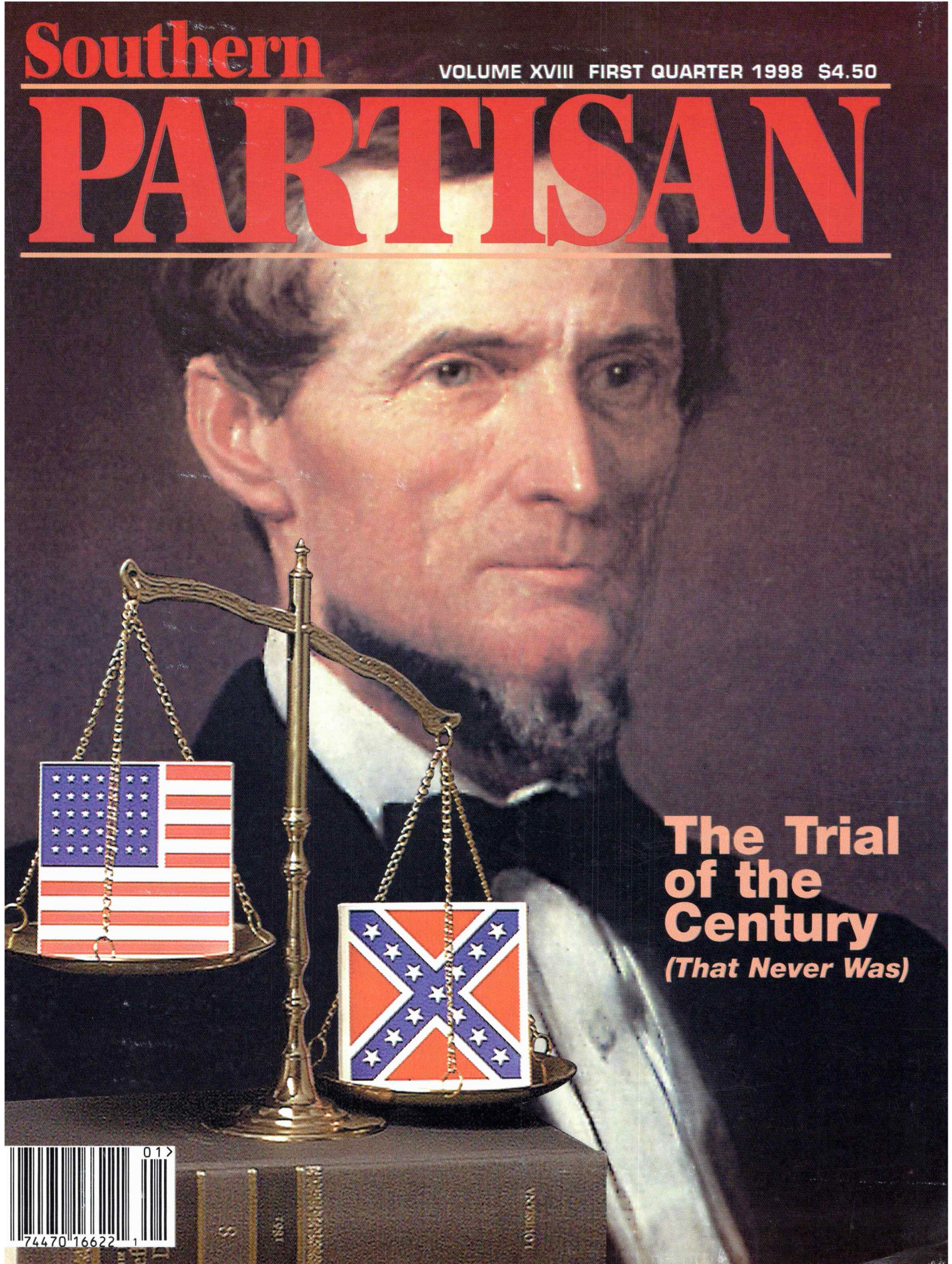


Southern

VOLUME XVIII FIRST QUARTER 1998 \$4.50

PARTISAN



**The Trial
of the
Century**
(That Never Was)



“You may be whatever you resolve to be”

—THOMAS J. “STONEWALL” JACKSON

...Except all male!

— RUTH BADER GINSBURG U.S. v. Virginia (1996)

“We are engaged in a great cultural war where reason itself is at issue. The other side reduces all human relationships to power struggles, where gender is merely a cultural phenomenon to overcome. They care not about education, character building or developing responsible citizens. By being all male and worse, adherents to tradition, we were perceived as powerful and therefore had to be destroyed.”

—THE HONORABLE THOMAS M. MONCURE IN HIS RESIGNATION LETTER FROM THE VMI BOARD OF VISITORS 1997

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- To provide and sponsor programs that advance the knowledge and awareness of Southern history and culture;

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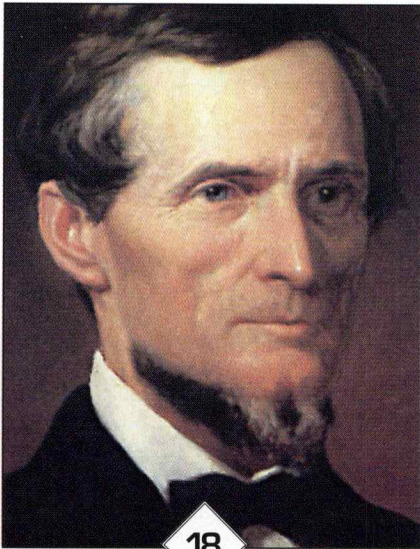
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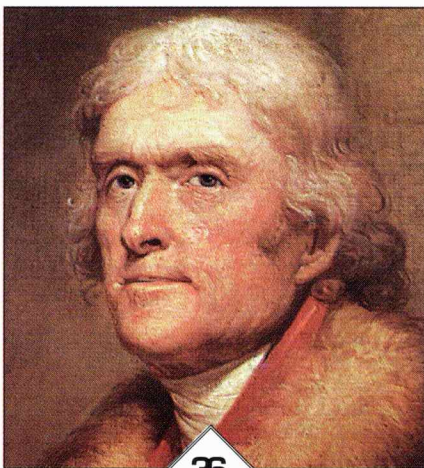
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**Southern
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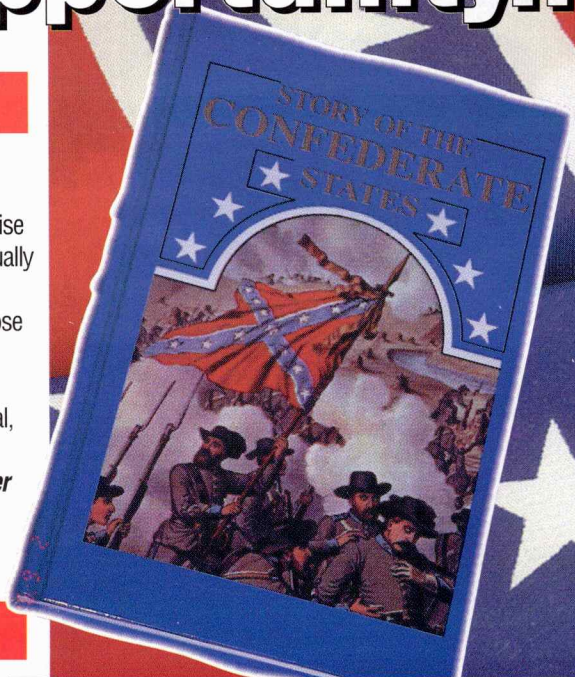
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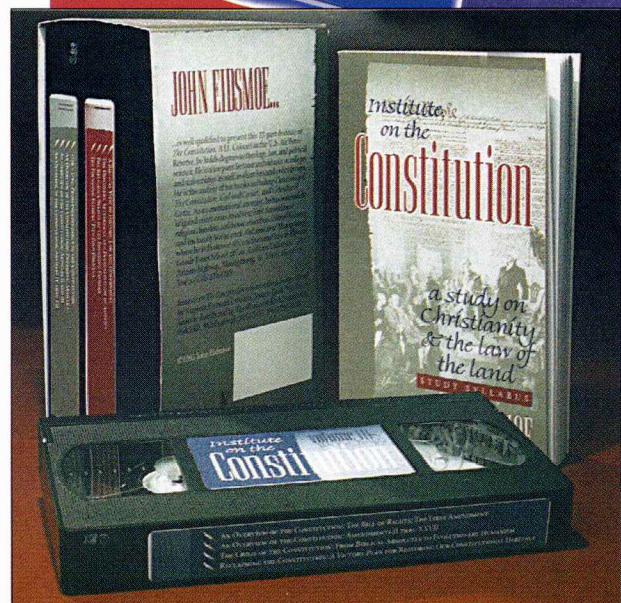
- The Basic Beliefs of the Founding Fathers
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

John Eidsmoe is a Lt. Col. in the U.S. Air Force Reserve and holds five degrees in theology, law and political science. He is a Professor of Constitutional Law at Thomas Goode Jones School of Law at Alabama. A constitutional attorney, he has successfully litigated cases involving First Amendment religious freedom and home education issues.

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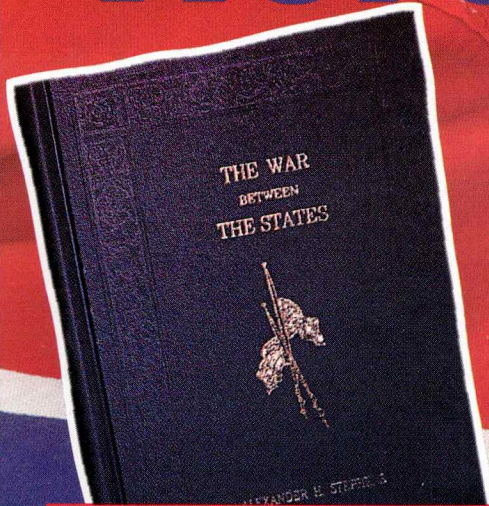
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Southern PARTISAN

"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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★ WESTERN VIRGINIA

Gentlemen:

Could you please add West Virginia to CSA Today as it is proven fact that over 18,000 troops and five general officers fought for the Cause along with their eastern Virginians? We realize that West Virginia really has never been officially recognized as a Confederate state, but feel it should be included.

John Bolton Lavery
via American Online

★ SOUTH AS A NATION

Gentlemen:

Concerning the disease for which William Lamar Cawthorn, Jr. offers a prescription: (Third Quarter, 1997) rather than a separate nation-state for the South, I would have government akin to the old Articles of Confederation.

Under the Articles, the Washington government would be restricted to so few tax dollars, by inability to raise them, that it would have to devote them to what all men can agree is a legitimate function of government. Under a form of government more similar to the Articles than to the Constitution, the Washington government could never have gotten so big as at present because it couldn't have gotten the mountains of money on which it has fattened.

George Stuart Crockett
South Korea

William L. Cawthon Jr. correctly points out that the South should think of itself as more than just a region of these United States, but as a nation within it. However, he, like many others, fails to point out the reason for the predicament that we and other states of the Republic are in. To be brief, I believe that it is our own greed and desire to have something for nothing. The federal government is the sow from which the suckling

states refuse to be weaned. With the ability to coerce the states, the states will never be truly sovereign, as they should.

Michael W. Dioguardi
via America Online

★ LAY OFF B.C.?

Gentlemen:

I open your magazine and every cartoon in it denigrates President Clinton. If I didn't know better I would think your magazine was an official organ of the religious right. Southern Partisan parrots everything they say and do. Still there are so many good things about your magazine that I keep subscribing. But your efforts to make Republicans out of us old Confederates are deeply offensive to me.

Ben Smith
Waycross, Georgia

★ YANKEES GALORE

Gentlemen:

I'm writing in the hope that those contributing manuscripts will bring to the fore some of those from the North who fought and died for the Confederacy. Robert Stiles, in his *Four Years Under Marse Robert* tells a very soul-stirring account of his friend James H. Beers, of Connecticut, who fell at Chancellorsville, fighting for Virginia and the South. Those of a like mind from the North, who counted the cost of embracing the true and renounced all connections and temporal benefits to follow the starry cross into battle, we would all do well to consider.

Ron Benkendorf
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

Please tell dear old Bud Robertson he needs more research if he thinks Stonewall Jackson "epitomizes the Christian soldier better than any American who has ever lived." Bud would do well to look also into the religiosity of Gen. William

Starke Rosecrans, USA, who was famous throughout the Federal army for his readiness to discuss religion.

Rosecrans converted to Catholicism while he was a cadet at West Point and thereafter for the rest of his life he proselytized. One of his converts was his brother, Sylvester, who subsequently was ordained to the Catholic priesthood and appointed by Pope Pius X as the first bishop of Columbus, Ohio.

*William W. O'Donnell
Little Rock, Arkansas*

Editor's Note: A Union general? Bill, we said Christian soldier!

Gentlemen:

I was quite amused by Tnglfr@aol.com's letter (Third quarter 1997). In my opinion, time spent in the South among its culture and people does not adequately supply the necessary knowledge to understand Southerners. It all has to do with what a friend of mine terms "genetic recall." A Southerner is born with certain unexplainable characteristics in his blood. You have to be one to comprehend the phenomenon. The writer, James Lee Barrett, once summed it up quite well when he stated: "Every true Southerner is born with a ghost..." Genetic recall, my friends. Genetic recall.

*Cynthia A. Coan
Clayton, Georgia*

Gentlemen:

Just wanted to thank you for such a great magazine. Also, to let you know that there are still some "unreconstructed" Southerners left. I was recently terminated from a job for refusal to remove a Confederate Battle Flag sticker from my hard hat. Keep up the good work, and never surrender to those who want us to be "politically correct."

*Virgil Roberts
Liberty, Mississippi*

Gentlemen:

Good Lord! Now talk of sainthood for Princess Diana surfaces in *Southern Partisan* (Third Quarter)! After her separation with Prince

Charles she was little more than a common trollop, a symbol of the unfortunate decay that has infested many of Europe's formerly admirable noble houses. She epitomized the glitterati with whom she kept company. As Mr. Crocker points out, she cultivated and used the gutter press paparazzi when it suited her purposes. In the end, it was they—the monster she caressed and titilated—who may well have been responsible for her death.

*Boyd D. Cathey
Wendell, North Carolina*

★ DESIRED REACTION

Gentlemen:

In his recent article "Rebels All," (Third Quarter) William Shofner committed several leaps from logic and speculative stretches of reason. But his real sin was comparing the bravery and honor of Confederate soldiers to "those fearless freedom fighters who led the struggle for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s." I wonder if the editors of *Southern Partisan* just wanted to generate a little in-house controversy by publishing his praise of that movement of civil disobedience?

Currently in America there is no movement more praised than the civil rights movement in the South. The praise is in the textbooks, in the movies, on TV, and permeates our entire culture. It is generally accepted that the movement sped along the progress of the Black race and was victorious over a very oppressive Jim Crow South. The whites of the segregated South at times rival Hitler's Nazis as the greatest villains of history (according to Hollywood).

I would like to remind Mr. Shofner that in his hometown of Nashville, Tennessee the Jim Crow South offered Blacks a state-supported college then known as Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial; a well-known private college, Fisk; and a medical school, Meharry. I also maintain that academic standards of performance were higher at the segregated Black institutions across the South than many of the nominally integrated institutions of today. The

South of the 1950s was not Auschwitz and its authorities were not Nazis.

Statistics can measure the material gains and the higher standard of living achieved by Blacks since the 1950s. Yet there was progress in that direction before the sit-ins, marches, traffic blockages, and assorted demonstrations of the 1950s and 1960s. The first black female to enter the University of Arkansas Medical School did so in 1949. If the objective was to hasten such integration, was confrontational civil disobedience necessary?

