

Southern

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PARTISAN



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The War on Southern Heritage



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(CSA)
FIELD DISPATCHES



Dear Reader,

Southern Sampler

We received some lamentable news here at the office the other day, in the form of a letter from one of our long-time contributors. Bill Freehoff has been editing the Southern Sampler column for almost as long as there's been a *Southern Partisan*.

In his letter, Bill writes that "Age and infirmity have caught up with me so it is time to put the blade back in the scabbard and fade away. It has been a great privilege to be associated with such stalwart keepers of the flame."

Well, *SP* has survived all these years because of a multitude of stalwarts like him, contributing in many small ways. Although it is not a copious column, he has edited it ably and well and it has always rated as one of the highly valued parts of the magazine. While we would never deny him his well-deserved rest, his presence on these pages will be missed.

By the way, since Bill will no longer be handling the regular duties of compiling pertinent and poignant quotes for the column, the editors will. So, if you see something you think your fellow readers might enjoy, by all means, send it on.

Corrections

There were some especially bad mistakes in the last issue, so I'll take a little space here for corrections.

The final words of two articles were inadvertently cut short. The end of the article "Southern Conservatives Debate Empire" should have read:

That's the price the world exacts for peace at home, free commerce on the seas, and liberty for civilians to enjoy their own pleasures. Or so the world seems to me.

The end of the article "Gangs of New York" should have read:

Perhaps the next wave of accepted filmmakers and writers will all be Southern.

As if all of that weren't enough, we incorrectly indicated that the conversation with "Stonewall's Wife" was with "Lang." It was, in fact, with the lovely and talented actress, Kali Rocha.

Finally, in the *Obiter Dicta* piece "Our Women Outlast Theirs," we misstated the last known Confederate widow's age and hometown. Born 4 December 1907, Mrs. Alberta Martin, is a stalwart 96 and lives in Enterprise, Alabama.

Christopher M. Sullivan

**Southern
PARTISAN**

"If there were a Southern magazine, intelligently conducted and aimed specifically, under the doctrine of provincialism, at renewing a certain sort of sectional consciousness and drawing separate groups of Southern thought together, something might be done to save the South..."

—Donald Davidson to Allen Tate
May 1927

"No periodical can well succeed in the South, which does not include the *political* constituent...The mind of the South is active chiefly in the direction of politics...The only reading people in the South are those to whom politics is the bread of life."

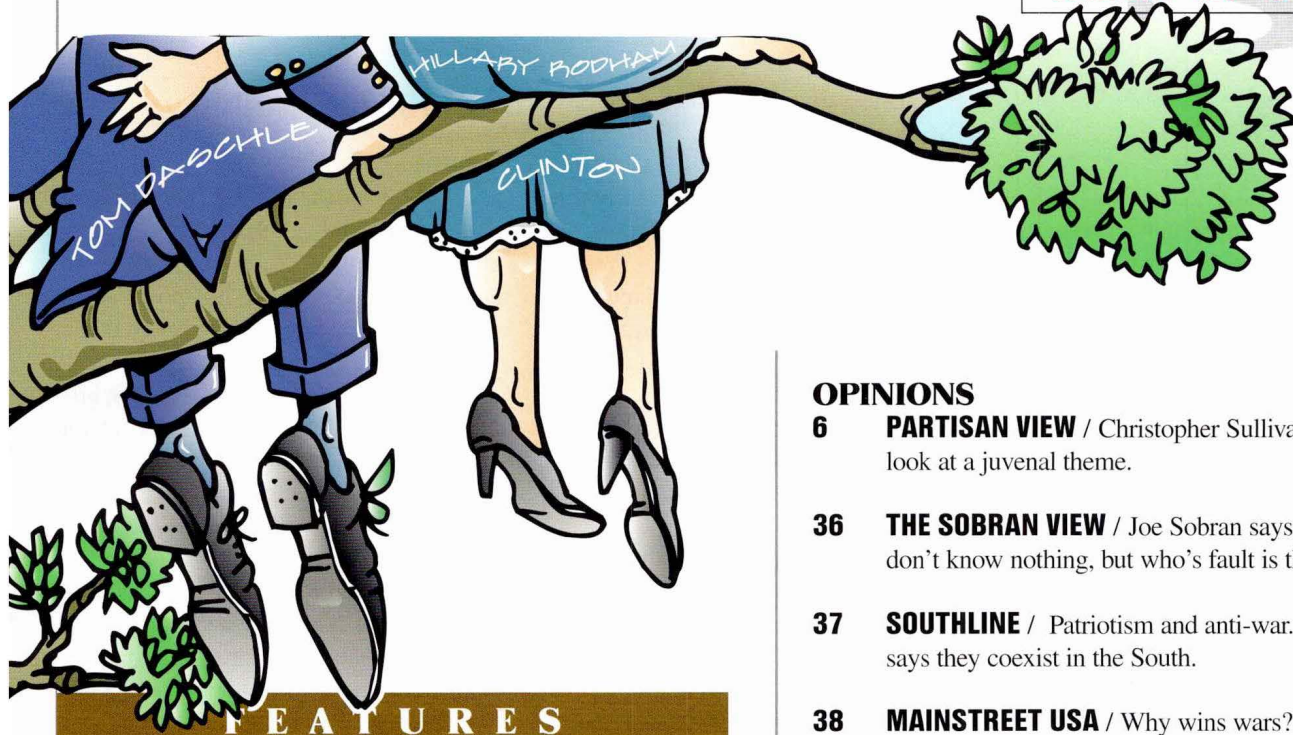
—William Gilmore Simms
Southern Quarterly Review, April 1853

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Confessional

Gentlemen:

I was born and raised in New York City. Over the course of my upbringing, I became brainwashed against the South and was basically taught along the lines outlined in Dr. Wilson's article.

I remember as a young man of 23, I went to Virginia to see the home of my hero, Thomas Jefferson. I felt at the time that I was passing into a really wicked place. I was on the lookout for the Ku Klux Klan on Dixie Highway. This is not an exaggeration!

I have now lived a majority of my life south of the Mason-Dixon line and have, with the help of many great Southern friends, come to understand the truth of American History.

The snobbishness and pretentiousness of Yankees, however, is something I have never been able to abide. What better example than the Bush family from Connecticut? This façade of the compassionate conservative Republican is just a ruse to deceive good Southern folks into voting for a liberal, big-government Republican. This Yankee and his snobbish father have taken this country further down the road away from the original principles of the founding fathers.

*Patrick Mulvey
San Diego, California*

Reasoned Argument

Gentlemen:

"Southern Conservatives Debate Empire" (Nov/Dec 2002) reminded me of the golden era of *National Review* when Frank S. Meyer, Harry Jaffa and others debated in that journal of opinion. Although they disagreed on specific issues and on historical interpretation, they argued from conservative or traditional principles.

Likewise, H.W. Crocker III and Clyde Wilson both build their arguments on the American South's philosophical foundation. In doing so, they prove the intellectual wealth of our region.

*Greg N. Ripps
San Antonio, Texas*

Revolting Development

Gentlemen:

A couple of points in your latest issue need a bit of fine tuning.

First, in your interview with Ron

Maxwell, he claims that "In all the countries of South America and the West Indies, [emancipation] was accomplished without a war." While the statement is generally true, the notable exception is Haiti. The second independent nation in the Western Hemisphere, Haiti got that way through the only ultimately successful slave revolt in the history of the world, which could arguably be called a war.

Later in the issue, columnist Michelle Malkin is referred to as black. Ms. Malkin is Filipina. (She's an all-American treasure, regardless.)

I enjoy the magazine and the refreshingly different viewpoint it represents. Thank you.

*Lyndon W. Joslin
Houston, Texas*

Crossed Out

Gentlemen:

Regarding Clyde Wilson's review of the "Worst 'Southern Movies' of All Time" (Sept./Oct. 2002) a few comments. First, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings was *not* Southern. She was from New York, but came to love and adore the South and especially the Wekiva area of Florida. Second, she was indeed a 1920s version of a feminist (though not the kind we know and can't stand today), and the movie portrayed her very well. I just watched this movie again last week, with *Cross Creek* (the book) open, and did you know that much of the dialogue comes *straight from the book*? I only know Rawlings through her books, all of which I have read, through my many visits to her historic site home at Cross Creek, and through my uncle who "mingled" with her while he was a student at the University of Florida and dined there often.

*Phil Jamieson
Boxford, Massachusetts*

Rawlings came from a Maryland plantation family. Yes, she was a feminist, like Katherine Anne Porter, Mary Lee Settle, and a number of other great Southern women writers. However, she was a long way from being a Yankee feminist, as I said. I challenge anyone to show that the movie fairly represented her fond attitude toward the crackers.

—Clyde Wilson

Salt for the Wound

Gentlemen:

Assaults on the heritage and character of the South did not begin immediately after the cessation of hostilities between the opposing sides. While it is true that the cruel heel of Reconstruction foretold of the possibility that Southerners might be cast in less than favorable light by Northern historians, general public opinion had not yet been molded against the South. Most Northerners were simply too relieved that the war was finally over to assign blame, or to castigate the vanquished.

Most people, North and South, ascribed to the sentiments of both Lincoln and Lee that the nation should bind up its wounds and move forward, a united country once more. To be sure, there were those Radical Republicans who had advocated harsh treatment of the South, both during and after the war, but though they were highly vocal, they were a small minority in numbers. Most Northerners agreed with Lincoln's principles. The long and bitter war had drained them of animosity, and the constant scenes of suffering, on both sides, had eliminated a desire for vengeance.

Reconstruction was viewed to be as much, if not more, a response to recreating civil order in the South as it was a punishment for the seceding states. Had this situation, this mindset, been allowed to carry forward, histories of the Civil War might have been slightly different, but attitudes toward the South, particularly in recent decades, would have been greatly altered. The deepest seeds of sectionalism were sown after the war. Political intrigue was the motivating factor in defaming the South, and in slandering the ex-Confederates.

*Robert P. Broadwater
Tipton, Pennsylvania*

Art for Dixie's Sake

Gentlemen:

I am an artist and lead the bohemian life: I paint, I drink, I chase women. Being a good Southerner, my political ideology lies in that romantic region between anarchy and aristocracy. And without apologies, I am Euro-centric. Because I am an artist, I am more drawn to the realm of culture than towards politics or economics. So

perhaps I am prejudiced here, but I think politics follows culture. If the arts do not actually take the lead, they certainly play an important role in a society's political direction. The multitudes are not swayed by reason, but by emotion—that is where the arts have an effect upon politics.

If we are to have a South that commands respect, then the Southern people must be ignited with a national *esprit*. An important step in that direction would be the development of a Southern cultural revolution—a Southern avant-garde. A Southern avant-garde can fill our population with optimism and fearlessness. We Southern avant-gardists can carry a torch that illuminates the love and excitement of life.

Edward Trant
Hendersonville, North Carolina

Diversity 101

Gentlemen:

Of the muddle-headed projects that I have had the misfortune to witness in my long life, this “diversity” one now underway at Auburn University takes the cake. It is confidently asserted that herein lies the remedy for man's (including students') persistent failure to observe the age-old Christian injunction to “love thy neighbor as thyself.” This result is to be achieved largely through courses that all students are required to take.

I suppose the diversity curriculum will look something like this: Introduction to Diversity 101, Aspects of Diversity 102, Advanced Diversity 201, Sensitivity 108, Increased Sensitivity 201, Fellow Feeling 208, Intensified Fellow Feeling 312, Fellow Feeling and the Universe 408. Required courses like these, and more of

them, they say, ought surely to do the trick. Of course it is expected that some courses not directly related to diversity will continue to be taught.

This project is laughable, but looked at in terms of what it represents, both here and nationwide, it is by no means funny. Its true origin is our nation's headlong egalitarianism mandating not only the equality of all men but also of all cultures, together with their values, their standards and even, though with qualifications, their achievements.

Witness, for one small instance, the fact that so many college English departments all over the nation have canceled courses in American and English literature in favor of world literature, signifying that what we have inherited is nothing special. And so with many history departments and American history. It is a movement in the direction of cultural suicide.

Instead of reasonable pride in our heritage, what we increasingly have (principally among our governing elite) is a politics of guilt, which transforms into self-abasement in relation to those we identify as suffering victims; that is, racial, cultural, and life-style minorities. As a consequence, we have begun to see the development of what one critic, Paul Gottfried, has labeled the “therapeutic state,” which opposes anything, including certain knowledge, that limits the expression of social and cultural guilt. Thereby the self-esteem of the “victims” is elevated. An outstanding evidence of this is the rigor with which the language of Political Correctness is imposed.

I expect, and hope, that most students will accept the projects at hand with a good

deal of derision. I would advise them, however, to be discreet in expressing their attitudes, lest they be charged with membership in a vast right-wing conspiracy.

Madison Jones
Professor Emeritus of English
Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama

A renowned Southern novelist, Dr. Jones makes an excellent point. To his suggested curricula, they should probably add *The Limits of Diversity 101*, to make certain that freshmen are not lured into the belief that the universities will tolerate the free expression of conservative views.

—Ed.

Cinemyth

Gentlemen:

I was rereading my *Southern Partisan* of last September/October and saw your article about the worst “Southern” movies of all time. You missed one horrible example! An absurdity by the name of *Sommersby* was released (maybe escaped) in 1993, starring Richard Gere and Jodi Foster. It purports to be about a man returning from the WBTS who rebuilt his marriage and life. This is a period piece that has characters that don't resemble any Southerners I ever knew. Apparently, this is a remake of some French flick. Need I say more?

I don't know how the careers of Mr. Gere and Miss Foster have progressed since this example of the cinematic arts. I no longer spend my money to see their movies.

Dan O'Connor
Parker, Colorado ✪

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The Evils of Divorce

BY CHRISTOPHER M. SULLIVAN

A young man and his wife had been married for several years. While their marriage had gotten off to a rocky start, they seemed to be an ideal couple. But in the end things went bad strangely.

They had great affection for each other and, as passionate youth is oft to be, wanted to make their own way in the world and were determined to do it as a couple.

Their parents were equally passionate about not letting them go, and put many serious impediments in the couple's path. In fact, had it not been for the benevolence of a kindly uncle—a jolly fellow of high-culture known to his friends as "Frenchy"—they would not have made the honeymoon.

The hasty conditions of their matrimony caused some of their friends to think that this union was not well-made. If some felt that the marriage was poorly made because of its haste, others regarded their backgrounds sufficiently dissimilar as to warrant reconsideration. Indeed, a few even suggested that the young lovers married not because of some deep abiding love, but as a way to escape the limitations of an oppressive home life. Alas, since the objections of their parents had been so belligerent, and the young couple's bond seemed so strong, few had the courage to counsel caution.

The husband, like his father, was a stout fellow, hard working and industrious, but also highly opinionated. He was frequently given to telling those with whom he worked how to do their jobs. Born in the city to a working-class family, he was very pious and had little patience with those whose beliefs differed from his own.

The wife was a fun-loving girl raised in the country on a large farm. Some uncharitable acquaintances called her lazy and said her family's large land holdings meant she was raised with a silver spoon in her mouth, but she possessed a gracious hospitality that made it easy to be her friend. She also had a very proud spirit and was often seen to visibly bristle when her husband would reproach her.

The first period of their life together

was, like so many others, a mixture of joy and sadness, harmony and rancor. But, as time wore on, the husband became cold and more critical. He also became so focused on money that he managed his wife's endowment without her counsel and confiscated portions of her income for "expenses."

For her part, the wife tired of her husband's workaholic ways and became less willing to endure his more frequent criticism. She began to feel that his disapproval had gone beyond mere correction and had reached the level of animosity. Not wishing to continue in such a condition, she resolved, after much soul-searching, to separate from her husband and to seek her own way in the world.

She wasn't sure how her husband would react to her decision. He had grown increasingly ill-tempered, so she thought it wise to first secure her personal possessions and the furnishings which she had inherited from her family: she took it as her right to leave the marriage with whatever she'd brought into it. She also hid her husband's pistol.

With the assistance of some cousins, she rented a van and began loading these possessions into it. Nearly finished with loading, the cousins had gone off to run an errand when her husband came driving down the street in his Lincoln. When he saw what was happening he was shocked. He knew they were having some difficulties, but he had no idea things had gotten this far out of hand. More important, he quickly recognized that her leaving meant he would no longer have access to her finances.

"What are you doing?" he said.

"I'm leaving you," she was heard to reply. "It's not that I dislike you; I just don't love you any more. We're both better off apart."

As the words soaked in, witnesses said they could see the temper rise up from his body as his face flushed and the blood vessels bulged. In a rage, he swung wildly at his wife. Ready for the blow, she adroitly ducked and countered with a nearby bed slat, cracking him across the side of the

head. Reeling from the blow, he wandered backwards towards his car.

The wife moved quickly to close the loading door and get to the truck's cab. As she hoisted herself up into the driver's seat the other door opened.

For a moment they stared across the expanse of vinyl upholstery, eye-to-eye.

She reached for the ignition. He caught her hand and with an iron grip, dragged her across the seat, out the door, and on to the ground.

With the keys in her hand she gouged at his face and chest, but the obvious wounds had little impact. Even as blood began to gush from the lacerations he seemed indifferent as if pain had gone the way of his other emotions. Despite her valiant attempts to free herself and fight back, she was no match for him. He was much bigger, and what he lacked in finesse he more than made up for in raw power and anger.

Still holding her wrist in his right hand, he began to beat her savagely. Silently, he struck blow after blow after blow until her once beautiful face was a wretched wreck of mangled hair, blood, and tissue.

After a few minutes of this carnage, he released his grip and she slumped to the ground, barely conscious.

He then marched to the rear of the truck and raised the door to the cargo box. For a moment he studied its contents of personal papers, old books, family mementos, antique furniture, and some rare china that had belonged to his mother-in-law. He walked around the van to his own truck and returned with an axe.

"No!" she cried. But he only looked at her for a moment before setting about the sweaty task of destroying several generations worth of tradition.

The contents of the van reduced to splinters and bits of broken glass and porcelain, he dropped the axe and walked back to where his wife was trying to stand. Grabbing her again by the wrist, he dragged her into the house. Once inside, he locked her in an empty bedroom and said, "If you ever try to leave me again, I'll kill you."

The next morning he went to the Unitarian church where he was a lay-minister. Standing before the congregation, he unflinchingly preached against the evils of divorce. ☛

You Think It's Crowded Here?

Consider: New York City has a population of well over nine million people compressed onto an island of 301 square miles. That's about 30,000 people per square mile: roughly one person per 900 square feet (that is, if most of them didn't live on top of each other).

Alabama, by contrast, has nearly 4.5 million residents huddled into a little over 51,000 square miles. That's a whopping eighty-seven people for every square mile (or thereabout). Therefore, we proclaim Gant's Quarry, Alabama—population seven—as far from New York City as you can get.

Speaking of Crowds

As part of the year-long commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of mountaineer Sir Edmund Hillary and Sherpa Tenzing Norgay's summiting Mount Everest, their sons set out to recreate the feat. Upon reaching the top of the world's highest mountain (29,035 ft.), they were two among eighty people that day.

It was so crowded, young Hillary had to move several feet away from the packed-out peak in order to make a pre-arranged satellite telephone call to CNN. He was put on hold.

Panty-loon

Anthony Scholfield (22), of Menomonie, Wisconsin, was arrested for purloining panties. When police searched his home, they discovered 854 pairs of women's thong underwear taken during surreptitious incur-



Here to stay. Gen. Lee arrives on the Sharpsburg Battlefield.

sions into the residences of local college girls.

Lee Rides Again

In last issue's CSA Today column we reported on the problems Mr. Bill Chaney was having with the bureaucrats of the Washington Historic Commission who were trying to prevent him erecting a twenty-four foot tall bronze statue of Robert E. Lee equine at the Newcomer House Civil War Museum, which he owns. The commission is charged with reviewing such proposals for aesthetic merit.

Mr. Chaney reports that these Antietam apparatchiks have been undone by their own red tape. After their refusing his

request, Mr. Chaney appealed the commission's decision. The board of appeals ruled that the commission exceeded authority and furthermore failed to answer him in writing within forty-five days as required by law.

Building permit in hand, Mr. Chaney had Lee and Traveler in place as soon as the sculptor, Rom Moore of Arkansas, could get it up there. Lee is one of only four Confederate monuments at Sharpsburg. The Union has ninety-nine memorials, although the statue of Union General (and later president) William McKinley is on the Confederate side.

If you'd like more information about the project, or to know how you can support this

effort, contact Mr. Chaney at Southern Heritage Antietam, P.O. Box 262, Lothian, MD 20711.

Don't Rap—Ever

We know you weren't going to, but we thought we'd warn you just in case. Why not? Well, it's racist, naturally: unless of course you're black.

No, we mean it. Recently, at a meeting for Bloomberg News employees, some of the top executives (all white, presumably) dressed up as Hip-hop artists and performed a little rap ditty designed to loosen things up.

