houston, 1966), 17-21, 137; *Bob Shuler's Free Lance*, April 1920; George N. Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics* (Westport, CT, 1979), 58-59; Norman Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug* (College Station, 1984), 55; Sam Acheson, *Joe Bailey, the Last Democrat* (New York, 1932), 394; Proceedings of Legislative Assembly, January 8, 1921, Cherry Blossom Lodge, Brother of Railroad Trainmen Papers, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington (hereafter cited as UTA).

[5]*Dallas Morning News*, June 21, 1936; E. Green, "From Antisuffragism to Anti-Communism," 309; *Southern Conservative*, October 1959.

[6]Ida Darden, *The Best of the* Southern Conservative (n.p., 1963), prologue (quote); *Southern Conservative*, January and April 1950, October 1951, July-August 1960;

Darden interview; George W. Armstrong to Ida Darden, November 3, 1949, R. A. Stuart to subscribers of the *Southern Conservative*, July 3, 1953, Darden to Stuart, September 9, 1954, Ida Darden Collection, Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association, University of Houston (hereafter cited as TGCHA); Mrs. Jack Carter to Mr. Sundquist, July 22, 1953, Margaret Carter Papers, Special Collections, UTA; Ida Darden to George Armstrong, October 4 and 6, 1950, George Armstrong Papers, Special Collections, UTA. In 1949 Armstrong made national headlines when he offered valuable oil lands to a Mississippi college on condition that it champion white supremacy and anti-Semitism. See George Fuermann, *Reluctant Empire* (New York, 1957), 99-100. Rowan was one of the Texas Regulars, 1944, who plotted to keep Franklin Roosevelt off the ballot. See G. Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, 45-50. According to S. M. Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason* (New York, 1970), 432-33, 449-51, most economic conservatives of the era—which would include Darden's old business friends—were not bigots, but Darden was clearly both.

[7]Darden to Armstrong, January 11, January 8, 1950, (n.d.) January and March 4, 1951, Armstrong Papers, UTA.

[8]Darden to Armstrong, (n.d.) January and December 16, 1950, January 8 and March 4, 1951, July 16, October 1 and 30, 1952; Armstrong to Darden, October 7, 1950, January 7, 9, 31, July 30, and August 25, 1951, (n.d.) April and August 23, 1952, Armstrong Paper, UTA; *Southern Conservative*, July-August 1960.

[9]David Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense* (Glencoe, IL, 1983), 102; Michael Miles, *The Odyssey of the American Right* (Oxford, 1980), 123-29, 138-43.

[10]*Southern Conservative*, February and July-August 1950, January 1953, October 1954, September 1955, November-December 1956, October 1957, September 1960, November-December 1961; Darden interview.

[11]*Southern Conservative*, October 1950, April 1952, March 1953, October 1954, July-August 1958; Darden to Armstrong, July 8, 1950 and July 16, 1952, Armstrong Papers, UTA. For more on Beaty, see Fuermann, *Reluctant Empire*, 139-40.

[12]*Southern Conservative*, January 1954, November-December 1956, June 1958.

[13]Ibid., May 1957.

[14]Ibid., May 1950, February 1952, June 1955, March 1956, February and September 1959, September 1960.

[15]Ibid., June and September 1954, July-August 1955, July-August 1957, March and June 1959.

[16]Ibid., March 1950, November-December 1953, February 1955, February 1958.

[17]Ibid., May 1952, April and October 1953, February 1954, April 1955, October 1956 (quote), October 1957.

[18]Ibid., July-August 1950, October 1952, January 1958.

[19]Ibid., January, July-August, and October 1952, April 1954, April 1955, September and November-December 1956, January 1959.

[20]Ibid., November-December 1951, May and November-December 1952, August, September, and October, 1953, April 1954, September 1955, March 1957.

[21]Ibid., April 1951, January and May 1952, February 1954, April 1955, November-December 1960, February and April 1961. For more on the Minute Women, see Don Carleton, "McCarthyism in Houston: The George Ebey Affair," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 80 (October 1976): 163-76, as well as Carleton's *Red Scare*.

[22]*Southern Conservative*, November-December 1950, March 1951, May 1952, September 1953, October 1957, March, June, and November-December 1959.

[23]Ibid., January and April 1950, September 1953, November-December 1954, May 1958, April 1959, September 1961. See also Ida Darden, "The Federal Tax Racket," pamphlet (n.d., n.p.), Darden Collection, TGCHA.

[24]*Southern Conservative*, November-December 1950, May and September 1953, June 1954, May, June, and September 1955, February and July-August 1956, March and July-August 1957, July-August and September 1959.

[25]Ibid., October 1950, January and November-December 1952, October 1955, June and November-December 1957, March 1958.

[26]Ibid., July-August 1955, April 1958.

[27]Ibid., July-August 1950, February and September 1954, March and October 1955; Darden interview; G. Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, 135-75.

[28]*Southern Conservative*, April, July-August, and September 1956; G. Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, 174-75.

[29]*Southern Conservative*, September and October 1956; G. Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, 189.

[30]*Southern Conservative*, January, October, and November-December 1956, April and July-August 1957, September 1958, January, May, and October 1960, July-August 1961.

[31]Ibid., October 1953, March, April, May, and September 1954, January 1955, May 1957, May and September 1958.

[32]Ibid., February and May 1952, March 1954, September 1955, July-August and November-December 1960, March, June, and October 1961; Ida Darden, "Where Do We Go in 1956?," leaflet (n.p., n.d.), Darden Collection, TGCHA. The editor's preference for MacArthur in 1952 was seldom stated and she specified no presidential favorites thereafter.

[33]*Southern Conservative*, September 1960, September 1961.

[34]Ibid., January 1954, September 1956, June 1957, October 1958, June 1959, September and November-December 1960. See also Ida Darden, column in *Lubbock Sunday Sun*, January 17, 1954, Daniel Bell, *The Radical Right* (Garden City, NY, 1964), 10, 206, and Mark Sherwin, *The Extremists* (New York, 1963), 227-30.

[35]*Southern Conservative*, March 1952, July-August 1959; Darden interview.

[36]*Southern Conservative*, March 1956.

[37]Lucille Miller to Ida Darden; *Southern Conservative*, September 1953.

[38]Alan Crawford, *Thunder on the Right* (New York, 1980), 4-5; Howard Green, interview by author, February 10, 1988, Fort Worth.

[39]Margaret Hartley, "The Subliterature of Hate in America," *Southwest Review* 37:3 (1952): 178.

[40]G. Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, 108, 121-34, 151-70, 189; *CIO News*, March 30, 1953; *Dallas Morning News*, March 15-19, 1955, January 1, 21, and February 1956; *Texas Observer*, March 21, 28, and May 9, 1959; Fuermann, *Reluctant Empire*, 134-47; Bell, *The Radical Right*, 105; Carleton, *Red Scare*, 122, 128-31, 296-307.

[41]Carlton, *Red Scare*, 305.

[42]*Southern Conservative*, November-December 1950, September 1951, January 1952, February 1954, October and November-December 1955, February and July-August 1957, July-August 1958, June and July-August 1959, March 1960; *Lubbock Sunday Sun*, January 17, 1954; *Tulsa Tribune*, February 6, 1954; *Savannah Morning News*, July 26, 1951; Ruth Alexander, column in *New York Daily Mirror*, August 30, 1959; George Dixon, columns in *New York Daily Mirror*, January 16, 1950 and February 6, 1951; *CIO News*, June 15, 1953; *Daily Texan* (Austin), October 19, 1955; Mabel Gouldy, column in *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, January 22, 1961; Darden to Armstrong, November 26, 1950, August 2, 1951, and July 16, 1952, Armstrong Papers, UTA.

[43]*Southern Conservative*, September 1953, March 1958, November-December 1959.

[44]Ibid., September 1953, March 1957.

[45]For colonial background, see Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1960), 3-53, and David Bennett, *Party of Fear* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 17-22. Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, *Danger on the Right* (New York, 1964), 11-46, 68-86 (Hargis quote, 75), 132-43; Ellsworth and Harris, *The American Right Wing*, 5; Kolkey, *The New Right*, 13-14; Carleton, *Red Scare*, 300-301; Bennett, *Party of Fear*, 315-23, 328-31; Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday* (Nashville, 1970), 60-73, 120-21.

[46]Ellsworth and Harris, *The American Right Wing*, 6-7, 30; Carleton, *Red Scare*, 304-5; Chandler Davidson, *Race and Class in Texas Politics* (Princeton, 1990), 198-239. Davidson properly notes, pp. 216-20, that there is also a less conspiratorial minded, respectable right involved in the GOP battles.

[47]Kolkey, *The New Right*, 1-20; Lipset and Raab, *The Politics of Unreason*, 209-47; Robert Schoenberger, ed., *The American Right Wing* (New York, 1969), 194-95, 201, 206; Carleton, *Red Scare*, 308-9. See also Bell, *The Radical Right*, 4, 78, 94, 163, 226-27, 234-35, 307-71, 436-37. Joseph Boskin and Robert Rosenstone, eds., *Seasons of Rebellion* (Lanham, MD, 1980), 146-72, in a summary of psychosociological causes of right conspiracy theories, discounts the above mentioned factors—alienation from society, fundamentalism, status frustrations, and anxiety over rapid economic and population growth—and attributes right-wing politics to Republican partisanship. Their analysis clearly does not pertain to Darden, whose preference was that conservatives should take over the Democratic Party (*Southern Conservative*, November-December 1956).

[48]Bell, *The Radical Right*, 241-42; Harry and Bernaro Overstreet, *The Strange Tactics of Extremism* (New York, 1964), 208; Schoenberger, *The American Right Wing*, 194-95. Using the semantic measuring scale and thematic characteristics developed by Walter Wilcox, "The Press and the Radical Right: An Exploratory Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1962): 152-60, the *Southern Conservative* seemed to be slightly more hate mongering than the majority of ultraconservative and radical right periodicals.

[49]See *Southern Conservative*, February 1959 on textbooks and November-December 1957 on Hollywood. The three religion articles are in July-August, September, and November-December 1957.

[50]E. Green, "From Antisuffragism to Anti-Communism," 287 (quote), 315; *Southern Conservative*, March 1953, June 1960.

[51]See Sarah Weddington, et al., eds., *Texas Women in Politics* (Austin, 1977); Ann Fears Crawford and Crystal Ragsdale, *Women in Texas* (Burnet, 1982); Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones, eds., *Women and Texas History* (Austin, 1993).

[52]See the introduction and concluding chapter in McEnteer, *Fighting Words*.

[53]Mabel Gouldy, column in *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, June 8, 1962; *Houston Chronicle*, March 25, 1980; E. Green, "From Antisuffragism to Anti-Communism," 313-14.

[54]*Southern Conservative*, November-December 1952, November-December 1955, October 1956, January and March 1957, February and June, 1959, July-August 1961. At the time of Darden's tenure at the *Southern Conservative*, if a newspaper printed false or partially false statements of fact subjecting individuals to public contempt, the publisher was strictly liable for injuries, even if few people believed the story. U.S. Senators were probably not much concerned about a monthly publication in Texas, and, in any case, the paper shut down four months after the appearance of her long list of senators who constituted a bipartisan bloc of treason. As for minorities who were similarly labeled, Texas' all-Anglo judges and juries would not have sided with the (Mexican-American) *G. I. Forum* or the NAACP in a libel case in the 1950s. After the 1964 *New York Times v. Sullivan* case, which subjected state libel laws to the strictures of the First Amendment, the NAACP would have had to prove that Darden had printed a deliberate lie. Again, Texas' all-white judges and juries of that era would have seized on the *Sullivan* case to uphold Darden. The U.S. Supreme Court soon reaffirmed the old distinction between libelous statements of fact and statements of mere opinion. But the distinction between false statements of fact, which injure a reputation, and expressions of mere opinion, which are supposedly not actionable as libels, is not always clear in cases of "ideological facts." Among the latter are statements couched in factual form that are conceived from such extreme ideological bias that no reasonable reader understands them as serious statements of facts. Were attacks from the *Southern Conservative* likely to pose a real threat, in the eyes of a substantial group, to the reputations of the civil rights leaders? Perhaps for limited public figures to be dubbed as communists by Darden was more likely to mean that they were identified as ideological opponents rather than victimized by a false and libelous fact. See Rodney Smolla, *Suing the Press* (Oxford, 1986), 40-62.

[55]Overstreet and Overstreet, *The Strange Tactics of Extremism*, 22; Edward Ericson, *American Freedom and the Radical Right* (New York, 1982), 1; Harold Nelson, ed., *Freedom of the Press from Hamilton to the Warren Court* (New York, 1967), 101-102 (quotes).

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Book Reviews

Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz. *Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life and the Expedition of Pánfilo Narváez.* Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. 3 vols. *xxxvi*, 413 pp.; *xxxvii*, 476 pp.; *xxi*, 428 pp. Cloth, $275. ISBN 0-8032-1454-5.

This three volume set contains a transcription and critical analysis of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* of his journey to Florida as part of the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition, and the shipwreck that led to an eight-year odyssey along the Gulf Coast and through the Sonoran desert. This earliest version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was published in 1542 in Zamora, Spain. A side-by-side English translation accompanies the transcription of the *relación*, as well as a series of studies contextualizing this document. These studies include a detailed biography and genealogy of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, biographies of the four surviving members of the expedition, a global context for explorations and settlements in the Indies, and an in-depth study of the reception of Cabeza de Vaca's texts from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Few sources of sixteenth-century Spanish colonial efforts currently available pull together so many different essential elements vital to the understanding of the process of European exploration and conquest of the Americas. Fewer still are as eminently readable or as meticulously documented as the studies compiled in this stunning set.