Those acts of civil disobedience were defended as passive measures necessary because rights were being withheld from American citizens. It was supposedly correct to illegally block the entrance to a store because segregation laws were so unfair. When the police would come to remove the passive demonstrators the professional activist would be very disappointed if he could not provoke some sort of harsh response from the police so the news cameras could capture a politically useful image. Much of the time the police were remarkably restrained, but with skilled activists at work sometimes the police responded emotionally. Clubs were swung, police dogs sprang, and fire hoses were used (with water pressure strong enough to remove the bark from trees according to a current Alabama History high school textbook). What many of the activists really wanted was to provoke a matanza where the police would mow down a crowd of demonstrators. That did not happen in the South. Not even a northern Kent State event occurred. The murders of those involved in the civil rights movement were sporadic, often resulting in convictions of the most degraded of the South's citizenry, and did not surpass the rate of Whites murdered by Blacks.

It would be difficult for any people who long honor civil disobedience to maintain the line between justifiable disobedience and just plain disobedience. Thus the rate of blacks incarcerated has soared in many

states since the 1950s. The black illegitimacy rate has doubled nationwide.

What is more important to a Godly people, material gains or moral gains? Visiting Europe, Booker T. Washington took interest in certain moral weaknesses of the French (see *Up From Slavery*) because he thought American Blacks were in some ways morally superior to the French. How tragic it is that the moral strength of Black families has eroded due to a myriad of factors.

Alabama's Fayette County High School is today fully integrated. Blacks going there have access to all of the modern building's computers and facilities. Yet when it comes time to vote for class favorites, the ballots are segregated and students vote for one Black girl, one Black boy, one White girl, and one White boy. The segregated ballot is approved by community liberals, but is it not offensive? Does it not draw more attention than ever to one's race? Is it not proof that Booker T. Washington's dictum that "in things social we can be as separate as the fingers" was realistic? Did not civil rights laws of the 1960s trample upon the civil right of freedom of association? There were true friendships between whites and blacks during the 1950s. Today there are politically-pressured associations, but not greater numbers of true friendships.

For bravery, honor, and the good cause of self-determination, the civil rights workers of the 1960s are not comparable to the men in Gray who charged Hell itself at Franklin and so many other killing grounds. I honor Blacks who honorably served this nation in war and peace but I pay no homage to the so-called civil rights movement. Hollywood and Washington have already glorified the movement and its leaders ad nauseam.

Robert T. Meacham
Jackson's Gap, Alabama

Editor's Note: Mr. Meacham: Your comments are remarkably similar to those of James Meredith, a con-

servative Confederate flag supporter and the first black man to attend the University of Mississippi. Those who have begun interviews asking Mr. Meredith about his days in "the civil rights movement" are in for a blast of seismic proportions. Remember, the views of our writers are theirs and not necessarily those of the magazine.

★ RECREANTS R US

Gentlemen:

The historical recreancy you seem to propagate in your magazine, as well as your overall worldview, does not line up with the great men you so often patronize. You unashamedly paint the Yankee position as the only one that is haughty and depraved in nature. This portrayal flies in the face of what the Lord declares in His word, "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God." (Romans 3:23) Unfortunately this also applies to the South. We need Jesus Christ as Lord & Saviour of our lives, not Robert E. Lee or Abraham Lincoln.

I believe that history is very important, especially a proper understanding of history. However *Southern Partisan* is so caught up in the history of the Civil War and the Southern cause that you treat it as a god, as if the terrible war should be admired and fought over and over again. You focus on the constitutional arguments, which I appreciate, although I disagree with you conclusions. However what Biblical basis do you give for many of your positions? The great leaders of the South were fine Christian men with conviction. Did they understand what it was to be a slave? No. Did they understand Biblical authority? Maybe. Do you understand what it means to be an American?

Samuel P. Redfern
Purcellville, Virginia

Editor's Note: Mr. Redfern, are you sure you've read *Southern Partisan*? To start from the beginning, we are about the South and the Confederacy, unquestionably

Christian civilizations. We believe the South was right. To be true to our faith, just like Luther or Aquinas or Augustine, we must therefore defend that right against all comers. Unlike the history of the endarkened North, we have something to defend. And it is hard to separate our political convictions and our historical experience from our faith. If we could, we would fold our tent tomorrow and get on with life in these post-Christian times. In that vein, it is most curious for you to question our Confederate forefathers' "understand[ing] of Biblical authority." Aside from your firm grasp of the obvious (Romans 3:23), we are quite sure that the most illiterate man in gray understood more about the truths of scripture than you ever will.

★ JEFFERSON VS. JEFFERSON

Gentlemen:

I was delighted to see *Southern Partisan* review *The Constitutional Thought of Thomas Jefferson*, by my Capital University Law School colleague, David Mayer. Unfortunately, Constantine Gutzman's review, though intended to be generally positive, missed the essence of Professor Mayer's work, even in his praise.

Mr. Gutzman criticizes Mayer for including one chapter (of ten) on Jefferson and the Bill of Rights, arguing that Jefferson did not draft the first ten amendments, and that Jefferson and his contemporaries did not view the Bill of Rights as broadly as many do today. But the fact is, Jefferson did lobby hard (as hard as possible from his distant vantage as Minister to France) for a bill of rights. Moreover, it was a part of the Constitution while Jefferson was alive. Certainly, no book about Jefferson's Constitutional thought would be complete without a serious and thorough discussion of what he thought of the meaning and scope of the Bill of Rights. Moreover, such a discussion can help us better understand the proper construction of the Bill of Rights today.

Mr. Gutzman also complains that Mayer has a "preoccupation with libertarian implications of Jefferson's thought." Then he concludes by writing, "for the devotee of the period, or of things Jeffersonian, there is now much new...." But it is precisely Mayer's libertarian interpretation of Jefferson's thought, including an emphasis on the Bill of Rights, that is both new and important about this book.

For many conservatives, including no small number who write in *Southern Partisan*, it has become common to view libertarians as the enemy as much or more so than liberals. Yet as Mr. Gutzman notes, Mayer's libertarian Jefferson holds forth federalism as a central Constitutional value, supports limitations on the role of judiciary, and believes that the president must be "Bound by Chains of the Constitution" and that good government is rooted in "Jealousy, and Not in Confidence." Personally, Jefferson was morally upright. This is a libertarianism with which all readers of *Southern Partisan* should be able to live.

The libertarian philosophy that Mayer finds in Thomas Jefferson (as opposed to modern autonomy liberalism of the ACLU) is grounded in a moral vision of man. Libertarianism is based on a firm belief in reason and a natural order among men. Society is not made up of solitary individuals, but of individuals who have freely joined themselves to one another in a wide range of mutually dependent social groupings. Promise, trust, and commitment are the essential moral qualities of this libertarian view. Modern autonomy liberals, on the other hand, reject reason and voluntary association in favor of individual will. For this reason they insist on a right to privacy, walling off individuals as the only way to prevent a constant clash of individual wills, while at the same time supporting coercive state intervention into select areas of life on the theory that the will of some must triumph over the freedom of others. In the liberal view, the government, rather than private contract and voluntary social institutions, will serve as referee between

competing wills, determining, for example, whom one can reject for a job, and for what reasons, or who must pay for whose entertainment or perceived necessities. At the same time, the government will protect each individual with a cloak of privacy, in order to indulge the will against efforts to enforce the trust and commitment on which society thrives.

Law Professor David Forte, a traditional Christian Conservative, has written of his own change of opinion toward libertarians: "I used to think there was not much difference between libertarianism and autonomy liberalism...but now I have come to realize that autonomy liberalism and libertarianism are polar opposite, for they are based on antithetical notions of what the human person is."

After reviewing the philosophical underpinnings of libertarianism and the philosophy of America's Founders, Forte continues: "For the founders, a constitutional order was essential to liberty. Liberty was essential to virtue. And a virtuous people was essential to the maintenance of a constitutional order. In the minds of the American patriots, the three elements were indissolubly linked..."

"The alliance between liberty and virtue, between libertarians and social conservatives . . . won the American Revolution. Thus the alliance between libertarians and social conservatives is both necessary and natural. It is necessary, for separately, they will be defeated by the statists and the champions of arbitrary power. But together as a coalition, they become very difficult to defeat. In fact, such a coalition naturally attracts that other consistent value in American society: equality. For there is no equality between persons except in the dignity and worth in which each is regarded. There can be no greater worth than equal liberty for all. There can be no greater dignity than equal responsibility of all to grow in virtue. The alliance between liberty and social conservatism is also natural because a liberty that fails to increase virtue is not worth it, and a virtuous person without freedom is a contradiction in terms."

Mayer's Jefferson epitomizes the natural but oft-missed harmony between conservatism and libertarianism. This alliance remains essential if modern autonomy liberalism's destructive tendencies are to be held in check and ultimately reversed. But Mr. Gutzman is so frightened of this natural ally of conservatism that he can only criticize Mayer's effort to show this libertarian Jefferson, and, having thus dismissed this effort, suggest that the book has "not much that is new."

*Bradley A. Smith
Capital University Law School
Columbus, Ohio*

Mr. Gutzman responds:

To state that Jefferson was not a consistent libertarian, if he was a libertarian at all, is not anti-libertarian. Rejection of the idea that Jefferson's views on the U.S. Bill of Rights are relevant to the proper interpretation of the Bill of Rights is not anti-Bill of Rights, for he was neither a drafter nor a ratifier. Equation of Jefferson's politics with the various strands of libertarianism with which Prof. Mayer equates them is not new. Nor, it seems, does Mr. Smith have any idea what my political and social views are. As to the rest, I stand by my review.

★ IN TENTS

Gentlemen:

In reference to Mr. Hilldrup's Devoutly Speaking, I know of two camp meeting places in our area that still hold services of a weeks duration in the summer, one Davidson Campground is about 12 miles from Arkadelphia, Arkansas and is a Methodist Campground, complete with brush arbors and small cottages. Some Southern traditions live on despite all out war on our heritage.

*Rick Steed
Chidester, Arkansas*

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The Good, the Bad and the Ugly: Arkansas Style

BY RICHARD QUINN

As usual, the national news media got it all wrong, backwards in fact. They treated the tragedy in Jonesboro, Arkansas (where two children shot several classmates and a teacher) as bad news not merely for the victims but for the town itself. Jonesboro was portrayed as a prototypical example of the gun-happy rural South, where hunting is a way of life and children are trained to have an itchy trigger finger.

Then, a few days later, the same reporters treated the story out of Little Rock (where Judge Susan Webber Wright denied Paula Jones her day in court) as good news: a correct decision by a courageous judge who carefully and objectively weighed the evidence against Bill Clinton and decided that a trial just wasn't really necessary after all. Between the two (Jonesboro and Little Rock) it was the story out of Little Rock that best captured the connection between the ugliness of human nature and the particularities of the surrounding culture.

The pro-Clinton media never tires of pointing out that Judge Wright is a Republican who was appointed by President Bush. Well, Mr. Bush also appointed Supreme Court Justice David Souter who has rendered few if any conservative judgments on the high court. What journalists who cover the Paula Jones story fail to mention often enough is that Judge Wright once studied law under Professor Bill Clinton. It seems that Clinton lost the final exams for her section and offered the entire class a B+ on the test. Wright rejected Clinton's offer, sat for the exam again, and received an A for the course. One would think that such personal history would lead a fair-minded judge to

recuse herself in a case involving a man she knew so well and to whom she was obligated for a past favor. Such nuances apparently don't count for much in Little Rock.

Let us also not forget that this same Judge Wright, by an earlier ruling in the Paula Jones case, took the position that the case should be postponed until after the end of the Clinton presidency. Her decision in that instance was later overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court which decided in a landmark ruling that a sitting president accused of a criminal act could not postpone accountability in the courts.

What we have then is this: a Little Rock judge first tried to postpone the Jones case against Clinton until after the year 2000. Failing in her effort to delay it, she waited a while and then tossed out the case against her former law professor altogether. And for this her name is called courage.

But national commentators are happy to tell us that the shootings in Jonesboro reveal the dark side of Southern culture. And they are happy to use that tragedy as an opportunity to renew the call for more federal gun control and for more hostility toward the life of the rural South.

The truth is Jonesboro is a much better place than Little Rock. Obviously the killings were bizarre and senseless. But it was in fact "news" because terrible things like that don't often happen in small Southern towns. You could see from the television news coverage that the entire town was in a state of shock. It was as if their world had come to an end. And in a way it had. Innocence had been murdered.

Ironically, the week the news about the shootings in Jonesboro broke, a public service advertisement

was being aired nationally revealing the latest statistics on youth violence from the U.S. Department of Justice. The spokesman for the commercial was a young male actor who tells us he survived being shot as a kid. "But," he says, "others aren't so lucky." Every day, the ad tells us, ten children are shot and killed in the major cities of America. Ten children a day!

In other words, lethal violence is so commonplace in the big cities of America that we don't even hear about it on the nightly news. But that sort of violence is so rare in places like Jonesboro, Arkansas that it's a major story. And major commentators, who live in cities where the streets run red with blood, begin to lecture Southerners on what a violent culture we have, on how obsessed we are with guns and on how evil it is to take our children hunting in the woods.

There is much that is good, bad and ugly in Arkansas and in the rest of America. We see a lot of all three every day. But if there's anything left that's wholesome in America, we are more likely to find it in the rural South than on the streets of LA or Chicago.

So, let's pray for the good people of Jonesboro, Arkansas during their time of sadness; and let us also pray that their suffering will not be increased by the smug opinion-givers who love to ridicule simple, unsophisticated people. In the meantime, if national editorial writers and TV pundits ever decide to criticize the South for having produced Bill Clinton, maybe we'll listen and start feeling a little ashamed. ♣

Richard Quinn is editor-in-chief of Southern Partisan.

Thoughts on the GOP

BY P. J. BYRNES

In the Partisan Letters sections of this issue, *Southern Partisan* prints a letter from a reader who complains that we were too Republican. I'm inclined to agree—with qualifications.

First, the qualifications.

As the result of a 35-year trend, the South is now a predominantly Republican region, and becoming more Republican with each passing day. As a consequence of this long-term drift toward the GOP, Southern politics have become Republican politics. Hence the *Partisan's* inevitable preoccupation with the Republican Party. (Forty years ago the magazine would probably have focused on the Democratic Party.)

Having said that much, I agree that we've tended to be less critical of the GOP than we should have been. In order to correct that imbalance, let me offer a few observations.

1. The Republican Party is more to blame than the Democratic Party for what's wrong with the country.

In every society, you have those who are happy with the status quo and those who want to change everything. The tension between these two groups usually produces good public policy because a society can consider innovation without losing its sense of identity.

In recent decades, the Democratic Party has become the Party of Change. Its leaders want to scrap the old federal system and center all power in Washington. They want to exchange a relatively free market for a highly controlled economy. They want to use government to alter the traditional roles of men and women. And they want to bring official pressure on religious Americans to surrender their biblical values.

In other words, the Democratic Party is pushing for radical change. In a sense, that's what one party always does.

But the system only works if the other party resists irresponsible change with sufficient strength and conviction to hold society together. Is the GOP the Party of Tradition? Clearly not.

For example, the GOP leadership on Capitol Hill has been quietly cooperating with the Democrats on a whole gaggle of bills designed to undermine the traditional values of the nation.

- Congress continues to fund abortion and the gay rights movement under Republican leadership just as it did under the Democrats.

- The Republicans have made no attempt to reverse what the Democrats have done to our national defense capability. If we ever go to war again, our politically correct armed forces will be reduced to scratching, kicking, and pulling the enemy's hair.

- The Republicans have continued to fund the educational initiatives of the Left, including *Goals 2000*, which has as its ultimate purpose nothing less than a federal takeover of local schools and an all-out attack on the authority of parents.

- The Republicans are as supportive of the Balkanization of America as the Democrats were. Recently, the Republican House passed a bill promoting statehood for Puerto Rico.

In fact, Republicans have joined Democrats in diligently hacking away at the religious and cultural foundations on which the nation was built, with only slightly less enthusiasm. The chief difference: GOP leaders have paid lip service to traditional values, thereby adding hypocrisy to their sins.

2. The Republican Party is controlled by a bunch of rich moderates, who have no intention of allowing the conservative wing of the party to govern.

Though the Religious Right and other hardline conservatives provide the GOP with its grassroots organization, the fat cats bankroll campaigns; and they have no intention of letting conservatives gain control. Every time a charismatic conservative leader rises to national prominence, liberal Republicans slander him in the primaries; and if he wins the nomination, they often run their own candidate on a third-party ticket.