But the performance was not the ice-breaker they'd hoped. Some of the company's black employees found the performance objectionable. One told the *N.Y. Daily News* that, "It's appalling for this company, which has little parity in its payment and promotion of blacks, to take any opportunity to have a parody and a mockery of black culture." The company apologized.

Just so we're clear: Rap songs about battering women and murdering police constitute art, but a gang of corporate execs rapping about a Fortune 500 company is racist. Got it?

Honor Bound

In the last few years, three of the United States service academies—West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy—have been plagued by horrible scandals.

In 1992 a cheating scandal rocked the U.S. Naval Academy when an investigation revealed that seventy-one Midshipmen

had cheated on a test: twenty-four were expelled, forty-seven went on to become Naval officers.

Similar cheating scandals occurred at the Air Force Academy in 1965, 1967, and 1984, and at West Point in 1951 and 1976. Recently, there has been a change of command at the Air Force Academy due to a series of about forty allegations of rape.

Of course, cheating scandals have happened at numerous universities across America, and there is certainly an alarming number of campus rapes every year. But they haven't happened at The Citadel and VMI.

Is there something different about these two schools? It's hard to say, but there is reason to hope.

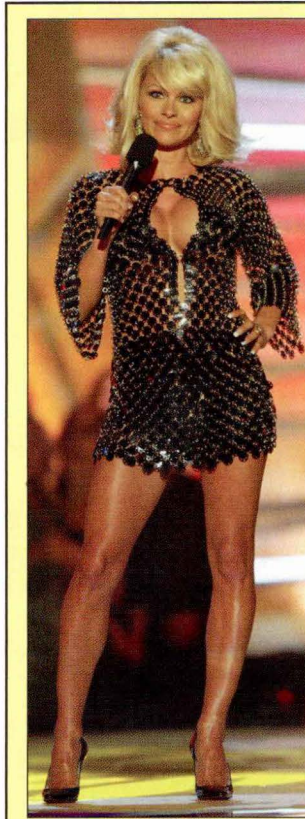
As America precipitates into campaigns around the Iraqi desert, Syria, and the Korean Peninsula, we can all be glad of Southern influence in the officer corps.

West Point has certainly turned out a few outstanding gentlemen who also proved to be war heroes as well: Lee, Stonewall. But West Point also produced Sherman and Grant, of whose conduct, on and off the battlefield, no one can reasonably be proud.

Maybe there was something different about Lee and Jackson before they got there?

The Pepsi Generation

Pepsi-Cola just can't seem to get it right. A few years ago they hired Madonna to push the brand and quickly fired her when she released the sacrilegious music video "Like A Prayer" which included scenes of burning crosses and her own stigmata. Back in the early '80s androgynous pop-star Michael Jackson's hair was set ablaze during the filming of a Pepsi



Nice, but it would have been better with the hat.

No Hat and All Tattle

Not everybody in Hollywood is anti-American or even anti-Confederate. Nashville sources report that Pam Anderson, hostess of the Country Music Television video awards show, wanted to wear a huge hat with half being a Confederate flag and the other half a United States flag.

According to the *New York Post*, when CMT officials found out, they overruled the plan. Worried that it would "send the wrong message," a CMT representative was reported to have asked Mrs. Anderson, "Do you know what that flag stands for?" CMT offered no official response.

Of course, with this crowd you can never be sure which flag they were worried about.

commercial.

More recently they hired the most popular hip-shaker since Mata Hari, Shakira, whose most popular number is not so subtly entitled "Dirty." The latest spokesman for Pepsi was rap artist Ludacris. They fired him when they got around to actually reading the lyrics to his songs and discovered (gasp!) that they were full of vile, profane, and misogynistic references.

Deciding to go a little more mainstream, the marketing gurus at Pepsi hired a group that performed at both George Bush's 1993 gubernatorial and 2000 presidential inaugural galas: the Dixie Chicks.

Returning the favor, Texas native and lead vocalist Natalie Maines took a swipe at Bush during a concert tour in London and saw record sales plummet among the flag-waving good ole boys that make up the bulk of

country music's audience.

Just so we don't think the boys at Pepsi have completely lost their touch, Madison Avenue gossip has it that the sugar water peddlers filmed the commercial at the Spahn Movie Ranch, famous for having once been inhabited by the murderous Charles Manson and family.

The commercial may never air, but our bet is Pepsi will prove once again that even bad publicity is good publicity.

Wacky Iraqis

After rejoicing at the downfall of Saddam Hussein and welcoming the U.S. armed forces that performed the feat, thousands of Iraqis, shouting anti-U.S. slogans, turned from appreciation to protest in a matter of days.

Those who feared that the Iraqis might not progress can

now rest at ease. After all, it took the French fifty years to hate us.

Smocks of Discrimination

Amy Gunderson, 31, of Brooklyn, has received a \$10,000 settlement in a lawsuit against the city of New York. Miss Gunderson had been arrested for appearing sans-blouse in the annual Coney Island Mermaid Parade.

According to the nymph's lawyer, her arrest for going topless violated her First Amendment rights. The New York Court of Appeals affirmed that "a woman has a constitutional right to appear in public topless, the same right that men have."

Okay, but let her show up at a school wearing a Confederate flag t-shirt and they really will make a federal case out of it.

Names Changed to Protect the Militant

Always on the lookout for something offensive, parents and teachers in Berkeley, California, have begun a crusade to change the name of Thomas Jefferson Elementary School, finding that the association with the author of the Declaration of Independence is offensive because the former president was a Virginia slave-owner.

First grade teacher Marguerite Hughes told the *Berkeley Daily Planet* that she's not interested in "Jefferson-bashing." But she said it would be insensitive to leave the name of a slaveholder on a building with a large black student population. "I think it's important to think about how students feel about the school, and even teachers,"

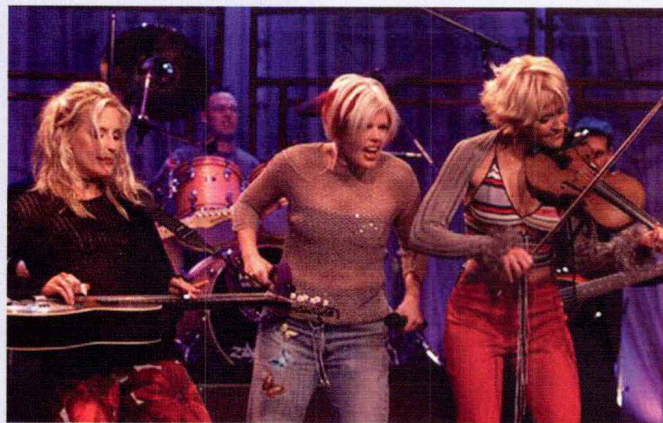
There's Your Trouble

By the way, how can the Dixie Chicks—they of the politically incorrect eponym—be allowed to perform under that title?

Shouldn't the Nashville corporate types force them to change it to something less offensive? Say the Self-Empowered Young Women From A Warm Climate?

Girls Gone Reviled

When the Chicks laid an egg on George W. in London recently, they put the blame where it belongs: Europeans. In an official statement Mrs. Maines apologized to the president and said in part, "We are currently in Europe and witnessing a huge anti-American sentiment as a result of the per-



ceived rush to war."

With her fans unsatisfied, she explained further, "The anti-American sentiment that has unfolded here is astounding. While we support our troops, there is nothing more frightening than the notion of going to war with Iraq and the prospect of all the innocent lives that will be lost."

Europeans weren't always so influential with the Chicks. An alert reader shared with us an excerpt from the

Chick Chat, Spring 1994, the band's official newsletter: "Our next stop was Euro Disney for three raucous nights at the Billy Bob's authentic Texas-style saloon. The last day we spent touring the Park. Even Mickey Mouse had B.O. In Paris (pah-REE), we gave 'em an earful on the Eiffel. The elevator ride up allowed for a quick rendition of the Star Spangled Banner for a group of Moroccan tourists."

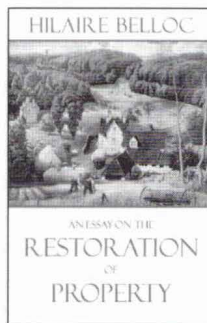
Hughes said.

Riding to Mr. Jefferson's defense was Robert Middlekauff, U.C. Berkeley professor emeritus of American history. Prof. Middlekauff described Jefferson's legacy as "complicated," saying, "All historians and students recognize that Jefferson was a slaveholder, but they also recognize that he was one of many, and his life, his career, his contributions to the Revolution were of another order. I think Jefferson is generally held in very high regard."

Jefferson Elementary would not be the first Berkeley school to change names. A few years ago, a school named for famed European explorer Christopher Columbus was deemed unacceptable. The change wasn't controversial, but there was a heated battle over whether the new namesake should be Rosa Parks or Cesar Chavez.

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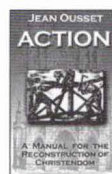
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Double Secret Boycott

Jesse Jackson has announced a boycott of Greenville County, South Carolina. The reason for such draconian action is the County Council refused to knuckle-under to Jackson's demands that county employees be forced to take off the third Saturday in January as Martin Luther King, Jr. Day.

A conservative majority on County Council, saying the budget wouldn't allow an additional day off from work, and unwilling to force employees to give up a preferable holiday such as the day after Christmas or Good Friday, opted instead to allow employees to vote which days would be mandatory holidays.

For this brazen effrontery, Rev. Jackson announced economic sanctions against the county. Of course, all of South Carolina still labors under the weightless effects of a statewide NAACP boycott for having a Confederate flag on the Statehouse lawn. It is unclear how you can have more than a total boycott, but I'm sure Rev. Jackson will explain it.



Jesse Jackson, photographed by Decatur, Ill. police, December 1999, when he was protesting the expulsion of six students for fighting.

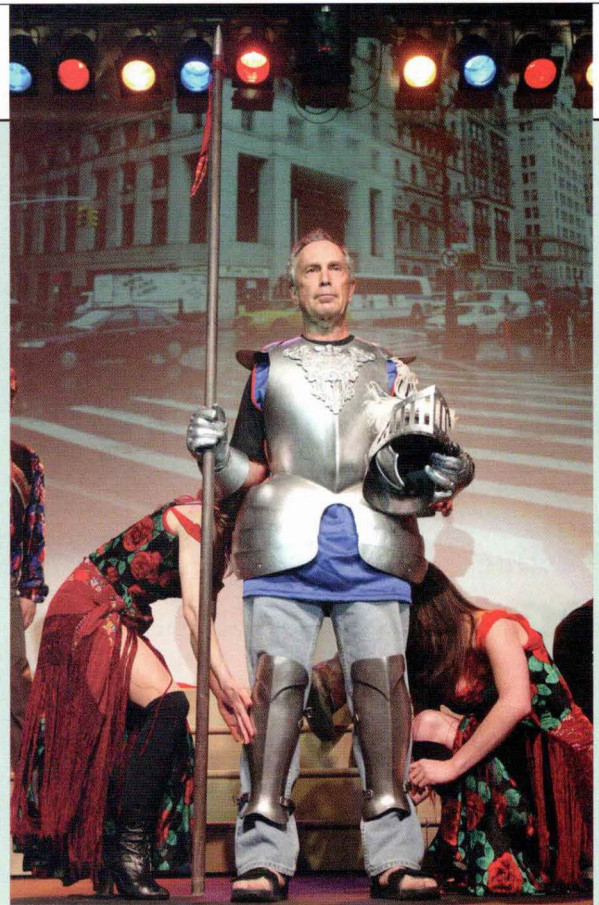
Upsetting the Big Apple Cart

"I'm angry we're not totally in control of our own destiny, unfortunately. We are ... dependent on Washington. And that's not good."

Who said that?

Not John Calhoun, or Jeff Davis, or Barnwell Rhett, or any other Southern sage. None other than Michael Bloomberg, mayor of the city of New York.

Seems His Honor has voiced the idea that since Albany and Washington take more than they give, NYC should secede and become a State. It's always nice to see the denizens of Gotham realizing centuries old truths, but we hope they abandon this secession nonsense. While there's a lot to dislike about New York, we'd hate to see the Federal Government forced to burn it to the ground.



Mayor Bloomberg prepares to fight Leviathan

Birth of A Notion

Sixty-five years ago, *Life* published a photo essay called "The Birth of A Baby" which showed a baby being born from what one might call a doctor's-eye view. The rather explicit, for the time, series of photographs brought a strong reaction with about fifty localities (including Brooklyn, Boston, and all of Pennsylvania and Canada) banning the sale of that edition.

But, alas, the modern newsstand is a thing to be avoided by people of good moral standing. Nowadays, it would be no surprise for a major nationally circulated magazine to show photographs of a baby being *made*.

Once Again

A few issues back (Fourth Quarter 2001) we ran a graph showing how Southerners represented a disproportionate

amount of enlistments in the U.S. Armed Forces. Now that the reports are coming in from Iraq we see the same pattern from our nation's history.

When there's fighting to be done, it's usually Southerners doing it.

There were one hundred twenty-eight deaths related to Operation Iraqi Freedom, according to the Associated Press. Of those, forty-three were Southerners (based on the hometowns listed).

Of those total deaths, eighty-seven were combat casualties, of which twenty-nine were Southerners. One-third of the sacrifice was thus born by the South.

The Umpire Strikes Back

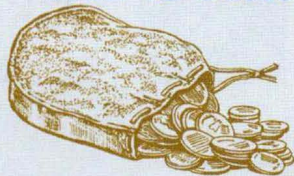
Mr. Jerry Reinsdorf, chairman of the Chicago White Sox, has

called for severe penalties for fans who run onto a baseball field or other sports arena, after Eric Dybas (24) of Bolingbrook, Illinois, rushed the field and tackled an umpire in a recent game.

"We're very proud of the fact that the atmosphere in U.S. Cellular Field is far different than it was prior to 1981, when Comiskey Park, as it was then known, was billed as the world's largest outdoor saloon and hundreds of people used to be arrested and thrown out of the place on Friday night."

A year ago a 35-year old man and his 15-year old son jumped onto the field and attacked the third base coach during a Royals game. As the Royals bench quickly came to the coach's aid, they no doubt made more of an impression on the malefactors than any amount of fines ever could. ☛

THE Scalawag Award



Be Prepared to Capitulate

The news was announced in Virginia the other day: The name of Robert E. Lee will no longer appear on the uniforms of Boy Scouts in Central Virginia.

The Robert E. Lee Council of the Boy Scouts of America voted to drop Lee's name from its title and logo—effective June of 2004. This particular Council has borne that name for over 60 years. Scout Executive Robert A. Tuggle denies that the change has anything to do with political correctness or with the character of General Lee.

"We wanted a name that was more geographically descriptive," he said, "so that when we market ourselves outside of this area—particularly our camps—people will know what part of the country we're in." (If they retained the Lee name, people would

think their camps were located in Massachusetts or Connecticut.)

Yet Mr. Tuggle is quoted by Mark Bowes of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* as saying that a new, more inclusive name will "better represent our entire population."

King Salim Khalfani, Virginia director of the NAACP agrees. "Taking the barrier down," he said, "would lead me to help recruit."

Tuggle said the board "acknowledged Lee was an outstanding man, leader and influential person in our country's history and changing the name ... has nothing to do with the character or opinions of Lee." A mighty bold and generous statement—in fact, downright foolhardy with Khalfani breathing down his neck.

As yet, the Council has not come up with a new name. Tuggle says, "The suggestion box is open for any and all ideas."

We've got one.

What about the Scalawag Council of the Boy Scouts of America? ☛



The lies I told were this big!

I'd Like to Spank the Academy

The anti-gun crowd has faced a couple of setbacks recently. In 2001 Emory University professor Michael Bellesiles was forced to relinquish the Bancroft Prize for his book *Arming America*, when the book, which is a gun control screed, was revealed to be substantially fabricated.

Check out RevoketheOscar.com, a web site devoted to advocating the revocation of left-wing agitator Michael Moore's Academy Award. Moore was awarded the Oscar in the documentary "Bowling For Columbine," a virulently anti-second amendment screed. The web site's authors convincingly assert that the film was so riddled with errors that it does not qualify as a documentary.

In one sequence Moore pays an unannounced call on NRA president Charlton Heston at his home and plays on Heston's Alzheimer's disease to make him look foolish.

If you'd like to communicate your opinion, here's how:

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Beverly Hills, CA 90211
Email: ampas@oscars.org



SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOFF

ON THE GENTLEMAN

... the manner in which an individual enjoys advantages over others is a test of a true gentleman.
—Gen. Robert E. Lee

ON THE PRESS

The American Press is the sworn enemy of every man who would better his fellows, who would lift civilization to higher planes.
—W.C. Brann

ON HONOR

What is life without honor? Degradation is worse than death.

—Lt. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, C.S. Army

ON AMERICA

I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality.
—George Washington

ON NATURAL RIGHTS

... all men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights ... among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.
—George Mason

ON WAR

What the American people want to do is fight a war without getting hurt. You can't do that any more than you can go into a brawl without getting hurt.
—Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Puller, USMC



CSA TODAY

Alabama

You may have heard that Birmingham's famous statue of Vulcan—a symbol of the city's iron-and-steel industry—is scheduled to take its place again on top of Red Mountain, after being hauled off for repair work at a foundry in Alexander City.

The statue, which stands over 56 feet high and weighs over 120,000 pounds, was originally commissioned as an exhibit at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. However, when it was brought back to Birmingham, the local ladies objected to his ugly face and exposed bottom. Bowing to feminine sensibilities, authorities parked him at the Alabama State Fair grounds, where he remained until 1935.

That year, the Kiwanis Club, with nothing better to do, persuaded the city to move Vulcan to Red Mountain, where he has remained until recently, slowly deteriorating like all the rest of us.

As Vulcan was scheduled to return to Red Mountain in pagan triumph, a man named Carl Dykes filed suit against the City of Birmingham, Jefferson County, the State of Alabama, and National Park Service, claiming (as the *Birmingham News* explained it) that “[the statue] represents an image of the Roman god Vulcan, also known as the Greek god Hephaestus.” In fact, Mr. Dykes went even further than that. He said that the statue was a religious symbol and should be banned from public property—just as a statue of You-Know-Who would be banned. A judge quickly dismissed the case. So Vulcan will soon be back at his old place—his ugly face and exposed bottom symbolizing the highest aspirations of the New South.

Arkansas

A Catfish by Any Other Name...

The Vietnam War is still being fought in Arkansas, this time over catfish.

The Catfish Farmers of America (CFA), representing mostly Southern catfish farmers, has complained that the Vietnamese have captured 20 percent of the \$590 million U.S. frozen-catfish-fillet market by selling phony catfish below cost. And the U.S. Commerce Department agrees.

Rep. Randy Rankin of Eudora introduced a bill that would allow the state Plant Board to require grocery stores and restaurants to label the fish's country of origin and common name. It would also define what is meant by “catfish.”

U.S. farmers insist that what the Vietnamese are marketing is not a catfish at all but something called “basa” or “tra.” The only true catfish, they argue, belong to the fine old family of Ictaluridae. The Vietnamese fish are nothing but low-born Pangasiidae. And who wants to eat the underwater equivalent of white trash? On the answer to that question rides the fate of 190,000 Southern catfish ponds.

Florida

Multiculturalism at NASCAR

Sportswriters with social consciences are as tiresome as old ladies with pictures of their grandchildren. Both drag them out whether you ask or not.

Thus both Steve Wilstein and Eddie Pells of the AP filed separate stories on the plight of the lone black NASCAR driver, Bill Lester, dragging the race question, kicking and screaming, into an otherwise apolitical sport.

Pells writes in a February 13 story:

Nearly a decade after his trip to the fabled Alabama track [at Talladega], Lester still feels alone some days. NASCAR

enters the 2003 season with only one black driver in any of its top three series.

And Wilstein, in a story filed the very next day, writes:

Black fans buy the same product as white fans, and their money is the same shade of green.

Tiger Woods changed the complexion of golf crowds, just as Venus and Serena Williams did with tennis fans. NASCAR is missing a similar black star, with only one black driver, Bill Lester, in any of its top three series.

In response, Jim Hunter, a spokesman for NASCAR, said, “It’s unfortunate for NASCAR, but that’s up to individuals. If they have the desire and the talent, the opportunity is there.”

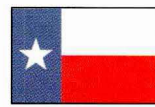
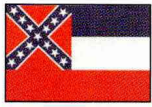
He might have added that Tiger Woods is the only black golfer on the PGA tour. (Vijay Singh is not technically a black.) And nobody feels sorry for Tiger, who is tearing up just about every course he plays. If anything, people feel sorry for his opponents.

However, worried about the problem, NASCAR hired a “manager of diversity affairs” to bring more minorities to the sport.

Georgia

Despite the outrage of the *New York Times* and the National Council of Women's Organizations (NCWO), the Masters was held as usual at the Augusta National Golf Course.