Princetonian Rolena Adorno and her gifted student Patrick Pautz have edited, translated, and contextualized one of the most important and least studied colonial Spanish documents. The Zamora edition of the *relación* offers some of the earliest details written in Spanish of the northern Gulf Coast, Texas and the Sonoran Desert. After much study of the textual histories of the various documents recounting the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition to Florida and the disasters that befell the colonial effort, Adorno and Pautz chose to edit this version of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative. They believe that the 1542 version of the *relación* was written by Cabeza de Vaca to plead for a new commission to the Indies. The more studied and more frequently edited 1555 version published in Valladolid was a reflection on Cabeza de Vaca's history to defend the disastrous result of that commission to the Río de la Plata region. The discussion of the different emphasis of the Zamora 1542 account and the Valladolid 1555 version is intriguing and well supported.

In addition to studying the difference in tone, subject and audience of the two versions, Adorno and Pautz can account for only four examples of the Zamora edition—with perhaps several others in private hands—

making it nearly inaccessible to contemporary scholars. This document has only been edited and reproduced once, in 1905, and has never been translated into English. Adorno and Pautz cite the need for a modern edition of the document to clarify current scholarship on this important chronicler and his early first-hand accounts of pre-Hispanic North America.

In three beautifully bound and well-designed volumes, Adorno and Pautz explain and explore the texts and the events that manipulated and were manipulated by the process of European exploration and conquest. In these studies, we see that the colonial process was as much a textual effort as a physical one.

In the first volume, an introduction to the scholarly intent of the project, a series of excellent maps detailing all locations mentioned in the volume, and a section devoted to the paleographic process adopted by this team set up the well-transcribed critical edition and its readable, reliable side-by-side translation. This transcription/translation concludes with an appendix containing the "license to print" and table of contents from the 1555 Valladolid edition for the purposes of comparison with the 1542 edition. A comprehensive biography and a genealogy of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca follow the appendices to the transcription.

The second volume also begins with a lengthy introduction and a series of maps necessary for the discussion in this volume. In the introduction, the scholars outline the nine sections into which they divide the *relación*, based upon the events in the narrative, their readings of other sources including Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés's book 35 of the *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, and the previously unstudied source Part 5 chapter 41 *Crónica del emperador Carlos V* by royal cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz.

This second volume describes the preparations made by Narváez for the voyage from Spain to Cuba and on to Florida. Then, it details the various parts of the journey, bringing together textual analysis, historiographic and ethnographic issues, as well as some of the recent archaeological work being done along the Gulf Coast. In these commentaries on the ill-fated expedition, we find out many interesting facts about the voyage—including such topical themes as women and native Americans included among the passengers, philosophies of the era on settlements in the Caribbean, weather conditions, and many other aspects of the trip and its outcome.

Adorno and Pautz systematically uncover and resolve many of the textual and historical issues that come to light in this study, including the problematic archaeological and textual evidence linking the 1555 Narváez expedition narrative and that of the De Soto explorations (1539-43). One

major problematic area that the research team specifically does not attempt to resolve is that of the actual overland route traveled by the survivors of the Narváez expedition from the Texas coastline until they were found near the Sea of Cortés. This has been a favorite and extremely polemic topic for United States and Mexican historians, often provoking vehement debate and certainly politically motivated posturing. For Adorno and Pautz, the focus is one of textual archaeology. With hard archaeological data not forthcoming, they realize the impossibility of determining an exact route, especially when so many other important issues regarding this text and the colonial process in general must also be addressed. This volume concludes with the fates of the other three overland travelers—Andrés Dorantes de Caranza, his slave Estevanico, and Alonso del Castillo Maldonado after their return to "tierra de cristianos" (Christian lands [civilization]). An in-depth history of the text and its reception introduces the third volume. This study presents both literary and historiographic details of the various editions and versions as well as a more detailed discussion of the "*Comentarios*" that accompany the 1555 Valladolid edition. These commentaries were written by Pero Hernández, Cabeza de Vaca's second in command, while the two were in prison after the failure of Cabeza de Vaca's governorship in the Rio de la Plata region. Interestingly, though this version of the *Relación de los naufragios y comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* has been edited at least forty-four times since 1922, these editions rarely include Hernández's commentaries. Adorno and Pautz study this text in the context of the commentaries, the charges made against Cabeza de Vaca, and his defense against them.

Volume three continues with the reception of the Cabeza de Vaca's narratives during the later colonial period, illustrating how this account stimulated fortune seekers to sign up for the expedition being prepared by De Soto in Spain as well as how the efforts and ambitions in New Spain by the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and provincial officials such as Nuño de Guzmán and Hernán Cortés were interwoven with those of Narváez. This section also explores how the religious arm of the colonial process used Cabeza de Vaca's narrative for their missionary activities along the Gulf Coast and into Texas and northern Mexico. Additionally, Adorno and Pautz examine English translations and the British readings of the narrative. The following section, chapter 14, summarizes and critiques the Spanish-language versions of the various texts.

The final three chapters offer a variety of historical contexts for the narrative. First, the context of Narváez's involvement in settlement efforts in the Gulf and Caribbean sheds new light on the role this pivotal figure played in colonial developments. Following this equally fascinating

discussion, Adorno and Pautz provide the context for understanding Spanish colonial activities in terms of controlling trade in the South Sea and in Asia. The final context offered by Adorno and Pautz is that of Nuño de Guzmán, the governor of Nueva Galicia who received the survivors upon their return. This powerful conquistador also left his mark on the history and ethnohistory of the Indies.

An extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources and a comprehensive index complete the elements necessary for an indispensable scholarly tool. Like Cabeza de Vaca's own narratives, this three volume set will be many things to many people. First and foremost, it is a model of how colonial scholarship can and will continue to incorporate interdisciplinary studies and the need for collaboration among literary, historical, ethnographic and archaeological branches of study. It is also a "jumping-off point" for stimulating more scholarship on the colonial issues and the contacts between European, Caribbean, Gulf Coast and Asian cultures. Adorno and Pautz address many issues in their text, but they also pose many questions and indicate many new avenues to pursue in colonial Spanish scholarship.

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James R. Bennett. *Tannehill and the Growth of the Alabama Iron Industry, Including the Civil War in West Alabama*. McCalla, Alabama: Alabama Historic Ironworks Commission, 1999. *xviii*, 469 pp. Cloth, $38.95, ISBN 0-9674455-0-9; Paper, $24.95, ISBN 0-9674455-1-5.

Like Ethyl Armes's *The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama* (1910) and dozens of works by local historians, Alabama Secretary of State James R. Bennett's folio-sized story of the Tannehill iron works fills a gap in the local and industrial history of Alabama left unexplored by professional historians.

Pre-publication reviewers called Bennett's tome "encyclopedic," and indeed it is. In twenty fact-filled chapters, the author considers the beginnings of iron-making in the state, the rise of the Tannehill works on Roupes Creek, the expansion of Alabama's ironworks during the Civil War, the impact on Tannehill and the Confederate Naval Armory at Selma of Wilson's raid through West Alabama, the Reconstruction attempts to reopen Tannehill, the growth of Birmingham's iron industry, and the transformation of the abandoned iron works into a state park and headquarters of the Alabama Historic Ironworks Commission. He supports this roster of themes with eight appendices, a glossary of ironmaking

terms, copious endnotes, an expansive bibliography, an index, twenty-eight tables, thirteen maps, and 246 illustrations.

Bennett frames his narrative as an heroic struggle of a few visionary artisans, some driven by need, others by foresight, to exploit the region's iron-making opportunities. The needs for short-term commercial gain and the frontier's notorious lack of adequate infrastructure limited their progress and the advance of manufacturing in general. Consequently, few Alabama iron-mongers conducted research or systematically applied new knowledge to their work. Commercial concerns inspired Montgomery investors to hire, in 1830, Daniel Hillman of New Jersey to establish a forge along Roupes Creek in southwest Jefferson County. Hillman's forge lay dormant between his 1832 death and its purchase in 1840 by Ninian Tannehill, who ran the works for seventeen years and gave it its moniker. In 1855, Tannehill hired South Carolina ironmonger Moses Stroup to convert the small forge into a blast furnace. These improvements, and the addition of a double furnace financed by the Confederate government in 1862, made "the forging of iron in the Roupes Valley a much more serious matter." Although Stroup brought in a steam engine to apply blast, and the furnaces' wartime owner, William L. Sanders of Selma, introduced hot blast and the bell hopper loading system, this technology was aged by the time they adopted it. In addition, both operators continued to fire their iron with homemade charcoal, though the area possessed vast coal resources and technology had existed since 1709 to convert it to coke, a fuel that yielded higher quality metal.

During the Civil War, the Tannehill furnaces provided large quantities of pig iron to the Confederate Naval Armory at Selma, much of which was made into armor plates for ironclads. They also filled contracts for substantial amounts of "hollowware," the everyday utensils used by soldiers in the field. Other businesses—a tannery, a grist mill, and sawmills—grew up in the neighborhood, making Tannehill a target for General James H. Wilson's Union raiders in 1865. Troops under Capt. William A. Sutherland destroyed Tannehill so thoroughly that its furnaces could never be re-opened.

From this point in the story, poor editing mars the work's organization. The destruction of the furnaces in 1865 leaves Bennett without a rudder. He discusses Selma's war effort and fate, naturally enough, as well as the attempts by John Alexander and his successor Giles Edwards to resurrect the Tannehill furnace. But he wanders off course to follow the short and sorry post-war career of Capt. Sutherland in Texas and William Sanders's attempts to reinvent himself. Additionally, Bennett interjects a chapter that is as distracting as it is fascinating—twenty-three people share their memories of recreating at the ruins before age and vandalism made doing

so too dangerous. Bennett devotes all but one of his final chapters to the account of resurrecting the site into a state park, beginning with archeological studies conducted between 1956 and 1995, moving through efforts of a group of dedicated politicians and industrialists to improve the wreckage, and finally describing the bicentennial re-firing of the reconstructed furnace and opening of the Alabama Historic Ironworks Commission headquarters at the Tannehill museum. In the middle of this story rises, from out of the blue, a chapter on Birmingham's growth as an iron and steel center.

Bennett's use of details also requires an editor's pen. Like all historians, he generated huge quantities of research data and wants to include it all. In places, such inclusion makes the story read like a raw sequence of note cards. In others, it commandeers the narrative. Also, tables comparing the chemical composition of slag samples, which Bennett uses to make and clarify important points, are labeled with chemical symbols rather than the compositions' names. This failure of the editorial process is unfortunate, for at his best Bennett is a facile writer who conveys excitement and enthusiasm.

These imperfections make little difference. Bennett has produced a prodigiously-researched labor of love that reflects not only his avocation as an historian, but also his close association with the Tannehill works' renaissance. His is a significant contribution to the all-too-scant historical literature on Alabama's antebellum industries. Also, because he grounds his story of the iron works in that of West Alabama in general, Bennett verifies well the idea that history occurs in particular space as well as time.

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Brooks Blevins. *Cattle in the Cotton Fields: A History of Cattle Raising in Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998, 219 pp. $34.95. ISBN 0-8173-0940-3.

Cattle raising has been an important aspect of Alabama's agricultural economy since the Spanish, French, and British colonial periods. During the twenty years after 1763, when Great Britain obtained all of present-day Alabama, Mobile served as a major cattle market for livestock raisers who grazed their cattle on an open range. By statehood in 1819, cattle provided an important source of food and income for Alabama's farmers and planters. Although cotton soon surpassed cattle raising as the most important agricultural endeavor in Alabama, settlers in the piney woods

primarily grazed cattle which they sold in Mobile for shipment to markets in the West Indies or to local butchers for beef, leather, and tallow. In the Black Belt and Tennessee Valley, plantation owners used slaves to herd cattle. During the 1850s, these planters imported purebred stock to improve their herds and fenced their property to ensure good breeding practices. Most livestock raisers at mid-nineteenth century owned about a dozen cattle, while the largest operators grazed several hundred head.

Union and Confederate troops devastated the state's livestock during the Civil War. However, Alabama's farmers increasingly raised cattle throughout the late nineteenth century, despite the expansion of the cotton culture. After diversification became essential with the arrival of the boll weevil in the early twentieth century, cattle raisers adopted the Midwestern system of livestock raising by purchasing purebreds, enclosing and improving pastures, winter feeding, and providing veterinary care and shelter, although open range herding continued in the backwoods, piney woods, and rugged upland areas. Eradication of tick fever and information provided by Auburn University and the state agricultural experiment station about improved stock raising practices also helped farmers expand cattle production during the early twentieth century. World War I increased demand for beef and boosted prices, which further encouraged cattle raising.

During the 1930s, the cotton reduction program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration freed more land for forage crops and cattle. Moreover, Alabama's cattle industry now centered in the Black Belt among planters and prosperous businessmen. In 1939, the state legislature closed the open range state-wide, subject to county option, and World War II soon created a greater demand for cattle. As a result, by the 1950s, cattle surpassed cotton as Alabama's leading agricultural commodity, although the poultry industry soon exceeded it in importance. During the last half of the twentieth century, however, livestock raising enabled small-scale farmers to maintain some attachment to the land while they supported themselves with off-the-farm employment. As a result, cattle raising remains the most common, that is, widely practiced, form of agriculture in Alabama.