The big money crowd—which is just as adamantly liberal on social issues as Jerry Falwell is conservative—simply won't compromise on these matters, so political valets like Gingrich, Dole, and Lott work behind the scenes with the liberals.

3. The Christian Coalition under Ralph Reed effectively ruined any chance for conservatives to have a real voice in the GOP.

The behavior of Ralph Reed and the Christian Coalition over the four-year period following Bush's defeat may have been the most cynical subversion of a political movement in the nation's history. Supporting liberals over conservatives in statewide elections (e.g., the Pennsylvania gubernatorial campaign), Reed's army of True Believers unwittingly followed their leaders, who scrapped the social issues that brought them together and supported the GOP vision of a New World Order.

Ralph Reed's "social contract," published in time for the presidential primaries, was a negotiated surrender of Christian forces to Corporate America—and a sly validation of Bob Dole, who had done everything in his power to promote the liberal social agenda. Reed is the Benedict Arnold of the Christian Right. He may have destroyed forever the opportunity to transform the GOP into the Party of Tradition. Instead, it is the Party of Equivocation. ❖

P. J. Byrnes is currently writing a book on prison reform.

Yes, Virginia There is a New Governor

When Republican George Allen was running for governor of Virginia two years ago, the media made much of the fact that he displayed a Confederate Battle Flag in his vacation home. Allen dodged the issue artfully without either repudiating or defending the flag, which proved that he was well-qualified to be Governor of Virginia in the 1990s.

The Allen Administration, however, turned out to be mostly pro-Confederate, for which we are grateful. Allen regularly proclaimed the month of April Confederate History & Heritage Month to honor those who shed blood for the Old Dominion. For his efforts, he was of course savaged by the NAACP, but he more or less stood his ground as much as possible under the circumstances.

Now a new pharaoh is on the throne in Virginia and Confederate History & Heritage Month is out the door. According to the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, Governor James Gilmore has announced that he will issue a new proclamation to include everyone. "There was slavery in this state abusive to people," Gilmore said. "The proclamation will reflect the complete society."

Let's get this straight. February is Black History Month, March is Women's History Month. The last time we checked, we were not all black women. So, if we really want all-inclusive holidays, why not a Gay Pride-Gay Bashers Day. Or how about a NASCAR race called the UAW / GM 500 to include everyone with an interest in automobiles?

And let's not forget matters of religion and church history. We must never celebrate Christmas or Easter without giving full and equal attention to those who worship the anti-Christ. And what about all those days, weeks and months we set aside to focus on children or immigrants or the mentally retarded. Are we not neglecting native American adults

with high IQ's? Where's your commitment to inclusivity, Governor?

No, what we have here is a simple exception of one. According to Happy Gilmore, everyone is entitled to a heritage of feel-good pride except Southerners who revere the historic Confederacy.

Stay tuned. Governor Gilmore's next proclamation will require that on Confederate holidays all Virginians with Confederate ancestors will wear ash cloth and hang their heads at half mast and moan audibly, just to show how fully we have come to understand the politics of the new regime.

No, Reverend, I Wasn't Praying

We've tried to keep you up to date on what's happening in DeKalb County, Alabama, where U.S. District Judge Ira DeMent has declared prayer (or anything like it) to be utterly unconstitutional. We told you last time that a "prayer policeman" would soon be appointed to monitor the halls of the 13 county schools to make sure no one was violating DeMent's rule.

Now comes word that the federal court has indeed hired its man. Working with the ACLU to help enforce Judge DeMent anti-prayer rule will be . . . *a Baptist minister*. Yep. His name is Chriss Doss, a Samford University law professor who is also an ordained Southern Baptist preacher.

Gary Holcombe, the head of the pro-prayer United We Stand, thinks Doss is a disgrace to his KJV. Dean Young of the Christian Family Association agrees, telling its members that "a true minister would never be in alliance with the ACLU [to] deny school children the right to have voluntary prayer or voluntary Bible reading. . ."

Having a Baptist minister in cahoots with the feds give out a 1-800 number where you can call to report people for praying (which he

did) is rather frightening. It sounds like they could have used Judge DeMent's enforcement ideas in the Soviet Union before the fall. So, if you have a moment or two, pray for the children of DeKalb County. But don't let Reverend Doss catch you.

Weaver Lives

The unique contribution of Richard Weaver to American conservative thought was the theme of a recent conference hosted by Belmont Abbey College near Charlotte, North Carolina. The humble native of Weaverville, North Carolina would probably have been surprised to see his *Ideas Have Consequences* studied so carefully at a seminar of scholars.

Some in the group of over 100 remembered the book's arrival fifty years ago and the great stir caused by its indictment of modern life. Others in the room (at least the *Southern Partisan* subscribers who were present) saw in Weaver a critique not only of the modern age, but of the modern *Yankee Age* in which the Almighty Dollar seeks to obscure and destroy all other systems of value.

Richard Weaver's ideas will have consequences for all time because they embrace truth at a level where it does not change. The social commentary of Weaver and the Agrarians he knew so well drives every page of this magazine. To many of us, Weaver is a prophet whose power has grown over the years. And while Weaver, a Tarheel, paid some service to the modern age by agreeing to teach at the University of Chicago, to his credit he always knew, when he boarded the train to Weaverville, that he was coming home.

Jesse Jackson, II

Jesse Jackson, Jr. may actually be worse than his old man. Little Jesse recently took a tour of Sharpsburg, Gettysburg, Andersonville, and Stone Mountain to brush up

on his history. At the end of his junket, he sounded like he'd spent the day with Ken Burns. "If you legitimize Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson, and Robert E. Lee, you also legitimize the philosophy of secession," he said while gazing at Stone Mountain, "no one wants to acknowledge their treachery against America."

Treachery against America, huh? Well, we can say this much for Jeff Davis and his cohorts. They never extorted money from corporations to support their own cause, they never referred to New York as "Hymietown" and they never consorted with foreign governments to embarrass their own. Most of all, they didn't hang out with odd birds

like Louis Farrakhan who preach hatred of entire races and cultures. So, if Little Jesse wants to talk about treachery against America, he doesn't need to visit Stone Mountain. He only has to glance at one limb below himself on the family tree.

Immigration and the South

New research shows that American workers are losing \$133 billion a year in wages as a result of immigration. That's because the USA is growing by over 60,000 people per *week*. And though 70% of Americans want to cut immigration to no more than 300,000 a year,

nothing is being done. Certainly not by World Citizen Bill Clinton and Economic Growth Guru Newt Gingrich. Sam Francis, who contributes to these pages, has written extensively on this subject. It is an issue neither political party seems willing to address.

Unlike in the last century, the South is not immune to the immigration problem. In fact, open borders may be the quickest way to make Tuscaloosa look like Chicago. That's a march more dangerous than Sherman's. One can recover from fire and physical destruction. But the Tower of Babel leaves no ashes from which to rise. When a culture truly dies, it does not come back. ☛

Scalawag Award

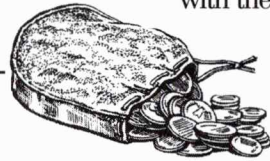
Slammed In Sarasota

It is a sad day indeed for the South when we get better treatment in the *New York Times* (NYT) than we do in our own regional dailies. But that's exactly what happened on March 15 (the Ides of March) this year.

Here's the background:

In early March, the *NYT* published a major article on the South in its Arts & Ideas section. The article entitled "Could the Old South Be Resurrected? Cherished Ideas of the Confederacy (Not Slavery) Find New Backers" was by Peter Applebome, and it was a well-written and reasonably fair article, certainly as even-handed as we could ever expect to get from *NYT*. The point of it was to present the ideas of the neo-Confederates of today (this magazine included) who are bringing new attention to Old South ideas like states' rights, honor and civility that have nothing to do

with the issue of race.



The *Times* illustrated its article with several excellent visuals, including a photograph of a group of rebel soldiers taken just before the first Battle of what the Yankees call "Bull Run" posing for the camera with youthful enthusiasm and innocence stamped on their faces. Another visual showed a campaign button for Jeff Davis "the right man in the right place, our first president." And then there was a political cartoon showing Lincoln and Davis engaged in a tug of war with a map of America, causing it to rip down the middle. An interesting article, well-illustrated in of all places *the New York Times*. So what happened next?

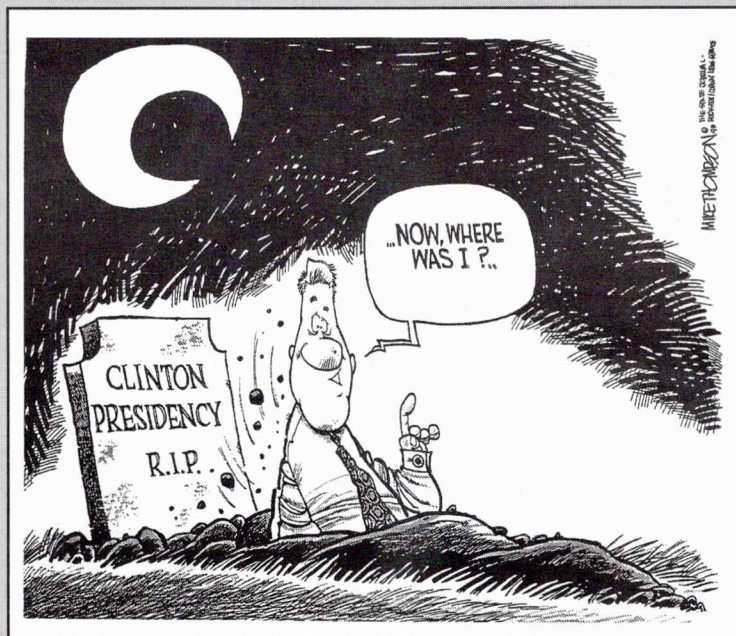
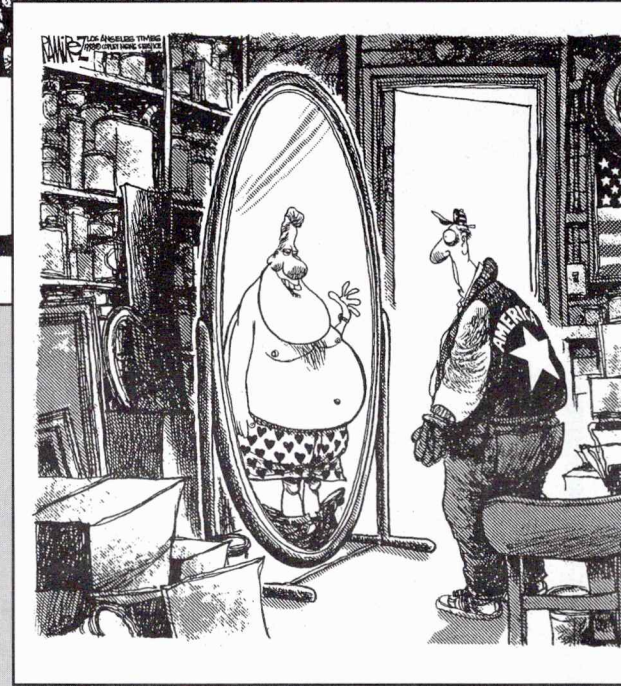
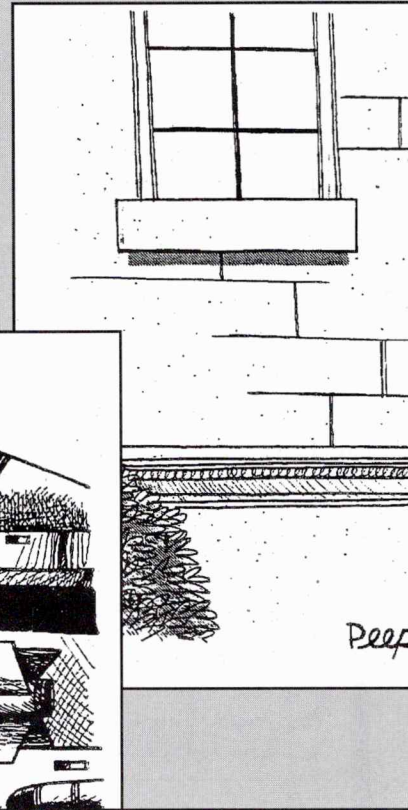
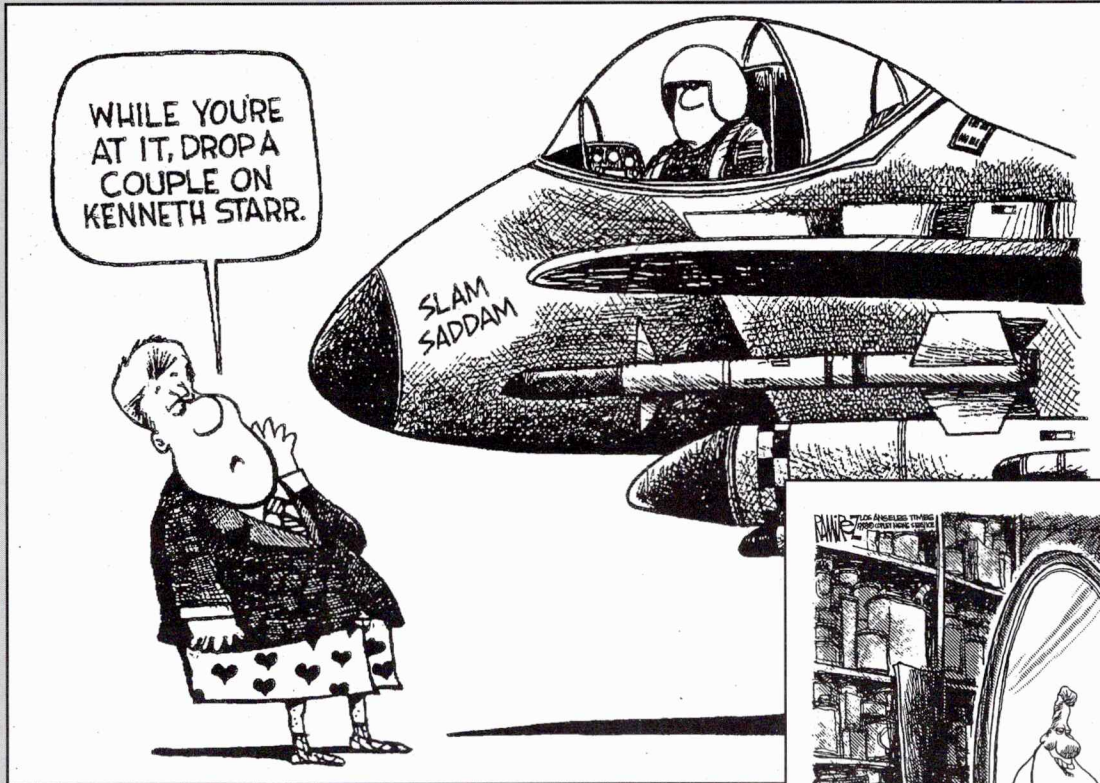
The *Times* article went out on the wires and was picked up by dailies who subscribe all over the country, including a paper in Sarasota, Florida called the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. Same article. Same author. But the feel of it was entirely different. A huge new headline in a bizarre, distorted type-style proclaimed "Southern Perspectives." At left was an illustration of the Confederate Battle Flag and below it a hooded member of the Ku Klux