The *Times* reported the controversy as if it were World War III, with stories and commentary appearing in virtually every relevant section of the newspaper. The editorial board even cleared the phlegm from its magisterial throat and demanded that Tiger Woods boycott the tournament. When two *Times* sports writers disagreed with parts of that editorial, their stories



were spiked. Later, after the word of this repression leaked out, the two columns were printed, but only after they were altered. (Dave Anderson, a Pulitzer Prize winner, was told to leave out a reference he made to the newspaper's editorial board—which he did.)

This obsession with the membership policies of Augusta National is just one more example of how, in a relatively short period, editor Howell Raines has transformed the *Times* from a quietly Leftist newspaper into a high-decibel Left-wing tabloid.

Raines is from Alabama and has been trying to live down his Southern background ever since he arrived in New York. The paper's fixation on Augusta is merely a foreshadowing of things to come. The *Times* has always been anti-Southern. Look for it to become loudly, rabidly anti-Southern under Raines.

And Raines could be in charge for a long time. In the wake of the Jayson Blair scandal, Raines told a meeting of *Times* staffers that he had no intention of resigning; and his boss—"Pinch" Sulzberger—chimed in to say that if the resignation were offered, it would be rejected.

A couple of ideologues digging in their heels.

But Raines and Sulzberger weren't the only die-hards in the game. "Hootie" Johnson, chairman of Augusta National, ignored the *Times* and NCWO's Martha Burk, who demonstrated ineffectually at the Masters. He announced that, to avoid pressure on their sponsors, the Augusta National would foot the entire bill for the four-day broadcast and offer the tournament commercial free.

Of people like Burk and Raines, Hootie said, "We do not intend to become a trophy in their display case. There may come a day when women will be invited to join our membership, but that timetable will be ours and not at the point of a bayonet."

Hootie for President in 2004!

Kentucky

Democratic governor Paul Patton is in real

trouble with Kentuckians. A poll by the Louisville *Courier-Journal* found that 55 percent of the people disapprove of the job he has done and only 39 percent approve—a sharp contrast to the 71 percent approval rate he enjoyed in 1998. In fact, today, 28 percent said they would like to see him resign. This is the first time a sitting governor has received majority disapproval.

Patton blames the poor ratings on the fact that he had an affair with Tina Conner, a western Kentucky businesswoman, which at first he denied, then admitted.

"It's understandable that many Kentuckians have been disappointed with me for the personal mistake I made; they're justified in their disappointment."

Edward Lay of Louisville, a retired social worker, says that it isn't so much the affair itself as the fact that the woman was certified for special consideration on state road contracts. A little quid for the quo.

Louisville nurse Linda Caswell expressed a widely held opinion that Patton had handled state finances badly. "I think he's put the state in jeopardy with his spending and wanting to increase taxes by \$500 million."

Fooling around? Out-of-sight taxing and spending? So what's the problem? OI' Paul is just acting like a Democrat.

Louisiana

As of this writing, the serial killer is still loose in south Louisiana. A multi-agency task force seems baffled and frustrated. A group called Citizens Against the Serial Killer is calling for DNA testing of some unsolved 1,400 cases where biological evidence has been retrieved. They speculate that there may be more victims than the five women already linked to him: Trineisha Dene Colomb, 23; Pam Kinamore, 44; Charlotte Murray Pace, 22; Gina Wilson Green, 41; and Carrie Yoder, 26.

The task force is adding DNA experts as quickly as possible, because that's about all they can do. Meanwhile, an FBI profiler says of the killer, "he has likely been involved in any of all of the following: domestic abuse, workplace violence,

assaultive behavior, threatening behavior."

The profiler also speculates that the killer has probably come to "the attention of law enforcement in the past, even if for seemingly minor offenses, including trespassing, breaking and entering, and peeping."

Jack Levin, director of the Brudnick Center on Violence and Conflict at Northeastern University, disagrees. He notes that most serial killers don't graduate from lesser crimes to murder. "The odds are he does not have a criminal record.... But you've got to work at that possibility until it's eliminated."

Confusion reigns. Maybe he will make a mistake, and maybe he won't. Maybe, like Jack the Ripper, he will one day just stop killing.

Unfortunately, serial killers have become a part of our culture, as American as Coca Cola. It is a phenomenon not easily explained. Something has happened to us as a people, and it occurred in the middle of the 20th century—a brutal virus that invaded our blood and bone and now crops up from time to time, usually in densely populated urban areas. We can't explain it or prevent it. We can only try to kill it before it kills us.

Maryland

Republican Gov. Robert Ehrlich has a cure for Maryland's budget deficit: Install 10,500 slot machines at the state's various race tracks. He is peddling this proposal via the Internet, with e-mails paid for by his campaign organization.

Ehrlich hopes to squeeze an additional \$395 million from slot machine revenues and licensing fees to balance the budget this year. He estimates the revenues will increase to \$800 million in future years. The money, he says, will go to schools.

Paying your debts by exploiting the weakness of others is no way to run a state. A disappointing start for the first Republican governor since Spiro Agnew.

Mississippi

Death row inmate Jimmie Lee Mack was in court to determine if he was mentally retarded. If the judge so ruled, Mack's death sen-



tence would be commuted to life without parole, since the U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled that executing the mentally retarded was unconstitutional.

The hearing was moving along smoothly until, angered by his own attorney, Mack suddenly demanded to be heard.

“He’s steadily calling me mentally retarded,” Mack said of his lawyer. “I’m not mentally retarded.”

The lawyer, Charlie Press, was flabbergasted. He demanded that Mack’s statements be excluded.

“My client’s declaration in court that he is not mentally retarded is not evidence that he is not mentally retarded. Given a choice between being executed and being called mentally retarded, he would choose to be executed.”

When Judge Larry Lewis asked him if he wanted to drop his appeal, Mack replied, “I can’t say now. Give me about a week or two after this here blows over, you know. I can’t tell what might happen, you know. But at the moment, you know, it really don’t matter to me.”

Judge Lewis has to make this call. We’d hate to be in his shoes.

Missouri

In years past, young people congregated at the local hamburger joint. Today they crowd the malls, dressed like panhandlers or hookers, shouting obscenities as casually as they shout names. Often they run in gangs and start fights. As for the adults who are there to shop, the kids hold them in contempt. At best they are obstacles to be bumped aside, at worst they are the enemy.

At Northwest Plaza in St. Ann, folks say they’ve had enough. Mall officials and police are in agreement. So a new rule: if you enter the mall after six o’clock, you have to be at least 18 or accompanied by a parent or responsible adult. No exceptions.

The police chief of St. Ann, where the mall is located, said, “We’re not against having kids in the stores, but we want families here, not roving bands of juveniles.”

Mall manager Bill King said that for the first four to six weeks, security guards would be stationed at all entrances, check-

ing the IDs of anyone who appears to be under 25. King described this tactic as “an educational process” designed to familiarize everyone with the new rules.

Northwest Plaza is by no means the first mall in the country to adopt this policy. In 1996, the most famous mall of all, Minnesota’s Mall of America, barred kids 16 and younger after 6 o’clock, unless accompanied by a parent or guardian. Before the policy was instituted, 3,000-5,000 kids were pouring into the mall on Friday nights. Fights broke out, and there was at least one shooting. According to spokeswoman Monica Davis, the largest mall in America was “headed down a very slippery slope at the time.”

As Tony Soprano would say, “Whatcha gonna do?” On the one hand, you feel sorry for young people. The mall is clearly the best place for them to go at night—public, well-lighted, full of ways to spend the money they always seem to have.

On the other hand, you feel even sorrier for adults, who have to suffer the multiple indignities of arrogant youth.

It makes you long for the days when everybody lived on the farm and kids were too tired to go to town on Friday night.

North Carolina

When the Rev. Franklin Graham’s Boone-based relief organization, Samaritan’s Purse, announced it was ready to give aid to the people of Iraq following the war, Ibrahim Hooper of the Council on American-Islamic Relations was outraged.

“It’s a very deceitful practice,” he said.

So what’s his problem?

He’s afraid the devious Christian infidels will tell the starving Muslims about Jesus.

He said it was OK for Christians to talk about Jesus to people who aren’t desperate for food and water. But in war-torn Iraq, which is 97 percent Muslim, it would be exploiting the vulnerable.

“There are enough legitimate organizations to handle these kinds of things. I think it’s better that they not participate in relief work in Iraq.”

Hooper’s attitude is typical of some Islamic organizations in the U.S.—arrogant,

belligerent, defiant. Incredible as it may seem, public approval of the Muslim community in America actually rose 10 points following 9/11—a testimony to the compassion and generosity of Christian America. Yet—as if to undo this good will—a few U.S. Muslim groups continue to spread their anti-Christian, anti-American poison whenever the American press provides them with a platform.

What most Americans don’t realize is the degree to which Christians are persecuted by Muslims in other countries. In Sudan and Indonesia they have been murdered or systematically starved to death by the hundreds of thousands. And the killing continues.

In Middle Eastern nations like Saudi Arabia and Iran—where Islamic law prevails—Christians are not allowed to worship in public or to display Bibles or Christian symbols. Indeed, such items are routinely confiscated.

And one more thing. Under strict Islamic law (Shari-a), any Muslim who converts to another religion is subject to the death penalty.

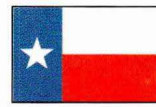
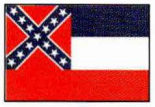
In telling Franklin Graham to keep out of Iraq, maybe Hooper simply wants to save the lives of fellow Muslims in that enlightened religious community to which he owes his allegiance.

Oklahoma

Johnny Cochran is back in court again, this time in Oklahoma. (You remember Cochran: He’s the guy who played the race card in O.J.’s trial.)

This time, he’s seeking reparations for the loss of loved ones, the destruction of businesses, the burning of homes—all of which occurred in a 1921 race riot. His lawsuit charges that authorities back then acted in bad faith by allowing the rioters to devastate the black community of Greenwood. On behalf of the Tulsa Reparations Council, Cochran has filed a multi-million-dollar lawsuit against the city of Tulsa and the state of Oklahoma.

We certainly don’t defend lynchers or rioters. However, this mercenary unearthing of ancient wrongs serves no useful purpose



in a region that has the best race relations in the country. We would be more impressed if Mr. Cochran were to file against the city of Chicago and the state of Illinois, where a larger riot occurred just three years before the Tulsa riot.

But that will never happen, will it?

South Carolina

All over the region, resort communities are having trouble with hoards of young people who come South to get drunk, have nearly anonymous sex, and get into eye-gouging, nose-crushing brawls—many of which require the intervention of law enforcement officers. These kids—white as well as black—are a financial liability, since they destroy property, sleep ten in a bed, and bring their own booze. They also drive off better-behaved, more affluent vacationers.

In 2002, the Grand Strand of South Carolina hosted the Memorial Day Atlantic Beach Bikefest—which is a predominantly black bash. To no one's great surprise, a bunch of folks violated a bunch of laws and there were a bunch of arrests.

As a defense, some local businesses close up shop during this time. Others, such as the big hotels, impose strict rules limiting even who can come into the lobby.

This year, the NAACP filed lawsuits charging past discrimination—one against local law enforcement and one against the Yachtsman, a resort hotel. One suit also named the Denny's restaurant chain.

The NAACP clearly wanted to put Myrtle Beach and Horry County on notice that officers were not to arrest any of the bikers for crimes short of murder.

But wait a minute! Didn't the NAACP call for a boycott of the entire state? And isn't the Confederate flag still flying—in a so-called position of sovereignty—on the State House grounds in Columbia?

True.

Yet the organization has said nothing about the impropriety of black bikers flocking to Myrtle Beach. Not one word of criticism for their brothers' violating the sanctity of the boycott. Instead, the organization is complaining that the reception the boycott violators are receiving is not hospitable

enough.

And Denny's says it doesn't understand why it has been targeted. The restaurant says it hired extra help and stayed open 24-hours in order to serve the bikers.

We're sure that's true too. However, remember what happened the last several times the NAACP filed charges against Denny's: The restaurant capitulated immediately and paid up. So why is Denny's being sued again?

Isn't that obvious?

Tennessee

Good News and Bad News

The Good News: Jonathan Farley—the black Vanderbilt math professor who made ill-reasoned comments about his belief that *all* Confederates should have been executed—is on his way to MIT, where he will be one of four Martin Luther King, Jr. Visiting Professors.

The Bad News: In 2006, he's slated to return to Vanderbilt.

And speaking of Vanderbilt, as we have already reported, the UDC is suing the University over the decision to drop "Confederate" from "Confederate Memorial Hall." Lawyers for Vanderbilt said that the administrators involved in the decision have received some downright ugly messages—including threats. As a consequence, the University has asked the judge to keep their names sealed, as well as their correspondence concerning the issue.

We haven't heard how the motion came out. We don't need their names, and we wouldn't for the world have their academic feathers ruffled. However, we sure would like to see that correspondence—as would several generations of Vanderbilt alumni.

Texas

Etched in the marble wall above a water fountain in a Dallas County government building were the words WHITES ONLY. Years ago, someone tried to buff the marble so the segregationist message no longer showed, but you could still see it—barely.

Recently, after protests, officials covered the offending words with a metal plate.

But that wasn't enough for Ofori Benson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, who said, "We are telling you that covering it is not sufficient. We are still bothered as long as we know what lies behind the metal plate."

"Nobody wants to talk about a solution," said Judge Margaret Keliher. "It's a 'tear down the building' attitude."

Years ago they had the same debate in Georgia. The white establishment wanted to take down the WHITE and COLORED entrance signs to a local railroad station, but the black leadership wanted to keep the signs up—as a constant reminder of the indignities they had suffered.

Folks are getting harder and harder to please these days.

Virginia

We've got real bad news, folks. If you're standing, perhaps you'd better sit down.

You remember Sa-ad El-Amin, the Richmond City Councilman? The guy who hated Robert E. Lee and wanted to expunge the Confederacy from the communal memory of Virginia?

Well, it seems he's gotten himself in a heap of trouble.

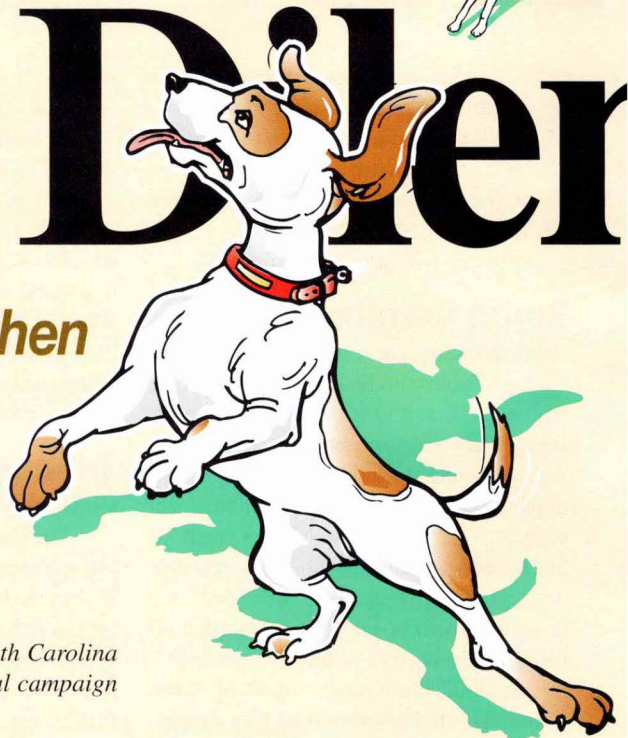
A federal grand jury has indicted him and his wife, Beverly Crawford, on 16 counts, including embezzlement; mail, wire, and bank fraud; illegal use of a government seal; and conspiracy to defraud the United States of America.

We're not talking about pocket change here, either. The IRS is claiming El-Amin and wife owe \$700,000 in unpaid taxes on individual, corporate, and employment income—along with some hefty penalties and interest. The indictment alleges that the couple also diverted a portion of their law firm's trust fund and operating accounts for their personal use.

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* quotes U.S. Attorney Paul J. McNulty as saying: "These two defendants have violated numerous federal laws largely in an effort to avoid paying the taxes they owed and to maintain their standard of living."

We need to pray real hard about this one. ☸

The Democrat's Dixie Diner



BY CHRISTOPHER M. SULLIVAN

My friends, the day's coming when Democrats will be so scarce in the South it'll take a good hunting dog to find 'em.

Former U.S. Senator Phil Gramm, speaking to South Carolina Republicans during the 1996 Presidential campaign

A lightly populated area composed entirely of farms and small towns, Jasper County is situated at the southernmost tip of South Carolina along the Savannah River, and has been a Democrat stronghold for over a century.

As was the custom, on Election Day 1960, the County Treasurer was counting the ballots surrounded by an inner circle of clerks who tabulated the results as they were read off. An outer ring was comprised of the local press and spectators. As he thumbed through the universally straight-tickets, one after another, he repeated "Democrat, Democrat, Democrat..." Suddenly he stopped short, a bit puzzled. With a shrug he said "Huh. Republican." Laying the paper to one side, he returned to the staccato mantra.

Then, with a quizzical look akin to a dog seeing another dog on television, he read off, "Republican" a second time. That paper laid on top of the first, he returned to the familiar refrain. When all the ballots had been read, the ladies summed their pages and the Treasurer made the official announcement: "Once again," he said with confidence. "I am pleased to report that Jasper County has voted 100% for the

Democratic ticket."

As the applause died down, a voice came from the back, "What about those two ballots beside you there?"

The Treasurer looked over at the ballots with the mild shock of a husband who had come home without the loaf of bread. Then, his face brightening, he proclaimed with relaxed jocularly, "Oh, that's probably just old [Tom Jones]; you know the way he drinks he probably just voted twice," and everybody went home happy.

Thirty-four years later, in Jasper County where 54 percent of the registered voters are non-white, the Republican candidate for U.S. Senate got 36 percent of the vote. Assuming that all blacks voted straight Democrat, that means roughly 40 percent of the white voters supported the GOP. This change in Jasper County is indicative of a change in attitudes and voting patterns across the South.

Richard Nixon's political advisors, especially Harry Dent, are often credited with (or condemned for) inventing the Southern Strategy, by which Republican politicians began to loosen the Democratic Party's historic hold on the solid South. And it is certainly true that the political for-

tures of candidates from the party of Lincoln were rather grim in the South for nearly a hundred years following the end of the War Between the States.

After the capitulation of the Confederate armies, the Union at first sought to extract itself from the region so that the soldiery could get back home. The problem with this plan was that the idea of the South remained. As it turns out, it would take a little more to exterminate ideas than simply burning everything in sight. (They also wanted to plunder the region.)

This presented a dilemma for the North: if the Southern states had actually seceded, it was up to the Union government (*i.e.*, Congress) to determine when they were reformed enough to be allowed to have some hand in their own government; if secession was impossible, as Lincoln and his cohort had declared, then the government had no right to prevent the states from holding elections nor could they deny them their rightful seats in Congress. In fact, the president was constitutionally obligated to guarantee a republican form of government.

The Radical Republicans were unable to accept either proposition. The first was

Among the fiats issued were the immediate disenfranchisement of every person who had served the Confederacy in any capacity whatsoever and the immediate enfranchisement of every former male slave. This revolutionary change in the social dynamic would establish the political parameters for the next century or more.

uma

unacceptable because that would mean that the Union had waged an aggressive war of conquest against an independent country without any constitutional or legal justification. By the end of the war their ostensible reason for the war was to eradicate a practice (slavery in the South) that was still legal in five Union states.

The second proposition was just as unpalatable, because it meant that the Southern states needed only to hold a single election to seat delegations in Congress. Restored to their old desks, Southern Representatives and Senators would be, at best, obstructionist to Republican aims and might undo the nascent policies that had been bought with the lives of thousands of Union soldiers. The fruitless deaths of almost 360,000 of their own constituents was not something Yankee politicians were willing to contemplate.

The solution was to abandon the rule of law and rule by Congressional fiat instead. Towards this end, the South was converted into military districts ruled by army generals. Among the fiats issued were the immediate disenfranchisement of every person who had served the Confederacy in any capacity whatsoever and the immediate enfranchisement of every former male slave. This revolutionary change in the social dynamic would establish the political parameters for the next century or more.

By 1876, *de jure* Reconstruction had ended in the South and the Yankee Shoguns were on their way home. As Federal troops withdrew, the Carpetbaggers scammed away as quickly as they had come, and the power vacuum was filled with the machinery of the Democratic Party. This machinery operated unquestioned for about seventy-five years. In most Dixie dominions, the semblance of a two-party system was created only by the development of factions or

wings within the Democratic Party, organized around colorful personalities who would clash with each other and marshal their followers, creating mechanisms that resembled political parties, but with all candidates claiming to be true Democrats.

Of Yellow Dogs and Harry Byrd

Southern Democrats were known as Yellow Dog Democrats because their party

fealty was so strong, they would vote for a yellow dog before they would vote Republican.