Brooks Blevins has written a solid study of the cattle industry in Alabama. He has conducted thorough research and written a clear, direct narrative. In part, he traces the influence of the agricultural extension service, government programs, and the planter class on cattle raising, as well as the creation of livestock auctions and the development of the Alabama Cattlemen's Association. His reflections on markets, population change, urbanization, managerial improvement, and scientific and technological change have broad implications for the cattle industry across

the South and nation. Blevins has made a fine contribution to the history of Alabama and American agriculture.

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Richard and Marina Campanella. *New Orleans: Then and Now.* Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1999, 400 pp. $39.95. ISBN 1-56554-347-5.

New Orleans: Then and Now intends to show how New Orleans once looked compared to how it looks today. It does that through 173 matched pairs of photographs consisting of an old view on the left-hand page contrasted with a contemporary view taken by the authors on the right-hand page. The availability of old photographs determined the selection of views. The authors avoid any thematic point in what they call their historical geography. Nevertheless, the presence of a sufficient number of "before and after" images showing the same structures will permit readers to conclude that much has been preserved in New Orleans. A more radical conclusion would be that the buildings demolished since 1930 were invariably handsomer than what replaced them. While many nineteenth-century structures replaced eighteenth-century buildings, generally for the better, such was not the case in the twentieth century. The pioneer work of this preservation genre was Nathan Silver's 1966 *Lost New York.* Its importance was also largely a result of its *subrosa* message that contemporary replacement architecture was much worse than the building replaced.

The picture captions are packed with information, often containing the name of the architect, date of construction, and date of demolition. The captions also contain many of the authors' opinions, irreverent or otherwise. On the Mariott Hotel the authors quote favorably the *Vieux Carré Courier* review of the building: "a 42-story Scarlett O'Hara drag show and a Walt Disney 'Mississippi gambler's' riverboat, a shameless five-star catastrophe of phony historicism, misspelled French, and bald bad taste...Willard Mariott needs to learn the difference between atmosphere and odor." The book relies heavily on the research of the Friends of the Cabildo in their series on New Orleans Architecture. Architectural themes pop up throughout the captions. In illustrating the changes to the Morris Building at the corner of Camp and Canal, the second caption reads: "Note the removal of the cornice and veranda and the addition of fire escapes on the Morris Building, three common alterations to downtown buildings over the years." The authors have also followed the preservation battles

in the city over the past few years. A comparison of the buildings at the corner of Oak and Dante streets gave them the opportunity to blast the Castellon Pharmacy for demolishing adjacent cottages. But other street scapes along Oak would have portrayed more significant buildings.

This fine and popular book opens with a workmanlike history of New Orleans. The authors proclaim New Orleans to be the Geographical City, the holder of the distinction of being the city most determined by geography. She was and is the gate-keeper to North America via the Mississippi River. Aside from stressing the role of geography, the themes reflect popular rather than contemporary historical theories. New Orleans' "Golden Age" not surprisingly turns out to be the 1850s when the cotton factorage business prospered and vast new suburbs opened. Civil War and Reconstruction were geographical burdens, facts forced on New Orleans because of her location. Befitting the authors' technical background, they give ample coverage to the infrastructure improvements at the turn of the twentieth century—the pumping system and the new docks. No connection is made between the introductory history and the illustrations.

Curiously, one of the weaknesses of the book is the technique of employing small size photographs of geographical features. Unlike normal detail shots, these small images of large areas fail as readable prints. Notable is the comparison of Old Basin and the New Basin canals and the image of the Storyville District. Another failure are aerial photographs of large areas such as the one on Uptown shown on pages 336-37 and 350-51, and Mid-City on pages 362-63. The details within the aerials are necessarily lost, and the overall impact depends entirely on the caption. The book boldly avoids color. This helps the desired comparison of individual buildings, though it undoubtedly hurts the impact of the aerial photographs.

I make three suggestions for the next edition. The caption for the Jay Dearborn Edwards view of Harvey Castle indicates the house was built in 1844. Letters in the Destrehan Collection at the Historic New Orleans Collection indicate that Harvey constructed the house in 1852-53. One of the most dramatic before and after images would be one of the Mississippi River moving south and into Algiers and Gretna in the years from 1800 to 1890. Hundreds of acres of new land appeared in New Orleans on the river side of Tchoupitoulas while many acres disappeared from the "West Bank." Perhaps the inability to show this transformation using photographs kept it from the book. Finally, the absence of an index is a serious lapse. Locating specific buildings within the large chapters is difficult.

A gasp of pleasure inevitably accompanies the first opening of this volume. But it is quite possible that its importance will grow with time as a handy and systematic way to examine the fate of New Orleans'

architecture to the end of the twentieth century. A century from now will more tears drop for lost New Orleans, or will contemporary architects give up their barren modernisms?

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James C. Cobb. *Redefining Southern Culture: Mind and Identity in the Modern South.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999, *x*, 251 pp. $40.00. ISBN 082032117.

University of Georgia history professor James Cobb's *Redefining Southern Culture* is a volume of eight essays previously written by Cobb that attempt to define southern culture in the modern era. Cobb has written extensively on southern economic and cultural history. Of the eight essays, six have appeared in journals or edited volumes; two of the essays are more than ten years old, and the most recent appeared two years before the publication of this book. There are two new essays that complete the book. One essay appears to have two names. "Searching for Southernness: Community and Identity in the Contemporary South," (*Georgia Review,* 1996), is referred to in the acknowledgments as "Redefining Southern Culture: Community and Identity in the Contemporary South."

The book is both a synthesis of a number of historians' attempts to come to grips with the southern mind and culture, as well as the author's thoughts on the subject. Points of departure that figure prominently in this book are W. J. Cash's *Mind of the South* and C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* and *The Burden of Southern History*. As might be expected, therefore, much play is given to whether or not the South experienced continuity (of leaders and values) or change brought on by Woodward's businessmen and industrialists. Cobb's assessment, one that is repeated in several of the essays, is that both Cash and Woodward are too narrow and the South should be "examined within the larger context of an evolving national and international economy."

To the author, the New Deal and, in particular, World War II profoundly impacted the South. Obviously, there were more jobs (industry gained and agriculture lost) and higher wages. But Cobb also stresses mobility, movement outside and within the South. Affected also was southern culture, music (black and white), and literature. The war also put segregation "on the run." Yet, Cobb does not see that World War II brought peace to the South, but he does believe the war allowed the virtues of the South not to be obscured by its vices. The author also

makes it clear that with Vietnam and the "law and order rhetoric" of the Nixon years, history at last began to "catch up" with other Americans. With racism now a serious national problem, the South lost some of its uniqueness (as did Cash's thesis). Cobb, therefore, sees the post-Civil Rights era as the period when the South could no longer hold claim on the conscience of the nation. Indeed, for the author, Cash's *Mind of the South* might read better for its national, not regional, implications.

It is Cobb's view that the Civil Rights movement also gave Southerners (black as well as white) the opportunity to save southern culture. As Southerners made progress toward Americanization, the South stood in danger of losing its identity. The question, as the author sees it, is whether or not black and white Southerners, both of whom seem to want to "affirm their southernness," can share an identity.

In "From 'New South' to 'No South,' The Southern Renaissance and the Struggle with Southern Identity," the author concludes that Cash's *Mind of the South* is the "'quintessential expression' of the spirit of the Southern Renaissance." The Renaissance played a major role, according to Cobb, in toppling one New South identity. African American writers followed and also indicted the caste system, which Richard Wright called "one of America's biggest problems." Cobb then moves on to what he calls the post-Renaissance era and the "shame and guilt" writers who seem to be ambivalent that the change they advocated could result in the loss of much of the southern identity. Some felt that the price was worth paying if the scars of the past, particularly racism, could be removed.

World War II might have generated jobs and mobility, but it also helped to bring southern music to the rest of the nation. In two essays, "From Muskogee to Luckenbach" and "The Blues Is a Lowdown Sahkin' Chill," Cobb feels the slick commercialization of both country music and blues has led to a "Southernization of America." While the commercialization has even brought a fusion of African-American and white music (rock and roll), Cobb does not necessarily see blacks and whites understanding each other any better. Both seek a southern identity, but are on separate paths.

For some white Southerners any loss of identity is unacceptable. Sons of Confederate Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy members, for example, claim that the Confederate battle flag is a symbol of their heritage and not a representation of slavery and racism. Yet, Cobb makes it clear in the still timely essay, "Searching for Southernness," that he believes they are wrong, and that the New South creed version of history, on which they base their claim, is also a distortion and a fabrication. In the end, Cobb fears that this distortion will still prove to

be an obstacle to formulating an identity to which all Southerners can cling.

In these eight essays, Cobb offers readers (one hopes all readers and not just Southerners) much to consider. Not only does he rehabilitate Cash, but also he finds some universal (not just regional) themes in southern history and culture. Like Woodward, Cobb believes a positive southern identity, for all Southerners, is possible. My only complaint is Cobb's South seems to be limited to where he was born, reared, lived, or now lives. Georgia (particularly Atlanta), Oxford, Mississippi, the Mississippi Delta (to some extent), and the South Atlantic southern states are Cobb's South. While other locations receive a mention or two, there is precious little, if anything, about, for example, Louisiana (New Orleans), Arkansas, or Texas. Houston and Dallas probably have been influenced by southern themes, other than the Austin sound, and I know New Orleans, Mobile, and Louisville have a rich, southern heritage. But these urban centers and their surroundings are absent from this thoughtful book of essays on southern culture and identity. Cobb concludes with his thought that the only reason to study the experiences of the South may not be because of what is unique, but because of what is universal in that experience.

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John G. Crowley. *Primitive Baptists of the Wiregrass South: 1815 to the Present.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, *xiii*, 244 pp. $49.95. ISBN 0-8130-1640-1.

John Gordon Crowley published this book as a revision of his 1996 Florida State University dissertation: "The Primitive Baptists of South Georgia and Florida." Crowley critically and thoroughly examines the history of his own religious heritage, but does so with compassion and genuine appreciation for this small community of Baptists.

Crowley begins his study by developing a genealogy of Primitive Baptists in the Wiregrass South, tracing the origin of their doctrine, ecclesiastical polity, and elements of worship from the Calvinistic English Particular Baptists. Crowley then recounts the story of significant persons and initial controversies in the appearance and growth of Primitive Baptists in the Wiregrass South, an expansion that resulted from the Second Great Awakening. Next, the book contains an account of distinctive Primitive Baptist forms of worship, church organization, morality, and discipline

For example, while very serious about taking disciplinary action against members for deviations from their rigid Calvinistic theology, and fearful of worldly amusements or entanglements such as dancing and secret societies (the Masonic Order), Primitive Baptists enthusiastically consumed alcohol, becoming known regionally as "whiskey Baptists." The author then discusses the origin and character of the Missionary Controversy among Primitive Baptists resulting from Andrew Fuller's introduction of the missionary cause and the theology of that group. Crowley relates how this controversy also disclosed the Primitive Baptist opposition to religious education of all kinds, from Sunday School to theological education for professional ministry. He indicates nicely, though not in depth, how the Primitive Baptist Calvinistic doctrines of limited atonement and double predestination undergirded the denomination's vehement anti-missionary sentiments. According to Crowley, Primitive Baptists generally tended toward a sectarianism that separated them from concerns about their larger social environment. Although losing their share of loved ones in battle during the Civil War, Primitive Baptists largely ignored the conflict, with a few exceptions, even though they maintained typical southern attitudes toward the North. During the period following the Civil War, certain features of Reconstruction politics provoked some division among Primitive Baptists. Nonetheless, some Primitive Baptist congregations received African Americans into their memberships, although many African-American Primitive Baptists also formed their own churches and associations. The author also chronicles a series of doctrinal controversies among Primitive Baptists during the 1860s and 1870s, largely arising from the tension between their Calvinistic determinism and the Christian impulse to evangelize non-Christians.

Crowley also tells the story of progressive movements among Primitive Baptists in terms of both doctrine and practice, from the late 1800s to the late 1920s, that provoked further divisions and led to largely unsuccessful "peace movements" within the community. He recounts dissension that also developed among Primitive Baptists in reference to the practice of footwashing. Finally, Crowley identifies a number of factors that have produced the dramatic decline of this sect since 1945. In addition, he notes the variety of traditional beliefs that remain essential in Primitive Baptist churches. And, in a very brief conclusion of two-and-one-half pages, Crowley identifies the enduring and positive value of Primitive Baptist life for the future of this community.

Crowley has studied a portion of North American religious history to which religious historians seldom devote any significant attention. Although generally not participants in the mainstream of public life and religion, Primitive Baptists significantly shaped culture in remote regions

of southern Georgia and Florida ("the Wiregrass South"). Because historians have neglected this aspect of history, Crowley has made genuine contributions to the larger religious and cultural history of the United States, to the history of Christianity in the United States, and, most specifically, to the history of Baptists in the United States.

Although often working with the mundane details of church and organizational reports, minutes from meetings, and oral accounts from living Primitive Baptists, Crowley has produced a well-documented, well-written, creative, and interesting account of this virtually unknown and seldom studied Baptist community. Crowley also very skillfully, even if sometimes too briefly, placed the history of Primitive Baptists within larger contexts of political and Christian history. Because this book focuses on such a narrow range of North American religious history, it will not serve well as a textbook in basic or introductory courses in the histories of culture, religion, theology, or Baptists. Nevertheless, this book remains invaluable for the specialist who prepares to teach such courses and might even serve well as a supplementary text for advanced students in basic undergraduate or graduate history courses.