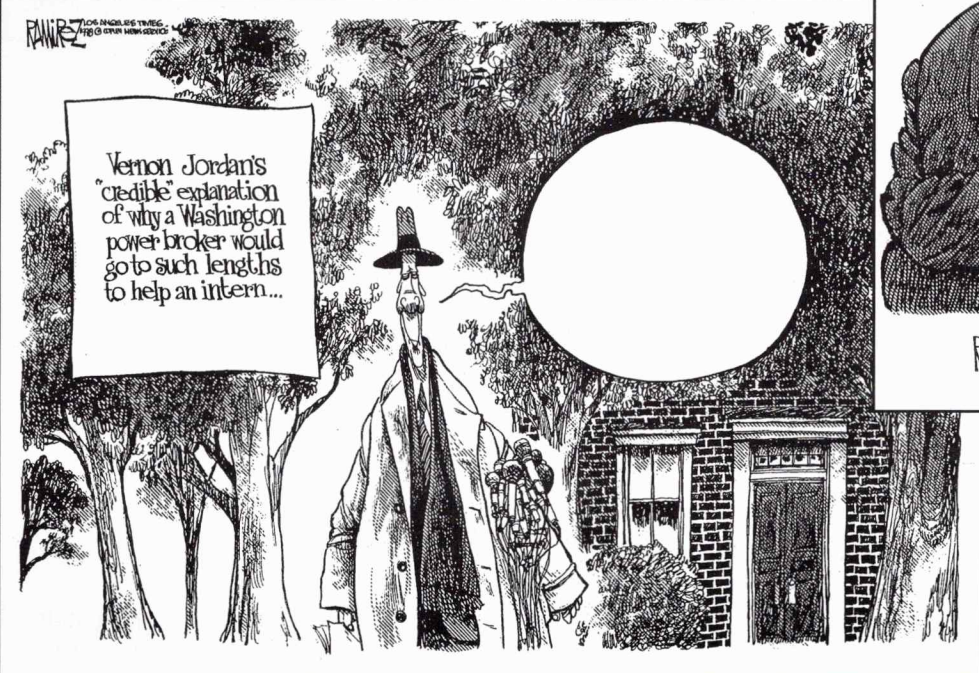
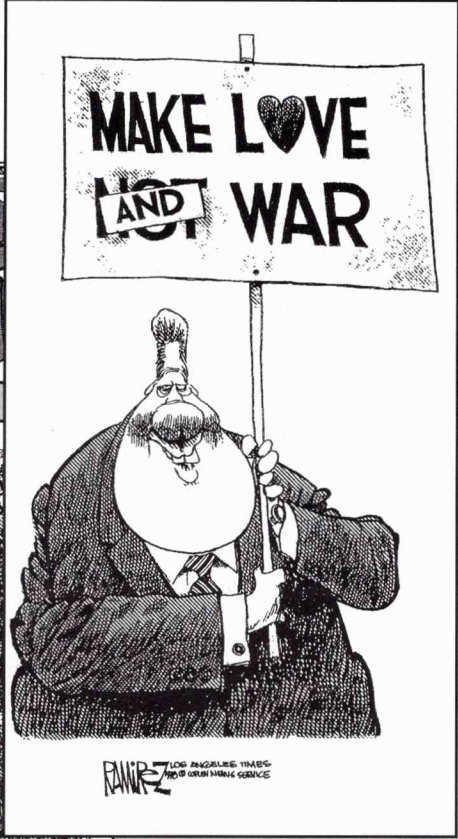
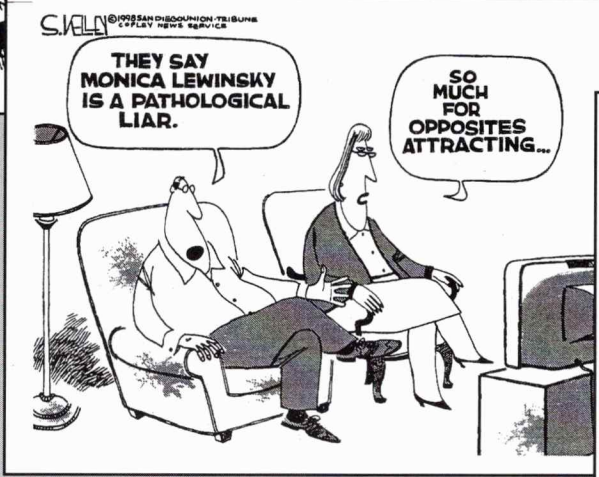
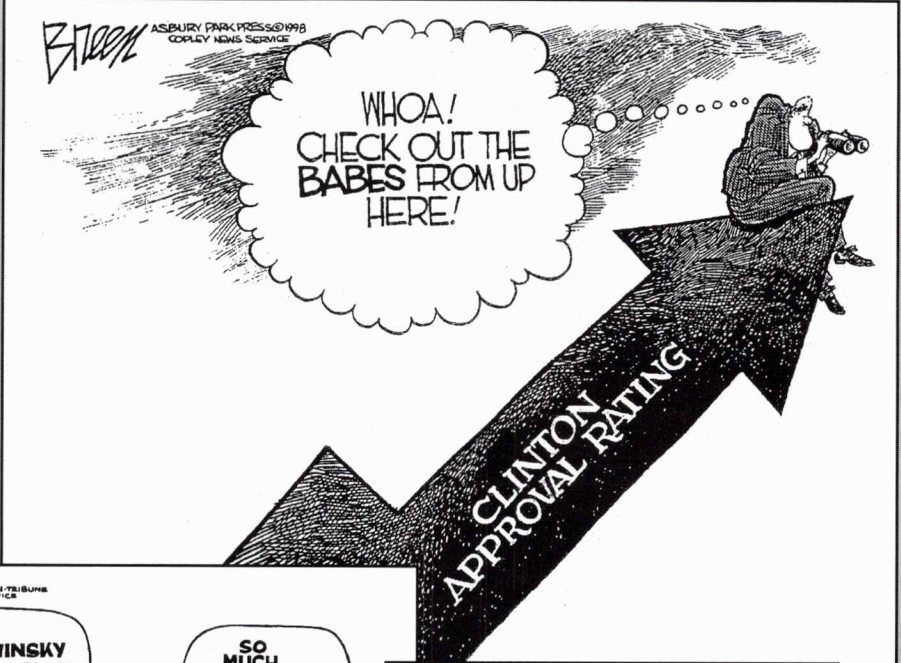
Klan standing in front of a fiery cross with his arms outstretched. The cut-line identified the Klan and the flag as part of the "Southern legacy" which claim was not even a part of the article.

We don't know whether any of the editors responsible for publishing the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* are Southerners. Unfortunately most of the chain-owned dailies across the South seem to be engaged in a systematic campaign to re-assign natives and haul in editors from far away places. It's part of the movement in journalism (now almost complete) to give all the newspapers of America a left-leaning, politically fashionable sameness.

If indeed there are any Southerners at the *Herald-Tribune*, they should be ashamed of themselves. In their urgent effort to please outsiders who malign the South, they have now even exceeded the nastiness of the outsiders and for their efforts, we select the news editors in Sarasota as our Scalawags for this issue. And to them we make this modest request: In the future, as you cover the South, just don't be any more hateful than the *New York Times*. Your readers will appreciate the improvement. ☛

PARTISAN *toons*





CSA TODAY



ALABAMA



Able Was I Ere I Saw Elba

We've never understood the weather, and we still don't. That's why we've invented a weather god named El Nino and blamed everything on him.

El Nino has been particularly hard on the people of Elba, who have been flooded more than once in the past few years. But, despite recent troubles, it isn't El Nino they're worried about these days. It's El Controllo, god of social planning. Disaster officials are now walking the streets of Elba—brows furrowed, clipboards in hand—busily plotting the future of the town.

It seems they want to move Elba somewhere else so this kind of disaster won't occur again. Never mind that people own homes and property there. It would be so much more sensible, if the town were located elsewhere.

We understand they've chosen a site just outside of Death Valley, where the flooding problem is minimal.



ARKANSAS

Body Count

The death of James McDoughal, Kenneth Starr's chief witness in the Whitewater investigation, has raised a number of eyebrows. For years, Slick Willie watchers have been counting the number of Clinton enemies who haven't lived to tell the tale. The body count is impressive—if you believe the counters. Now McDoughal, who may have known where all these bodies are buried, has joined the growing list.

If Monica Lewinsky is carried away by the fever, we'll be real suspicious.



FLORIDA

First Things First

Pollo Tropical, a restaurant chain based in Miami, is about to sue a competitor over the name of a menu item.

It seems that Chili's, based in Texas, has named one of its appetizers a "Mombo Combo." But it introduced this new delicacy to its menu two months after Pollo Tropical had first offered the Combo Mambo to its customers.

So why in heaven's name is this such a big deal?

As Miami lawyer David Freidland explained it, "Our menu items and their menu items are sufficiently related that it's a problem."

A recent Justice Department report revealed that granting bond to defendants while they await trial is inflating the crime rate. Fifteen percent of all criminals out on bail commit another offense — and usually the same offense. As a matter of fact, 208 murderers on Death Row killed while they were out on bond.

And in some cases, accused murderers aren't brought to trial for years because court dockets are so clogged.

And with what? Mombo Combo.

As Shakespeare put it: "The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers."



GEORGIA

Billy Who?

The 1996 Summer Olympics probably did as much to publicize Atlanta as did William Tecumseh Sherman. It was put on by a vulgar, pig-eyed crowd that attempted to hide Stone Mountain, while aggressively promoting gay rights. This same crew was behind the unsuccessful push to remove the battle flag from the Georgia state flag and expunge the Confederate past from the world's collective memory. Now the same folks who were embarrassed by the granite

friezes of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson want to erect a larger-than-life bronze statue to—Billy Payne.

Who's Billy Payne?

Why, he's the entrepreneur most responsible for bringing the Olympics to Atlanta. Next someone will raise a statue to the man most responsible for bringing firewater to the Indians.

An alternative suggestion: How about a statue to Richard Jewell?



KENTUCKY

Just Plane Nonsense

Four Air Force officers parachuted near Mexico, Kentucky after the cockpit of their plane suddenly filled with smoke. In their haste, they bailed out without making any attempt to influence where the plane would crash.

The aircraft, with a mind of its own, flew unmanned for twelve miles, passed over a community of over 3,000 people, and ditched itself in a muddy cow pasture near Mexico, Kentucky.

Billy Wayne Baird of Mexico picked up a bruised and scratched crew member who was walking along a rural road.

"I told him the plane went ahead and crashed," said Baird.

He might have added that the plane had more common sense than any of the crewmen.



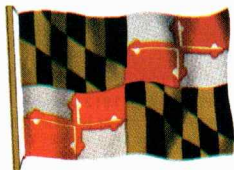
LOUISIANA

Huey's Legacy

You may have heard this one but we hadn't.

A year ago the state of Louisiana sold all of its old voting machines to Mexico.

Last week, Edwin Edwards was elected Governor of Chihuahua.



MARYLAND

Extradition Contention

If you think the New Internationalism will solve more problems than it will cause, take a look at what's happened in Montgomery County, where Samuel Sheinbein, now in Israel, is wanted for murder.

Israel has refused to extradite the 17-

year-old Sheinbein so that he can stand trial. The counter proposal from an Israeli judge—that Sheinbein be tried in Maryland and, if convicted, serve his sentence in Israel.

Maryland Prosecutor Robert Dean termed the proposal "unacceptable."

This is the second case in recent months where a foreign government has refused to extradite an accused killer for trial in this country. And just when we're being told that international barriers are falling down. When Israeli courts have asked us to extradite American citizens to be tried as war criminals, we've always obliged—despite public protest.

Maybe it's just *our* barriers that are supposed to come down.



MISSISSIPPI

Legends and Myths

Frank Williams of Jackson writes that he's never seen a ghost, but he's certainly heard one.

"Jimmie Rodgers, the first big country music recording artist, is buried here, and I've walked past the cemetery a number of times, occasionally late at night.

"A week ago Thursday I was walking along the road when I heard a far-off echo, like a voice coming out of a barrel. It came from the cemetery. I have never believed in ghosts and still don't so I wasn't too disturbed. I figured it was a couple of high school kids out for a joy ride.

"Then, as I listened more carefully, I could identify the sound. It was yodeling. More specifically, it was Blue Yodel Number Three, and there was no mistaking the voice. It was Jimmie Rodgers. It was coming from that grave, and I didn't see nobody around with a record player. As I say, I don't believe in ghosts, but I ran like hell."

* * * * *

You know how Southerners are, particularly Republicans—bigoted, racist, sexist. Somewhere, at this very moment, someone is writing a book or shooting a film to prove this known fact.

Meanwhile, In Biloxi, the Southern Republican Leadership Conference met to discuss the future of the party. In straw poll for vice president, Elizabeth Dole—a North Carolinian—came in second. So much for sexism.

Who came in first? Oh, yes—J.C. Watts of Oklahoma, the only black Republican member of the House.





MISSOURI

Dead Man Donating

In Missouri, the legislature is considering a proposition that would allow Death Row inmates to donate their vital organs in exchange for a sentence of life without parole. The sponsor of this legislation, Rep. Chuck Graham, has named it the “life for a life” bill.

Milton V. Griffin thinks this is a great idea, that he would be perfectly willing to give bone marrow or a kidney in exchange for his life. Griffin — who was convicted of choking, beating, and stabbing a man to death — says, “[With such a law], I can give back to the community.”

A generous spirit.

But Rep. Graham could garner more support for his bill if it allowed Death Row prisoners to avoid execution by donating *all* their organs.



NORTH CAROLINA

Saints and Sinners

What you’re about to read is not—repeat—*not news*. It isn’t interesting or significant. It doesn’t deserve to be passed along to the general public. It tells us nothing about the society in which we live.

It’s so irrelevant that the network news ignored it, the radio neglected to mention it, and the nation’s largest newspapers talked about other matters.

So forget the following: Within a week, four predominantly white churches in Charlotte were deliberately burned down by an unknown arsonist.

Forgotten it already, haven’t you?

* * * * *

If government would just leave people alone, they could solve their problems. In Bessemer City four men were living in a wooded area near the 11th Street underpass. They’d constructed a lean-to, dug a barbecue pit, lined it with stones, and hauled in a few old mattresses to sleep on. Local folks called the spot “the Greenleaf Motel.”

Then along came the police with a bulldozer and leveled the place. The *Charlotte Observer* quoted Officer David McCulloch as saying the men “are as nice as they can be. They just walk around town and they don’t bother anybody.”

So what do the police plan to do with these men? McCulloch said, “I’ll try to come back here and right before it gets dark to try to get them to a shelter if I can.”

The problem is, you can’t drink in a shelter. (More government regulations.) Why don’t the cops leave law abiding self-sufficient folks alone?



OKLAHOMA

Completed Pass

Rumor has it that former NFL superstar Steve Largent is planning to run for Governor of Oklahoma rather than remain in Congress and fight with the Great Dictator. Largent is fearless, honest, principled — and conservative. Supporters say he could be a presidential candidate in the twinkling of an eye, that he has the same kind of charisma as Ronald Reagan.



SOUTH CAROLINA

One Man’s Stand

Henry Ingram, Jr. is a man with a long memory.

He currently owns Delta Plantation, located near Hardeeville; and he wants to make certain that what happened to his property in 1865 never happens again.

In January of that year, William Tecumseh Sherman burned the place to the ground. With that atrocity in mind, Ingram has filed a deed in the county courthouse that prohibits sale of the plantation to anyone who was born above the Mason-Dixon line or who has lived in the North for more than a year.

He has also excluded anyone named Sherman, no matter where he was born.

As he told the *Beaufort Gazette*, “This is the prettiest piece of land in the county, and I want to keep it that way. I want to make sure that no one has access to it that I don’t want to be there.”

Just to make sure that he’s not accused of racism, Ingram stipulated that “Southern persons of African descent” could buy the place at a 10 percent discount.

Ingram has been living at the Hilton Head resort community, and is concerned about the flux of Yankees into the state. As he put it in an interview with the *Savannah Morning News*, “Slowly but surely they’ve taken over Hilton Head, they’ve taken over Beaufort County. They’re infiltrating Jasper County. They’re worse than fire ants.”



TENNESSEE

Back in the Saddle

Ken Berryhill, world-wide country music disk jockey, is back in Nashville after a lifetime of travels throughout the South. Berryhill first surfaced in Memphis during the 1940s as the nation's youngest disk jockey. Later he became famous as the "Bad Boy of Radio," delighting and infuriating listeners with such gags as playing a solid hour of nothing but the Saber Dance.

As a college student, he started the Old Record Shop, an hour-long radio show featuring collector items from the past. This show is still syndicated worldwide. Originating on WMAK in Nashville, the show attracted the attention of the greatest country music performers of that day, many of whom eventually became guests on the show. At that point, Berryhill became a country music fan and eventually the most widely heard country music disk jockey in the world.