A sea change began to occur during the Democratic National Convention of 1948, when a small group of leftist Democrats from the Northeast and Midwest (e.g., Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Blair Moody of Michigan, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. of New York) captured the floor and polarized the dele-



What's a nice girl like you doing in a place like this?

Walt Lardner Papers, South Caroliniana Library, The University of South Carolina



William D. Workman, Jr., Papers, South Caroliniana Library, The University of South Carolina

Republican presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower, facing the Confederate Monument, addresses a throng of supporters in South Carolina, 1952.

gates by calling for a series of planks in the platform that condemned the South and endorsed legislation that smacked of Reconstruction. Southern delegates walked out of the convention and nominated then-governor of South Carolina Strom Thurmond to run for president as the States Rights Party candidate. Thurmond carried South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana for a total of 39 electoral votes; and a growing number of Southerners began to think of the Democratic Party as “the enemy.”

This sentiment was strong enough in 1952 to enable war hero Dwight Eisenhower to accomplish what was regarded as a political miracle: In a landslide victory, he carried four Southern states for the Republicans—Florida, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The barn door was open, and the horses were bolting, but the Deep South still held back.

Taking advantage of the growing anti-Democratic sentiment, Governor George Wallace of Alabama sought the presidency in 1968 as a third-party candidate. (Historians tend to forget that Wallace had planned to run in 1964, but announced he would watch from the sidelines because the Republicans had nominated a good conservative in Barry Goldwater.) In 1968, Wallace ran on essentially the same platform that Thurmond had endorsed 20 years earlier: states rights and limited government. He carried Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana for a total of 46 electoral votes.

The Thurmond and Wallace campaigns provided Southerners with a means to vote against Democrats without voting for Republicans. But the Eisenhower victory sandwiched in between showed that the region could be courted by a Republican Party that professed a loyalty to the Old

Republic, the America that George Washington, Andrew Jackson, and Robert E. Lee had fought for and loved.

By the late 1950s, a number of Republican candidates began doing well in the South, a few even won. In the 1960 presidential election, Nixon made inroads in Dixie, even though he lost the presidency to an Irish Catholic from Massachusetts (the outcome having been tipped in Illinois, owing largely to the services of Chicago’s original Mayor Daley and his well-oiled machine).

Southerners weren’t thrilled about voting for a Massachusetts millionaire, but weren’t willing to vote for the Grand Old Party either.

Mississippi’s Electors were unpledged and cast their votes for Harry F. Byrd, a conservative Virginian and highly respected U.S. Senator. Alabama’s Electors were pledged to Kennedy, but bolted to Byrd as did one Nixon Elector from Oklahoma.

In all, Byrd got fifteen Electoral votes for president and Strom Thurmond got fourteen votes for vice-president. One vice-presidential vote went to Barry Goldwater.

By 1964, Republican presidential candidate Goldwater actually carried all of the states in the Deep South (losing everywhere else, except his home state of Arizona). That same year, South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond created a national stir when he announced he was switching from the Democratic to the Republican Party. After that, the GOP began making major strides all across the region.

The Southern Strategy

Academics, journalists, and politically correct politicians want you to believe that the growth of the Republican Party in the South was based on an ugly racist strategy. They never offer a significant body of evidence, because by then Democratic politicians in the region had stopped their race baiting—almost in mid-sentence—and had begun to court the growing black vote. As for Southern Republicans, they hadn’t used that kind of language and saw no reason to begin.

The charge that the Southern strategy was racist rests on the assumption that opposition to the demands and methods of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s could only be inspired by racism rather than by a sincere opposition to mass violation of the law and a belief that legislation proposed during this period gave

power to the federal government that the Constitution reserved to the states. It is perfectly valid to argue that Southern conservatives failed to understand the necessity for such drastic action to cure the ills of *de jure* segregation (though Southern conservatives might still disagree); it is patently unfair—in fact, a logical fallacy—to presume to read the minds and hearts of these people and to attribute to them the basest of motives in order to discredit their position. (Opposition to big government and a strict reading of the U.S. Constitution are legitimate political positions.)

The truth, which you are likely to read only on these pages, is that citizens in the South, during the years leading up to the so-called civil rights revolution, were no more racist than citizens from other regions of the nation and probably less so. At least Southern whites and blacks had a history of living side by side. They did so with ties of familiarity and affection. In other regions of the country, there were no blacks or else those who had migrated to big cities were often relegated to a ghetto life, isolated from white inhabitants.

Segregation was part of American culture in every state. Much has been said about the success of desegregating major league baseball, but in all the discussions, one point has been ignored: During the period when blacks were banned from play, none of the states of the Old Confederacy had a major league baseball team. At one

time, New York had three (Yankees, Giants, and Dodgers), Boston had two (Red Sox and Braves), Chicago had two (Cubs and White Sox), and Philadelphia had two (Athletics and Phillies).

Blacks were not allowed to play on any of these teams. They were lily-white. The same was true of every other area of Yankee life.

Yet during that same period, Yankee politicians (as well as a growing number of Scalawags from our own region) enjoyed the sanctimoniousness of the civil rights movement, and they quickly persuaded their constituents that the white power structure in the South must not be allowed to handle its own affairs. Segregation in Dixie could only be stamped out with massive new government programs which gave rise to a level of bureaucracy and taxation to enforce the federal will that would have been inconceivable to the founders of the American republic or even to the Republicans of Lincoln's era. Therefore, states rights officially died, not in 1864 at the hands of the Republicans but in the 1960s, at the hands of the Democrats. And that is why the Democratic Party lost its grip on the South in the final decades of the past century.

To a growing number of Southerners, modern Republican presidential candidates like Goldwater, Nixon, Reagan, Bush the Elder, Dole and Bush the Younger seemed at least less likely to steal their wages, reg-

ulate their lives excessively and grow the central government into a leviathan state. The modern Republican Party was therefore able to make an appeal to the Southern majority, not because of a racist strategy, but rather because GOP candidates appeared to be more conservative and more in tune with the traditional Southern values of limited Constitutional government, self-reliance, liberty, state sovereignty and personal freedom, which were after all the founding principles of the Republic.

Today, in the early years of the new century, a persuasive argument can be made that both the Republican and the Democratic Parties have betrayed the founding principles of the Republic. On most issues, the major difference between the parties appears to be based more on mathematics than philosophy: Republicans (the "we can do it cheaper" party) merely seek to accomplish the same goals for less money. We hear very little meaningful debate between the parties on the fundamental role of government. For now, the South has aligned itself with the political party that seems to be moving in the wrong direction at the slowest rate: the Republicans.

The Old College Try

What recent history has taught us is that one cannot be elected president without significant support in the South. A Democrat can theoretically win election

Yankees and Third Parties

Although popular myth might lead one to see the South as the natural home to political eccentricities, in fact, Dixie has been wedded quite faithfully to one major political party or the other for a long time.

While Southern legislatures have moved towards true two-party political systems, the New England states have become solidly Democratic with only New Hampshire having a Republican majority in both houses.

It should be noted that New England legislatures also

boast fourteen politicians unaffiliated with either major party. The Vermont House alone has four Progressives and three independents.

And don't forget ex-Governor and former professional wrestler Jesse Ventura of Minnesota. Even Minnesota's regular Parties are screwy. Up there they have republicans and the Democrat-Farm-Labor Party.

The Yankees' penchant for political oddballs is as strange as their accents. For instance, in 1848 and 1852 the Buffalo, New York-based Free

Soil Party produced a presidential candidate. Millard Fillmore of New York ran as a Know-Nothing in 1856, and James B. Weaver of Iowa ran as a Greenback in 1880.

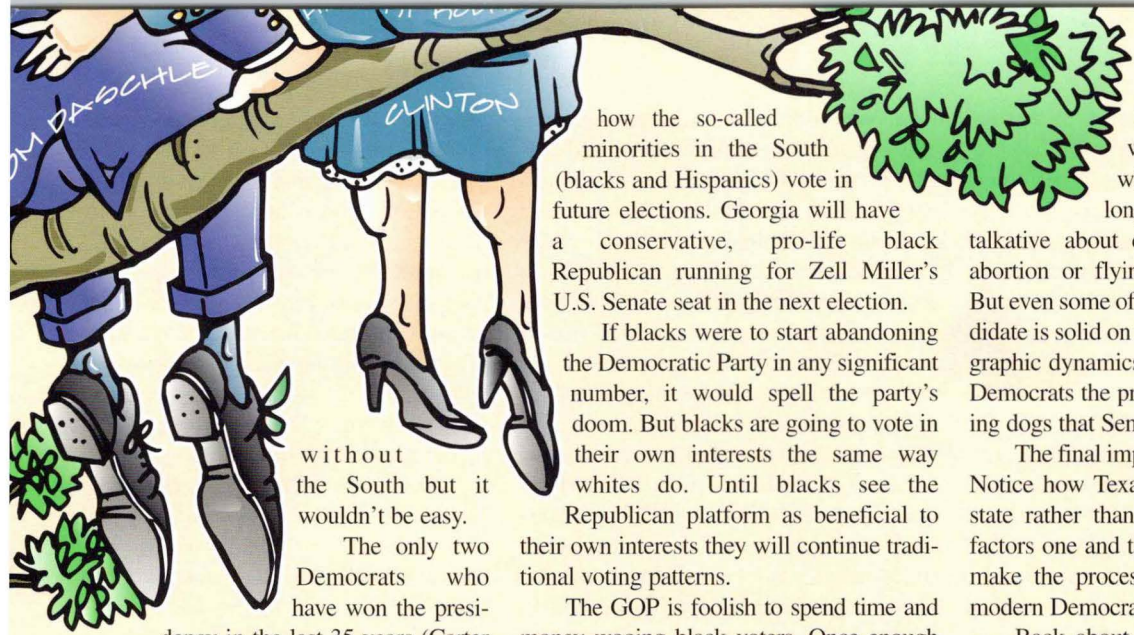
A couple of Prohibitionist candidates ran in the two elections between 1888 and 1892.

The Socialist Party became a regular contestant in the next eight elections. They would run Simon Wing and Joseph Malloney of Massachusetts, New Yorkers Charles Hatchett and Allan Benson, or Indianan Eugene Debbs. In the election of 1920, Debbs gar-

nered nearly a million votes while he was in federal prison.

Progressive candidate Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin took the mantle in 1924, but the Socialists returned in 1932 with the candidacy of New York's Norman Thomas.

William Lemke didn't win his home state of North Dakota when he ran on the Union ticket in 1936. When the States' Rights Party was threatening to upset the Truman train in 1948, Iowa sent Henry Wallace into the fray, but he didn't get a single elector. ♣



without the South but it wouldn't be easy.

The only two Democrats who have won the presidency in the last 35 years (Carter and Clinton) were natives and were able to win in at least a few Southern states, without which they would not have won the presidency.

Pres. Carter won his first run by getting every Southern state save Virginia. He kept only Maryland and his home state of Georgia when he lost his reelection bid.

While Clinton cannot be said to have won the South outright, he did carry enough of it to give him a victory: Arkansas and Louisiana; plus some combination of Georgia, Kentucky, and Florida to win his two elections.

Recently, Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts, a candidate for the Democratic nomination in '04, initially revealed that his strategy included conceding that he could not win the South and would put his efforts elsewhere. But, according to the *Washington Times*, Kerry has altered his plan slightly.

Sen. Kerry told an audience of about 700 Alabama Democrats at a party-unity dinner in Montgomery, the birthplace of both the Confederacy and the modern civil rights movement, that "I came here because I am convinced that if somebody is going to be president of the United States, and if you are going to build the capacity to build a majority in this country to take us where we need to go, you can't avoid any state in this country." Obviously, he looked at a map of the Electoral College between his first and second statements.

Legislatures

Republicans definitely have momentum in the South, but how long it will last remains a question. A major factor will be

how the so-called minorities in the South (blacks and Hispanics) vote in future elections. Georgia will have a conservative, pro-life black Republican running for Zell Miller's U.S. Senate seat in the next election.

If blacks were to start abandoning the Democratic Party in any significant number, it would spell the party's doom. But blacks are going to vote in their own interests the same way whites do. Until blacks see the Republican platform as beneficial to their own interests they will continue traditional voting patterns.

The GOP is foolish to spend time and money wooing black voters. Once enough blacks reach a certain level of income and homeownership they will see the economic interest of lower taxes and less government.

If the GOP drives to the left in order to meet them, they will certainly fail. Right now, many poor blacks and whites vote Democrat because Democratic lawmakers offer an array of welfare programs designed to appeal to voters with little or no income. Republicans will never be able to outspend the Democrats in this area, and are foolish to try.

Regardless of how, if, or when blacks change voting patterns, in the South at least, the fight is not likely to be between Democrats and Republicans much longer. White liberals are even now starting to filter into the Republican Party. The political battles in the coming elections will be between the same old enemies (liberals versus conservatives), but the arena will be the Republican Primary.

The Big Shift

Three main factors contribute to the shift towards the GOP in the South.

First is the growing liberalism in the national Democratic Party. As the Democrats have increasingly become the chief proponents of the Nanny State, Southerners have instinctively shied away from the party of Jefferson.

The second is demographics, and by demographics I mean Yankees. Yankees have moved South in hordes not seen since Southern cities were still smoldering. While these transplanted Yankees built themselves expansive neo-Tara-style plantation homes on half-acre lots inside gated communities that insulate them from the culture that they

imitate, they nonetheless will vote for any name with an (R) beside it, as long as the candidate isn't too talkative about crazy things like ending abortion or flying the Confederate Flag. But even some of that is tolerable if the candidate is solid on fiscal issues. These demographic dynamics have helped make white Democrats the prey for the figurative hunting dogs that Sen. Gramm prophesied.

The final impact has been redistricting. Notice how Texas Democrats skipped the state rather than face redistricting? Well, factors one and two combine with three to make the process a no-win situation for modern Democrats in the South.

Back about 1990, at the time of the decennial census, South Carolina Republicans (and I presume this is true elsewhere) made common cause with the Black Caucus. The major component of this dealing was to create as many majority black districts as possible. Maximizing majority black districts meant the remaining districts would be majority white and, therefore, more likely to vote Republican.

A final issue which is often overlooked by political scientists, but which has made a surprising impact on local politics in the South, is the Confederate flag and respect for Southern heritage.

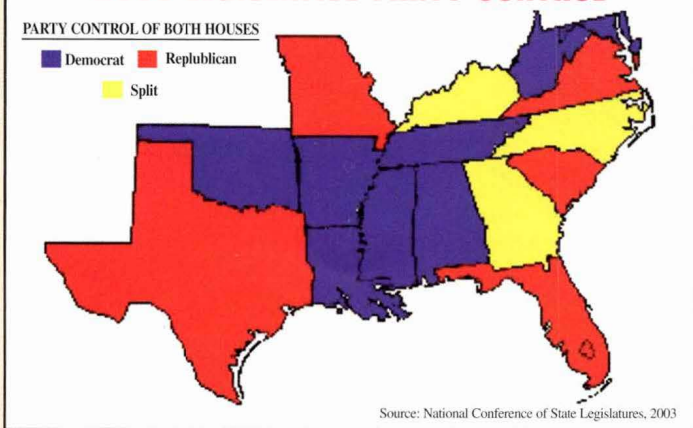
Mr. Verdin Goes to Columbia

In 2000 the Democrats had only a slim majority in the South Carolina State Senate,

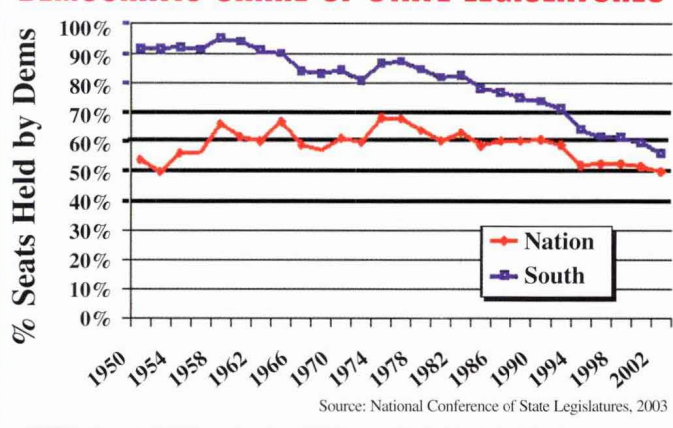


Supporters of the old Georgi

2003 LEGISLATIVE PARTY CONTROL



DEMOCRATIC SHARE OF STATE LEGISLATURES



which was broken with the election of a young Republican candidate named Danny Verdin. This race combined all the effects of demographic change with an ideological match-up regarding heritage issues.

Mr. Verdin's campaign began just after he ended his term as State Commander of the South Carolina Division Sons of Confederate Veterans and nearly at the height of the controversy over flying the Confederate flag over the Statehouse dome.

The Democrats waged a vicious and vitriolic campaign accusing Mr. Verdin of everything they could think of. They used selections from speeches he had made at flag rallies, editorials written in defense of Southern heritage, and even accused him of being anti-American.

Despite the attacks, Mr. Verdin won a narrow victory—due in part to the population increase in the suburban edges of the district—and his election made an even 26-

26 spread in the Senate. As a result, one old-line Democrat switched parties in order to hold onto his committee chairmanship, and gave the GOP a two-vote majority.

Despite their propensity to go Republican in national elections, the only Southern states with Republican majorities in both houses of the legislature besides the Palmetto State are Florida, Texas, and Virginia. Georgia and Kentucky have GOP majorities in the State Senate but not the House, and North Carolina has a dead even split in the House: They even have two Speakers, however that works.

In the mid 1950s, Democrats had a lock on Dixie's legislative branch, occupying nearly all available legislative seats. Today it's at about 60 percent. Nationwide, the split between Republicans and Democrats is about even.

A look at some recent political history in three states will illustrate the point.

South Carolina

South Carolina, where the first shots were fired in the War Between the States, can in some ways be seen as a microcosm for the rest of the South. The trends that led to the undoing of the Democratic Party and the rise of the Republican Party in the region were especially dramatic in South Carolina, which is the home of Strom Thurmond, Harry Dent and Lee Atwater, the latter being often credited with organizing the South for Ronald Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush.

James B. Edwards is often described as South Carolina's first Republican governor since Reconstruction. But, since Reconstruction-era governments were illegitimate, *SP* prefers to say he was the first Republican governor. In 1974, Edwards was elected on a fluke when the front-run-

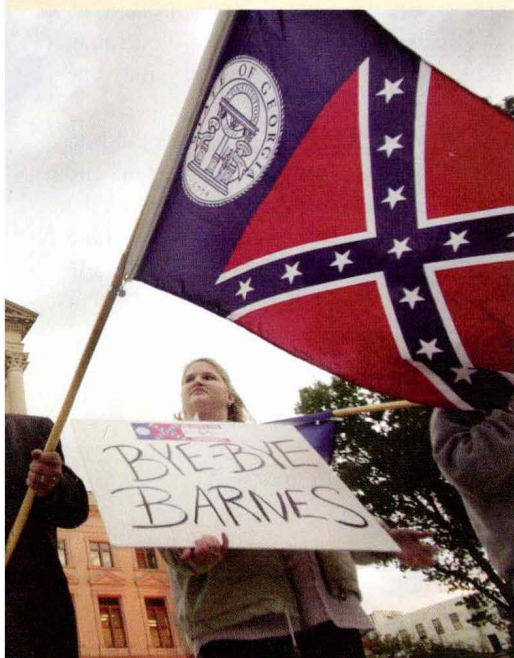
ner Democratic candidate was ruled unqualified because his legal residence, for at least part of the previous fifteen years, had been New York City.

After Edwards, the governorship went back to the Democrats with the election of Richard Riley. Riley successfully negotiated a constitutional amendment to allow himself to serve two terms and then went on to be Secretary of Education under Bill Clinton.

Riley was followed by Carroll Campbell, a Republican. Campbell faced a hotly contested race with Democrat Lieutenant Governor Mike Daniel. A crucial moment of the campaign came in a televised debate when the two candidates were asked their positions on the Confederate flag, then flying over the Statehouse dome: Campbell resolved to keep it and Daniel hedged. Campbell won in a squeaker getting 51 percent of the vote.

Campbell's administration was marked by irresolution on the flag issue, however. At his inaugural, he pulled "Dixie" from the proceedings because one State Senator objected. When the Unknown Confederate Soldier was brought home from Virginia for final interment, Campbell declined to participate and sent the Lieutenant Governor instead. Campbell was re-elected in a no-contest bout with a black State Senator named Theo Mitchell who would later be indicted on drug-money-laundering charges. In the waning days of his eight years, Campbell was mentioned as a potential vice presidential candidate with Bush the Elder and so proposed switching the Battle Flag for the "less offensive" First National.

In 1994 the parties faced off in a tough campaign between the well-liked Democrat Lieutenant Governor, Nick Theodore, and a former Democrat House Majority Leader-



ag protest Gov. Roy Barnes.

turned conservative Republican champion, David Beasley.