The book's title contains two major elements about which most people possess very little, if any, knowledge: "Primitive Baptists" and "the Wiregrass South." One person facetiously commented to me: "Isn't 'primitive Baptist' a redundant expression?" Despite the cultural bias against all Baptists that comment expressed, it also indicated a simple lack of knowledge about this sect of Baptists in North American history. Although the title more than likely will not attract many readers to this very careful and focused study, the book will reward all who will invest time in its reading. Clearly, Crowley has treated his tradition fairly and critically, yet gently and lovingly. Crowley's sympathetic treatment of this Baptist community may even elicit admiration and respect for Primitive Baptists from some readers, even though leaving some puzzled or astonished by some of the sect's perspectives and practices. Nevertheless, in spite of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical eccentricities of this Christian community, the readers in the second category should not forget the numerous doctrines and practices Primitive Baptists share with the history of any of the so-called "mainstream" Christian denominations!

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Laura F. Edwards. *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000, 271 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-252-02568-7.

Probably the weakest thing about Laura Edwards's book on southern women is the title. Not only does Scarlett not live here (in the South) anymore, as Edwards repeatedly notes throughout the book, but she never did. This is not exactly surprising. Scarlett O'Hara is, after all, the fictional creation of an author whose depictions of the Old South, Civil War, and Reconstruction have all been rejected by historians. Although Edwards also rejects the "moonlight and magnolias" stereotype, her (blessedly) infrequent references to *Gone With the Wind* are distracting and irritating. One can only wish she had chosen a less "cute" title and left Scarlett and Melanie on the pages of the novel where they belong.

Aside from that, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore* is an adept work of synthesis, bringing together recent research on southern women, men, and families. Edwards has also included some of her own archival research, and her vignettes about individual women both encapsulate and illuminate the history, bringing it to life. Kate Stone's diary sheds light on the lives and attitudes of planter wives. Although Stone is hardly an admirable character, Edwards does a good job of using Stone's writings to show how racial and class privilege created a self-contained world that was incapable of imagining the point of view of an "Other." Edwards notes, too, that privilege provided a thick cushion in times of hardship. Stone and her family subsisted on monotonous meals, but at least they were eating. She acquired new dresses throughout the war, and planters as a class evaded conscription which poorer whites, free blacks, and slaves could not. Moreover, after the war, planters' power, though diminished, was still a considerable force, and they were more able than other groups to reshape the post-war South to serve their own interests.

Still, Edwards does not suggest that the elites were free from all human misery. Marion Singleton Deveaux made a serious error in judgement when she chose the wife-beater Augustus Converse as her second husband. Only the support of her natal family allowed her to separate legally from Converse. Gertrude Clanton Thomas slid into a twenty-year depression after the Civil War and was forced to go to work as a schoolteacher, a job that she detested.

It is more difficult for the historian to uncover the experiences of non-elite southern women, but Edwards includes their voices as well. The story of Harriet Jacobs, a slave who escaped from a lustful master by hiding in an attic for seven years is well known, since Jacobs wrote a book about her prolonged ordeal. But Edwards also described Sarah Guttery, a poor

white women who bore two children out of wedlock before settling down to hard work to win back her lost respectability. Guttery might have pulled herself out of poverty by sheer hard work had not her son been killed in the Civil War. And then there was Belle Newton, a former slave who sued a white neighbor for his attempted rape of her daughter.

If there is a common theme that unites these disparate women, it is "family." Concern with family well-being cut across race and class, and "family" was both a lived reality and—for the elites—a microcosm and symbol of the larger polity. Edwards divides her book into antebellum, Civil War, and postbellum eras, and in each it is clear that far from being a "private" entity, families in fact bridged the gap between private existence and public affairs. Edwards looks not only at the impact of the Civil War on families, but also argues that the central debate of Reconstruction was about what family form would dominate, and, in particular, whether African American families would continue to be subsumed under the control of white patriarchs (now masquerading as employers or the law, rather than as slaveholders). Edwards suggests that this concern for their own family interests helps to explain the shallow and conditional nature of white support for the Confederacy, as well as why some southern whites were Unionists.

While Edwards does a good job of emphasizing the diversity among Southerners based on race, class, and gender, she seems uninterested in exploring regional differences. In her introduction, she admits to this, claiming that looking at the lives of individual women is a better way of making them "visible" than making "generalizations about women in different regions." However, the two are not mutually exclusive, and surely there are important differences in experience among women who lived at a remove from the fighting, women in areas that changed hands more than once, and women who lived where there were large influxes of refugees. Slave women who were forcibly marched away from the oncoming Union Army had vastly different lives than those who stayed behind (especially those who remained after white Southerners had fled).

Nevertheless, this is a readable and well-organized book that does a good job of introducing the reader to recent interpretations of southern women's history in the Civil War era. It makes a welcome addition to the growing number of books on this subject.

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Dan R. Frost and Kou K. Nelson. *The LSU College of Engineering,* Volume 1: *Origins and Establishment, 1860-1908.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, *xiv*, 209 pp. $30.00. ISBN 0-8071-1997-0.

The struggle for the establishment of an institution of higher learning in Louisiana and its vicissitudes during the antebellum and post-Civil War years, with special emphasis on engineering and science, is described in this brief but comprehensive volume. The problems created by inadequate funding for both faculty and facilities due to indifference and even hostility by the legislature and population of the state is clearly documented. The book was commissioned by the College of Engineering of Louisiana State University (LSU). The authors preface their focus on LSU by an account of the development of engineering education in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century and its effect on the corresponding training in this and other southern states. An examination is provided of the influence on LSU technical education of the West Point program that was devoted to non-military endeavors that promulgated the origin of the designation "civil engineering." This field was the first established curriculum at the institution.

The economic status of Louisiana in the nineteen century was extremely weak. Industry and manufacturing were essentially non-existent outside of sugar production. Engineers were needed for construction of levees and dams, clearing of waterways, flood control and railway operations, and to a lesser extent for local infrastructure, but wagon routes were virtually absent. Strangely, the volume does not mention ship building and repair (beyond steam power) in New Orleans. However, this need did not translate itself into demand for skilled engineers, resulting frequently in a dearth of technical students and the virtual disappearance of a technical curriculum from 1870 to 1890. At that time, the situation changed as industrialization became more developed and the financial position of the state improved.

The history of Louisiana State University and its technological component reflects a constant battle for survival. After the Civil War the school included a Special School of Engineering with R. M. Venable as professor of engineering, succeeded by S. Lockett and S. H. Barnett. It had to be closed in 1874 due to lack of funding. In 1870, it moved from Pineville to Baton Rouge. The institution also officially changed its name from "Military Academy" to Louisiana State University. It absorbed the state's Agricultural and Mechanical College in 1876, appending that appellation to the name of LSU. Engineering remained in limbo until 1890

buildings, as well as better equipment. During this period engineering education became more standardized, resulting eventually in the establishment of a College of Engineering in 1908 with four traditional departments: chemical, civil, electrical, and mechanical.

The chronicle of LSU is that of its faculty: many persons of vision and strong predilections as well as lesser lights. The first superintendent of the school was William Tecumseh Sherman, who was also a professor of engineering, drawing, and architecture, and who patterned the seminary after West Point and the Virginia Military Institute. The giant of the university was the controversial David M. Boyd, who was appointed as professor of mathematics in 1859, then as superintendent, and later as president of the institution. Boyd was a political animal and was fired in 1880, but rehired in 1886. He stepped down in 1888 and then taught civil engineering. He strongly believed in technology as opposed to trade school operations, in a multi-faceted faculty, in mechanical engineering, and in a flexible program. Boyd, to whom Alumni Hall was dedicated in 1910, was succeeded in 1883 by J. Nicholson, professor of mathematics and mechanics, a rare teacher and scholar.

Thomas Boyd, brother of David, became interim president in 1886. In 1880, J. Randolph was chosen as the first instructor in mechanical engineering; he taught drawing, shop practice, mechanics, and civil engineering for twenty years. William Taylor, who served LSU from 1891 to 1898 as professor of engineering and physics, initiated the renaissance of civil and mechanic engineering and instituted a one-year grade program leading to a CE degree. Thomas Atkinson, a student of Randolph, became professor of mechanics and drawing and headed the new mechanical engineering department in 1898. Atkinson became the first dean of the new college in 1908 and later assumed the presidency of LSU. Other notable professors hired after 1890 were B. Pegues, civil engineering, and A. M. Herget, drawing and mechanics.

This history of the college of engineering provides an excellent portrayal of the effects of the first and second Morrill acts, dominant in the absence of private support, on the fortunes of LSU and black institutions such as Southern University. It describes the arguments surrounding the distribution of these revenues, and the tribulations of the state university with particular reference to engineering training and the controversy concerning a scientific versus a practical approach. Frost's and Nelson's treatise provides a detailed description of the problems of inadequate salaries, of the lack of space and equipment, and of an early dearth of students, exacerbated by the indifference of the population and the legislature, by the Civil War and Reconstruction, and by the existence and abolition of slavery in what was still a rural state.

The book provides intimate and sympathetic vignettes of the major players, their problems, and their efforts to improve the educational level of LSU. It relates to similar efforts at other southern institutions, particularly in Virginia, Alabama, and Mississippi. But, strangely, it makes no significant reference to the influence of its large western neighbors, Texas A & M and the University of Texas at Austin. It is also curious that in the reference frame of agriculture interest in sugar predominates, whereas the production of cotton is not considered here. Perhaps the invention of the cotton gin solved the harvesting problem, but it did nothing for improving crop production or manufacture. Further, the contributions of the Army Corps of Engineers, who were responsible for many tasks including dredging, is not adequately depicted. The monograph is balanced, extremely readable, and outstandingly researched and documented. It is to be hoped that the promised companion volume will continue with this high standard of presentation.

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David Edwin Harrell, Jr. *The Churches of Christ in the Twentieth Century: Homer Hailey's Personal Journey of Faith*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2000, 451 pp. $34.95. ISBN 08173-1008-8.

Churches of Christ have been among the fastest growing religious bodies in the twentieth century. Separating from the Christian Church/ Disciples of Christ in the first quarter of the century, the membership of the Churches of Christ, first reported in 1906, has grown from 159,658 to over 1,200,000. Although Churches of Christ are located throughout the United States, more than two-thirds of the members of the Churches of Christ reside in the South and Southwest. Thus, the story of the Churches of Christ, though important to the broad topic of American religious history, is critical to understanding the twentieth-century history of religion in the South and Southwest.

Harrell tells the twentieth-century story of the Churches of Christ by the unusual method of combining institutional history, largely an account of controversies and divisions among Churches of Christ, with the individual biography of preacher and teacher Homer Hailey. While at times it seems that this volume is two books rather than one, the two approaches are complimentary and result in a much fuller understanding of the twentieth-century history of the Churches of Christ than would be the case if either approach were deleted. By providing a history of

controversies and divisions among the Churches of Christ, Harrell accounts for the three major groups among the contemporary Churches of Christ and points to the critical issue of "fellowship" in this tradition. By providing a biography of Hailey, Harrell shows that the story of the Churches of Christ is not simply conflict and strife, but includes the lives of preachers who, though involved in the controversies and divisions, have been primarily devoted to preaching and teaching the Bible.

Part one introduces both Homer Hailey and the Churches of Christ up to the time that Hailey entered Abilene Christian College in 1926. Harrell argues that leaders of the emerging Churches of Christ recognized that their differences with leaders of the Christian Church/Disciples of Christ ran deeper than their disapproval of the latter's endorsement of instrumental music in worship and of missionary societies. Leaders of the Churches of Christ believed that the New Testament provided a recoverable model of Christianity. Leaders of the Christian Church/ Disciples of Christ generalized the plea for New Testament authority rather than seeking specific New Testament precedents for contemporary church practices. There were also economic differences between the two groups, with the Christian Church/Disciples of Christ congregations generally being wealthier than the Churches of Christ. Nevertheless, there was still movement between the two groups in the first part of the century. Although Hailey's mother opposed instrumental music in church, Hailey began his journey of faith in the Christian Church/Disciples of Christ in Arizona, where the economic disparity between the two groups was less apparent due to the general poverty of the churches in the West. Hailey turned toward the Churches of Christ when he chose to attend the struggling Churches of Christ-related Abilene Christian College rather than the more academically respectable Christian Church/Disciples of Christ-related Texas Christian University in Fort Worth.

Part two traces the history of the "mainstream" Churches of Christ from 1920-1999. Harrell discusses disagreements within the Churches of Christ during the first and second world wars regarding the historic pacifist tradition of Churches of Christ. He also discusses the controversy and ultimate division among Churches of Christ regarding premillennialism that occurred during the first half of the century. The major thrust of this section, however, is the controversy that led to a separation of the "noninstitutional" churches from the "mainstream" Churches of Christ in the 1960s. Harrell argues that long-disputed questions of the relation of churches to educational, benevolent and missionary "institutions" were brought to the fore by the phenomenal growth of the number of foreign missionaries supported by "sponsoring" churches following World War II. Colleges and orphan homes related to

the Churches of Christ also grew in size and number during the postwar era. Leaders of the noninstitutional churches opposed church support of "institutions" and considered the "boosterism" that accompanied the growth of Churches of Christ in the postwar era as aping the "worldly" ways of "denominational" churches. Harrell also examines the emergence since the 1960s of "progressives" (who in their own way critiqued the boosterism of Churches of Christ in the 1950s) and of "conservatives" within the mainstream Churches of Christ that resulted by the 1990s in a de facto division of the mainstream Churches of Christ.