TEXAS

Predators Galore

Helen Feick, president of the South Central Llama Association, is touting llamas as the best solution to marauding coyotes and other wild animals.

Breeders are now training watch-llamas to protect ranchers and their households from the predators of the plains.

Lamas, says Feick, can get the job done.

"They just stomp the bejesus out of them," she says. "They seem to enjoy it."

Texans are skeptical. They've seen these exotic animals come and go.

As one Bertram cattle rancher put it: "Those llama people are just like emu people."

* * * * *

Another stereotype is gunned down in the streets of a tumbleweed Texas town.

Before Oprah Winfrey came to Amarillo for her much-publicized trial, she sent a team of security experts to investigate that dark West Texas scene, just to make certain she wouldn't be shot in the back by some bushwhacker or that—no kidding, folks—her dogs wouldn't be poisoned.

After the trial was over, she said, "I am grateful for the kindness of strangers. I'll miss Amarillo. I'll miss the sunsets and sunrises."



VIRGINIA

Good Old Mountain Dew

You've heard of family feuds? Well, the Stanleys of Martinsville—whose family business is moonshining—have given the phrase new meaning.

Last year, Jason Stanley was shot by his father but managed to survive the assault. This year the 24-year-old Jason was shot again, by his brother Scott. This time Jason died, and police charged Scott with murder in the second degree, after finding signs of struggle around the moonshine vats. ☹

IS THE WAR OVER?

Perhaps, but the Cause lives on!

The Southern Heritage Association is dedicated to forging a cohesive strategy not only to defend the symbols of the South but also to promote and the principles and ideals for which so many Southerners suffered and died.

The causes for which our ancestors fought are not over. In fact they have hardly disappeared from the nation's headlines.

The SHA is committed to preserving the ideals of traditional values and constitutional government.



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THE TRIAL OF THE CENTURY

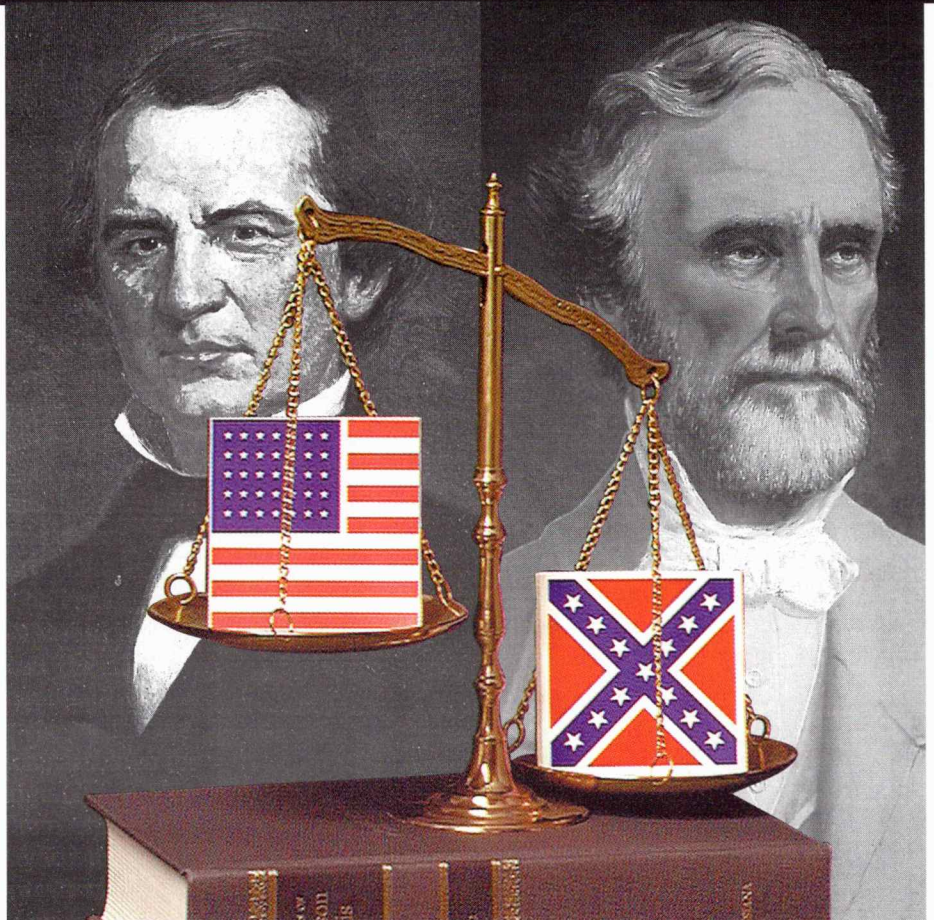
BY CHARLES ADAMS

During the second week of May 1865, Andrew Johnson and his cabinet received exciting news. Jefferson Davis had been captured in Georgia on May 10th less than a month after the government had offered a \$100,000 reward for his capture. The cabinet was jubilant and cheered the news. They immediately made plans to try the leader of the Confederacy for treason, in a great public state trial — the trial of the century. They'd hang the rascal by the neck for the world to see how traitors should be dealt with. Hanging old Jeff Davis would be the final nail in the coffin of the Confederate cause. It was indeed a time to celebrate, and the news quickly spread throughout the country. In Iowa City three men offered the federal government \$300,000 for the right to travel around the country and exhibit Davis in a dress—the disguise Davis had used to avoid capture.

The press was jubilant as well. The *New York Times* ran this editorial on the captured leader of the South. He was —

a murderer, a cruel slave owner whose servants all ran away, a liar, a boaster, a fanatic, a confessed failure, a hater, a political adventurer, a supporter of outcasts and outlaws, a drunkard, an atrocious mis-representer, an assassin, an incendiary, a criminal who was gratified by the assassination of Lincoln, a henpecked husband, a man so shameless that he would try to escape capture by disguising himself as a woman, a supporter of murder plots, an insubordinate soldier, an unwholesome sleeper, and a malingerer.

Jefferson Davis, of course, was never tried, and even to this day Northern historians assert that Davis



United States v.

was lucky. He would surely have been convicted and quickly hanged. The most recent biography of Davis, by a popular Civil War historian, William C. Davis, who reviews books on the war for the History Book Club and movies on the History Channel, wrote in 1991:

It is well for him that he never went to trial, however, for *certainly* he would not have prevailed. [emphasis added]

Any lawyer with criminal trial experience would not agree with this, especially so if Jefferson Davis would have been given a fair trial as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. In 1987, another historian, Professor Edward K. Eckert, took the opposite view from William C.

Davis:

But the trial would never be held. The federal government knew that it could not try Davis for treason without raising the constitutional issue of secession...Since any trial would have to take place in Virginia, where the "crime" had been committed, the federal government wisely recognized that it would never be able to convict Jefferson Davis for treason in a Southern court.

The federal government dropped the case, as we shall see, because it became increasingly clear that they would lose. As time passed, and rea-

THAT NEVER WAS

son replaced war passion, it became obvious that Jefferson Davis had a formidable defense — both in the substance of his defense and perhaps even more important, in the great criminal defense lawyers who would defend him. For four years the government had been shouting from the house tops that secessionists were “traitors and conspirators,” and to silence any contrary expression, the military had been throwing people into prison and closing down newspapers that dared challenge this view, or even suggested that there was such a thing as a right of secession. But now, with the end of military trials of civilians for “crimes” manufactured by the generals—the issues of the war would now have to be decided by legal analysis and by history, not by force of arms. The traitor verbiage might not hold up in a bona fide court of law.

President Lincoln had excused the silencing of any pro-secessionist expression by his famous “simple-minded soldier boy,” who would hear seces-

the North was angry at the government. They were angry at the way the federal government rode rough shod over the Bill of Rights and the Constitution for four years. They were angry at having their clients locked up in prison with no civil rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. They were frustrated at having civilians tried by military courts for crimes that never existed in any law book. They were angry at a government that ignored the Supreme Court and set itself above the Constitutional system of checks and balances. They didn't like having to go to the president as beggars, asking for justice for clients convicted by phony court-martials. This had been a government of oriental despotism, not a free and Constitutional society.

In response to this anger the best lawyers were willing to volunteer to defend Davis. Davis's trial would indeed have been the trial of the century. Even if a lawyer didn't believe in secession, the conduct of the Republican administration and the mili-

international focus and truly make this the trial of the century. A trial and a conviction under the chief justice's wise direction, followed by an unsuccessful appeal to the Supreme Court finally declaring secession to be treason, would make a victorious ending to the war and put the stamp of judicial approval on the Northern conquest of the South. This was the game plan that the president and his cabinet had unanimously, and very enthusiastically, agreed upon.

The enthusiasm in the North over trying Davis probably stemmed from the fact that all secessionist thinking had been stamped out by military courts, and these same courts had been grinding out convictions with little or no due process of law, the most famous trial being the court-martial of civilians accused of conspiring to assassinate Lincoln. Mary Surratt, who ran a boarding house where Booth visited, was quickly tried, convicted, and hanged within a few weeks after the assassination although she had nothing to do with it. The military considered bringing Jefferson Davis into this conspiracy trial, with perjured testimony that would not have held up in a bona fide law court. But why try Davis with the conspirators, when he could easily be tried and hanged for treason by almost any military court?

But with the passing of only a few months, the use of military courts in peace time became impossible. Soon after the Confederacy collapsed, Washington put an end to military tribunals when civil courts were available. Trying Davis in a bona fide civilian court, with due process, soon sobered up the president and his cabinet. The case against Jefferson Davis had to be examined in the light of history, and upon legal precedents and procedures. And just maybe, this would show that secessionists weren't traitors after all. Maybe a state and its people, acting through democratic processes, did have the right to withdraw from the Union.

Jefferson Davis

sionist ideas and no longer believe in the cause of the North. In such a situation, Lincoln would have had to have the young recruit shot for desertion. Therefore, he was justified in arresting and throwing into prison anyone expressing anti-war ideas—anyone who suggested that secessionists were not criminals. If Lincoln's logic had been used during the Vietnam debacle, we would have had to put hundreds of thousands into prison and would have closed down most newspapers in the country. Even Walter Cronkite would have been locked up.

The many great lawyers who were willing to come to the defense of Jefferson Davis had a score to settle with the federal government. The bar in

tary had been disgraceful, to say the least. The lawyers were aware of that most of all, and they had a score to settle even if it meant vindicating the Confederate leader.

One of the most famous trial lawyers of this era was Charles O'Connor of New York. He became Davis's counsel. O'Connor's stature was on a par with that of Samuel Chase, chief justice of the Supreme Court, who would act as trial judge. The trial would have to take place in Virginia and as that was the circuit over which Chase presided, he would have to act as trial judge.

The attorney general's staff of lawyers was delighted that Chase would be acting in this capacity. His stature and high office would provide

What had the Founders said? Jefferson had said while president that if any of the states, alone or in combination, wanted to withdraw, then they should go in peace, as our brothers and friends. More recently, on April 30, 1839, there had been a great celebration on the fiftieth anniversary of the inauguration of President Washington. Former president John Quincy Adams gave the Jubilee Address. He ridiculed the right claimed by South Carolina to nullify a federal law, as had been recently attempted, but he then concluded, "If the states ever lost their fraternal affection, gave way to cold and indifference, or a collision of interests should foster hatred, and the bonds of political association should sever, it would be far better for the people of the disunited states, to part in friendship from each other than to be held together by constraint."

Northerners seem to have forgotten or were unaware that there was a great secessionist tradition in America. Southerners were not alone in their view that each state had the right to determine its own destiny in the Union. The procedure for joining the Union also applied to withdrawing from the Union. And the 10th Amendment, which reserved to the states powers not delegated to the federal government, would seem to put the matter of secession with the states and the people. In the North in 1860, many editorials saw the secession issue this way, before the fury of war shut off and shut up any such seditious thinking.

The *Cincinnati Daily Press*, shortly after Lincoln's election, on November 21, 1860, had this to say:

We believe that the right of any member of this confederation [the federal Union] to dissolve its political relationship with the others and to assume an independent position is absolute—that, in other words, if South Carolina wants to go out of the Union, she has the right to do so, and no party or power may justly say her nay.



President Davis was freed when Northern prosecutors realized that a defeat at the bar of justice would vindicate the South and nullify what the Yankees had gained by force.

A daily publication in Springfield, Massachusetts, was even more outspoken on February 9, 1861, and this was a Republican newspaper:

The idea that the free states intend to march armies into the seceding states to force their return to loyalty seems too monstrous for serious denial, and yet this is precisely the thing now declared by the incoming administration.

Another Ohio newspaper, the *Circleville Watchman*, on November 23, 1860, also editorializing before the war, explained the right in democratic terms:

We are quite free to say that, our ideas of true Democracy, of the natural and inalienable rights of man, lead us to the opinion that any State of the confederation [Federal Union] has, or at least ought to have, a perfect and undoubted right to withdraw from the Union and to change her form of government whenever a majority of her people shall be

of the opinion that their rights are being encroached upon and impaired by the other States.

Even after the war started, some courageous editors were still hammering on the Republican despotism, but not for long. Here is an editorial from an Ohio newspaper, the *Cincinnati Daily Inquirer*, in the summer of 1861, after the "traitor" label was unleashed by the North:

The Republican papers are great on treason...It is treason to circulate petitions for a compromise or peaceful readjustment of our national troubles...to question the constitutional powers of the President to increase the standing army without authority of law...to object to squads of military visiting private houses, and to make search and seizures...to question the infallibility of the President, and treason not to concur with him...It is treason to talk of hard times...to say that the war might have been



President Davis was imprisoned for almost two years at a dungeon in Fort Monroe, then released without trial. For much of that time, his ankles were in irons.

avoided...It is treason to be truthful and faithful to the Constitution...etc.

It seems strange that the impressive and rational analysis of the secession issue in the North as well as the South, should be totally overpowered by the traitor philosophy, and that the government should be so taken in by its rather shabby thinking. Historically, the main protagonists were not the Founders, but Daniel Webster and Justice Story, who both argued that because the Constitution referred to the "people," it was not a compact of states. They further argued that since the Constitution was silent on the issue of secession, that meant that once a state joined the Union, it was in it forever. And finally, since the Articles of Confederation used the word "perpetual," that meant the later Constitution (after the "perpetual" Articles only lasted seven years) was also perpetual, even if it didn't say so. Therefore, no state could withdraw.

And it is even stranger that almost 150 years later, in the twentieth century, no new or significant arguments have been developed. Lengthy books, multi-

volumes on Lincoln and the war, pass over the issue in one short paragraph. In short, "preserving the Union" by armed coercion still has no compelling or convincing rational basis.

There were a few Northern thinkers of note who did understand the moral implications. Justice George Comstock, a founder of Syracuse University, made this sobering comment:

If Mr. Davis is right as to all the circumstances and results flowing from separation, then the seceded states are the rightful possession of a perfect sovereignty...[the Civil War then] was a war of invasion and conquest, for which there is no warrant in the Constitution, but which is condemned by the rules of Christianity, and the law of the civilized world.

It wasn't just Americans who had trouble giving much merit to Daniel Webster's position that the Union was indissoluble, which he thundered from the floor of the Senate. European thinkers had difficulty as well. In 1862,

as we noted, a British quarterly magazine said:

And it does seem the most monstrous of anomalies that a government founded on the "sacred right of insurrection" should pretend to treat as traitors and rebels six or seven millions of people who withdrew from the Union, and merely asked to be left alone.

The intellectual fog never did lift from European thinkers. When the Supreme Court, after the war, expounded the doctrine of Webster that the Union was indissoluble, James Bryce, in his famous *The American Commonwealth* (1888), whose work ranks with de Tocqueville, ridiculed the thinking of the chief justice and the whole Webster point of view. In analyzing the arguments that the Union was indissoluble, he labeled the reasoning as "a mass of subtle, so to speak, scholastic metaphysics regarding the nature of government." Unlike all other federations throughout history, the American federation was not a compact between commonwealths, "but an instrument of perpetual efficacy." In other words, the reasoning was sophistry at its best. The medieval scholastics couldn't have reasoned any better. Bryce then levels all of the arguments—especially Webster's rambling on and on that the Constitution was not a compact among the states—with a *coup de grace*, citing the father of the Constitution, James Madison, who called the Constitution "A compact between the States in their sovereign capacity." Obviously, Webster and all his followers had not done their homework, and Webster appears more of a great *windbag* than a great *expounder*.