The GOP Primary came down to a runoff between former Congressman Arthur Ravenel (now a State Senator) and Beasley. Under pressure from Ravenel, Beasley made definitive promises to support flying the flag. Also that year, the Republicans brilliantly added three advisory referenda to the primary ballot. One of which was "Shall the Confederate flag be removed from the Statehouse dome?"

Turnout was unprecedented for a Republican primary and the pro-flag question got seventy-six percent of the vote. In the general election, Beasley won a very narrow victory of 23,750 votes (50 to 48 percent).

Readers of this journal are no doubt acquainted with Gov. Beasley's fate. After being mentioned by Ralph Reed as a possi-

downtown Atlanta. The downside was that the farther away you got from the offices of the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the less admiration there was for Gov. Barnes. By the time you got out into rural Georgia admiration turned to sincere animosity. He should have learned from his predecessor.

In 1992, Governor Zell Miller first tried to change the Georgia state flag. After intense pressure from flag supporters, Miller successfully reversed course and agreed never to repeat the offense. Gov. Miller went on to the U.S. Senate where he has repeatedly chastised the Democratic National Committee for offending Southern conservatives.

When Roy Barnes, also a Democrat, came into office and ramrodded a bill through the legislature to change the flag, the war cry went from "Go to Hell Zell" to

now, having lost the referendum, will certainly face tough opposition in the next election, possibly from former GOP national chairman Haley Barbour. Musgrove may even face primary opposition especially since so many blacks (normally reliable Democratic voters) favored keeping the flag.

Conclusion

This brief run-down of the state of Southern politics can lead us to two conclusions. The first is that the two-party system is alive and well in Dixie. Southern voters are more independent than ever and appear to be fully prepared to vote based on issues, not party labels.

The second lesson is that one of those important issues about which Southern electors can get highly motivated is the Confederate flag. Politicians who try to

Politicians who try to play politics with Southern heritage can expect skepticism and downright anger from voters who view such attitudes as unworthy of high public office.

ble presidential candidate, he proposed the removal of the Confederate flag, and he was then beaten by Democrat Jim Hodges (who promised to leave the issue alone) by 85,000 votes.

Hodges went on to also support removing the flag—despite having promised not to touch the issue—and he lost to former Congressman Mark Sanford.

It is a valid conclusion to say that a substantial number of normally Democrat voters cast ballots in the Republican primary in 1994 in order to support the Confederate flag. Enough of those voters stayed with the Republicans in the general election to elect Beasley. When Beasley made his double-cross on the flag, those voters (and a few more) swung back to the Democrats, or went elsewhere, denying him the margin he needed for re-election.

Hodges had essentially the same problem. A lot of the voters who supported him in 1998 because of his and Beasley's relative positions on the flag swung back to the Republicans in 2002.

Georgia

In the last general election two notable Georgia politicians lost: Roy Barnes and Tom Murphy. You've no doubt heard of Barnes. As Georgia's Democrat governor, he changed the design of the state flag and earned the admiration of the liberal elite in

"Boot Barnes." Advocates of the old flag pursued Barnes relentlessly in a process known as "flagging." Everywhere he went, the Sons of Confederate Veterans and other supporters would meet him waving the 1956 state flag design and various protest signs. It worked and Republican Sonny Perdue won by 104,000 votes out of two and a quarter million cast.

Analysis indicates that a major factor was elevated voter participation in rural areas. Normally these areas vote Democratic but this year they went to the polls and went Republican over the flag issue.

The other big-name loser in Georgia was Democrat Speaker of the House Tom Murphy of Bremen. First elected in 1960, Rep. Murphy, 78, had been speaker since 1974. Beaten by a first-time candidate on the Republican ticket, Rep. Murphy had been a target of "flaggers." He told the *Orlando Sentinel*, "There is no question the flag thing cost all us Democrats big time."

Mississippi Too

Heritage issues have also played a big part in Mississippi elections in. Having won a major victory in a referendum to keep the Confederate design of the state flag, citizens in Gulfport voted solidly in support of the flag in a local referendum there.

Democrat Governor Ronnie Musgrove originally proposed changing the flag, and

play politics with Southern heritage can expect skepticism and downright anger from voters who view such attitudes as unworthy of high public office.

The South, therefore, has the potential to arrest, if not prevent, the present drift away from Constitutional government. One point is clear: If new leaders do emerge with the courage to fight for a restoration of the founding fathers' values of the Republic, they are most likely to emerge from the South. To be successful, they will have to articulate a vision that appeals to all Americans. If that happens, the South, along with the rest of the country, may one day rise again.

Now Republicans are beginning to quarrel among themselves, to split up into factions, and to develop "parties within the Party." In that respect, it more and more resembles the Democratic Party of the early 20th century. Does it herald a new era of one-party rule in the region? The answer to that question may well be "yes." ❁

The War ON SOUTHERN HERITAGE

BY P.J. BYRNES

The War against History has escalated to the point that the national press reports a new encounter almost every day. These fall into two main categories—(1) the exaggeration or fabrication of Southern sins and (2) the cover-up of Yankee sins. The ultimate goal of this War—to turn highly complicated American history into a simplistic morality play.

In recent years, the warriors have adopted a new strategy—the removal of all Confederate symbols from the landscape—the way the English banned the wearing of the green in Ireland and the display of clan tartans in Scotland. Organizations like the NAACP and the SPLC have provided the shock troops for this strategy, and incidents have proliferated over the past several years.

Indeed, so many reports come into our office each month that we can no longer cover all of them. Hence, the following collection of war stories.

Wrong Road

In Alabama, Blount County commissioners banned all Confederate symbols from county property after someone complained that commissioner R.C. Smith had slapped a Confederate flag sticker on the toolbox in his county-owned pickup. Smith had also put a small flag in front of the courthouse veterans' memorial.

The vote was 3-1, with Smith the lone dissenter. Commissioner Tom Ryan, striking an all-too-familiar pose, said of the vote, "There's a place for everything, but it's not on county property. To keep antagonizing people with these little emblems is not right."

Smith's comment was more concise.

"Bunch of wimps."

Two weeks later, Probate Judge Royce King

and the three commissioners took pipe-cutters to a sign in the driveway to Smith's shop. The sign said CONFEDERATE DRIVE.

Then came the counterattack.

Around 2,770 Blount County residents signed a petition calling for the return of the flag to the veterans' memorial and for the restoration of the sign in Smith's driveway.

Judge King said the commission would review the petition.

One more from Alabama. Black legislators—*some* black legislators—danced and waved their arms in wild indignation because Gov. Bob Riley gave his State of the State address in the old House chamber complemented by a Confederate flag.



Governor Bob Riley making his State of the State address in Alabama's historic Old House Chamber.

Rep. George Bandy of Opelika, insulted by the flag, marched out. He said later, "To bring it in, as if 'Hey, you're under this banner now'—it's offensive."

More Democratic posturing to discredit a GOP governor.

The Confederate flag is displayed every day in the old House chamber, as Rep. Bandy well knew.

Fair and Uniform?

In Florida, Larry Carpenter has decided to sue the City of Tampa.

Last September, Carpenter was fired from his



Presidential hopeful Dick Gephardt is confronted by Confederate Flag protestors at Missouri's annual Democrat Days in Hannibal.

job as a traffic maintenance specialist and denied unemployment benefits because he refused to remove his Confederate flag license plate.

His lawyer, J. Benton Stewart III, has pointed out that other city workers park with impunity on city property with political slogans and offensive statements on their bumpers and windshields. Apparently the City of Tampa has singled out Southerners who want to honor the positive side of their history.

Carpenter says he just wants the city to develop a fair and uniform policy that applies to everyone—and officials aren't about to do that. So it appears as if *Carpenter v. City of Tampa* will end up in court.

In Jacksonville, students at Kirby-Smith Middle School have been forbidden to display the Confederate flag on clothing or any other paraphernalia.

Nothing really happened to trigger this action, mind you. In fact, the principal admitted that she couldn't recall any racial troubles in her twelve years of service. However, five years ago, as the consequence of absolutely no incident, students voted to change the school's nickname from the Rebels to the Comets. Next came the decision to ban the flag.

This time, a couple of kids went to a guidance counselor who in turn went to the principal and said that something just *might* happen. Hence the

administration's preemptive strike.

In the absence of any foreseeable future trouble, the school has only one recourse left: to change its name. Edmund Kirby-Smith, after all, was a general in the Confederate Army.

In Cochran, Georgia, last year, the Sons of Confederate Veterans raised a flag next to a Confederate monument that stands on city property right in front of the Cochran Chamber of Commerce building—a fitting confrontation.

To no one's surprise, the local NAACP chapter objected; and an ensuing City Council meeting was filled with grinding teeth, waving arms, and charges of racism. After an hour of tirade, three councilmen voted to keep the flag flying and three voted to take it down. The mayor, a brave man named Charles Killebrew, cast the tie-breaker, announcing, "For the time being, we're going to keep it up."

"This flag represents slavery," said Doris Harris. "This is not the end of it. We're going back to the drawing board.... You will hear from us later."

Meanwhile, the flag is padlocked in place.

At the corner of Canal Street and Jefferson Davis Parkway in New Orleans stands a monument to Davis—placed there in 1908, and refurbished and repainted in 1989. A while back, someone spray-painted it with a swastika, an obscene word,

and the phrase "slavery today."

Thus far, the SCV has not been able to expunge the messages from the monument. If anyone knows of a cleaning agent that will work on marble, contact the General P.G.T. Beauregard Camp #130 in New Orleans.

It was bound to happen. People were having too much fun participating in "Civil War" reenactments—Northerners as well as Southerners.

Now the NAACP is demanding that they stop it. The Rev. James Piper, speaking for the Beauregard-Vernon SCV Camp in Louisiana, said the staged battle at Deridder was motivated by racism and hate.

He said he opposes anything that "brings disharmony" and "disrupts social and civil peace."

"[The reenactment] was excommunicated from Merryville and now it is about to happen in Deridder."

"Excommunicated," however fancy, is an imprecise word here. In fact, the reenactment was discontinued in Merryville for lack of space. This year, sponsored by the SCV, it is being held on 120 acres, privately owned by a family named Lee.

After he blocks the reenactment, you can expect Rev. Piper to demand that the Lees change their last name to "King" or "Douglass"—a couple of guys who never brought disharmony or disrupted social and civil peace.

Dick Gephardt started it, with a politically correct opinion, stated in his usual monotone: "My own personal feeling is that the Confederate flag no longer has a place flying any time, anywhere in our great nation." (Later, he allowed as how private citizens had the right to fly the flag.)

Almost as soon as the words were out of Gephardt's mouth, the Democrats back in Jefferson City realized there were two places in Missouri where the flag was still flying—the Confederate Memorial near Higginsville and the Ft. Davidson Historic Site near Pilot Knob. Mary Still, spokeswoman for Gov. Bob Holden, took matters into her own hands and called Department of Natural Resources (DNR) Director Steve Mahfood, whose agency has jurisdiction over the two sites.

"I told Steve," she said, "it seemed to me it wouldn't be appropriate to have it flying on a flag-pole, but I didn't know all of their considerations and I left it in his lap." She claimed she acted without Holden's knowledge—which is extremely hard to believe, given the sensitive nature of the subject.

Mahfood ordered the flags removed; and Holden, who used to work for Gephardt (and apparently still does), said he agreed with the decision.

The Jefferson City crew—who thought this decision was a no-brainer—could hardly have

been prepared for what followed.

- A few days later a group gathered at the governor's mansion to protest the action. John Wolfe, heritage defense chairman for the Missouri SCV, was particularly outspoken: "They tore down our heritage, stole it from us. It's theft, it's blasphemous, it's criminal—and all for political purposes." Mark Trout, a member of the Sons of Union Veterans, called the suppression of emblems "a direct attack on the overall history of the Civil War." Trout said singling out the Confederate flag was unfair because slavery existed in the United States longer than the Confederacy existed.

- Ron Warren, vice president of the Friends of Fort Davidson—a man known for his impartial love of Union and Confederate soldiers alike—resigned his position. "I feel DNR insulted me with these actions.... It's an insult for somebody like Gephardt to take this all down.... I've got this city boy [Gephardt] telling me what to do. This is outside folks getting into our business.... How would people feel if the U.S. flag was taken down at Normandy?" Warren, a retired Marine and a veteran of the Vietnam War, said he was non-partisan. "I'm not an activist, just someone who loves this fort."

- Missouri's only black Congressman defended the flying of the flag. "I am not offended by the

Confederate flag being displayed in a historical context. That's part of our history we cannot erase. We as a people have to start respecting different cultures more. Those who honor the Confederate flag have a cultural separation from me—but we need to respect each other's views."

- The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* commissioned a Zogby poll to gauge the damage done to Holden and the Democrats. The party leaders must have gagged on the results: 45 percent said they "strongly disagreed" with the removal of the flags and another 21 percent said they "somewhat disagreed." Thus a whopping two-thirds opposed the Governor. In fact, only 30 percent said they agreed with the decision.

Holden's reelection chances this year were already dicey. Elected by a narrow margin, he did poorly in the rural areas, where flag support is strongest.

One flag supporter put it this way: "I just want to remind One-Term Bob Holden that 99.9 percent of the Confederates buried at Higginsville were Democrats, and generations descended from them have voted Democratic. But we feel we've been dishonored."

Another said, "We will be putting pressure on these politicians. We've got long memories at election time."

In case Holden's memory is short, he might give Roy Barnes or David Beasley a call. Both were governors of Southern states (Georgia and South Carolina) who were too big for their britches, and engineered the removal of Confederate flags in their states. Holden may well be number three.

The City of Clarksdale (Mississippi), which is 69 percent black, has banned the flying of the state flag on city property. That means the flag cannot be flown over City Hall, fire stations, and the Civic Auditorium.

The vote was along racial lines, with Mayor Henry Espy casting the deciding vote against display of the flag.

"This is not a vote against the flag," he said, "but about the pain and suf-

fering it has symbolized for many years."

In the wake of this move, State Representative Tom Cameron of Greenville has introduced a bill that would require counties to display the state flag on county property or lose their homestead exemption reimbursements.

You Win Some...

Johnson County (N.C.) school officials have announced that they will no longer ban the wearing of the Confederate flag by students.

Last October, a group of students wore Confederate insignia to school in tribute to a friend who had died. Clayton High School principal Jerry Smith announced that wearing the flag was a violation of the school's dress code, which bans clothing that disrupts the classroom. That's when Terry Shelton, a parent and a re-enactor, stepped up to the plate.

First, he pointed out that the Confederate symbols had not disrupted anything. And second, he said that such a policy was a violation of the free speech clause of the First Amendment.

"I do absolutely agree that that flag has been misused by a lot of white supremacist organizations," he said. "My point was, you can't preach tolerance if you pick and choose what you will tolerate."

Well said.

The Superintendent reviewed the case and agreed with Shelton.

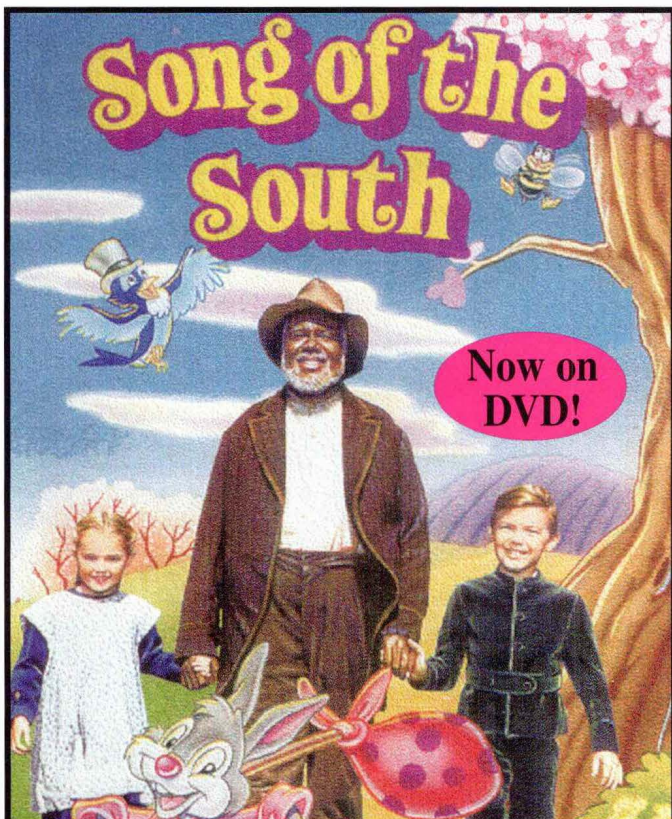
"Based upon that ... we concluded that he had some valid points here...."

A rare victory for our side, made possible because Terry Shelton didn't roll over and play dead.

In Summerville, South Carolina, Kelley Bokern came to Dubose Middle School wearing a shirt that combined the images of the Confederate flag and South Carolina's state flag. Principal Raymond Burke, who announced a ban on Confederate clothing last October, told her she would have to change or go home. The local school board backed up the principal.

The Southern Legal Resource Center threatened to weigh in on the case, and the decision created a firestorm. In the midst of all this, the Rev. Joe Darby, first vice president of the state NAACP, issued a statement that made a lot of sense.

"It [the wearing of the flag] could be seen as freedom of speech—whether or not a young person is able to express their views with their clothing," he said. "The other angle is the school is responsible for the safety of students. The limit on free speech ends where public safety begins.... If you are talking about a simple depiction of the Confederate flag and nothing else,



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somebody could make the case that it is a symbol of heritage.”

In the wake of widespread public outrage and the possibility of legal action, the principal sent a letter to students announcing that Confederate shirts would be tolerated, provided they don't "denigrate another racial group or cause disruptive behavior in the school thus causing an unsafe environment.”

The principal said he took this action because the publicity surrounding his previous decision was "creating unnecessary anxiety and consuming valuable energy that should be directed toward student instruction and achievement.”

So there's our strategy, folks: Create unnecessary anxiety and consume valuable energy.

In Mobile, the Heritage Preservation Association (HPA) erected a monument to a Confederate officer, Lt. Joshua L. Moses. It was immediately torn down by vandals. Linda Sewell, President of HPA, announced that, "Every time *one* monument is chopped down or destroyed by criminals, two more will be erected in its place.”

In an effort to stop these destructive acts, HPA petitioned the City of Mobile to pass a resolution asking that all groups be respected, "regardless of race, color, history, heritage or culture" and that they receive "equal tolerance and equal respect in Mobile.”

According to Linda Sewell, city officials have refused to consider the resolution. Sewell believes it is because Mayor Dow and members of the council don't want to extend respect and tolerance to all groups. She's probably right. Mobile is a tourist town, and its leaders love Yankees to death. ☪

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Vexing Vexillary

—Devereaux D. Cannon, Jr.

Q *I see Georgia legislature has another new flag. The design I saw looks old. Is it a new flag, or a return to an old one?*

A *January 24, 2001 marked the beginning of a blitzkrieg against the Georgia state flag.*

The state flag adopted in 1956 was two-thirds Confederate battle flag. The state flag used before 1956 was a modified form of the Confederacy's first national flag. Governor Roy Barnes pushed a new flag designed in 1993 by Atlanta architect Cecil Alexander. In early January 2001, Alexander met with Barnes and some slight modifications were made to the architect's original design. For several weeks this



"compromise flag" was kept secret, until unveiled in a meeting of the House Rules Committee on the morning of Wednesday, January 24, 2001.

Early on January 31, just eight days after the public and most legislators learned of the proposal, Governor Barnes signed the bill into law. At 10:47 a.m. the first such flag, reportedly costing \$1,080.00, was hoisted over the Georgia capitol building.

Aside from adverse reactions to the political steamroller that gave Georgia the Alexander/Barnes flag, the design itself was poorly received. Even many who wished to replace the 1956 flag objected to that which replaced it. Early on it was dubbed the "Denny's placemat" flag.

In the spring of 2001 the North American Vexillological Association (NAVA) conducted a survey among vexillologists (those who study flags), asking the participants to rank the designs of seventy-two flags of American states and territories, and Canadian provinces. A ten-point scale was used. According to NAVA's report on the results of the survey:

One flag drew far more attention than all others did.

NAVA members and the public both gave the new Georgia flag the lowest score—2.4 points—by the largest margin of any flag. Some even asked to give it negative points. The disparaged Georgia's flag as "a Scalawag," "desolating," "awful," "hideous," and "by far the ugliest." Its complex design violates all the principles of good flag design, incorporating a seal, lettering, and a series of miniature historic flags (in incorrect order). One person derided it as "Five flags Under Georgia.”

After Barnes was defeated by Sonny Perdue, a bill to fulfill Perdue's campaign promise to let the people vote was introduced. As originally drafted, it called for a two-part referendum to be held in 2004 wherein voters would first vote whether or not to keep the Barnes flag, then choose between adopting the pre-1956 flag or the post-1956 flag to replace the Barnes flag.