Hailey appears rarely in Part two. He returns to a central place in Part three—Harrell's account of Hailey and the noninstitutional Churches of Christ from 1925-1999. Picking up Hailey's biography with his arrival at Abilene Christian College, Harrell tells of Hailey's identification with the Churches of Christ and his career as a preacher and educator. Harrell argues that although Hailey avoided the institutional controversy for several years, he eventually sided with noninstitutional churches when it was evident that the middle ground had vanished. In 1988, Hailey became involved in a bitter debate within the noninstitutional churches regarding his views of divorce and remarriage, which raised, again, the issue of fellowship in the Churches of Christ.

Following four major studies of Churches of Christ published since 1993, Harrell's history is enriched by conversation with these earlier monographs. Students of twentieth-century American Christianity will be well rewarded by this engaging and comprehensive study of the Churches of Christ.

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Timothy J. Minchin. *What Do We Need a Union For?: The TWUA in the South, 1945-1955*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, 285 pp. Cloth, $49.95, ISBN 0-8078-2317-1; Paper, $17.95, ISBN 0-8078-4625-2.

In 1929 Robert and Helen Lynd found that trade-union and community involvement were low among mass production workers in Muncie, Indiana. Workers in *Middletown* who earned enough to join America's emerging consumer culture seemed less community oriented and more individualistic. The Lynds' observation echoes through Timothy J. Minchin's study of the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA), and the union's failure to organize the South.

Minchin's explanation for the union's failure contrasts sharply with those stressing factory owners' continuing dominance of the southern mill community, and the community's isolation from social and economic changes sweeping across America after the Second World War. In contradistinction, Minchin argues that organizing drives failed because TWUA efforts and wartime prosperity *transformed* the South's textile community, ending company domination and making its workers unreceptive to union appeals.

According to Minchin, the foundation of southern mill-town paternalism crumbled when factory owners raised wages. Textile workers used their added wealth to shed mill owner domination and to join America's culture of consumption. Mill owners left their hostility toward unions intact, closed their company stores, and sold their company houses to workers. But unlike the days of the mill village, it was workers paying off home or automobile loans who felt employer hostility toward unions most keenly, for joining the TWUA or a strike action placed at risk financial obligations. Most southern textile workers, contends Minchin, rejected the union less because they feared employer reprisal than out of a belief that standards of living would continue to rise—and despite their perception that TWUA members' efforts and sacrifices underwrote wage increases.

Irony and pathos animate Minchin's story of the TWUA's collapse. During the Second World War, the union used the protection of the National War Labor Board to organize an unprecedented 20 percent of southern mills and to raise all southern textile workers' wages. After the war, TWUA presence at influential unionized mills in the South continued to push wages upward. When union officials gained wage increases at "pattern-setting" companies like Dan River Mills in Virginia, nearby non-union employers raised pay scales to forestall unionization, thereby lifting the first in a series of locks that allowed wage increases to cascade over the South. Unfortunately, Minchin argues, substantial wage increases among all southern textile workers—real wages nearly doubled between 1940 and 1950—led unorganized workers to question the need for a union. Extensive recruiting efforts only maintained the proportion of unionized workers at 20 percent. In 1951 TWUA officials responded foolishly with a general strike to raise southern wages to northern levels. Hoping to stem the industry's southward migration, they instead decimated their union's southern component. In all, Minchin judges the decade after the Second World War "a good one for southern textile workers but a bad one for TWUA."

Minchin's argument depends on the importance of wages to everyone involved. Because workers' wages constituted greater than 30 percent of

production costs, manufacturers were less likely to locate among the unionized textile centers of New England than in the low-wage South, a region that boasted 80 percent of the nation's production and a workforce with fewer than 20 percent of employees unionized. TWUA officers sent organizers South to save the jobs of its New England constituency. Southern employers, in turn, raised wages to stave off unionization during the prosperous 1940s, but guarded vigilantly their competitive edge during the lean 1950s. And southern textile workers, Minchin concludes, rejected the TWUA through a "pragmatic assessment" of its financial benefits: union membership and strike actions only risked existing income and possessions.

Ultimately, Minchin places the TWUA's demise, North and South, at the feet (or automobile) of the southern textile worker, whose opportunism and consumer behavior in times of prosperity undermined worker solidarity. Conversely, when southern textile workers rejected the sinews of a union, and yet intensified participation in national labor and consumer markets, they wove the fabric of new communities. Perhaps the TWUA would have had more success among southern workers, Minchin speculates, if its leaders had downplayed wage differentials and instead emphasized the union's democratic virtues.

A tension over the extent to which wages motivated workers and employers also appears in the book's argument, and might have been usefully explored. For instance, the interviews Minchin uses to render vividly strikes at Tarboro, North Carolina, and at Aleo Mills in Rockingham, North Carolina, reveal that employers seemed most concerned to protect their workplace prerogative, and that workers fought sustained and costly battles to earn basic rights and to maintain their dignity in the workplace—indeed, the men and women who participated in TWUA strikes still continue to draw self-esteem from memories of their courage and solidarity. Minchin's oral history conveys a strong sense of the changes in textile workers' material world, and reveals much of the unionized worker's experience. What did non-union workers think of the TWUA, and how did they experience changes in work and the textile community? Here Minchin's work might have benefitted from more use of oral history.

Admittedly, this may be asking too much from a book that already rests on impressive research into Duke University's Operation Dixie Archives, the TWUA Papers at Madison, Wisconsin, and numerous interviews. Minchin's book is an important and useful addition to the literature on southern textile workers.

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Kay K. Moss. *Southern Folk Medicine, 1750-1820.* Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1999, 259 pp. $29.95. ISBN 1-57003-289-0.

Kay Moss extensively examines primary sources in order to better understand domestic medical practices in the South from 1750 until 1820. She considers numerous books, letters, and journals and focuses on the backcountry in the Carolinas during the eighteenth century, emphasizing the prevalent use of home remedies. Craftspeople, farmers, and backcountry housewives employed various methods to cure the numerous ailments in the South. Wealthy planters and merchants relied on home cures to a large extent, as well. She argues that the southern backcountry consisted of self-reliant people who depended on their own cures and treatments.

Moss uses a wide range of notes found in thirteen commonplace books describing remedies, cooking recipes, dyes, household hints, agriculture notes, and sermons. These books offer a solid understanding of domestic medical practice from 1750 until 1820. Another source is medical advice found in letters, journals, and published medical guides.

She includes consideration of disease in the eighteenth century. Faced with the uncertainty of finding basic food and shelter in the backcountry, Southerners remained primarily concerned with their health, which would allow them to survive such harsh conditions. According to Moss, medicine was not very scientific during this era and proved to be mostly art and innovation. She notes that the germ theory was decades away. Moss contends that symptoms, rather than causes, were often treated through home remedies. The causes of disease, such as hookworm, remained unknown. Moss maintains that one malady of the period that concerned many people was smallpox, for which a cure was not found until the end of the century. Though many diseases threatened Southerners, Moss notes that they still believed help was available.

Moss also compares the remedies recorded by Southerners in anticipation of future ailments. She provides ample description of bloodletting, applying blistering compounds, inducing sweat, and promoting vomiting, as well as excellent drawings and photographs of various medical tools used in such treatments. Many of these tools were available to the common practitioner, even in the backcountry. She also includes accounts of the use of electricity, usually by medical professionals, and medicinal waters.

Moss examines the use of patent medicines and panaceas among eighteenth-century Southerners. In particular, opium was often employed. Not all medicines contained this drug, but most did have an alcoholic base.

Many medicines were manufactured, but domestic preparation was also common. Other forms of treatment included surgery. These procedures often consisted of bloodletting, tooth drawing, tapping, and amputation. Moss notes that amputation was often performed by domestic healers.

Those who survived the threats to childhood were likely to suffer from other ailments in their adulthood. Moss notes that many people endured rheumatism, gout, dropsy, kidney disorders, or various skin diseases. She provides insight into the afflictions of men, women, and children throughout her book.

Moss also recognizes the close relationship between healing and the supernatural throughout medical history. The supernatural often inspired patient faith in the treatment exercised. Moss argues that rituals that promoted confidence or dispelled anxiety were beneficial.

Moss provides ample information in her appendices. She includes a key to her sources and definitions and recipes concerning home remedies. Appendix C illustrates the distribution of medical knowledge in the South, while another appendix gives a very brief background to the medical practices of the period.

This monograph is thoroughly researched and well organized. The information in the appendices, however, would benefit the reader more if it were integrated into the text. While Moss distinguishes between the ailments that faced men, women, and children, she does not provide enough analysis of the uniqueness of southern ailments. Moss recognizes the lack of education in the South, but does not further explain the extent to which these diseases or remedies were distinctive to this area.

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Ernest Obadele-Starks. *Black Unionism in the Industrial South.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000, 192 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-8909-6912-4.

In recent years southern labor history has enjoyed a renaissance. Whereas historians once took it for granted that organized labor in the South was a bulwark of white supremacy, they now suggest that organized labor in the South practiced racial policies that were far from monolithic, that relationships between white and black workers were far more complex than once assumed, and that southern blacks participated in the labor movement to a far greater degree than historians once recognized. Despite recent first-rate studies on southern biracial and interracial unionism, as well as an increased fascination among scholars over the creation of white

racial identity, few historians have taken black unionism as their sole focus. Ernest Obadele-Starks's well-researched monograph on how black unionists fought race and class domination along the heavily industrial upper gulf coast of Texas in the first half of the twentieth century suggests that we have much to learn from such a perspective

Starks selects a promising region as his focus. Long before the Great Migration attracted southern blacks to the industrial north, the industrial transformation of southeast Texas set in motion countless rural blacks across the South who flocked to cities such as Port Arthur, Beaumont, Galveston, and Houston in search of jobs with decent wages. Expanding cotton production and timber harvesting in the state's interior first transformed these coastal cities into vibrant shipping ports in the late nineteenth century that employed thousands of longshoremen. Blacks also sought work in the state's expansive railroad network that connected the timber belt and cotton plantations to coastal ports. The discovery of oil at Spindletop near Beaumont in 1901 quickly turned these cities into the country's premier oil refining region. Not only did blacks find work in the refineries and nearby oil fields, but they also took jobs in a host of ancillary industries supported by the oil boom, such as the Hughes Tool Company, which manufactured oil-drilling equipment. The demand for ships during World War II sparked the fast growth of shipbuilding in these coastal cities, which offered black workers new industrial work opportunities in the South.

Starks devotes a separate chapter to the fortunes of blacks unionists in each of these industries. Despite encountering racist white unionists, discriminatory employers, and an ambivalent government, Starks contends that African Americans were "anything but complacent workers when it came to their desire to be unionized." Black responses were not uniform. Whereas some blacks worked as strikebreakers, others organized black union auxiliaries or chartered their own locals. But if at times blacks accepted separatism, it did not mean that they accepted wage discrimination. Starks finds little to praise about the white-led labor movement, which he reveals as committed to relegating blacks to low-wage jobs, denying them membership, and restricting their occupational mobility. Starks contends that racial collaboration was limited. Although the Congress of Industrial Organization-affiliated Oil Workers International Union (OWIU-CIO) organizing drives in the region's oil refineries in the 1930s stressed racial cooperation, Starks argues that the CIO "did little to help blacks obtain jobs above the rank of janitor" and that "the amalgamation of the races into biracial unions reduced the autonomy blacks enjoyed in separate organizations." The CIO's limitations

strengthened the arguments of influential middle-class black editors such as C. W. Rice, who referred to such evidence to discredit the OWIU-CIO and repudiate black workers who supported it. Through such examples, Starks reminds us that blacks were not monolithic in their thinking and that the labor movement and working-class issues spawned divisive debates, particularly among the region's African-American bourgeoisie. In a chapter on the effects of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, Starks shows how this World War II federal agency received support from most blacks, including Rice, but left just as many ambivalent. Although supporters greeted it as a powerful and important "symbol of racial change," most African Americans remained "skeptical about its ability to remedy racial inequalities."

Despite the richness of his evidence, Starks's narrative too often lacks the kind of context, complexity, and equipoise that is stuff of compelling social history. Because the book is so overly focused on unionism, we do not learn enough about the texture of black working-class life. We learn nothing about black churches, masonic lodges, music and entertainments, or politics. Starks tells us that black workers constantly confronted questions about whether "to continue the struggle to assimilate or integrate into white-led unions, maintain separate-but-equal organizations, align with independent unions, rely on government intercession, or depend solely on the mainstream labor movement." Had he cast his gaze further, Starks might have been able to provide a richer explanation of how blacks negotiated the complicated terrain of Jim Crow Texas. As it stands, the narrative reads too much like a standard institutional history of various Texas unions.

These reservations aside, Starks offers a refreshing reminder of the importance of African American history to both labor history and southern history. "As historians look back on the struggles of the American working class," he asserts in his final paragraph, "let them take notice of the voices, narratives, and experiences of the black unionists." Indeed, we have much to learn about the Jim Crow-era black working class, and thanks to this volume, we know a lot more.