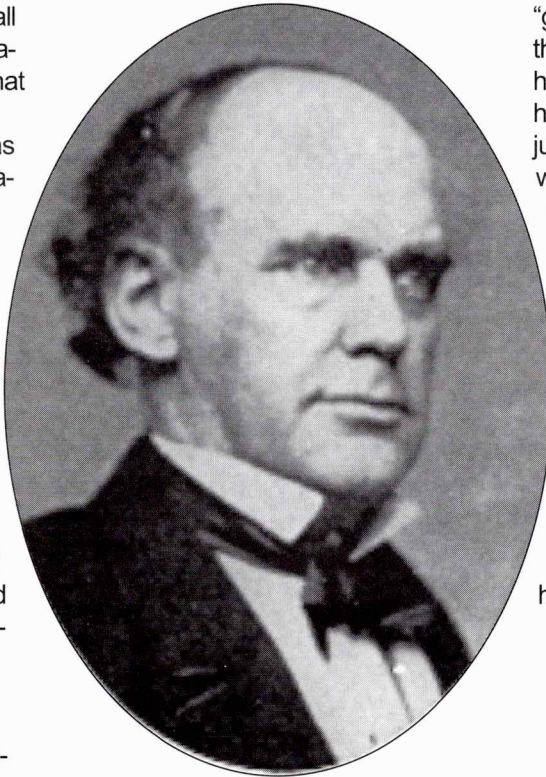
Reading Webster's so-called great expounding of the Constitution on the floor of the Senate shows us the craft of a lawyer at work. The object was persuasion, not truth, and he marshaled and forcefully presented the arguments for a perpetual Union.

The argument about the war that the North hung to tenaciously was that it wasn't a war, but a rebellion, and that made everyone in the South who

supported the war traitors, who could all be tried, convicted, and hanged for treason. Once the North acknowledged that it was a war, they were in big trouble. But the common man in the North was not always so persuaded with the treason pitch. In October 1861, a Southern privateer, *Savannah*, was captured and its crew put on trial in New York for piracy. If there was a "war" they would be prisoners of war, but if only an insurrection or rebellion, they were guilty of treason and could be tried, convicted, and hanged. Lincoln believed this, as would be expected, but a jury in New York acquitted the crew because to them, this was a war, and the members of the crew were indeed prisoners of war, not pirates. The treason charge failed.

As a result of this case, plus the threat of the Confederacy to hang Yankee sailors in reprisal, Lincoln suspended the sentence of another Confederate sailor, and ruled that he was a prisoner of war. Jefferson Davis could also make the plea to any court and jury, even a Northern one, that this had been a war (and by 1867, who could honestly argue otherwise). In fact, it was a war on a scale almost unknown in modern history. Only an *insurrection*? You've got to be kidding!

Notwithstanding the substantial case for secession, it was probably a law professor from the University of Virginia, Albert Bledsoe, who took the wind out of the sails of the prosecutors and their zeal to try Davis. In 1866, while Davis was still in prison, Bledsoe published a treatise, *Is Davis a Traitor?* Bledsoe; attacked the case against secession, especially its main supporter Daniel Webster. He called Webster a "great deceiver," not a "great expounder," and then set forth an impressive array of historical facts and constitutional analysis to make out a solid case for secession. One has to expect that this book found its way into the reading of the attorney general's staff, and probably came as a shock. The North had been so brain washed with the "traitor" logic that they didn't realize how formidable Jefferson Davis's case was. Shortly thereafter, the prosecutors started dragging their feet, delay-



Chief Justice Samuel Chase thought Davis could be convicted in a Virginia Court.

ing the trial, and searching for some way to avoid prosecuting Davis without vindicating the South.

Professor Bledsoe concluded that while the issue of secession had indeed been settled by war, the "final verdict of history has not been heard on the question of secession." Lamented Bledsoe:

Perhaps no other question of political philosophy, or of international law, pregnant with such unutterable calamities has ever been so partially and so superficially examined as the right of secession from the Federal Union of the United States...The voice of reason, enlightened by the study of history...yet remains to be heard.

Shortly after Bledsoe's book came out in 1866, the attorney general decided to bring in outside, independent counsel to try Davis, as in the Watergate case. They needed someone of great stature to stand up to the lawyers defending Davis. They chose as their leading trial prosecutor John J. Clifford. But after reviewing the case, Clifford withdrew, arguing that he had

"grave doubts" about the case, and that the government could "end up having fought a successful war, only to have it declared unlawful by a Virginia jury." The case was, in short, a loser with disastrous consequences for the cause of the war against the South.

President Johnson thought he had an easy way out. He would pardon Davis as he had done with so many in the Confederacy. But Davis refused a pardon: "To ask for a pardon would be a confession of guilt." Davis wanted a trial; he wanted the issue of secession decided by a court of law, and while he was waiting and hoping for this, so were many in the South. Bledsoe began his treatise:

I shall proceed to argue the right of secession; because this is the great issue on which the whole Southern people, the dead as well as the living, is about to be tried in the person of their illustrious chief, Jefferson Davis.

A year passed after the withdrawal of John J. Clifford. Another famous special counsel was appointed to handle the case, none other than the famous author and lawyer, Richard Dana of Boston, who wrote the great novel *Two Years Before the Mast*. But he too decided the case was a loser. He wrote a lengthy brief, given to the president, taking the same position as Mr. Clifford. Dana's argument was, "A conviction will settle nothing in law or national practice not now settled...as a rule of law by war." Thus, as Dana observed, the right to secede from the Union had not been settled by civilized means, but by violence, by military power, and the destruction of much of the civilized life and property in the South. The North should take its uncivilized victory, however dirty its hands may be, and not expose the fruits of its carnage to scrutiny by a peaceful court of law.

A new attorney general was appointed by President Johnson, but he wanted no part of the case, seeing it was a loser. He left the matter to the staff already working on the case.

Now, over two years after Davis's imprisonment and Grand Jury indictments for treason, the stage was set for the great public trial of the century. Davis had been released from prison on a \$100,000 bond, supported by none other than Horace Greeley, the leading abolitionist writer in the North. Greeley and a host of others were outraged at the way Davis had been treated—no speedy trial, and an incarceration in a dungeon for well over a year with only a Bible to read, a light burning day and night, and sentries constantly walking by, forbidden to talk to the prisoner. Added to that outrage, irons had been put on Davis's legs. The inhumanity of his treatment and the contempt shown for the Bill of Rights had all worked in his favor. The government, continuing its behaviour of the past five years, looked once again like an evil despot. It couldn't even offer the fallen ruler a minimum of the so-called guarantees of the Bill of Rights.

Of course, by now, with two famous special counsels withdrawing from the case, only the staff of the attorney general's office could try the case, and this worried just about everyone, especially the chief justice. That's when he came up with an amazing solution to avoid the trial without vindicating the South. The new 14th Amendment provided that anyone who had engaged in insurrection against the United States, and who had at one time taken an oath of allegiance (which Davis had done as a U.S. senator), could not hold public office. The Bill of Rights prevents double jeopardy, so since Davis had already been punished once by the 14th Amendment, in not being able to hold public office, he couldn't be tried and punished again for treason.

Chief Justice Samuel Chase secretly passed along his ingenious argument to Davis's counsel, Charles O'Connor, who then made the motion to dismiss, which the Court took under consideration, and then passed the matter on to the Supreme Court for determination. While this was pending, President Johnson granted amnesty to everyone in the South, including Davis. That was at Christmas, 1867. The Davis case was still on the docket, however. But in February 1868, at a dinner party attend-



Albert Taylor Bledsoe's Is Davis a Traitor? took the wind out of Northern sails.

ed by the chief justice and an attorney for the government, it was agreed that on the following day a motion for non-prosecution would be made which would dismiss the case. A guest overheard the conversation and reported:

I did not consider that he [Davis] was any more guilty of treason than I was, and that a trial should be insisted upon, which could properly only result in a complete vindication of our cause, and of the action of the many thousands who had fought and of the many thousands who had died for what they felt to be right.

Thus ended the case of *United States v. Jefferson Davis*—a case that was to be the trial of the century, a great state trial, perhaps the most significant trial in the history of the nation. Two outside special prosecutors who examined the case with a sharp legal eye withdrew and washed their hands of the whole affair. It is not too difficult to understand why.

But besides the secession issue, what other aspects of Davis's defense frightened the prosecution? Surely,

Lincoln-appointed Republican justices on the Supreme Court would have ruled against secession, and even Justice Chase may have instructed the jury that no state had a right to secede from the Union.

First, there is the matter called *mens rea*, or criminal intent. Even assuming a strong hand by the chief justice against secession, a good faith belief that the states had the right to withdraw from the Union would be enough to permit a jury to find no criminal intent, hence no crime.

And then there is the duty of a citizen of his state to come to its defense in time of armed invasion, which is what Lincoln's war was all about. These were not a bunch of revolutionaries, these were men coming to the aid of their country and certainly to their sovereign state. That also would warrant an acquittal. The lawyers who came to defend Davis knew they had a good case, and when the prosecution began to drag its feet with delaying tactics, they had every reason to be excited about the probability of winning in a court of law. It is no wonder the special prosecutors chickened out.

Bledsoe, in his treatise, *Is Jefferson Davis a Traitor?*, quoted a speech by Lincoln in 1848, on the 4th of July. He said, "Any people whatsoever have the right to abolish the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right." Bledsoe asks, why didn't this apply to the South? "The reason is plain," said Bledsoe, "It was, indeed, most perfectly and fully explained by Mr. Lincoln himself. When asked, as President of the United States, 'why not let the South go?' his simple, direct and honest answer revealed one secret of the astute policy of the Washington cabinet. 'Let the South go!' said he, 'where, then, shall we get our revenue?' There lies the secret." Lincoln and his war party were quite willing to ignore principle and law, and to maintain that secession could not be. Why? asks Professor Bledsoe. *Taxes*, that's why. ☹

Charles Adams is author of the new book *Those Dirty Rotten Taxes* from Simon & Schuster.

of Col. Robert E. Beckham, CSA

BY BRYANT BURROUGHS

Eight black days after John Pelham was killed at Kelly's Ford, a grieving Jeb Stuart wrote to the War Department nominating a new commander of the Stuart Horse Artillery. All the Southern Confederacy awaited the name of the successor to the legendary Pelham, who had created in the Horse Artillery a fierce fusion of artillery firepower and cavalry lightning. Worthy successors to Pelham could be found among his battery captains, men who had proven their bravery and leadership under Pelham. Yet Stuart selected an outsider: Major Robert E. Beckham.

Robert Franklin Beckham was born May 6, 1837 in Culpeper into a prominent Virginia family. His father was an attorney who had succeeded in business, being a partner with the state's governor in a stage line and the second largest shareholder in the Orange and Alexandria Railroad.

Beckham's mother was the daughter of a prominent North Carolina doctor.

Beckham entered the United States Military Academy in July 1854 at age 17, and graduated in 1859 ranked sixth in his class of 22. He ranked near the top of his class in cavalry tactics, infantry, and engineering, and his few demerits reveal an outgoing nature: "laughing in a group" and "loud talking in a tent after taps." After graduation from West Point, the young lieutenant's high ranking earned a commission in corps of engineers, and he was stationed in Detroit as a staff officer assigned to survey work on the Great Lakes. Tragic news came in October 1859 when his Uncle Fontaine, the mayor of Harpers Ferry, was killed by John Brown's raiders.

As the nation stag-



gered toward the secession winter of 1860-1861, Beckham joined other Southern sons in offering his services to the Confederacy, and he resigned from the United States army on May 3, 1861.

His initial assignment was into the artillery arm as lieutenant in the Culpeper Battery, which was commanded by Captain George S. Grove. Grove frequently was absent from the unit, which left Beckham in command. After only three weeks of drill under the eye of the young West Point graduate, the four-gun battery arrived on the Manassas battlefield about 11 a.m. on July 21. The battery was assigned to the Confederate left flank and ordered to report to Colonel Jeb Stuart of the 1st Virginia Cavalry. For five hours the fire from

batteries led by young artillerists such as Beckham and Pelham held the besieged flank, until arrival of Jubal Early's fresh infantry brigade sparked a headlong Union retreat back to Washington. Colonel Stuart praised the Culpeper Battery in his battle report: "This battery made great havoc in the enemy's ranks and finally put them in full retreat. The principal credit here was due to this battery." Stuart marked Beckham as a young officer of promise. Barely two months later, Beckham accepted a position as staff officer to Major General Gustavus Smith, and was replaced as lieutenant in the Culpeper Battery by Pelham. Within a year Beckham had earned commendation for action at Seven Pines and the Seven Days battles, won two promotions to the rank of major, and was serving as ordnance officer to the division. He won such a reputation that the Jeff Davis Artillery elected Beckham captain of their battery, even though Beckham had not campaigned for the position. Although flattered by the honor, he declined the command in order to remain with General Smith, but Smith's sudden resignation in January 1863, cost Beckham his staff position.

His forced absence from the war would not last long. On March 26, 1863 Stuart wrote to the Adjutant General to request that Beckham succeed the fallen Pelham:

I have the honor to request that Major R. F. Beckham, Provisional Artillery, be assigned to duty with my division to take command of The Horse Artillery Batteries . . . I have known Major Beckham from the beginning of the war—he fought by my side at the first Manassas—and I am satisfied of his fitness for the place.

General Lee endorsed Stuart's selection and forwarded it to Richmond with the request "that Major Beckham be ordered to report to me. I am very desirous to find someone to take the place of Major Pelham." The selection was



quickly approved and on April 8 Beckham took command of the 24 guns and 500 men that comprised the Stuart Horse Artillery. Beckham was an officer of high courage and brilliance, but succeeding the legendary Pelham—whose very name pulsed within the hearts of Southerners—brought enormous stress. The men who had won great victories under Pelham wondered whether an outsider such as Beckham would lead and fight like their fallen commander.

Three weeks later Beckham had his first opportunity to demonstrate that Stuart's faith in his abilities was well-placed. The Army of the Potomac under its new commander, General "Fighting Joe" Hooker, crossed the Rappahannock and marched into the tangled Wilderness toward Richmond. The Army of Northern Virginia dashed from Fredericksburg to cut off the Federal advance. The two armies met in the gloomy forest at a crossroads known as Chancellorsville, named for Chancellor House, a large brick structure often used as a tavern.

With more than 100,000 Union troops arrayed against Lee's total strength of 50,000, Lee decided to strike Hooker before the Union army could strike first.

Lee dispatched Stonewall Jackson's Second Corps, accompanied by a battery of the Horse Artillery, in a bold march around the Union right flank. After an all day march, the force emerged on the Orange Turnpike behind the unsuspecting Yankees. At 5 p.m. Beckham placed two guns on the turnpike in front of the eager infantry, and Jackson ordered the attack. Beckham and his guns kept in front of the hard-charging Confederates as they trampled the surprised defenders in Hooker's Eleventh Corps.

When the headlong advance was ended by darkness, Jackson approached Beckham, leaned forward on his horse and extended his hand with the words, "Young man, I congratulate you." Beckham's battle report modestly does not mention this high praise.

Stuart proudly sought promotion for his new artillery commander, writing on May 21, 1863 to the Adjutant General:

I have the honor to request that Major Robt F. Beckham Com'd'g Horse Artillery be promoted to the rank of Lieut Colonel. He

distinguished himself in command of a battery at First Manassas and has performed valuable service since. In the battle of the Wilderness May 2nd, he commanded the Artillery in advance & it is sufficient to say that he received *General Jackson's congratulations during the action*—I hope his promotion will not be delayed. There are already 5 batteries attached to this Division soon to be increased to two more.

The War Department rejected the request until the additional two batteries were attached, but Beckham was too busy to lament the lack of promotion.