It was determined that this procedure would not be legal, so it was decided to have two separate elections. If the first election called for a new flag, the second election between the pre- and post-1956 flags would be held in the summer of 2004.

But a new amendment assures that the Barnes flag would cease to fly by proposing an entirely new flag: the "Stars and Bars." Not a

modified version, like the pre-1956, but the first national flag of the CSA with its full circle of 13 stars. It was changed only in having the stars encircle the Georgia seal, and having the motto, "IN GOD WE TRUST," in blue letters on the white bar.

The bill contained technical errors, however, that would have made the new flag disproportionate. The Senate amended the bill to fix the problem, and while they were at it, replaced the state seal with the Georgia emblem from the center of the seal, and moved "IN GOD WE TRUST" to a spot within the circle of stars. The result is a visually pleasing flag that is reminiscent of some versions of the "Stars and Bars" used in Georgia during the period of Confederate independence, but the House would not concur.

The result, as finally passed by the Georgia legislature, is that the new "Stars and Bars" flag will be the Georgia flag, subject to a vote in March 2004. That vote will only be whether to keep the new flag, or return to the Barnes flag. There will be no vote that includes the 1956 flag as an option. ☪

Union Pensions

The Original Social Welfare Scheme

BY DALE STEINREICH

For many decades after the War, the Union Pension program was a corrupt and invidious wealth re-distribution scheme.

The first known formal American proposal for tax-funded old-age benefits was written in 1796 by Thomas Paine, entitled *Agrarian Justice*. Paine's argument was as follows.

In its natural state, the earth is the common property of the entire human race. In an uncultivated world, every human being would have been "born to property." Poverty therefore doesn't exist in the natural state. Land cultivation created the institution of landed property, which created a division in standards of living: some live much better than the natural state, some live much worse.

On the basis of a legitimacy of "equality of natural property," Thomas Paine proposes a "natural fund" from which every citizen twenty-one years of age would be paid fifteen pounds sterling for his or her loss of natural inheritance from the adoption of the institution of landed property. Ten pounds sterling per year would also be paid to all individuals fifty years of age or older or anyone "blind/lame" under fifty years of age. The payments to young and old would not be means tested. The system would be funded by a tax on inherited property.

Most conventional accounts of the origins of U.S. social security trace the conceptual provenance of the sixty-eight year old program to the "social insurance" movement and the successful implementation of a "social insurance" system in Germany in 1889 under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck.

Prior to Bismarck's unification of Germany in 1870, 39 German states were joined under a loose confederation brought together by Prince Klemens von Metternich at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Germany's national social security system was a result of the dissolution of the German Confederation and the following consolidation.

Other writers emphasize the importance of the crisis atmosphere of the Great Depression in facilitating the implementation of the U.S. Social Security program. By passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, 30 states had old-age pension programs, although participation in these programs (about three percent of the elderly) was weak. The burgeoning in state pension plans occurred in the early 1930s, but the programs in existence were, at most, modest in their level of spending



"The Insatiable Gluton," a political cartoon published in the British satirical magazine *Puck* December 20, 1882.

and no state in the South had a pension program before 1933.

There is an alternative perspective that the legacy of U.S. Social Security does not lie in Paine, nor Bismarck, nor the Great Depression, nor in any number of various fringe left-wing schemes. It is that the U.S. Social Security program is an *ad hoc* extension of the pension program for Union veterans of the War Between the States.

Antedating every agitation and adventitious system for old-age benefits and social insurance in America or abroad (with the exception of Thomas Paine's *Agrarian Justice*) was the U.S. Civil War pension system. While war pensions certainly existed on a limited basis prior to the War Between the States, the significance of the Union pension system is that it established the precedent of a well funded, fully developed pension system for the first time in U.S. history. The system made payments to a large and quickly growing constituency that used the electoral process to protect and enlarge the system.

The War Between the States pension program began in 1862 with the seemingly innocuous purpose of providing benefits to veterans only for injuries incurred during military action (sometimes including wid-

ows and orphans). Then in 1890 the beneficiary base was broadened to include all disabled veterans—regardless of the source of their disability. By 1906, age *per se* was authorized as a qualification for receiving benefits such that by four years later a proto-Old Age Survivor and Disability Insurance (OASDI) had been implemented.

According to the Social Security Administration (SSA), by about this time—1906—War Between the States veterans comprised only 0.6 percent of the U.S. population but greater than 90 percent of them were receiving benefit payments. SSA amusingly reports that, because system benefits were inheritable, many young women were led to marry old veterans. As a result, the payment of benefits to Union widows continued until 1999, the year the last payment was made.

In *Divided We Stand*, Walter Prescott Webb broaches the subject of the federal War Between the States pension system. To recipients, the program became a "lifelong government subsidy ... paid impartially to the pauper and the millionaire." Webb adduces some impressive quantitative evidence to support his contention of a corrupt and invidious wealth re-distribution scheme, which I have compiled into a time-

line, showing how much was paid annually to Union veterans:

- 1862: Advent of the program
- 1875: \$29,000,000
- 1879: \$60,000,000
- 1889: \$89,000,000
- 1893: \$159,000,000
- 1912: \$180,000,000
- 1923: \$238,924,872

As you consider the timeline, keep in mind that the last year of it—1923—is 58 years after the end of the war. Average life expectancy for men born in 1930 was 58 years, while for women it was 61. The amount of \$238,924,872 in 1923 translates to about \$2.5 billion in 2001 assuming a 918.65 percent rate of inflation over a 78-year period.

From 1862-1936 the program had paid almost \$8 billion to beneficiaries, \$7 billion of which went to the North and \$1 billion to the Southern and Western states. The North had received about 85 to 90 cents out of every dollar. Webb cites a 1936 University of Texas masters thesis by Lester V. Bearden revealing the relationship between government pension payments and government revenue.

By 1898, the pension system was absorbing about 47.4 percent of what Webb calls the "ordinary revenues of the government." Bearden's data effectively bolsters Webb's argument for the pension program's venal inequity. In 1900 the former Confederate states paid \$40,000,000 to the pension fund. It received only \$15,500,000 (38.75 percent) in return. Ohio paid about \$7,500,000 and received \$15,000,000, or a 100 percent net benefit. Texas contributed \$5,500,000 and received about a \$1,000,000, or 18 percent of the amount the state paid into the program.

According to SSA, in 1910 the average per capita pension spending in Ohio was \$3.36, while for Indiana it was \$3.90. In marked contrast the average per capita spending for Southern states was less than 50 cents and just 17 cents for South Carolina. Webb cites Professor J.L. Sellers' statement that the South paid an effective war reparation to the North through the War Between the States pension system of approximately \$1 billion (of apparently non-constant dollars).

Webb concludes that the War Between the States pension system enriched Northern soldiers almost as much as the protective tariff enriched Northern industrialists at the rest of the nation's expense. The success of the

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CAMDEN DEMOCRAT PRINT.

tariff fed the expansion of the pension program. After the War, commerce revived, imports increased, and so did tariff revenue such that the Treasury acquired a surplus.

The surplus could be reduced either by lowering the tariff to benefit consumers or by increasing expenditures on pensions. "Business and patriotism" thus formed an unholy alliance to "pour out the accumulated wealth of the government into one small section of the nation."

Webb quotes a Professor Bassett claiming that the intent of Northern politicians was to reduce the Treasury surplus to keep protection high and simultaneously buy their way back into office. As the Republican Party was victorious in elections, pension money poured into the North. The pensions were a crucial subsidy to the development of industry in the North as business heirs were freed from financially attending to their parents in old age. Heirs

could thus place greater resources in time and money into their businesses and this provided another advantage to the North. This could be empirically hard to prove since—as pensions became more controversial—a law was passed preventing the names of pensioners from being made public.

Because pension eligibility was in practice subjective and determined at the local level, a corrupt system arose which spawned a wasteful industry of attorneys seeking claims for clients who ranged from questionable to downright fraudulent.

Theda Skocpol of Harvard claims there is no evidence the system was steeped in fraud. In 1992, she wrote,

[N]othing exact can be said about the proportions of illegitimate pensioners or expenditures. We can only speculate that some (undetermined) thousands, or conceivably tens of thousands, of the nearly one million pensioners in 1910 were bogus. Perhaps aided by dishonest pension attorneys, these men and women had exploited the loose and locally rooted application system to obtain fraudulent pensions or—in most cases, I suspect—overly generous benefits.

Observers who lived during the era of the burgeoning system felt differently. Just 20 years after the start of the program, the prominent nineteenth-century magazine *Puck* published a satirical cartoon on

Pensions and Politics

By John C. Pendegrass

John C. Calhoun called the pensions received by American soldiers the first big boondoggle in American history. While serving as Secretary of War under President James Monroe, Calhoun supervised the distribution of thousands of pensions and culled through the applications of thousands more. During the Panic of 1819 he faced a barrage of protests after Congress decided to restrict payments only to genuine paupers, and then, only to those providing proof that they actually served.

Pension agents often denied Southerners their payments, however, since many of them served in unregulated and unofficial partisan outfits. They, or their heirs, were then forced to appeal directly to Congress. The scene of Southerners trying to prove their service to the Revolution led many Northerners to believe

they had beaten the British with little or no assistance from the South.

War of 1812 veterans demanded the same treatment as their fathers—as did veterans of the war against Mexico in the 1840s. The lobbying efforts of United Confederate Veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic ensured that veteran's payments would become virtually off-limits to frugal politicians, state as well as federal.

Perhaps the worst example of where military pensioning could lead occurred early on under the direction of Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris. In the 1780s, Morris, a champion of a stronger national government, took every opportunity to shift public opinion against states' rights. But when the Rhode Island delegation prevented the passage of a national tariff, Morris used veteran's pensions to his advantage.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the Continental Congress chose to fight the war using a conventional army. Pay was low and service was arduous. Congress decided to provide a semi-permanent pension, which promised payments and interests long after the war ended.

Robert Morris knew veterans had become dependent upon the pension. With his nationalist schemes imperiled, Morris stopped making payments in the hopes of turning veterans against intransigent states' rightists. But his plans backfired. Instead of causing state officials to surrender their powers to the national government, Morris's efforts compelled soldiers and veterans groups to convince state officials to take over national fiscal policies. By 1786, over one-half of the Revolutionary War debt was being serviced by the state governments. In the end, nationalists failed in their initial plans to strengthen the Confederation government, and Robert Morris was ultimately forced to resign. ☉

December 20, 1882 portraying the War Between the States pension system as a 24-armed union soldier gulping down money in a bowl labeled U.S. Treasury. The caption read, "The Insatiable Glutton." Webb states, "After hostilities ceased, pensions grew in number and in amount in a manner most gratifying to recipients and incidental beneficiaries. No need to dwell here on the fraud, lying, broomstick wives, attorneys, and perjurers."

Thus far, the case for U.S. Social Security being a cynical, private-interest political extension of the War Between the States pension system is circumstantial in nature. Evidence that would explicitly bolster this case would be evidence of a gradual and deliberate transfer of War Between the States pension recipients into the new Social Security program around 1935 or shortly thereafter, and an emigration of bureaucratic infrastructure, administrative protocol, and even federal employees to the new program from the old.

Good or Bad?

Some readers might misconstrue the quantitative evidence above as implying that the preponderance of damage inflicted by Social Security is mostly in the past. Unfortunately this is not the case.

The current system will undoubtedly destroy a mammoth portion of their children's and grandchildren's wealth. To acquire even a dim grasp of the amorously huge costs that will be inflicted on today's workers age 40 and under, let's start with four assumptions:

1. Workers enter the work force at age 25.
2. Worker incomes stay constant at one level. (Highly unlikely.)
3. The Federal Social Security tax (FICA) stays constant at the current 6.2 percent level. (Highly unrealistic. It will definitely increase, possibly to as much as nine percent.)
4. Retirement begins at age 65, hence the working career is 40 years long. (Less likely given increases in life expectancy.)

With these assumptions in mind, consider the table as shown on the Opportunity Cost of Social Security.

Column 1 lists various constant levels of income for a hypothetical young person throughout his/her working career, and column 2 lists the amounts withdrawn from

OPPORTUNITY COST OF SOCIAL SECURITY

1	2	3	4	5
Income	FICA 6.2%	S&P 500 (8.14%)*	Cash (-3%)	Social Security (-4%)
\$20,000	\$1,240	\$333,305.99	\$29,110.56	\$24,943.65
\$30,000	\$1,860	\$499,958.99	\$43,665.84	\$37,415.47
\$40,000	\$2,480	\$666,611.99	\$58,221.12	\$49,887.30
\$50,000	\$3,100	\$833,264.98	\$72,776.40	\$62,359.12
\$60,000	\$3,720	\$999,917.98	\$87,331.68	\$74,830.95
\$80,000	\$4,960	\$1,333,223.97	\$116,442.24	\$99,774.60
\$100,000	\$6,200	\$1,666,529.97	\$145,552.79	\$124,718.25
\$120,000	\$7,440	\$1,999,835.96	\$174,663.35	\$149,661.90
\$150,000	\$9,300	\$2,499,794.95	\$218,329.19	\$187,077.37
\$200,000	\$12,400	\$3,333,059.93	\$291,105.59	\$249,436.49

* All rates of return are annual and real (adjusted for inflation) average rates.

his/her income every year over a 40-year working career in the form of FICA tax.

In columns 3 through 5, three types of investment strategies for these FICA amounts are represented.

Column 3: A person who holds most of his net worth in a Standard & Poor's 500 index fund. The S&P 500 since 1921 has earned an average, inflation-adjusted return of 8.14 percent.

Column 4: Stuffing cash in a mattress. While it may make some savers feel secure, it exposes them to the full bite of inflation. Even so, mattress cash still beats Social Security.

Column 5: Social Security viewed as an investment. This is misguided in the sense that Social Security doesn't fund private capital but is nothing more than a transfer of income from youngsters to oldsters.

Matt, a 25-year-old, graduates this year with an MBA from Duke and enters the work force. He earns a constant \$60,000 per year over his entire working career and retires in the year 2043. Investing in an S&P 500 index fund, he would end up with a sum of \$999,918—the easiest million dollars anyone could ever earn. However, since his money went to Social Security instead, he will receive only a comparable (and measly) \$74,830.95 broken down into small monthly checks. If he had stuffed his money in a mattress he would have done better, earning \$87,332 that could be collected in a lump sum and re-invested at a higher rate of return in stocks or bonds.

Using the previous four assumptions and table, losses for each income level are

greater than or equal to a whopping 1,188.0 percent for the S&P 500 and 16.7 percent for cash. But even these losses are underestimates since the withdrawal of lump sums from Social Security is forbidden. Under current law, the maximum allowable withdrawal for a couple 65 and older is \$24,000. Even worse is the fact that if a worker or couple dies soon after retirement, his/her heirs lose all claims to their Social Security "savings."

While the losses are huge for individuals, for the entire economy they're nothing short of staggering—in fact the numbers are so large as to be unimaginable. If you take the losses for the \$20,000 income taxpayers (\$333,305.99 - \$24,943.65 = \$308,362.34) and multiply them by the 100 million people who will pay the FICA tax, total economy-wide losses amount to \$30.8 trillion, enough to absorb 3.5 times the 1998 U.S. national wealth. This represents \$31 trillion in lost private investment (buildings, airplanes, trucks, computers, lost research and development) and more than 50 million new jobs that could have been created with this investment.

William Faulkner's short story "A Rose for Emily" is said to be illustrative of how Southern vengeance is particularly dirty and vicious. Social Security is a program that grew out of a successful plan to enrich Northern interests at the South's expense. Unlike a Faulkner story, the vicious damage Social Security has wreaked and will continue to wreak on the South is no fiction. ❖

Dale Steinreich, Ph.D. teaches economics at Drury University in Springfield, Missouri.

A Vengeful Nature

BY RALPH GREEN

Although the Bible says that vengeance is the Lord's, it was a more personal action during the War Between the States. Both sides were guilty of slaying unarmed prisoners. Vengeance was seldom directed at the ones who actually did whatever prompted the action. Usually it was taken on men who happened to have been captured. Sometimes this was done to prevent further killings.

After six of his men were executed by order of Union General George Custer, Confederate John Singleton Mosby left bodies of the same number of Union soldiers along the Valley Turnpike with notes pinned to them stating that it was in retaliation for the slaying of his men and adding that retaliation would continue "measure for measure." (It worked!)

It is difficult to determine for many of the acts of vengeance just who committed the original act which prompted retaliation. For instance, Confederates at Gratiot Street Prison were executed in retaliation for the slaying of Union Major James Wilson and six of his men, however those men had been killed evidently for Wilson's killing of seven captured Confederates. Sometimes the vicious treatment of prisoners seemed prompted by spite, such as the deliberate withholding of food and supplies from Confederate prisoners to punish them for taking arms against the Union. This is excellent documentation of an unfortunate aspect of the war, although the subject matter prevents it being enjoyable reading.

This is the story of the agony of the South and the healing of a nation, told through the experiences of Roger and Sara Pryor, members of the antebellum Southern elite. A native Virginian and son of a Presbyterian minister, Roger was determined from youth to excel at whatever he did. He met Sara while visiting the home of her uncle during a religious gathering. He courted her during his studies at the University of Virginia.

Roger practiced law for a while, but after losing his voice temporarily, he decided to leave that profession. He bought a newspaper in Petersburg and became one of

Virginia's leading editors. He moved to Washington, D.C., when offered a position with a leading newspaper there and was soon moving in top society. Differing with many important people, Roger supported Russia in the Crimean War and his editorials led to the loss of his job. He soon became the firebrand editor of a Richmond newspaper and was a very important political and social figure.

In 1859 he was elected to the U.S. Congress and moved Sara and their five children to Washington. His passionate oratory in the House of Representatives infuriated

Northerners. He even challenged one of them, John Potter, to a duel, although the duel was never fought. At a wedding reception, the Pryors learned by telegram that South Carolina had seceded and Sara was the first person to inform President Buchanan. When war came, Roger was appointed Colonel of a Virginia regiment and quickly became a brigadier general.

Sara also did her part. With many other women, Sara began sewing for the Confederacy and meeting trains to welcome and comfort incoming troops. She also became an effective volunteer nurse.

Roger led his brigade in several battles, including Seven Days, and served under Robert E. Lee. When reorganization of the army led to his becoming a general without a command, Roger resigned his commission and re-enlisted as a private. As a private, he was still addressed as "General" by others, including Lee. Roger scouted for Fitzhugh Lee until Robert E. Lee requested and secured his services as a scout.

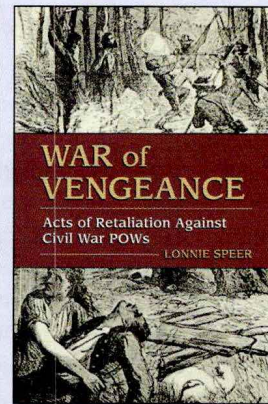
With limited resources due to wartime reverses, Sara and the family moved into a small hovel belonging to a relative. Roger returned to join her immediately after she gave birth to their latest child. Roger was able to move the family to Petersburg just before the Siege began. He then moved them out of Petersburg to Cottage Farm, near Lee's headquarters, where they were well protected by

the Confederate army surrounding them.

While attempting to secure Northern newspapers for intelligence purposes, Roger was taken captive. Imprisoned first at Washington and then at Boston, Roger received the assistance of many prominent Northerners in his efforts to secure release. The Secretary of War denied his request but Abraham Lincoln did order his release. Roger made his way home and arrived there shortly before the Confederates left Petersburg on their way to Appomattox.

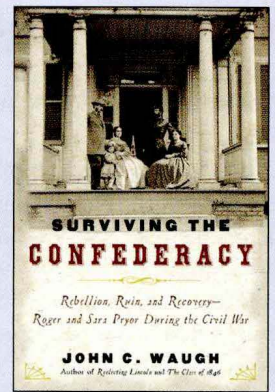
The couple was ruined financially by the War and suffered the indignity of having Sheridan's adjutant quartered in their home. Unable to earn a living in the South, Roger and his family moved to New York City. There he became a prominent attorney and eventually a New York State Supreme Court justice.

The couple remained deeply in love for the rest of their lives. Sara died in 1912, while Roger lived on until 1919. Roger was the last survivor of the firing on Fort Sumter, the last survivor of the pre-war U.S. Congress, the last survivor of the Confederate Congress, and one of the last surviving Confederate general officers. This book is filled with anecdotes that help one to "get the feel" of those exciting, tense, and important days. Although concentrated on the lives of one couple, the book portrays an incredible period of Southern history. ☼



War of Vengeance: Acts of Retaliation Against Civil War POWs

by Lonnie R. Speer;
Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania:
Stackpole Books, 2002, 208
pages, 24 b/w photos, \$22.95.