Steven A. Reich James Madison University

Charles E. Pearson and Paul A. Hoffman. *The Last Voyage of* El Nuevo Constante: *The Wreck and Recovery of an Eighteenth-Century Spanish Ship off the Louisiana Coast.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, *xv*, 229 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-8071-1918-0.

The Last Voyage of El Nuevo Constante has a dual purpose—to describe the final voyage and demise of an eighteenth-century Spanish merchant vessel, as well as to provide a detailed account of the rediscovery and excavation of the vessel submerged off the Louisiana coast. A 1766 hurricane forced *El Nuevo Constante* aground. The Spanish government salvaged approximately one-third of the ship's contents. What it recovered, as well as material salvaged by a shrimp boat and later by the Louisiana Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism in the 1980s was everyday trade goods representing a modest historical past, rather than the great wealth taken from the Americas or shipped from China.

The first chapter, "Loss and Discovery," provides the background to *El Nuevo Constante's* demise. Bringing the reader more than two hundred years forward, Pearson and Hoffman describe the historical traces of the ship—local place names reflecting the shipwreck, shrimpers' tales of a terrible snag, and the initial discovery of the wreck by shrimpers who hauled in various artifacts from the Spanish ship. Chapter two, "Preparation for Sailing," details Spanish shipping experiences in the Atlantic, but also includes interesting tidbits regarding shipping regulations, local colonial economies, reluctance of some colonials to support the *carrera de Indias* (fleet system), and economic hardships suffered by the shipowners. The next chapter, "Final Voyage," explains the background of the last voyage. Readers will find information regarding shipping contracts, delays, regulations, and the actual cargo manifest of great interest. In addition to the manifest, the authors provide readers detailed information about how the merchants packed the items, and how the items had been processed in the first place (e.g., cochineal, indigo, copper, anatto, etc.). Chapter four, "Salvage Efforts," highlights the Spanish salvage of *El Nuevo Constante*. The authors describe the troublesome recovery effort. Weather, financial, and legal considerations overshadowed it. Nevertheless, Spaniards recovered one-third of the ship's cargo within months of *El Nuevo Constante's* demise.

The authors contend that the purpose of the archaeological investigation was to provide answers to two "puzzles": to identify the ship and to study the archaeological evidence to determine whether excavation was warranted. The final chapters in the monograph answer those questions

by looking at the salvage attempts in the 1980s. While a copper ingot had been recovered as early as 1961, few took interest in the shipwreck until a shrimping company established Free Enterprise Salvage, Inc. in order to recover other items such as cannons, anchors, gold and silver coins, ceramics, leather, and turtle shells. To avoid legal complications, the company disclosed its activities to the state. As a result, Stanley Hordes (formerly of the Louisiana State Museum) searched archives in Mexico City and Veracruz for information on Spanish salvage efforts. Hoffman researched the Archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain, where he located primary documents relating to the ship. Hoffman and Pearson argue that the archaeological study provided detailed information regarding several key issues. First, this was the first Spanish Louisiana shipwreck to be investigated. Second, the recovered "common cargo items" (as opposed to gold, silver, porcelain, and fine china) were in good condition, allowing investigators to inventory these items. Finally, since the ship's hull remained largely intact, the investigation provided knowledge about eighteenth-century shipbuilding.

The precise record and technical terminology provided in this book are daunting to those unfamiliar with a seafaring vocabulary. The detailed analysis of ship construction, mechanical and operational items found relating to the ship, and the terminology and location of ship items recovered contribute to underwater archaeology and vessel (and cargo) recovery. Readers need a glossary of terms, complete with diagrams, for easy reference to explain the myriad technical terms in the text. For those interested in further study of *El Nuevo Constante*, the authors have provided a list in their conclusion of future research necessary to complete the story of the doomed vessel and its owners.

Placed in context with the history of the *carrera de Indias*, the authors have explained the importance of this archaeological study. They have provided the reader with a fantastic, very detailed story of the last voyage of *El Nuevo Constante* and a small glimpse into the eighteenth-century Spanish shipping industry.

Sandra Mathews-Lamb Nebraska Wesleyan University

Fredrick J. Simonelli. *American Führer George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999, 206 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-252-02285-8.

George Lincoln Rockwell, a political reactionary from the 1960s who wanted to murder blacks, Jews, and homosexuals, founded the American

Nazi Party (ANP). The ANP never exceeded more than two hundred members, but author Frederick J. Simonelli, professor of U.S. history at Mount St. Mary's College, argues that Rockwell's legacy remains more dangerous than his political organization. Simonelli contends that Rockwell reinvented racism by combining religion, politics, and a photogenic, articulate persona that professionalized racism for protégés such as David Duke. *American Führer* is an objective study of Rockwell that provides new information from original documents and interviews with Rockwell's family and associates.

Rockwell built ANP membership by capitalizing on political, economic, racial, and social problems. Rockwell hoped to unite alienated white Americans into a political organization that would catapult him to the presidency. He developed the contemporary slogan "White Power" from the 1960s "Black Power" concept, developed Holocaust revision, and popularized the obscure Christian Identity religion that gave anti-Semites providential justification for their hatred. Simonelli argues that fascism in the United States centers on three issues: European racial purity; Jewish conspiracy to control politics, economics, and the mass media; and the Christian Identity religion that sanctions violence against non-whites with the goal of creating an exclusively Caucasian nation. Simonelli convincingly describes how Rockwell harnessed all three issues to create the modern racist.

Rockwell became publicly stigmatized for his Nazi sympathies. He was determined to stage confrontations nationwide. Several notable events in the South included taking a "Hate Bus" to New Orleans in an attempt to disrupt the Freedom Riders integration of public transportation. He even planned to disrupt Martin Luther King's March on Washington. When Rockwell failed to appeal to segregationist congressmen to cancel King's protest permit, he then attempted, unsuccessfully, to forge an alliance with the White Citizen's Council of New Orleans to disrupt the march.

Rockwell's doctrine of violence even included physical assaults on Martin Luther King. In September 1962, while speaking at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Birmingham, Alabama, the city's first integrated public meeting, an ANP stormtrooper savagely beat King. In January 1965, King led a voter registration march in Selma, Alabama. After the march, King registered into the Hotel Albert, becoming the first person to integrate the antebellum hotel constructed with slave labor. As he crossed the lobby, an ANP stormtrooper punched King in the face. Then, in late 1965, the ANP's deputy commander confronted King. At a speech in Danville, Virginia, the stormtrooper jumped onto the stage where King addressed the crowd and shouted racial epithets. Once again King remained calm and confronted aggression with non-violence.

Rockwell praised the diatribe in the ANP newsletter. Rockwell's historical significance lies in the strategy he bequeathed to his protégés. In 1965 Rockwell changed his tactics and image from violent out-spoken Nazi into articulate, consummate politician. The redesigned Rockwell distanced himself from his earlier Nazi allegiance and dress, donning a suit and tie before a televised speech during his failed gubernatorial campaign in Virginia. He actively sought political support from middle-class suburbanites, not the anti-Semites with whom he had previously associated. Rockwell broadened his message to include the racial tensions plaguing America, predicting race war, and economic collapse.

Simonelli thoroughly explains Rockwell's motivations and political aspirations. *American Führer* contains previously unknown family remembrances and letters written by Rockwell to his mother during his career. Simonelli also gained access to FBI documents containing informants' reports of ANP membership. The reviewer has also used FBI documents and can attest to their importance in Simonelli's biography. He combined primary documents with original research to publish a comprehensive examination of Rockwell's personal life and very public career.

It is impossible to discover or understand what motivated Rockwell's hatred and paranoia, but Simonelli provides insight into Rockwell's psyche. Utilizing original documents from family and friends, Simonelli suggests that Rockwell's relationship with his estranged father, troubled youth, broken marriages, years spent separated from his children, failed business ventures, and bankruptcy saddled him with an unmanageable emotional burden. Simonelli argues that Rockwell emotionally detached himself from his pain and plummeted into a paranoid delusional state, believing that the Jews had subverted the government and that only he could rescue America. Simonelli does not consider *American Führer* as a psychoanalysis of Rockwell. However, his reconstruction of Rockwell's life yields important clues allowing the reader to experience Rockwell's psychosis.

American Führer warns against complacency towards contemporary right-wing politicians. Superbly written and extensively researched, *American Führer* provides a frightening, yet informative study of how a 1960s Nazi troublemaker profoundly influenced modern racists. Far more important in death than in life, Rockwell's influence can be experienced through the actions and ideology of racists at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

Gregory Duhé University of New Orleans

Cyril E. Vetter. *The Louisiana Houses of A. Hays Town*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999, *xii*, 161 pp. $39.95. ISBN 0-8071-2371-4.

Few American architects synthesize the modernist pull toward the pragmatic and efficient with the elegant and traditional as does Louisiana native A. Hays Town. Since the 1960s, Town has focused his attention on designing the finest Louisiana homes. These houses evoke a sense of functional beauty which fits the region: cross-ventilation between windows and doors, wide porches and roofs with overhangs to provide shade from the sweltering Louisiana sun, and a style which invites the elements to age materials into a natural hue.

Town, a designer of over five hundred houses since his 1926 graduation from the School of Architecture at Tulane University, began his vocation as a fourteen-year-old when he redesigned and remodeled the family home. During the late 1920s and 1930s, the newly married Town worked in the Jackson, Mississippi firm of N. W. Overstreet, eventually becoming a partner. By 1939, Town was back in Baton Rouge doing mostly commercial contracts.

Life magazine brought acclaim to Town's work in 1940 for the design of Jackson's Bailey Junior High School. His task of measuring and recording the dimensions of Mississippi antebellum homes for the Roosevelt-era WPA, likewise, brought him notoriety, and, more importantly, set Town on a distinctive journey toward a traditional design, one which owed a debt to those nineteenth-century structures he observed.

At ninety-seven, Town has left a legacy of craftsmanship, eye for detail, and a commitment to creating the very best in building design. It is not that Town created something wholly new. Rather, he helped revive older forms and style of Acadian and Creole habitations, those often seen near the Mississippi River and sprinkled through the Gulf region. His mastery of reclaiming discarded and recycled materials, now ubiquitous, was almost unheard of among architects when he began rummaging through abandoned buildings for heart pine and cypress lumber. Town was always intimately involved in his projects, from hand-selecting the beams for exposed framing, to advising the new owners on what breed of dog to buy, usually a German shepherd. Often clients were chosen because Town liked the people.

The book records much of Town's craft, including a wide array of houses, twenty-five in all. They range from the small and simple Acadian cottages like the Baxter House, to mansions that had courtyards, pigeonniers, and archways as seen in the Greeson House. Perhaps his

courtyards, with his insistence on both symmetry and the intentional use of the elements to color and age wood and brick naturally, often recycled material, are his most original and exemplary architectural gems. The elements of the Spanish roofline, buildings spread out in plantation style, the "slate courtyards, tree alleys, shuttered doors, roof pitch and angle," make the Town house a remarkable, historic place to live. Statues, often in the Catholic religious tradition, accent the walls of these marvelous dwellings. Here, the Louisiana-European synthesis brings to bear a unique and rich cultural gumbo of images. Cyril E. Vetter, author of *Fonville Winan's Louisiana: Politics and Place*, a communications executive, works well with the award-winning Louisiana-based photographer Philip Gould. Gould's titles include *Cajun Music and Zydeco, Louisiana's Capitol: The Power and the Beauty, Les Cadiens d'Asteur: Today's Cajuns, Rhythms du Monde Francophone*, and *Louisiana: A Land Apart.* It would have been helpful to readers had they provided more text indicating the whereabouts and background of each house, including the date of construction.

The photographs are slick, brightly colored depictions of rooms, courtyards, exterior, and interior portions of Town houses. Having worked on the project over the course of 1997-1998, Gould was given the opportunity to take photographs through the seasons, thus providing a multifaceted look at individual home places. This leads to one of the major shortcomings of an otherwise important book for students of Louisiana in general and its architecture in particular. No information is given regarding the methods of documenting the houses, use of cameras, film, lighting, developing processes, and approaches to the art. This oversight will, unfortunately, make it difficult to study the documentary methods of Gould, and prove difficult to trace his steps.

Andres Duany, co-author of *The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream*, provides an elegant appreciation of Town at the end of the book. It recalls Town's accomplishments, chiefly, that he is indeed a prophet to his own country. He succeeded where many have failed, flawlessly bringing out the best in a regional architectural design. It was not that Town had created something new. It was that he had the forethought, personality, and determination to make traditional Louisiana domesticity even better. And the locals loved it.

This collection of photographs is a frank testament of a professional who has shaped Gulf South architecture, from his early use of reinforced concrete in commercial buildings, to his houses which welcome the warm air of the region, and provide necessary shade. A fine book and companion to Town's previously published collection of drawings, *The Architectural Style of A. Hays Town: 106 Preliminary Sketches, The Louisiana Houses*

of A. Hays Town is more than just a coffee-table bauble. It is an important photographic treatment for this remarkable man's life and work.

Dayne Allan Sherman Southeastern Louisiana University

Lynn Willoughby. *Flowing Through Time: A History of the Lower Chattahoochee River.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999, 234 pp. $29.95. ISBN 0-8173-0934-9.

Wittingly or unwittingly Lynn Willoughby has written the story of the exploitation of native people and of river resources throughout North America in this history of the Lower Chattahoochee River. While the book centers on the South's longest and most important river east of the Mississippi, it tells a larger story of the demise of indigenous people at the hands of European invaders.