At Brandy station on June 9, Beckham's guns stunned the initial Union advance at St. James Church, and then fought a desperate defense on the crest of Fleetwood Hill. Stuart's report gave high praise: "The conduct of the Horse Artillery, under that daring and efficient officer, Maj. R. F. Beckham, deserves the highest praise. Not one piece was ever in the hands of the enemy, though at times the cannoneers had to fight pistol and sword in hand in its defense."

The summer and fall found the Horse Artillery in continual skirmish with the revived Union cavalry.

Beckham fought at Aldie, Middleburg, and Upperville as Stuart screened Lee's advance northward in the second invasion, then in the cavalry battles around Gettysburg, and stopped Meade's advance at Antioch Church on November 30.

On November 20, 1863 Lee's Chief of Artillery, General W. N. Pendleton, submitted Beckham's name among those artillery officers recommended for promotion to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Pendleton sought to overcome the agonizingly slow pace of promotion in the artillery arm, but his efforts were fruitless. Finally, the long-deserved promotion to lieutenant-colonel arrived on February 16, 1864 but with it came transfer orders to General Joe Johnston's Army of Tennessee. Stuart was pleased for Beckham's promotion, but was reluctant to lose the services of so talented a commander. Finally he acquiesced and telegraphed Beckham: "I never oppose the promotion of a deserving officer.

I wish you all success."

Evidence exists that Beckham

believed his new assignment to be Chief of Artillery for the Army of Tennessee, but instead he was assigned as Chief of Artillery to General John Bell Hood's corps. The political intrigue that rocked and weakened the Army of Tennessee probably was to blame. Many ranking officers in that army envied the fact that both Hood and Beckham had built reputations in Lee's more famous Army of Northern Virginia. However, Beckham assumed his new command with characteristic modesty and brilliance. When Hood's corps repulsed the Union Twentieth Corps at the bloody battle of New Hope Church on May 25, Hood wrote in his report:

"Too much praise cannot be awarded to the artillery, under the immediate direction of Colonel Beckham, which did great execution in the enemy's ranks..."

When Hood succeeded Johnston as commander of the Army of Tennessee in July, he immediately advanced Beckham to the post of Chief of Artillery for the army, but he was unable to secure a brigadier's stars. A few weeks later, the War Department suddenly dispatched General Arnold Elzey to assume the role of Hood's Chief of Artillery. Even today the reasons are unclear.

But Beckham quietly reassumed his former position as artillery chief of Hood's old corps, now commanded by General Stephen Lee.

In late November Hood's army crossed the cold Tennessee River and marched toward Nashville. On November 29 Beckham's artillery helped dislodge two Union corps entrenched near Columbia, Tennessee. As Beckham rode among his guns directing their fire, an enemy shell struck a large boulder behind him, sending a piece of shattered rock into the back of his head. Grieving staff carried Beckham to "Hamilton Place" in nearby Ashwood, where he died on December 5, 1864.

He was buried under the strong oaks in the peaceful cemetery behind St. John's Episcopal Church in Ashwood. ☩

Bryant Burroughs is a corporation executive and a freelance writer. He has written scores of reviews and profiles of Confederate officers for Southern Partisan.

The South's Poet Laureate

BY DAVID AIKEN

Henry Timrod

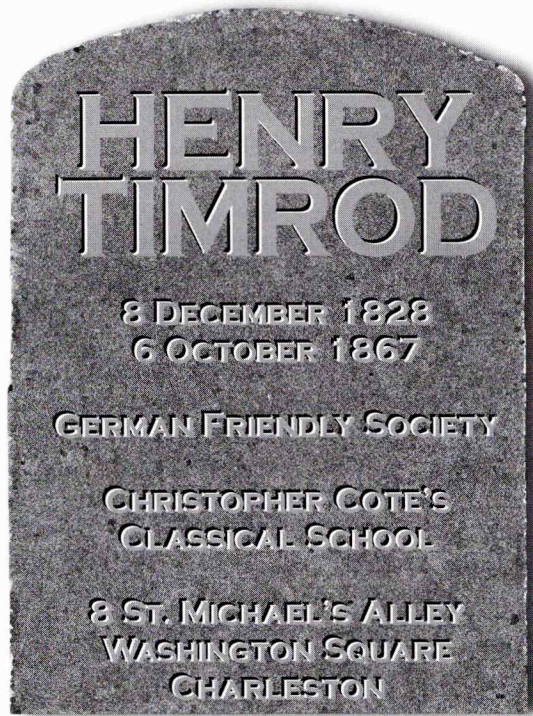
wrote 180 poems dealing with love, nature and the War for Southern Independence. As well as anyone, he expressed a mood of exalted devotion to Southern nationalism which has earned him the title Poet Laureate of the Confederacy. Although Timrod achieved little fame in his lifetime, no one—North or South—wrote better poetry dealing with the War Between the States.

He was born in Charleston of German parentage. His grandfather, a merchant tailor, served in the Revolutionary War, and his father, William Henry Timrod (Dimroth), was a bookbinder, bookseller, and poet of more than local renown. William Gilmore Simms published four of the elder Timrod's nature poems in *Charleston Book* (1845). From 1827 to 1829 William Timrod was the director of the Charleston Library society. In the 1829 *Charleston City Directory*, William Timrod worked and lived at 114 King Street. By 1831 he had moved his bookbinding shop to the back of James McCarter's Bookstore at 308 King Street, where many of the young literary men of the city gathered—including William Gilmore Simms, James L. Petigru, Dr. Samuel Gilman, and Dr. Samuel Henry Dickson. In the 1836 *Charleston City Directory* appears an advertisement for his bookbinding business:

William H. Timrod
Bookbinder & Stationer
Sign of the Golden Ledger
115 East Bay Street

That same year young Timrod began his education at the German Friendly Society School on Chalmers Street, the only surviving building in Charleston where Timrod lived or went to school. During the Seminole War, William Timrod served as captain of the German Fusiliers; as a result of the hardships and exposure at that time, he died in 1838.

In spite of her husband's death, Timrod's mother Thyrsa Timrod managed to send her son to Christopher Coate's Classical School on Wentworth Street, where he occupied the desk next to Paul Hamilton Hayne, not far from Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve. It was to Hayne that Timrod showed his first verse, a gesture which won for the young poets a thrash-



ing from the schoolmaster.

Christopher Coate's school was considered the best private academy in Charleston. It averaged a hundred students a year and cost an annual tuition of one hundred dollars per student. In 1845 Timrod entered the University of Georgia, where he was active in the Demosthenian Society, but ill health forced him to leave without taking a degree. For a short time he read law in the office of James L. Petigru at 8 St. Michael's Alley, but he soon abandoned law for literature and the hope of a professorship, a dream never realized.

For ten years Timrod worked as private tutor for several families living on Lowcountry plantations. His first tutoring job was on one of the

Lowndes's plantations, close enough to Charleston for him to continue participating in the informal literary meetings in the rooms of the Charleston Mechanic's Library Association, in the back room of Russell's Bookstore, or in the townhouse of William Gilmore Simms. From 1851 to 1856 Timrod tutored for Daniel Black, who summered in Flat Rock, North Carolina, the Little Charleston of the Mountains. Timrod also tutored on Murray Robinson's plantation near Rowesville, Orangeburg County, and on William H. Cannon's plantation Orange Grove in Florence county, where Timrod's sister and her husband George M. Goodwin were employed. It was at Orange Grove that Timrod met his future wife Katie Goodwin.

Wherever he tutored, Timrod continued to write prose and poetry for local publication; some of it he placed in *Russell's Magazine*. He even brought out a volume of verse *Poems* (1859), but it was during the War for Southern Independence that Timrod reached his pinnacle as a poet; his greatest poems are his war poems. Deeply disturbed by the ruin, loss, and dislocation of his day, Timrod expressed himself with a classical discipline which gave form and serenity to even his most impassioned verse.

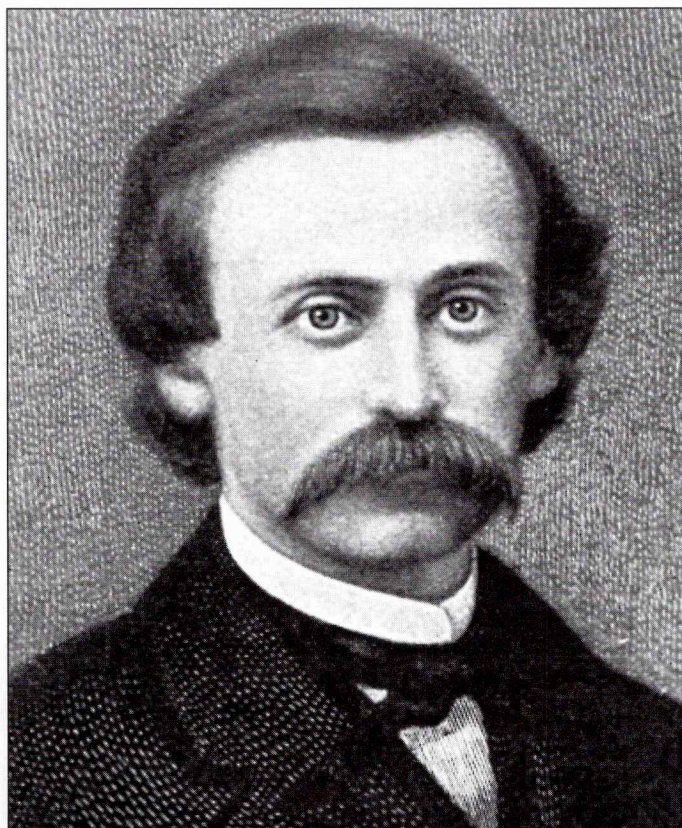
During the War Between the States, Timrod enlisted no less than four times, the first in July 1861 for the Hardeeville Militia, where he was elected quartermaster, secretary and treasurer. On 1 March 1862, Timrod became a private in Company B of the Thirteenth South Carolina Regiment. Due to poor health, he was given special duty as a clerk. His friends and family always tried to discourage him from enlist-

ing, but Timrod was determined to serve the Confederacy. Due to illness, he was honorably discharged with tuberculosis, but not before being caught in the retreat following the April 1862 Battle of Shiloh. Afterwards he joined the Army of the West as a war correspondent. Then in July 1863 Timrod enlisted in one of the companies which volunteered to defend Charleston. After one day he was discharged for illness:

Alas! I soon found my abilities unequal to my will; a day's service sufficed to convince me that I was unable to discharge the duties that I had undertaken. With a hemorrhage hardly stanch'd, I stated my case to my Captain, who at once counseled me to withdraw from the company. I do so, and am now once more a useless citizen. How very little the country will have owed me at the conclusion of this war.

Timrod was in Columbia on 17 February 1865 when Sherman's army entered the city without resistance, sacked, and burned the capital of South Carolina. He was completely ruined. Suffering from tuberculosis and often from malnutrition, he went from one small job to another; even his friends Simms and Hayne could do little for him. On 30 March 1866 he wrote to Hayne:

You ask me to tell you my story for the last year. I can embody it all in a few words: *beggary, starvation, death bitter grief, utter want of hope!* The Sherman raid destroyed my business. Since that time I have been residing with my sister Mrs. Goodwin. Both my sister and myself are completely impoverished. We have lived for a long time on the gradual sale of furniture and plate. We have eaten two silver pitchers, one or two dozen forks, several sofas, innumerable chairs and a bedstead To



confess the truth, my dear Paul, I not only feel that I can write no more verse, but I am perfectly indifferent to the fate of what I have already composed, would consign every line of it to eternal oblivion for—*one hundred dollars in hand!*

In February 1861, Timrod wrote "Ethnogenesis" or "The Birth of a Nation." He was inspired by the first meeting of the Confederate Congress in Montgomery, Alabama. "Ethnogenesis" and "The Cotton Boll" hail the formation of the Confederacy, celebrate the beauty of the South, identify the Southern cause with free trade and self-government, and denounce Northern imperialism. Rich and great, the new Southern nation would spread prosperity, happiness and peace throughout the world. By exporting cotton to distant lands, the South would provide work for the poor who would labor to turn raw materials into thread and cloth. Interdependence between the new Southern nation, which would produce food and raw materials, and manufacturing countries around the world — rather than interference in international affairs — would strengthen the bonds of world friendship and lessen the chances of war.

In "Spring" Timrod describes the beauty of the Lowcountry:

Spring, with that nameless pathos in the air
Which dwells with all things fair,
Spring, with her golden suns and silver rain,
Is with us once again.
Out in the lonely woods the jasmine burns
Its fragrant lamps, and turns
Into a royal court with green festoons
The banks of dark lagoons.
Ah! who would couple thoughts of war and crime
With such a blessed time!
Who in the west wind's aromatic breath
Could hear the call of death!
Yet not more surely shall the Spring awake
The voice of wood and brake,
Than she shall rouse, for all her tranquil charms,
A million men to arms.

Timrod wrote "Charleston" before the 7 April 1863 naval attack upon the city, describing the ominous calm which precedes the expected onslaught. Portraying the city as feminine, waiting an aggressive invasion, he closes with these lines:

Shall the Spring dawn, and she still clad in smiles,
And with an unscathed brow,
Rest in the strong arms of her palms-crowned isles,
As fair and free as now?

In "The Unknown Dead" Timrod mourns the loss of so many lives:

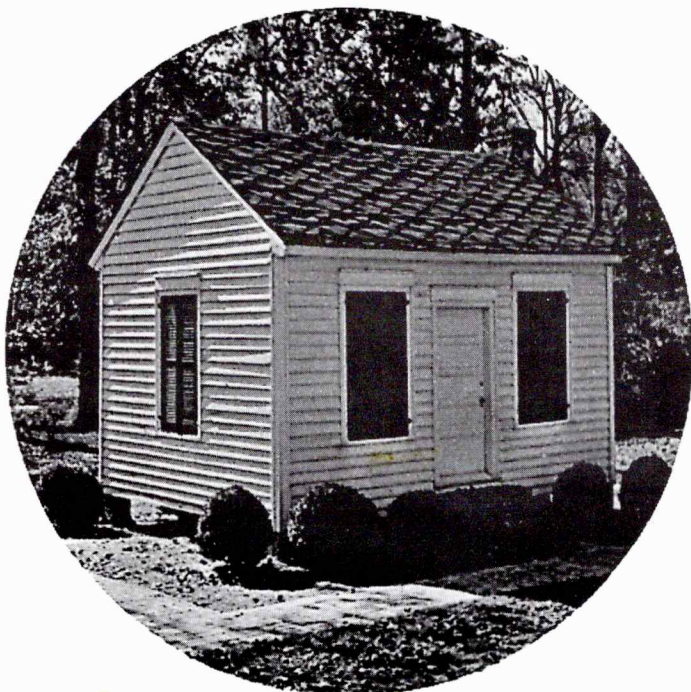
The rain in splashing on my sill,
But all the winds of Heaven are still;
And so it falls with that dull sound
Which thrills us in the church-yard ground,
When the first spadeful drops like lead
Upon the coffin of the dead.

Timrod did not long outlive the new Confederate nation he envisioned and supported. In September 1867 he suffered hemorrhages in rapid succession and died in Columbia on 6 October 1867, not yet forty years old. He was buried there the next day in the churchyard of Trinity Episcopal Church. Years later a committee of his friends marked his grave with a simple monument. After his death, his wife Katie moved to Washington, D.C., where she found work in the Treasury Department. When Paul Hamilton Hayne was writing "A Sketch of the Poet's Life" for his edition of *The Poems of Henry Timrod* (1873), he contacted Katie, who asked Hayne not to mention her because she would lose her job in Washington if people knew she had been married to the poet.

Charleston the city of Timrod's birth has honored only two authors with statues: William Gilmore Simms at the Battery, and Henry Timrod. On 1 July 1901, the Timrod Memorial Association of South Carolina—with money from the sale of the four thousand copies of *Poems of Henry Timrod, Memorial Edition* (1899)—unveiled a bronze bust in Timrod's honor at Washington Square. On the west panel of the shaft which supports the bust are these words by the Charleston Confederate poet Barton Grey:

Through clouds and through sunshine, in peace and in war, he met the stress of poverty and the storms of civil strife; his soul never faltered and his purpose never failed. To his poetic mission he was faithful to the end. In life and in death he was "not disobedient unto the Heavenly vision."