Surviving the Confederacy: Rebellion, Ruin, and Recovery—Roger and Sara Pryor During the Civil War

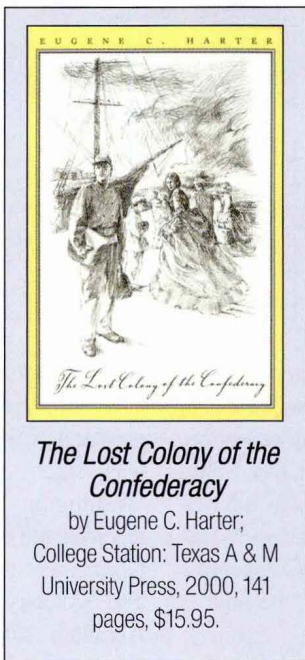
by John C. Waugh; San Diego,
California: Harcourt, 2002,
464 pages, \$28.00.

Going South, Way Down South

BY THOMAS RANDOLPH

One sign of a good history book is that it prompts further inquiry into its subject. Such is the case with Eugene Harter's *The Lost Colony of the Confederacy*, originally published in 1985 and reprinted in 2000 by Texas A&M University Press. Harter discusses the migration of Southerners to Brazil after 1865 and explains the attempts of these migrants, called Confederados, to preserve Southern culture in their new country. Himself a descendant of Brazilian Confederados, Harter has written an entertaining and fascinating introduction to the subject. Ironically, through looking at the Confederados, the society and culture of the Old South becomes clearer.

Harter estimates that of the millions of Southerners who emigrated from the Confederacy after 1865, 20,000 traveled to Brazil. Interestingly, the experiences and motivations of the Confederados often matched antebellum American attitudes regarding western migration. The overwhelming reason for their migration was the promise of economic opportunity, especially in the face of grueling poverty during Reconstruction. Harter reveals that Southerners had been exposed to information about Brazil before 1860, especially from books and newspaper articles written by Protestant missionaries in South America. Descriptions of good, cheap farmland, the promise of religious liberty, and the Brazilian government's unofficial support of the Confederacy during the War attracted many Southerners to Brazil. Harter also notes that the Brazilian government promised minimal interference in the affairs of the Confederados, an attractive prospect to liberty-loving Southerners. Because there were numerous groups of Southerners from different states who traveled to Brazil, the Confederate colonies were scattered. Some



The Lost Colony of the Confederacy

by Eugene C. Harter;
College Station: Texas A & M
University Press, 2000, 141
pages, \$15.95.

settled along the Amazon River, but most stopped in the state of Sao Paulo. Showing their American individualism, families frequently settled on large plantations rather than in or around villages. The resulting isolation, exacerbated by the lack of transportation in the interior of the country, eventually produced an exodus of Confederados to Brazilian cities. Brazilians recognized the hard work of the Confederados, but not all the immigrants prospered. The boom and bust cycle of agriculture brought both prosperity and poverty.

Since 1865 some critics have charged that Southerners fled to Brazil because slavery was still legal there. Harter dismisses the notion. He notes that if the Confederados had wanted another slave society, they could have chosen the much closer Cuba. Some Confederados bought slaves, but many did not, just as during antebellum times a minority of Southerners owned slaves. Brazil peacefully abolished slavery in 1888. Harter also comments that antebellum literature on Brazil informed Southerners of the differences in American and Brazilian race relations. The greatest difference, and the one which many Confederados could not accept, was that mulattos in Brazil were considered and treated as whites. Harter gives some evidence for the racism of the Confederados, but notes that as time went on, the second and third generation Confederados adopted Brazilian attitudes on race. Race and slavery did not play a dominant role in the lives of the Confederados and their descendants.

The Confederados attempted to preserve Southern culture as they gradually assimilated into Brazilian society. Most of the Confederados were Protestants and established churches in Brazil soon after arriving there. Harter contends that the Confederados retained their Protestantism and educational system, both of which

influenced Brazilian society greatly. They preserved Southern architecture, including building numerous Greek-revival style plantations in Brazil. They retained Southern speech patterns into the twentieth-century as well. Harter believes that the Southern stress on family life coalesced well with Brazilian culture and led the Confederados to have large families. Many Confederados named their children after Southern heroes, the name "Yancey" (commemorating the Alabama fire-eater William L. Yancey, whose two sons were Confederados) being very popular. Confederados also preserved Southern food and agriculture. Early Confederados made great profits growing watermelons, which they introduced to the Brazil market, and cotton. Harter claims that many Confederados repeated unsavory antebellum farming practices, particularly in depleting the cheap, rich farmland within a decade and then moving to fresh lands. But Confederados did aid Brazilian agriculture by introducing and even manufacturing new plows. Confederados also preserved the symbol of Southern sacrifice, the Confederate battle flag, and made it an icon of their community. Harter recognizes that

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the attempts to preserve Southern culture suffered from the isolation of the Confederados. Because their settlements were spread out, Confederados' tended to assimilate quickly with the Brazilian population. Still, Southern folkways did persist.

The most revealing anecdote in the book involves the Confederados' encounter with an icon of modern America, Henry Ford. In 1928 Ford built rubber plantations in the Amazon in an attempt to corner the rubber market. The site of his enormous plantation was fifty miles from the Confederate settlement in the Amazon. Using materials shipped from Detroit, Ford built a small American-style town. He employed native workers and expected them to live in American-style houses, learn American manners, and eat American food.

In the 1940s Ford abandoned the plantation, partially because of problems with the labor force. Natives resented living in American houses, which sucked in the stifling heat of the rainforest, and resented eating American food. Harter quotes an old Confederado about the fiasco, "They tried to do to these Brazilians what northerners had always wanted to do to the South—Yankeeify it!—and it didn't work there either." Southern attitudes obviously persisted among the Confederados well into the twentieth century.

Harter's interesting book begs for scholarly treatments of the subject. In addition to numerous journal articles, two recent books on the Confederados deserve mention. In 1987 William Clark Griggs wrote *The Elusive Eden: Frank McMullan's Confederate Colony in Brazil*, a treatment of one Confederate settlement, and in 1995 a group of scholars, many associated with Auburn University, published *The Confederados*, a collection of essays on various aspects of Confederate migration to Brazil. The Confederados of Brazil, by attempting to preserve Southern culture, showed the things that they considered essential to the culture of the Old South—liberty, economic opportunity, religion, and family. While antebellum Southerners held harsh racial attitudes (as did most Americans at the time), slavery was not the only or dominant cultural influence in the antebellum South as the example of the Confederados indicates.

Who Stole Tolerance?

BY MICHAEL C. TUGGLE

Tolerance.org, a web project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, provides numerous ways for parents, teachers, and students to "fight hate and promote tolerance." A special section lists some of the unique contributions public school teachers can make to this noble endeavor on campus. Under the heading "Create an unwelcome environment for hate speech and symbols" is the following suggestion: "Discourage the use of divisive school emblems. Common examples include the 'Rebel' flag or a Native American 'Warrior,' which may be perceived by some students, parents or community members as disrespectful."

How did we get to this point? In a country where the first nuclear-powered submarine was named after Southern hero Robert E. Lee, how was the virtue of tolerance transformed into a witch-hunt against traditional Southern symbols?

In *The Long Truce*, A.J. Conyers not only offers an insightful contribution to understanding how this happened, but makes a case for recapturing the authentic Christian virtue of toleration from the statist, multi-culturalist appropriators.

Consider the current use of the term tolerance, as illustrated above by the Southern Poverty Law Center. The unfortunate soul publicly branded as intolerant of the exotic cultural practices of the latest wave of immigrants, or of the sexual preferences of the oppressed gay, bi-sexual, and trans-gender persons eking out a living these days in interior design and advertising, is excommunicated from the omnipresent civic religion of tolerance and inclusiveness. As such, he is relegated to the status of a non-person. Like "diversity" and "multiculturalism," toleration is a modern sacrament, a term that confers nobility to whatever project attaches itself to it, and brands as contemptible anyone who fails to embrace it.

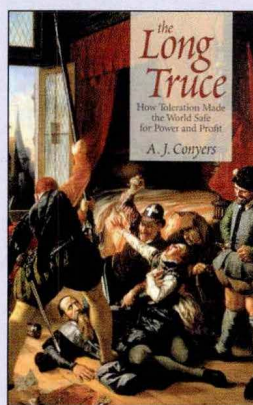
In fact, Conyers argues, toleration is a

Christian practice that the multiculturalists have misappropriated, and Christians should demand that they hand it back. The "High Tolerance" of the Christian springs from the virtues of humility, patience, and love, as well as a "willingness to hear other traditions and to learn from them." The difference between Christian tolerance and modern tolerance, says Conyers, is the purpose. A Christian may patiently endure the

errors of others, and even tolerate persecution as an airplane tolerates wind stress, but the purpose of tolerating these things is to strengthen the Christian community. The modern use of tolerance, on the other hand, though it may utilize Christian terminology, seeks to obliterate traditional community, and to strengthen the modern secular state: "Toleration then became the means of diminishing lesser loyalties, by calling their moral authority into question; and, by thus compromising competing authorities, toleration cleared the ground for the broader, more formal power."

The social effect of modern toleration, then, is to "liberate" the individual of any loyalty to family, church, or local community. Any traditional loyalty that can compete with the centralized state bureaucracy is therefore condemned as both anti-progressive and repressive. The problem, Conyers argues, is that society eventually becomes nothing more than a random collection of unrelated, competing individuals. He is devastatingly direct when he describes the kind of society that subscribes to terms that define themselves by what they are not:

[Toleration] became the mother philosophy of the unarticulated society, the society without traditional contours of social arrangements, the mass society, the society consisting of individuals alone, individuals whose loyalty is focused on the new, remote, comprehensive authority of the state. It should be no wonder, then, that toleration is most valued in large-scale Western societies, where cultural conquest has been most successful and economic expansion most obvious.

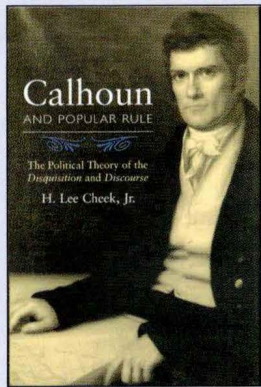


The Long Truce: How Toleration Made the World Safe for Power and Profit

by A.J. Conyers; Dallas: Spence Publishing Company, 2001, 245 pages, \$27.95.

Conyers's invaluable contribution is to document the theological and political genealogy of the modern version of tolerance, and it is to his credit that he turns the research into an enlightening intellectual journey with rewarding side trips along the way. The atomized society he warns against was envisioned by Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* (1651). Conyers is at his best as he shines a much-needed light onto the life and mind of Hobbes, and exposes the pervasive and harmful effects of this influential philosopher on modern political thought and practice. One of the hidden surprises in this analysis is Conyers's brilliant and entertaining presentation of Puritanism and its own spiritual and intellectual deterioration from strict Calvinism to Emersonian Transcendentalism.

The Long Truce slips by straying into territory that leaves the reader a bit lost at times. While Conyers makes a convincing case that Locke, Mill, and Dewey, all extremely influential thinkers, carried on the pernicious work started by Hobbes, he lingers far too long in the shifting thought of French theologian Pierre Bayle, leaving one to wonder how such an obscure figure fits into Conyers's argument. Further, after constructing a solid foundation for his thesis that atomistic individualism is the enemy of true liberty, it is disappointing that nothing is said of the recently deceased John Rawls, a profoundly influential thinker who propagated a state-enhancing theory directly influenced by Hobbes. Rawls, whose theoretical "original position" mirrors Hobbes's "state of nature," likewise concluded that the individual's rational self-interest is the only foundation for establishing government. Both argue that with no natural bonds of affection to unite men, only the ultimate sovereignty of the state can achieve social peace, individual gratification, and justice. An examination of Rawls's and Hobbes's essential agreement of the role and nature of government and the individual would have provided a much more satisfying contribution to Conyers's study of alienation, statism, and atomistic



Calhoun and Popular Rule: The Political Theory of the "Disquisition" and "Discourse"

by H. Lee Cheek, Jr.; Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001, 202 pages, \$29.95.

individualism.

This book is well worth the time to read, ponder, and re-read, and should be judged on the high goals it aspires to, not on its minor shortcomings in reaching them.

Michael C. Tuggle is the author of Confederates in the Boardroom: The New Science of Organizations.

Calhoun and Community

BY JOHN RUSSELL

Author H. Lee Cheek, Jr. sets two main goals for himself in *Calhoun and Popular Rule: The Political Theory of the "Disquisition" and "Discourse."* First, he

attempts to show that the *Disquisition* and *Discourse* were part of a South Atlantic republican tradition concerned with limiting the scope of government and protecting local rights. Second, Cheek suggests that Calhoun's political thinking constitutes an important contribution of continuing relevance to the Anglo-American political tradition. In both these tasks the author succeeds admirably.

According to Cheek, England's South Atlantic colonies cherished a form of republicanism closer to the English model than that which developed in New England. "Instead of the tendency to endorse a theocratic and unitary form of political order, the South Atlantic experience accommodated divergent theological and political understandings of order and sought to nurture an ecumenism grounded in the acceptance of dissent and a diffusion of political power:" That is, Southerners did not demand fealty to abstract ideologies or government-ordained moral codes. Instead, they embraced a dynamic localism founded in the conviction that virtue and righteousness cannot be effectively—or even safely—mandated by civil magistrates. "Liberty was conceived in terms of its corporateness, a *societas*, combining the family and larger units of an interconnected citizenry with each other to form associations." Like Althusius, Edmund Burke, John Randolph, Wendell Berry, and other exponents of this tradition, Calhoun

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held that liberty required maintaining social order by representatives nearest the situation. This, in brief, is the vision of popular rule Calhoun articulated in his political writings and speeches including, most notably, the *Disquisition on Government* and *Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*.

Yet, as Cheek points out, it is important to note that Calhoun's vision of community allowed ample room for individualism. The Carolinian rejected both the social atomism of unrestrained individualism and the sort of imposed conformity that too often passes for true community. According to Cheek, Calhoun understood individualism and community as existing in a symbiotic relationship. "Authentic community and individuality are dependent upon each other. The community needs the energy, imagination, and private action of the person, and the person benefits from living and working in the community." Through living and working as part of a community, a person becomes fully aware of the obligations that call for him to be able to restrain his sinful

impulses. The community thus nurtures social and political life. This symbiotic relationship "challenges both the community and those persons within these autonomous groups to seek the higher potentialities of political life." Here, Cheek contends, is where Calhoun's contribution to the South Atlantic republican tradition is most vital for modern Americans. "Predisposing individuals at home and in local associations to practice self-restraint and moral leadership benefits communities in general and society as a whole," he writes.

Cheek has written a lucid and cogent analysis of Calhoun's political thought. His book deserves attention for examining the *Disquisition* and *Discourse* together and placing them in the context of checking the powers of government while promoting liberty and order. But, perhaps more importantly, it also deserves attention for Cheek's effort at helping to show readers the continuing relevance of Calhoun's thought. Calhoun was clearly a profound political theorist. However, he was also one of the most perceptive students of history and soci-

ety that America has produced. One wishes that Cheek could have devoted more space in his book to this neglected aspect of Calhoun's thought. For instance, no one has yet adequately considered how and to what extent Calhoun was influenced while writing the *Discourse* by events transpiring across the Atlantic. His daughter, Anna Maria, and son-in-law, Thomas Green Clemson, were in Brussels during the mid-century revolutions that shook Europe, and Calhoun frequently wrote them for news of the social and political upheaval. "I look, perhaps, with greater solicitude for the unfolding of the great events now in progress in Europe, as they afford me an opportunity to test the truth or error, of the principles, which I have laid down in my elementary discourse on Government. It is as yet in the rough draft," Calhoun wrote to his daughter in April 1848. It speaks well of Cheek's work that he thus whets our appetite to look deeper into his subject's life and thought. One hopes that his book will be read and will inspire others to give Calhoun another look. ✪

SIDELIGHTS & LIGHTERSIDES

Compiled by Ralph Green

WELL SAID

From the preamble to Resolution No. 2, March 11, 1862, first session of the first Confederate Congress:

Whereas the United States are waging war against the Confederate States, with the avowed purpose of compelling the latter to reunite with them under the same Constitution and Government; and whereas the waging of war with such an object is in direct opposition to the sound republican maxim that "all good government rest upon the consent of the governed," and can only tend to consolidation in the General Government and the consequent destruction of the rights of the States; and whereas the result being attained, the two sections can only exist together in the relation of the oppressor and the oppressed, because of the great

preponderance of power in the Northern section, coupled with dissimilarity of interest.

LADIES OF THE SOUTH

The women of the wartime South have been described as the "staunchest Rebels." Some worked at home to make life more comfortable for the men at the front; Mrs. A.H. Gay of Decatur, Georgia, knitted a sock a day and packaged each pair separately, enclosing other items of clothing, gloves, and notes of encouragement. Others worked in war industries, in garment and textile plants, in hospitals, and on farms and plantations. Some, such as Rose O'Neal Greenhow and Belle Boyd, provided valuable service as spies and couriers.

A few were not content to play any type of passive role, so they cut their hair, disguised

their identities, and followed the men into the fighting ranks. In addition to her service as a spy, Nancy Hart led an attack which captured a Union garrison at Summerfield, West Virginia, and helped Jackson in his famous Valley campaign; she escaped arrest in 1862 by killing a Yankee guard. While their men were away at war, the women of Bascom, Georgia, formed a female military company to protect the home front. The activities of the women of the South were essential to the life of the Confederacy.

CONFEDERATE INDIANS

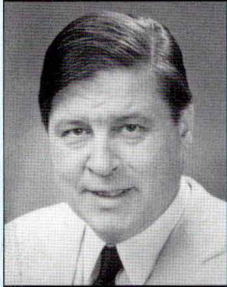
Even before the War Between the States, hostile Indians raided Texans, stealing horses, cattle, women, and children, and left a trail of fire and ruin. In contrast, the Tonkawa Indians sought friendship with Texans. During

the War they were valued allies, scouting against hostile tribes and guarding against signs of Federal invasion. A few Tonkawa scouts were considered more useful than two or three companies of regular soldiers; they could stalk enemies better than bloodhounds. Old Texas Indian fighters in wartime asked for Tonkawa scouts. From the Red River to the Rio Grande, commanders valued them so much that they fed them at personal expense when necessary to obtain their help.

The Tonkawas paid dearly for their Confederate loyalty. On October 25, 1862, their camp near Anadarko, Oklahoma, was attacked by hostile Indians who slew 137 men, women, and children. Granted a tribal home at Fort Griffin, Texas, they returned to Oklahoma in 1884.

✪

THE SOBRAN VIEW



BY JOSEPH SOBRAN

What Young People Don't Know

At my age you're expected to complain about the younger generation, and at times I'm tempted to lament their ignorance of history. But the moment I do, I'm checked by a question: Whose fault is that?

Who educated them? The answer, of course, is my generation. So I wind up pitying today's youth.

Every generation has a lot of catching up to do. The history their parents learned is obsolete, because history now includes their parents' experience on top of all that happened before. I remember the Eisenhower years, the rise of Fidel Castro, the Kennedy and King assassinations, the Vietnam War. Today's kids have to read about all that. It can never be as real to them as it is to me.

In the same way, I had to read up on things my parents remembered vividly: the Depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt, World War II. These were not things in the past; they were still present. Even in the prosperous Fifties and later, most adults feared a return of the Depression. The power of this memory shaped the politics of the 1950s to a degree you wouldn't suspect from reading about the events of the time. The Republicans bore the heavy burden of blame for the Depression; the Democrats were the party of "the little man." If you don't understand that, you can't understand the time as it felt to those who lived it.

The present is never just the present. It is the present plus all its memories. But its dominant memories are also distorted by selection. We tend to remember highlights, headlines, and slogans, but not the rich contexts of events. Many of the events we remember are isolated

and given an exaggerated prominence. Baseball fans remember what Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams did in 1941, but it's harder to remember which teams won the pennants and the World Series, things that seemed more important at the time.

Our historic memories are always abridgments of the past. Today Franklin Roosevelt is remembered for "leading us" through the Depression and World War II. The details are largely forgotten; the longest presidency in American history is reduced to a couple of slogans and a few newsreel images. (We've even forgotten that people used to go to the movies to see the news!)

In a sense, every generation is disinherited, cut off by time itself from the things it needs to know. What was undecided and complex then seems simple and inevitable now; what seemed radical then seems normal now. And most people hardly realized

that vast changes were taking place. Is it any wonder that their grandchildren and great-grandchildren don't know?

Facing the Depression, Roosevelt took a series of steps that added up to a profound shift in the American system of government—and the Depression only got worse. Promising to keep America out of World War II, he was secretly taking measures to get America into that war, long before Pearl Harbor. But he was a power politician and propagandist of great genius, and he got away with everything. His lasting legacy is the destruction of limited, constitutional government.