It also tells of the ruination of a natural river by developers who ignore the innate worth of a free-flowing stream. While the book does not pretend to reveal so broad a pattern, its implications can be seen in every region of the continent, a pattern that continues today. We seem to have learned nothing from our past mistakes.

Few people outside the South know much about the Chattahoochee except perhaps that it runs through Atlanta. Some may know that it begins in the Blue Ridge Mountains, that it forms part of the Georgia-Alabama state line, and that below its confluence with Georgia's Flint River, it becomes the Apalachicola, which ultimately flows into the Gulf of Mexico southwest of Tallahassee.

The Lower Chattahoochee has been used as a source of water, food, and power (both direct and hydroelectric) and for transportation. In modern times its primary use seems to be to carry sewage or sewage effluent and human-generated chemicals downstream to the Gulf. Even as cities, towns, agricultural run-off, and factories increased pollution levels on the Lower Chattahoochee and reduced its carrying capacity by water withdrawals, the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, in the name of "flood control" and "navigation enhancement," dammed the river, infecting its backwaters and reservoirs with stagnating pollutants.

Flowing Through Time is, after all, a history, and Willoughby goes back to the beginnings, even to prehistoric antecedents, to tell the whole story of how the present situation evolved. There are chapters on the ancient inhabitants of the river basin, on the Indians as they were when European settlers arrived and began to exploit, then extirpate them: primarily the Creeks, but also the neighboring Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Yamaee.

The only error I found in the book involves indigenous people: in telling about the native's combined stand against Charleston in the Yamasee War of 1751 as "the only significant pan-Indian war against the whites in the colonial era," Willoughby ignores the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in which pueblo tribes, in what was to become New Mexico, defeated the Spanish occupiers, keeping them out of the area for a dozen years.

On the Lower Chattahoochee, once the Europeans had removed the native people from their land, a cotton economy evolved, based on the exploitation of African slaves, a period in which the river became a major highway for exporting cotton and importing slaves and a source of direct power to run the textile mills. The era of the steamboat had begun, but it reached its heyday only after the Civil War, during which the river never played a vital role: it was blockaded to prevent an anticipated invasion by Union forces.

In the chapter called "Moonlight and Magnolias," Willoughby documents better times after the war when the river became not only a recreational resource with steamboats plying its waters on popular excursions but a working river for commerce. Even though the railroads began taking business away from the river boats, the steamboats also enhanced the railroad's transportation network.

However, as more water was taken out of the river by the growing communities and agricultural uses along its shores, lower water levels often interfered with riverboat traffic. Ironically, at the same time, floods increased due to watershed damage caused by logging and farming in the river valley. Erosion increased, and silt began to build up in the riverbed, further frustrating the steamboat industry, which continued to operate well into the twentieth century, with help from the Corps of Engineers.

Willoughby highlights the present pollution problem with the statement, "The U.S. Congress has abandoned the Chattahoochee" by not reauthorizing the Clean Water Act during the 103^{d} Congress. The river has "dangerous levels of mercury" as well as trichlorobenzene, PCBs, dioxins, and such banned pesticides at DDT and chlordane. It is also rich in fecal coliform bacteria, nitrogen and phosphorous compounds, a true witches' brew.

Coastal Florida, downstream from the Chattahoochee, has growing concerns about the pollution problems that have an impact on the Gulf fishery. Apalachicola Bay, into which the Chattahoochee River system empties, is "one of the largest nurseries in the nation for oysters and other seafood." What Georgia and Alabama want in the way of structural control of the river, could be disastrous for Florida and the whole Gulf Coast. "It is time for the people who depend on the Chattahoochee to make the sacrifices necessary to preserve it," the author concludes.

Thoroughly researched and highly readable, *Flowing Through Time* is an objective, detailed history of the Lower Chattahoochee that says more than its author intended, for it has implications that reach well beyond the river's watershed. An interesting and vital book, it is well illustrated with historic photographs (more than half of them of steamboats) and well documented with footnotes (22 pages of them) and a dozen pages of bibliography.

Verne Huser Albuquerque Academy

Short Notices

James B. McSwain

Brief comments on informative and valuable books that have passed across my desk.

Donald R. Burgett. *Seven Roads to Hell: A Screaming Eagle at Bastogne*. Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1999. 225 pp. $24.95. ISBN 0-89141-6803.

This is the story of Donald Burgett, Michigan writer, World War II soldier, and author of *Currahee!*, a memoir of the Normandy invasion. Burgett was a trooper in the 101st Airborne Division, who took part in Normandy, fought over two months in the disastrous Market Garden campaign, and survived the Ardennes thrust, gallanty defending the key town of Bastogne from a massive German assault. It is a narrative of suffering in bitterly cold weather; making do with inadequate clothing, equipment, and ammunition; and stoically walking into battles with the knowledge that the friends at your side might soon be dead. Burgett pulls no punches in describing the smell of cordite, raw flesh shredded by metal fragments, frozen feet, and piles of dead Germans. He reflects upon the moments when fellow troopers were killed in combat, upon the shooting of wounded Germans who otherwise would have frozen to death the same night, and upon the endless parade of officers taken down in combat. These are not the remembrances of a civilian in uniform; these are the remembrances of a true warrior who had no illusions about the nature of war: kill the enemy or be killed. If you relish firsthand accounts of the darker moments of human experience, score a copy of this journey into perdition.

William R. Haycraft. *Yellow Steel: The Story of the Earthmoving Equipment Industry*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999. 465 pp. $34.95. ISBN 0-252-02497-4.

If you have ever noticed the ubiquitous construction machinery busily remaking the Gulf South, you may have wondered how such giant and complex pieces of equipment came to be. *Yellow Steel* surveys the heavy machine industry, tracing the history of the major companies and the development of markets for their products. Although the work lacks a critical perspective and sometimes fails to discuss important social and technological issues, it is a very interesting and useful work on a crucial but often ignored aspect of our material culture.

George W. Neill. *Infantry Soldier: Holding the Line at the Battle of the Bulge*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. 356 pp. $24.95. ISBN 0-8061-3222-1.

George Neill, retired California newspaper editor, was a member of one of the 99th Infantry Division's rifle platoons in World War II Europe. This memoir recounts his army training, transfer to Europe, and combat experiences during the Ardennes campaign (Battle of the Bulge) in 1944-45. How this changed him; his anger over Army mismanagement, incompetence, and corruption; his awareness that rifle platoons did most of the fighting and most of the dying while others lounged in relative comfort in rear areas; and his sufferings from hunger in the cold while exhausted and scared and longing to be with family in better circumstances are all explored, explained, and examined. This book is testimony to how one man not only retained his humanity in the midst of brutality and danger, but also how he survived and vowed to make a difference in the world. Highly recommended for all Gulf South military enthusiasts, veterans, and historians.

Dr. James B. McSwain is a professor of history at Tuskegee University and also book review editor of the *Gulf South Historical Review*.

From the Archives....

A Guide to Civil War Collections in Mobile, Alabama

Anthony Donaldson

Introduction

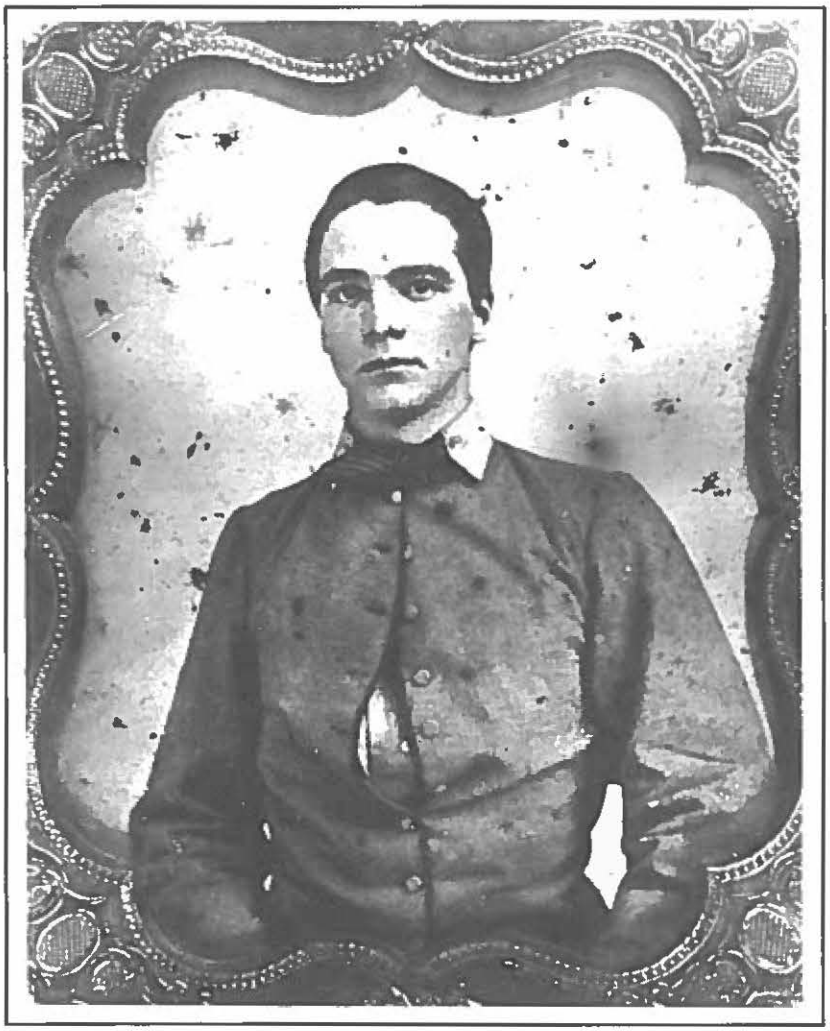
This guide was designed to assist those interested in primary sources relating to the Civil War. It provides a summary of holdings found within Mobile's most commonly consulted research facilities. Few cities this size can offer such a diversity of archives, libraries, and other research facilities. We hope that this guide will help visitors and Mobilians alike make full use of the rich heritage that these institutions are preserving.

The University of South Alabama Archives

Location: 1504 Springhill Avenue, Room 0722, Mobile, Alabama 36604
Mailing Address: USA Springhill, Room 0722, Mobile, Alabama 36688
Telephone: (334) 434-3800
Fax: (334) 434-3622
E-Mail: archives@jaguar1.usouthal.edu
Website: www.southalabama.edu/archives
Hours: Monday-Friday, 8 A.M.- Noon, 1 P.M.-5 P.M.
Access: Advance appointment requested

The Velma and Stephens G. Croom Collection includes correspondence between various Croom family members and friends from 1840 to 1906. Cicero Stephens Croom served in the Confederate Army as an Assistant Adjutant General to General John H. Forney during the Civil War. Croom corresponded with family and friends while he served in virtually every theater of the war from 1861 to 1865. He also kept a journal during the siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi, in April 1863. Stephens's sister, Elizabeth, married Dr. Charles Edward Bellamy who served as a physician in the Confederate Army, and he and Elizabeth corresponded with family members during the war. An advance appointment is required to view the Croom Collection.

The Katharine Crampton Cochrane Collection contains approximately a dozen letters written by Dr. Orson Lucius Crampton who served as a physician in the United States Army and was stationed in Mobile



Cicero Stephens Croom (1839-1884). Velma and Stephens Croom Collection, University of South Alabama Archives.

immediately after the Civil War. In his letters he made observations about Fort Gaines as well as the city of Mobile in the Spring of 1865. The collection also contains military orders and other papers related to Crampton's service in the Union Army.

Confederate Soldiers, Sailors and Civilians Buried in Northern Cemeteries (National Archives Microfilm No. 918)

Government Street Presbyterian Church Records include session minutes and register books dating from 1831 to 1979 which contain records of communicants, baptisms, marriages, and deaths. (microfilm)

The Illinois Central Gulf Railroad Records include journals and ledgers of the Mobile and Ohio RR covering the years 1861-1865.

The Mobile County Circuit Court Records contain individual case files and bound volumes of minutes, final records, etc. The materials date from ca. 1830 to ca. 1917.

St. Francis Street Methodist Church Records include births, deaths, and marriages, as well as historical information on ministers who served the church during the war. (microfilm)

The USA Archives also has reproductions of original maps from the National Archives and the Library of Congress that show Confederate fortifications in Mobile and the Blakely area as well as original prints and copies of engravings from such publications as *Harper's Weekly.*

The Historic Mobile Preservation Society Archives

Minnie Mitchell Archives Building, 300 Oakleigh Place, Mobile, Alabama 36606
Telephone: (334) 432-6161
Fax: (334) 432-8843
E-Mail: info@historicmobile.org
website: www.historicmobile.org
Hours: Monday-Friday 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.
Access: Advance appointment requested

The Historic Mobile Preservation Society holdings include maps of the city of Mobile during the Civil War that show Confederate defenses for the city, newspaper clippings, military passes, several Confederate

Quartermaster reports, invoices, letters, and receipts, as well as diaries of Confederate soldiers. Especially noteworthy are two diaries by John B. Dennis recorded from 1862 to 1863. Dennis was a member of the Hinson Guards formed in Mobile. The unit later became part of the 43rd Alabama Infantry. The Society also has the 1865 diary of Joseph A. Dennis as well as the diary of John A. De Pras recorded in 1862. All three men were from Mobile.