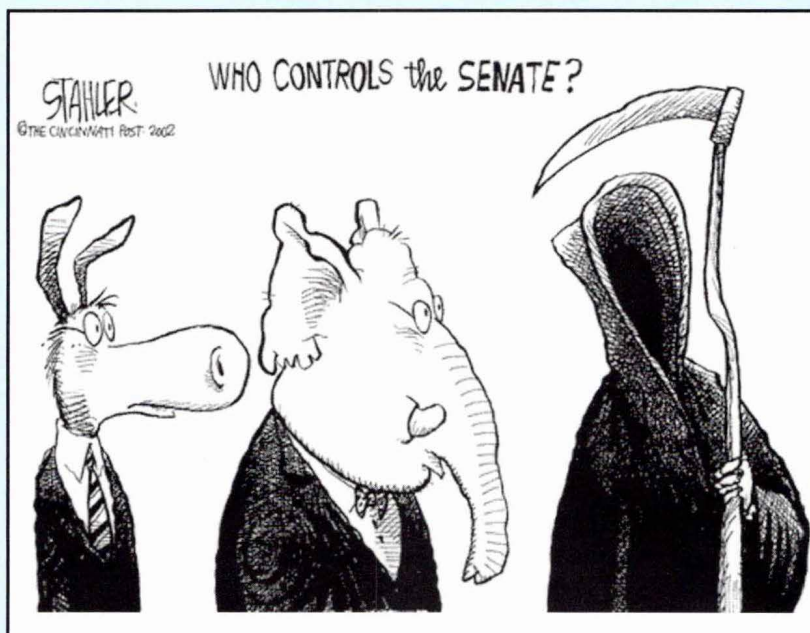
Only once did his designs become so naked and shocking that they were defeated. That was when he tried to "pack" the U.S. Supreme Court, making it subordinate to him and thus tearing down the checks and balances essential to constitutional government. Even his followers turned against him for once; yet he soon wound up getting his way with the Court when several justices retired, died, or changed their minds about constitutionality.

A few observers discerned what Roosevelt was up to and tried to warn the country. They were largely ignored; today their books are hard to find. (One of the shrewdest of them, Garet Garrett, spent his last years literally living in a cave.) But he is now generally considered a great president—for doing exactly what his critics accused him of doing. And his perversions

of presidential power are now used as precedents for others, with the approval of "conservatives."

If so few of his contemporaries, following events as they occurred from day to day, managed to penetrate Roosevelt's grand deceptions, how are today's young people supposed to understand? Not only have they been given the wrong answers; they don't realize there were ever questions. They were disinherited before they were born. ✦

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SOUTHLINE



BY CHARLEY REESE

Is Being Anti-War Unpatriotic?

Some advocates of war with Iraq have questioned the patriotism of some Americans who oppose the war. This is a valid issue that people ought to think about. What is “patriotism”? What is “unpatriotic”?

My definition of patriotism is someone who loves the land and the people who live there. It does not include loving the government. Government, at least in the eyes of the Founding Fathers of this country, is merely a tool for achieving a higher end—to wit, the protection of the rights of the people. It was not just Thomas Jefferson who warned against the dangers of government. George Washington, in the opposite political party, the Federalists, warned that government was like fire—a useful servant but a fearful master.

So, obviously, one might love the country but disagree with the government, since the country and the government are not the same. Under what circumstances is it unpatriotic to disagree with the government? The Constitution defines treason, the ultimate unpatriotic act, this way: “Treason against the United States shall consist only of levy-

ing war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court.”

(Note, by the way, that the Constitution always speaks of the United States in the plural, just as my Confederate ancestors believed them to be, but that is a subject for another column.)

No one opposing a war against Iraq is levying war against the United States. “To adhere” means to give support and allegiance. No one that I know of is supporting or pledging allegiance to the government of Iraq. Furthermore, since there is no declaration of war by Congress, there is legally no enemy. That, by the way, was how people who gave aid and comfort to the North

Vietnamese escaped prosecution during the Vietnam War, which, in the legal sense, was not a war.

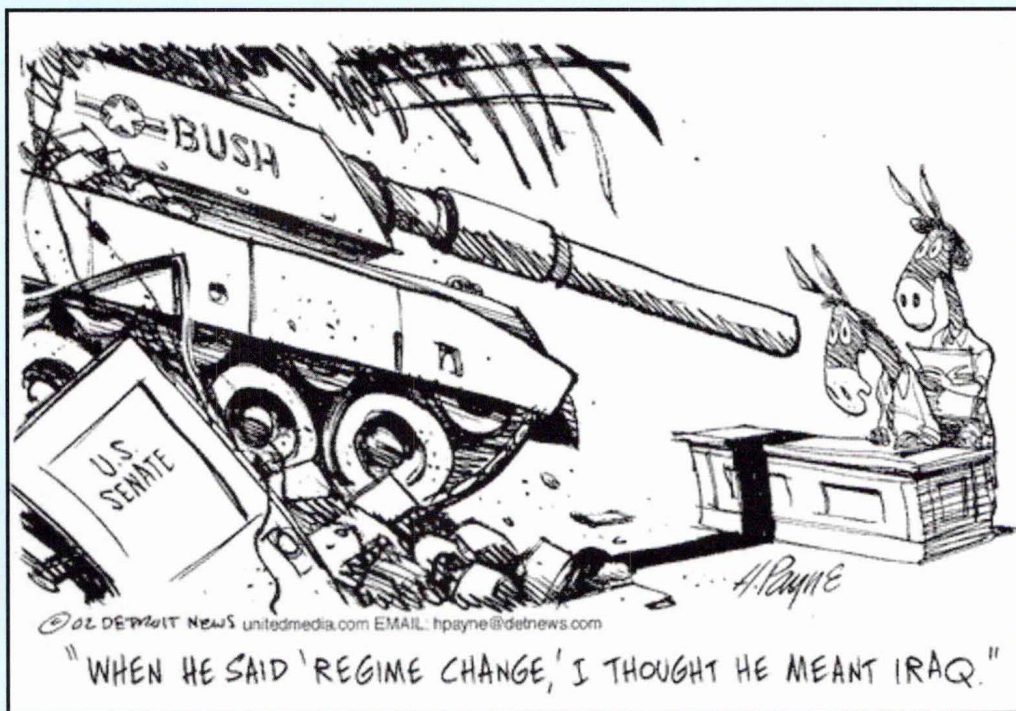
During the past 100 years, the United States were attacked only twice: once by Japan and, on Sept. 11, 2001, by al-Qaida. After the attack by Japan and the subsequent declaration of war against us by Germany, it would have been unpatriotic to argue against the United States defending themselves. It is, in my opinion, unpatriotic to argue against pursuing and destroying al-Qaida, since we have been attacked and the leader of that organization has declared war on us.

President Bush erred, however, by focusing his ire far beyond al-Qaida. There is no link between al-Qaida and Iraq. The terrorist who Mr. Bush claims is connected to al-Qaida has his camp in Northern Iraq, which is controlled by Kurds and the United States, not by the Iraqi government. When Mr. Bush declared his intention to war against any country “harboring” terrorists, he opened a can of worms. He opened another can when he expanded his war against terrorism to groups that have not attacked the United States.

Al-Qaida is a clandestine organization of separate cells, each containing a few individuals. Are we harboring terrorists? There certainly were and probably still are al-Qaida people living in our country, as well as in Western Europe. Unless a government openly supports al-Qaida, as the Taliban did in Afghanistan, I don't think you can say it is harboring terrorists just because some members live there or pass through. Al-Qaida is not openly operating in any country in the world today.

It is no more unpatriotic to disagree with the government's foreign policy than it is to disagree with its domestic policy. Policy disagreements are an essential feature of a free country. We don't say someone is unpatriotic if he or she doesn't like the way the government operates Medicare; we should not say that about people who disagree with the government's foreign policy. ✪

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MAIN STREET USA

Old Heroes, New Heroes

Every few decades, we Americans rediscover ourselves. It goes with the territory—our sense of being a people on the move, focused less on what we have done than on what lies ahead. Then comes an



BY WILLIAM MURCHISON

event like the Iraqi war, and recollections are jarred, even as new vistas spread themselves before us. We become once more a people of possibility, on account of possibilities signally fulfilled.

I give you an example. I was watching on TV the other night the return of the POWs from Iraq: the star-spangled welcome, the bands, the jubilation.

I thought of my friend Harry Thompson. Actually, I never think of POWs anymore without thinking of Harry Thompson, and what he taught me, with no didactic motive whatever, about the American capacity for dogged endurance. I myself would call it heroic endurance. Harry would demur. He was just trying to stay alive during the waning days of World War II. His Nazi captors seemed bent on denying him the chance.

Harry, a chief warrant officer from Dallas, had been swept up in the Battle of the Bulge: which battle, of course, the Germans lost. This meant that, as they retreated eastward toward ultimate ruin, they had minimal tolerance, let alone the capacity, for civilizational niceties. This was not the comical captivity of "Hogan's Heroes." This was a wrestling match for survival.

I had read no account of this dim historical corner prior to Harry's turning up at my office one day in 2001—87 years old and with manuscript in hand. He knew the Greatest Generation had been receiving new attention; he wondered whether anyone would want to publish his own brief memoir. All I managed in the end was to encourage him to pursue publication of a story in urgent need of telling. With the rather misleading (howsoever marketable) title of "Patton's Ill-Fated Raid," Harry's memoir

made it into print last fall (Historical Resources Press, Corinth/Denton 76210).

Captured Dec. 17, 1944, during the coldest winter Europe had known in 50 years, force-marched through the snow, starved, foraged on by lice—such was Harry Thompson's lot, and that of his fellow POWs, month after month.

Then, there was the American bombing that occurred while the prisoners halted one night—"friendly fire," we call it today. "I'll never forget the horrible screaming noise the bombs made coming down.... The noise was deafening.... I wanted to get up and run like hell, but the shrapnel I could hear overhead would probably kill me before I got 10 feet. I could hear men all around me screaming their prayers.... The earth rolled and heaved like an earthquake. This is hell, I thought—it couldn't get any worse." But he lived—unlike many.

On May 2 came liberation, courtesy of the 86th Infantry. "One of our men broke down completely when the trucks arrived.... [T]he men looked like they were in a daze and had to be led around like babies.... Some POWs in the convoy were full of anger.... [M]any ... had taken rifles and ammunition and they were firing into the air or shooting any animal they saw.... The transportation officer stopped many times to try to get them to stop shooting but to no avail."

At last, home; family; civilian life. And gratitude. "I have so very much for which to be thankful, and I am very proud to have had the honor and privilege of serving my country."

A popular song of the post-Pearl Harbor period was titled "We Did It Before (And We Can Do It Again)." Do what? Win a war. Win it, why? To get a dirty job done—so I imagine ex-CWO Harry Thompson saying. Similarly, the just-returned POWs and the troops in Baghdad and Mosul.

Americans are very good at doing what has to be done—chins firmed, pride spilling over "for the honor and privilege of serving."

National possibilities, it would seem from about any angle, are far from exhausted. ★

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MINORITY VIEW

Ruled By Scoundrels

The March 10 issue of *Human Events* carried a special report on the 10 most outrageous government programs. Their 18 judges included conservative/libertarians such as former Rep. Dick Armey, R-

Texas, former Delaware Gov. Pete Dupont, Mark Levin, president of the Landmark Legal Foundation, and David Boaz, Cato Institute's vice president.

The Legal Services Corp. headed the list, followed closely by the McCain-Feingold Campaign Finance Reform Act and the Davis-Bacon Act of 1931. Rounding out the list were: Americorps, Endangered Species Act, No Child Left Behind Act, Amtrak, Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) Standards, Title X Family Planning Act, and the provision of welfare payments to non-citizens and illegal aliens.

Human Events, a conservative, Republican-leaning publication, unlike Democrats who protect scoundrels in their party, wasn't reluctant to list the presidents who sponsored or supported these outrageous government programs. Most of the programs were born during Republican administrations. Herbert Hoover was in

office when the Davis-Bacon Act was written in 1931. Richard Nixon presided over the births of the Legal Services Corp. (1974), the Endangered Species Act (1973), Amtrak (1971) and the Title X Family Planning Act (1970). Gerald Ford sponsored CAFE standards (1975), and George W. Bush signed off on the No Child Left Behind Act (2002).

These laws interfere with and federalize our lives in harmful ways. The more federal control over education, the worse it becomes. The Endangered Species Act (ESA) has attacked and trivialized private property rights. CAFE standards, by forcing auto companies to produce lighter, and hence less safe cars, have cost thousands of highway fatalities, and it goes on and on.

One of the more disgusting revelations of the *Human Events* report came when a simple question was put to high-level bureaucrats in charge of running these out-

rageous programs. *Human Events* asked them to state the constitutional authority for the programs. Warren Flatau, Federal Railroad Administration spokesman, said he wasn't a legal scholar but opined that the same question could be asked of other agencies. Chris Tollefson, of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, answered that it was his understanding that authority for ESA "is based on the commerce clause." Former Rep. John Erlenborn, R-Ill., now president of the Legal Services Corp., answered: "Probably the same one that lets the federal government build highways. I don't know. The general welfare clause."

The correct answer to *Human Events*'s question about the constitutional authority for these outrageous programs is: There is no constitutional authority whatsoever. Grossly ignorant or conniving politicians tell constitutionally ignorant Americans that it is the general welfare clause that authorizes these programs. You figure it.

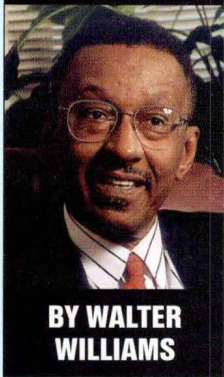
Here's what James Madison, the father of our Constitution, said about the welfare clause: "With respect to the two words 'general welfare,' I have always regarded them as qualified by the detail of powers connected with them. To take them in a literal and unlimited sense would be a metamorphosis of the Constitution into a character which there is a host of proofs was not contemplated by its creators."

Thomas Jefferson said, "Congress has not unlimited powers to provide for the general welfare, but only those specifically enumerated." The detail or enumeration to which Madison and Jefferson refer is found mostly in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution.

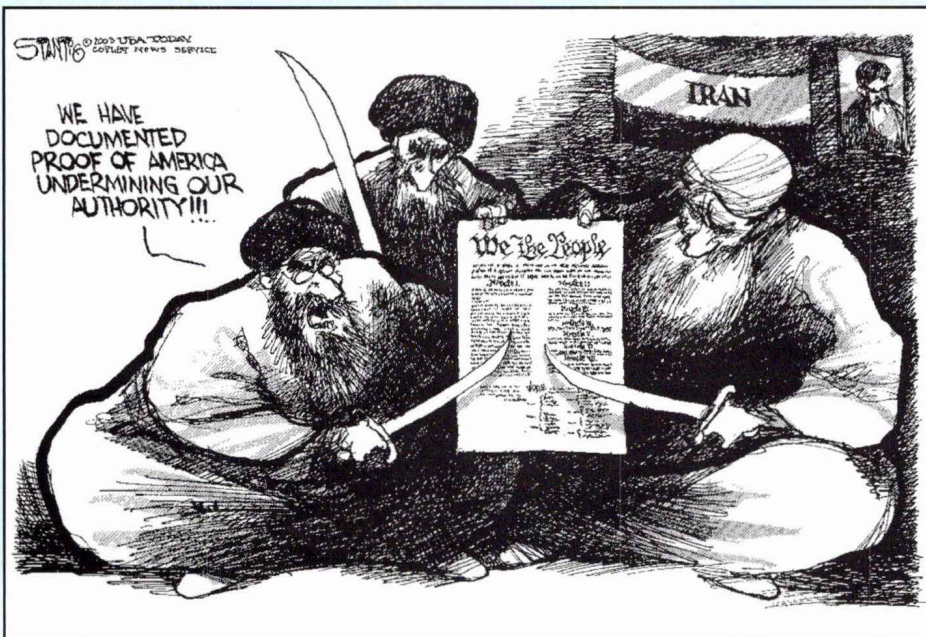
Rep. John Shadegg, R-Ariz., has introduced the Enumerated Powers Act several times. It would require each act of Congress to contain a concise and definite statement of the specific constitutional authority relied upon for the enactment of each portion of that act or else the bill could not go forward. Shadegg's Enumerated Powers Act (HR 175) went down to three crushing defeats.

Can we ask for more compelling evidence of Congress's contempt for our Constitution, or do you think our congressmen are simply reflecting the constitutional contempt of the people? ♣

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BY WALTER WILLIAMS



The White Prom Party Non-Story O'Reilly Diatribe

BY P.J. BYRNES

National journalists have to look harder these days to find examples of racial discrimination in the South. Consider the story of the so-called “white prom party” at the high school in Taylor County, Georgia.

Originally written by Associated Press writer Elliott Minor, the headline read: GEORGIANS PLAN WHITES-ONLY PROM PARTY—words designed to inflame the hearts of old civil rights advocates, sitting in front of April fires, afghans draped over their knees.

When you read this headline, you immediately conclude that some Taylor County school official arbitrarily decreed that blacks would be barred from the high school prom, that when the band started playing, they would be standing outside the high school gym, noses pressed to window panes, watching all the white kids dance to Hip Hop.

In fact, the school doesn't sponsor proms—hasn't sponsored them in years. “Prom parties”—Mr. Minor's phrase—are paid for by students and parents. They are planned and held off campus. They are private. The Prince of Wales couldn't attend one of these “prom parties”—not without an invitation.

For years, blacks held one “prom party” and whites another. Last year, they had a single integrated “prom party.” This year, there was also an integrated “prom party.” However, a few of the white kids and parents decided they wanted their own “prom party.” None of the news accounts say precisely why.

As Mr. Minor reported it: “Many white students at Taylor County High School said they planned to attend next week's mixed prom, but a *small number of whites* said they also wanted a private party.” [emphasis added.]

At first the mainstream media ignored this non-story. After all, kids have been cliquish since Cain and Abel were little boys. Adolescence is a period of perpetual hurt feelings. Someone gets snubbed every day in every school in America—if not because of race, then because of other superficial reasons—place of residence, clothes, church, personality, size of ears.

Then: Enter Bill O'Reilly, who picked up the incident and trumpeted it night after night on cable television—and day after day on radio.

It's hard for conservatives to know how to deal with O'Reilly. He's on our side much of the time, though occasionally for the wrong reasons. And when he's bullying the ACLU or Michael Moore, we think he's fun to watch. His righteous indignation seems refreshing in contrast with the prissy pretense of objectivity by someone like Peter Jennings.

But we must always remember to be moderate in love of O'Reilly.

He's a superficial thinker who tends to react emotionally rather than rationally to people and events. This quality often produces gripping TV, but it doesn't enlighten audiences. If you agree with him, then you say, “Way to go, Bill.” If you disagree, you throw a shoe at the TV set. You never say, “Gee, he's got a point. I never thought of it that way.”

While his sensibilities are basically conservative, O'Reilly's limited intellect is often confused by the bruit and clamor of the times.

He is too willing to turn matters over to government, as if bureaucrats were somehow more efficient than the rest of us. He is also supportive of the right of homosexuals to do whatever they choose behind closed doors, ignoring the fact that “what they do”

costs taxpayers billions of dollars annually and has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands.

On the issue of the “all-white prom dance,” he paraded the pageant of his bleeding heart, railing at the kids involved, their parents, school officials, the governor of Georgia. This was a huge story, bigger than the Middle Eastern mess, almost as big as the Second Coming. How dare kids be exclusive in America! Why didn't Gov. Sonny Perdue drop everything and go to the “white prom party,” soapbox under his arm, and lecture the kids on the Declaration of Independence? Where was the leadership down there?

In this cant, Southerners recognized a familiar Yankee superciliousness, and sent him e-mails, accusing him of anti-Southern bigotry. He shrugged them off like so many April snowflakes. He wanted to posture. And posture he did—for hours and hours and hours: the moral conscience of Manhattan, where (as we all know) no one ever throws a racially exclusive party.

While he was striking fashionable poses on the radio, a woman called to remind him that he had grown up in Levittown, Pennsylvania—a planned community that excluded all blacks from its city limits. Instead of admitting that his parents had been wicked and un-American in choosing such a place to live, Mr. Equality quickly explained that the arrangement wasn't so bad; that the white Yankee kids went over and played with the black Yankee kids who lived in the next town; that Up There, segregation worked real well.

According to a poll conducted by professors at Harvard (O'Reilly's alma mater), the South has the highest rate of school integration in the country. And who has the lowest? New York, where O'Reilly now lives. A lot more black kids are involved in this arbitrary discrimination than the few whose feelings were hurt at Taylor County High School. So where is O'Reilly's outrage? And why doesn't he demand that Gov. Pataki go to all those segregated Yankee schools and throw a fit?

Finally, is it possible that O'Reilly really believes the story was worth a week's worth of hot air? If so, then he's just another anti-Southern bigot. If not, he's obsessed with ratings. Take your pick. Either way, he's a jerk—and not even *our* jerk. ☛



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Pat Buchanan

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