The Mobile County Probate Court Archives/ Records Department

Location: 109 Government Street, Mobile, Alabama 36602
Mailing Address: P. O. Box 7, Mobile, Alabama 36601
Telephone: (334) 574-8490 or 574-8492
Fax: (334) 574-5580
website: www.cc.mobile-county.net
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 A.M.- 5 P.M.
Access: An appointment is not necessary

The records listed below are available on microfiche only.

Fort Morgan and Fort Gaines Repairs include shoreline measurements, detailed drawings for repair, correspondence, and maps of the Confederate lines of defense.

Daily Diary of Captain J. Ernest Meiere (1862-1864) contains documentation primarily related to the Mobile Marine Barracks. It includes ship inspections, reports, requisitions, requests for supplies, court martial/ desertion records, and correspondence.

The Run-away Slave Book (1857-1865) is a record of slaves incarcerated in the Mobile City Jail as run-aways. It contains the name of the slave and owner, their residence, the person who recovered the slave, and the place where the slave was taken.

Petitions to Become a Slave (1860-1862). These records identify free persons of color who petitioned to become slaves in order to remain in Alabama pursuant to legislation passed in 1860.

Amnesty (1865) **and Proclamation Oaths** (1868). Finding themselves "men without a country" following the end of the Civil War, members

of all branches of the Confederate forces signed these oaths to restore their citizenship rights.

The Hall of Lee Benevolent Association Ledger and Minute Books (1875-1882). The records of this Confederate veterans organization, include a eulogy delivered at the funeral of Admiral Raphael Semmes, a history of the organization, and membership lists.

The Confederate Pensioners' Book (1915-1919) contains names and addresses of persons receiving Confederate pensions from the state.

Probate Court minute books, mortgage books, deed books, and marriage license books also contain documents from the Civil War era.

The Mobile Municipal Archives

Location: 457 Church Street, Mobile, Alabama 36602
Mailing Address: P. O. Box 1827, Mobile, Alabama 36633
Telephone: (334) 208-7740
Fax: (334) 208-7428
website: www.ci.mobile.al.us/
E-Mail: archives@ci.mobile.al.us
Hours: Monday-Friday 8 A.M.- 5 P.M.
Access: An appointment is not necessary

The Mobile Municipal Archives has, in addition to the following, a variety of records pertaining to city government as well as numerous other records concerning the area's general history.

Record Group 3 - Records of the Mayor, Board of Aldermen, and Common Council, 1839-1879

General Files, 1839-1879. This series contains letters, reports, ordinances, resolutions, petitions, and other materials relating to the daily operations of city government.

Passenger Lists, 1820-1905. Lists of passengers on vessels arriving in Mobile. Names of passengers, their place of birth or nationality, age, occupation, and last place of residence are usually given. (located in bound volumes and on microfilm)

Index to Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Aldermen, 1858-1861.

Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Aldermen, 1850-1869. Minutes of meetings listing members present, matters discussed, reports received, and ordinances and resolutions passed. (microfilm)

Minutes of the Common Council, 1853-1879. Minutes of meetings listing members present, matters discussed, reports received, and ordinances and resolutions passed. (microfilm)

Newspaper Clippings of the Board of Aldermen, Common Council and Joint Convention Meetings, 1811-1873. Clippings of articles concerning meetings held by city government. (microfilm)

Ordinances, 1854-1863. Copies of ordinances passed by the Board of Aldermen and Common Council. (microfilm)

Record Group 8 - Records of the Finance Department

Journals, 1837-1866. Daily record of receipts and expenditures. (microfilm)

Ledgers, 1846-1876. Summaries of debits and credits for the year. Many ledgers contain indexes. (microfilm)

Treasurer's Receipt Book, 1859-1861. Receipts for moneys received from the city treasurer. Each handwritten receipt is signed by the person receiving moneys and lists the amount received and the services rendered. (2 bound volumes)

Cash Books, 1861-1869. Daily record of receipts and expenditures. (microfilm)

Cash Books For City Markets, 1865-1866. Record of rents and huckster ticket fees paid by vendors at the city markets. (microfilm)

Record Group 9 - Records of the Revenue Department

Tax Books, 1829-1954. Lists names of taxpayers, the kinds and value of properties owned, and the amounts paid. (microfilm)

Tax Assessment Books, 1838-1860. Lists the names of property owners, the kinds of property owned, and its assessed value. (microfilm)

City Tax Cash Books, 1857-1898. Lists the names of the taxpayers, the types of taxes paid, and the total tax bill. (microfilm)

Record of Bonds Issued, 1830-1884. Record of the types of bonds issued, including city debt, wharf and railroad bonds, their amounts, rates of interest, names of purchasers, the dates they were issued, redeemed, and destroyed. (microfilm)

Record Group 15 - Records of the Department of Parks, Recreation and Culture

Sexton's Reports, Burial Permits, and Death Certificates, 1848-1907. Includes monthly burial reports of the city sexton which lists names of the deceased, their age, color, graveyard where buried, lot number, fees paid, and the name of the funeral home. (microfilm)

Register of Lots Sold, 1838-1861. Indicates who purchased lots 1 through 16 in Magnolia Cemetery.

Record Group 17 - Records of the Mobile Police Department

Guard House Dockets, 1859-1863. Daily record of prisoners confined to the guard house. Lists name of offender, complaint, by whom committed, time, judgment, fine paid, and other remarks. (microfilm)

Other records located at the Mobile Municipal Archives include:

Transcripts of City Documents, 1845-1884. Typed transcriptions of documents by Works Progress Administration workers of the 1930s. Many of the original documents no longer exist. (2 vols.)

Passenger Lists, 1820-1905. These records consist of customs' passenger lists, transcripts, and abstracts of customs' passengers lists, immigration passenger lists, and indexes to some of these lists. (National Archives microfilm)

Alabama Census, City of Mobile, Mobile County, 1860 (microfilm).

Death Notices from Mobile Newspapers, 1843-1865, compiled by Charles J. Torey. (microfilm)

Death Notices: Local and Foreign, 1860-1869, published by the Mobile Genealogical Society.

Magnolia Cemetery Deed Book, ca. 1832-1862. (microfilm)

Correspondence and Records of the Superintendent of Lights, 1838-1880. (National Archives microfilm)

Mobile Weekly Advertiser, September 1865. (microfilm)

The Munger/Baumhauer Family Papers, a small collection of personal papers that include Confederate military passes and military orders.

The Municipal Archives also has numerous maps showing Confederate fortifications in Mobile and area campsites, as well as several prints illustrating the Battle of Mobile Bay.

Mobile Public Library, Local History and Genealogy Division

Location: 704 Government Street, Mobile, Alabama 36602-1403
Telephone: (334) 208-7093
Fax: (334) 208-5866
E-Mail: mpllhg@acan.net
Website: www.mploline.org
Hours: Monday-Saturday, 9 A.M. - 6 P.M.
Access: An appointment is not necessary

The Daniel Geary Papers. Geary was a Confederate Lieutenant of Ordnance in defense of Mobile during the years 1861 to 1865. The papers include requisitions, orders, and Confederate military correspondence. (microfilm)

Confederate Ordnance Office: Defenses of Mobile Register, November 1864-April 1865. The register contains additional military papers by Lieutenant Daniel Geary and includes notes on personnel transfers as well as descriptions of Confederate magazines and fortifications in and near Mobile. (microfilm)

The Journal of Charles Brother, March 14-August 5, 1864. Brother was a private on the USS *Hartford* during the battle of Mobile Bay. The USS *Hartford* was the flagship of Union naval commander Admiral David Farragut. (original on microfilm, published version also available)

The Journal of George Townley Fullam, July 29, 1862- June 14, 1864. Fullam was the boarding officer on the Confederate raider CSS *Alabama* which was commanded by Confederate Admiral Raphael Semmes. (original on microfilm, published version also available)

Raphael Semmes Family Papers, 1859-1913. Admiral Raphael Semmes was the commander of the Confederate raider CSS *Alabama* and lived in Mobile after the Civil War. The papers include the log of the CSS *Alabama*. (Alabama Department of Archives and History microfilm)

Records of the CSS *Florida*, 1862-1864. The *Florida* was a Confederate raider. Its records include ship logs, ship engineer's logs, medical logs, court-martial records, paymaster receipts, and crew lists. (National Archives microfilm)

Adelaid Chaudron's Journal of the Military Aid Society, May 1861 to April 1865. The Military Aid Society was formed by several prominent ladies in Mobile. It raised money and provided supplies for the Confederate Army and families of Confederate soldiers. Chaudron, the society's secretary, recorded most of the entries in the journal. (microfilm)

The Local History and Genealogy Department of the Mobile Public Library holdings also include manuscript census records (microfilm), Mobile newspapers (microfilm), and Mobile City directories.

The Museum of Mobile

Location: 111 South Royal Street, Mobile, Alabama 36602
Mailing Address: P. O. Box 2068, Mobile, Alabama 36652-2068
Telephone: (334) 208-7569
Fax: (334) 208-7686
E-Mail: museum@ci.mobile.al.us
Hours: Please contact the museum for research hours.
Access: Advance appointment required

The Thomas M. McMillan Collection contains approximately one thousand documents (1862-1865) and includes Confederate military correspondence concerning the defense of Mobile and Mobile Bay including forts Morgan Gaines; letters from civilians concerning the impressment of property and slaves; correspondence between Union naval commander Admiral David Farragut and his officers; and letters from Confederate and Union soldiers to their families. The collection also

includes documents relating to other theaters of the war outside the Mobile area.

The Home Journal **Newspaper** (May 1864- August 1865) was published anonymously by Mobilians. According to its by-line, the hand-written monthly journal was devoted to the intellectual improvement of the family. The seven issues in the collection contain editorials on health, letters to the editor, articles on home industry, a poet's corner section, an agricultural section, as well as cooking recipes. Some of the articles also describe conditions in Mobile during the war. The journal had anonymous correspondents, one of whom reported on a trip to Fort Morgan in May 1864. Other correspondents reported from areas outside Mobile such as Gainesville, Alabama. (microfilm)

The Museum of Mobile also has a number of miscellaneous maps of Mobile.

Springhill College Archives

Location: Thomas Byrne Memorial Library, 4000 Dauphin Street, Mobile, Alabama 36608
Telephone: (334) 380-3872
Fax: (334) 460-2086
E-Mail: cboyle@shc.edu or abahr@shc.edu
Website: http://camellia.shc.edu/byrne
Hours: Monday- Friday, 1:30 P.M. to 4:00 P.M.
Access: Advance appointment required

The Annals of Spring Hill College by Reverend Andrew Cornette and Others (1872). Father Cornette taught Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics at Spring Hill College from 1856 to 1862 and from 1864 to 1870. During the Civil War he served as a chaplin in the Confederate Army. The Annals are transcriptions from Reverend Cornette's diary, originally written in French, containing information about life at the College during the war, as well as about the involvement of Jesuits priests as chaplains.

The Vice-President's Diary (1859-1887) was an official record kept by college officials. It reveals how the Civil War affected Mobile, Spring Hill College, and its students.The diary mentions names of some of the students who ran away to join the Confederate Army and describes visits by Confederate recruiters.

The Confederate States Laboratory Formulae Notebook by Dr. F. J. B. Rohmer list formulae that Dr. Rohmer prepared for medicines. He was a physician at Spring Hill College from 1856 to 1885 and was appointed Surgeon and Botanist by the Confederate States of America. Rohmer maintained a laboratory in Mobile where he manufactured medicine for the Confederacy. (This material will be available to the public at a later time on the Spring Hill College Library/Archives web page.)

The Memoirs of Father Henry Churchill Semple record the experiences as a student at Spring Hill College (which also had a pre-high school course of preparation) from 1864 to 1866. The memoirs contain observations about the lives of the students during the war. Father Semple (1853-1925) wrote a series of articles on his day at Spring Hill for the school newspaper (*The Springhillian*) in 1925.

Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Mobile Chancery Archives

Location: 400 Government Street, Mobile, Alabama 36602
Telephone: (334) 434-1585
Fax: (334) 434-1588
Website: www.rcamobile.org/index.html
Hours: By appointment
Access: Advance appointment and special permission is required to visit the archives.

Bishop John Quinlan Papers, 1859-1883. John Quinlan, consecrated the second bishop of Mobile on December 4, 1859, at the age of thirty-three, supported the South's secession from the Union and the Confederate States of America. His papers contain personal correspondence with other Catholic clergy in the South, the nation, and Europe concerning the administration of the church in Mobile. Many of the documents are written in French.

Index

Following is a compiled index for issues 11.1 through 16.2 (fall 1995 - spring 2001). The index is broken into two parts: the Author/Editor/Reviewer Index and the Title Index. The Author/Editor/Reviewer Index is based upon the last name of each contributor to the journal. Book reviews are listed under both the author of the book reviewed and under the name of the reviewer. Articles or books with more than one author or editor are listed under each writer's name. Books or articles written by an author are listed first in each entry, and then reviews written by that author are listed next. The Title Index lists all articles and books reviewed in alphabetical order by title. Titles that begin with the article "the," "a," or "an" are alphabetized based on the second word in the title (e.g., *The Civil War on the Western Gulf* would be alphabetized under "C" for "Civil War."). Article titles are given in quotation marks while books are italicized. Within each entry the volume number is given first, the issue number next (e.g., 12.2), and the inclusive page numbers given last.

Author/Editor/Reviewer Index