Shortly before his death—after the desolation of Charleston, after Sherman's one hundred mile swath through the heart of South Carolina, after the destruction of twenty bil-



Henry Timrod taught in this schoolhouse.

lion dollars worth of property and wealth, and after the deaths of one million, ninety-one thousand people—Timrod would chant what many consider the finest ode commemorating the Confederate dead.

An intensely emotional poem with classic control, Timrod's "Ode, Sung on the Occasion of Decorating the Graves of the Confederate Dead, at Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston, S.C., 1866" was a poetic tribute at one of the first commemorative services for slain Confederate soldiers. The poem was also a prophecy of things to come: in the next century Southern women mourned their lost menfolk and created hundreds of memorial associations to erect suitable monuments honoring Defeated Valor and Noble Sacrifice.

But on a cloudy Saturday in June, 1866, under the auspices of the Ladies' Memorial Association, the people of Charleston traveled three miles in carriages, omnibuses and wagons in the teeth of federal occupation, and soldiers with bayonets drawn, to Magnolia Cemetery where 1,700 slain Confederate soldiers are buried. There at five o'clock in the afternoon the widows, mothers, and sisters of the "martyred heroes" placed "wreaths of magnolia with laurel and roses intertwined, . . . bound with white and black ribbon" upon the freshly mounded graves of those who had defended "to the death of our lives, our homes, our possessions, and our liberties; our shrines and our altars."

The first, second and fifth stanzas of the "Ode" which was recited at the ceremony—Timrod's last important poem—are carved on his monument at Washington Square:

Sleep sweetly in your humble graves,
Sleep, martyrs of a fallen cause!—
Though yet no marble column craves
The pilgrim here to pause.

In seeds of laurel in the earth,
The garlands of your fame are sown;
And, somewhere, waiting for its birth,
The shaft is in the stone.

Meanwhile, your sisters for the years
Which hold in trust your storied tombs,
Bring all they now can give you — tears,
And these memorial blooms.

Small tributes, but your shades will smile
As proudly on these wreaths today,
As when some cannon-molded pile
Shall overlook this Bay.

Stoop, angels, hither from the skies!
There is no holier spot of ground,
Than where defeated valor lies
By mourning beauty crowned.

David Aiken teaches English at Charleston Southern University in Charleston, South Carolina and is a regular contributor to these pages.

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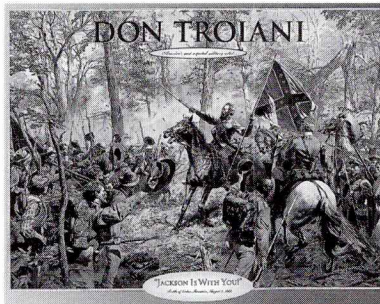
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Dr. Michael Guthrie

SOUTHERN MILITARY INSTITUTE

BY RICK WILLIAMS

Lovers of tradition, particularly Southerners, have little to rejoice over in these libertine times. However a kind Providence from time to time gives us reason to hope. Such is the case with the effort to establish the Southern Military Institute. In response to the Virginia Military Institute and the Citadel losing their long battle to remain the last all-male military schools in the United States, Michael J. Guthrie PhD, (VMI Class of '77) and other VMI and Citadel alumni, established the Southern Military Institute on August 20, 1997.

The intent of the founders was to establish a private all-male military college modeled after the original Virginia Military Institute which was established in Lexington, Virginia on November 11, 1839. In the tradition of the original "Institute," SMI will be a small, private engineering and science college emphasizing the foundations of Christian faith and morality. It will provide a solid background in Western Civilization, American Politics, Constitutional studies and military history. SMI will be steeped in Southern tradition and will re-establish the "Brother-Rat" Class system, the all-male Corps of Cadets, the Gentleman's Honour System and the traditional "Ratline" basic training system.

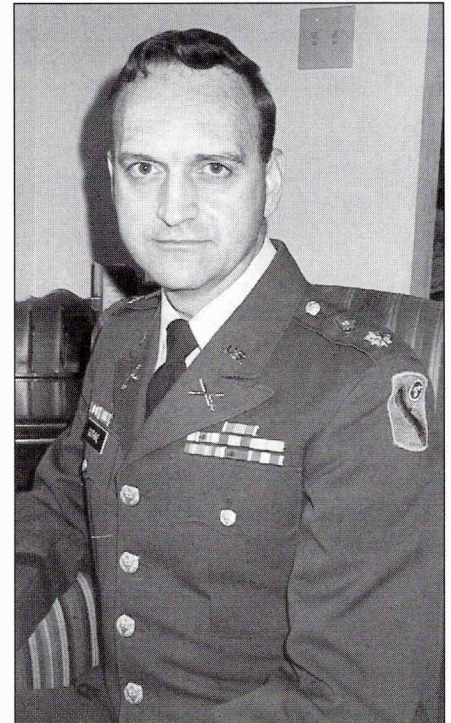
Dr. Guthrie, who currently serves as SMI's President, bears an eerie resemblance to a very famous VMI personality—Stonewall Jackson. The similarities do not stop with appearance. Dr. Guthrie is a physicist and an artilleryman, as Jackson was, and was once offered a teaching position in the physics department at VMI,

the same department in which Jackson taught. Dr. Guthrie is also a devout man who fears God.

While at VMI, Dr. Guthrie served in General Robert E. Lee's honour guard during the ceremony celebrating the reinstatement of his citizenship in 1975. He currently works in the defense research industry and serves as a Major in the National Guard. He resides in Alabama with his wife, Dorothy and their three children. American Foundation Publications recently hosted a Lee-Jackson Benefit Supper for SMI in the Shenandoah Valley and *Southern Partisan* subscriber Rick Williams spent an afternoon discussing VMI and the establishment of SMI.

Southern Partisan: At what moment did you realize something had to be done? That the tradition of an all-male military school could not die without a fight? Was it the Supreme Court decision or the Board of Visitors vote?

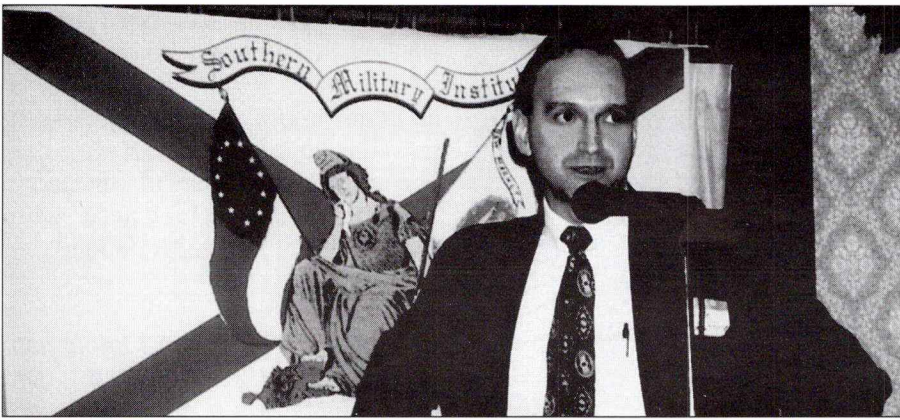
Guthrie: It was the Board of Visitors vote. Though I was surprised at the one-sided aspect of the Supreme Court vote, I was not surprised by the decision. I held out some hope for the Board of Visitors after the Institute had spent some \$21 million in the legal fight, I thought that they might give privatization a chance. I had toyed with the idea of a private institute, but I guess it was sometime in November 1996 that I made the mental decision to try to put something together. I had been waiting for some prominent, retired general from our alumni association to come forward, but it never happened.



Dr. Mike Guthrie

Southern Partisan: Did you consult with anyone before moving ahead with the proposal?

Guthrie: Yes, I called Ron Trowbridge with Hillsdale College. He expressed the belief that the private sector could support a private, Christian, all-male, military school. Over the Christmas holidays of 1996 I put together a rough draft of a proposal and circulated it among some of the VMI and Citadel alumni in Middle Tennessee and Northern Alabama. I received much positive feedback that, yes, we should go through with this. One of my brother rats commented, "Great idea, just two problems—money and time." I e-mailed him back that I would find the time and God would provide the money! After that I put the proposal on the Internet and received



Dr. Mike Guthrie, SMI Flag in background

extremely positive feedback again. Some time after that, July 1997 I believe, Monte Paulsen, with a newspaper out of Charleston, SC called me and did an interview which hit the weekend the first women entered VMI. The following Monday I had 75 calls. I was overwhelmed with supporters as well as the media.

Southern Partisan: I don't think many people, Southerners included, realize what was lost with the VMI decision. Here's this little school in the valley of Virginia with 157 years of solid tradition and performance. It is forced by the Federal Government to abandon a proven method of turning out citizen-soldiers and great leaders and to embrace the failed and morally bankrupt policies of radical feminism. It is very sad.

Guthrie: Yes, it is sad. However, I avoid bad-mouthing the VMI administration. I know General Bunting and the staff at VMI have their hands full and are doing the best they can, trying to be the good soldier. But there does come a point when the policies cannot be enforced and you are obligated as an officer to resign. Brian Mitchell in his book on women in the military (Regnery Publishing, 1998) quotes C.S. Lewis: "For rising generations it will become a real problem at what point the policies you are ordered to carry out have become so iniquitous that a decent man must seek some other profession..."

Feminism ignores the natural

and spiritual realities of the differences between men and women. God has clearly given us distinct masculine and feminine roles. Is it really important that we have women in our combat units? What is the purpose? The purpose of the military is to field the most efficient war-fighting machine that we can. Introducing women into the unit does not help that efficiency. Most Americans do not know that while in the field, men and women in the military sleep and change their clothing in the same tents. How does one ignore nature? As Tom Moncure, who resigned from the Board of Visitors over the admittance of women, said regarding women at VMI, "...it is a perversion and an offense against the Laws of Nature. How do we aspire to be Gentlemen and yet require young men to abuse and debase women?"

Southern Partisan: What one influence or impression did you bring with you from your time at VMI?

Guthrie: Moral courage. However that courage is phony if it is not based on the firm foundation of the Word of God. That aspect, unfortunately, has been purged from VMI and therefore the very essence of what we were to be and what we were expected to be has failed. The *Rambo* and

now *GI Jane* characters depicted in modern films are not a valid picture of courage. Savagery, maybe, but not true courage. Not the kind of courage that was displayed by the Army of Northern Virginia during the War Between the States. It is not the kind of courage displayed by the Continental Army during the War for Independence. What VMI was really about was taking the average citizen, the average American Patriot and taking his talents and turning him into something above average, an instrument that could be used by the nation during times of war and during times of peace. The citizen-soldier. VMI still has the appearance of this mission, but the spirit, soul and heart are no longer there.

Southern Partisan: Where are you, spiritually and theologically?

Guthrie: I have very similar theological views that Jackson had. As long as a preacher preaches the gospel, I'm not as concerned with his denomination. Further, I would not be doing what I am doing with Southern Military Institute if I did not believe in Divine Providence and that God wanted me to go in this direction. I came to the decision



Mike Guthrie with wife Dorothy and their three children.



(L-R) Brian Mitchell, author of *Women in the Military—Flirting with Disaster*, Rick Williams of American Foundation Publications and Mike Guthrie.

regarding SMI after a lot of prayer. When the decision regarding VMI came down, I kept waiting for someone more qualified with the moral courage to do something!

Southern Partisan: You, like Stonewall Jackson, are very concerned with the spiritual dimension of education and warfare. Did you have a “conversion” experience when you saw a need for Christ?

Guthrie: Yes, when I was 32 years old. My wife to be invited me to a bible study and prayer meeting at a time when I was not living right; I had lost hope in the country and society and was discouraged with the direction the country was headed. I had a conversion experience where I realized I had to commit my life to Christ, admit I was living wrong and repent of my sins. A year or two before I had quit drinking. I realized that wasn't doing me any good. I had lost a brother due to disease from alcohol abuse. Though while I was at VMI, I was actually stripped and thrown in a snowdrift when it was about 20 degrees outside for *not* drinking!

Southern Partisan: That's probably one tradition you won't have at SMI!

Guthrie: No you're right, we

won't have that one at SMI! We will have a total ban on alcohol at SMI, though VMI does as well. Of course there were ways of getting it and hiding it! But, if you were caught, you were dismissed. Cadets could get away with getting drunk, as long as they were not “public” about it and didn't cause a scene.

Southern Partisan: I believe that when Jackson and Superintendent Smith were at VMI, Christianity was so much a part of the culture, particularly in the South, they took it for granted that the schools would teach Christian values and it was something that really didn't have to be made an issue. As an example, when Lee came to Washington College, he stated there would be only one rule and that was that every young man was to be a gentleman and it was assumed you knew what that meant—the concept of the Christian gentleman was well understood by everyone at that time.

Guthrie: Yes, this is true. There was a distinct decay in the general morality of this country dating back to around World War I with the advancement of Marxist theory. At the same time, Christianity was brought down to the same level with superstition and other religions. The

American public has been brain-washed by the once, but no longer subtle message that Christianity is no better and in fact not equal with most religions. The state has become the source of morality. Morality has been replaced with ethics and ethics are defined by men. No absolutes.

Southern Partisan: I know you are currently reading Dr. Robertson's book on Stonewall Jackson. Has Jackson been an influence in this whole process?

Guthrie: Yes, very much so, through my whole life, at least since the sixth grade forward. His determination is a great inspiration.

Southern Partisan: Do you believe VMI has slowly succumbed to the “politically correct” atmosphere that pervades the nation or was it a sudden change?

Guthrie: It's been gradual. My class (1977) was the last class to march to “Dixie,” in the spring of '74. They stopped “Dixie” after that year. Ironically, Gunnery Sergeant Hockaday, who is black, insisted we sing “Dixie” when we did the forced march from Lexington to New Market in 1975, and we did!

Southern Partisan: I believe it was during Governor Wilder's administration that VMI stopped allowing the Confederate Battle Flag on class rings.

Guthrie: It was optional during my senior year and I have the flag on my ring. Prior to that, I don't believe it was an option. So you can see the gradual, chipping away of tradition, particularly Southern Tradition, from the Institute.

Southern Partisan: Is it still a tradition that VMI gives every cadet a bible?

Guthrie: I believe you have to sign a petition in order to receive a Bible prior to the graduation ceremony. General Smith gave you a Bible at graduation as depicted by his statue in front of VMI's Administration building. My rat year was the last class that had to march

to church on Sundays.

Southern Partisan: Was that a requirement or was it optional?

Guthrie: As I recall it was a requirement.

Southern Partisan: What is your view of the radical feminist agenda in regard to its clash with VMI and the Citadel?

Guthrie: The agenda, in my opinion, though I hate to use the term, is Marxist. It is a mutation of Marxism, an Americanized version of the same philosophy. It is the same agenda. It is against religion, against class distinction for whatever reason, sex included, except for the intellectuals.

Southern Partisan: It has occurred to me that liberals, whether they be radical feminists,

“The mission of the Southern Military Institute is to train young men to be strong moral leaders who are devoted to God, dedicated to constitutional government, educated in the modern sciences, and who are able to serve their church, community, or State in civilian roles during peacetime or in military roles during times of war.”

liberal theologians, etc. rarely start their own institutions. Rather they infiltrate a traditional, conservative institution and corrupt and tear down the traditions from the inside or they use the force of the federal government from the outside in the name of “equality” and “progress” to take over that institution and remake it in their modern image. Most of the Ivy League schools were originally started as orthodox, Christian schools for the purpose of training ministers of the Gospel, yet look at them today. And now they have their sights on VMI and the Citadel and are well on their way to corrupting these institutions...

Guthrie: Their agenda is not to

have equal opportunity but rather to destroy that which stands in the way of their agenda. And it's always done in the name of some “righteous” cause. Tradition and religion are scorned and belittled.

Southern Partisan: Do you believe VMI could have raised enough money to go private?

Guthrie: Without question. I believe we are on the verge of success in establishing SMI and we don't have nearly the financial backing that VMI has.

Southern Partisan: Is there any “big money” behind your efforts?

Guthrie: No. At least not at this point. We have spoken to some wealthy conservatives who would like to support us, but many are tak-

ing a wait and see attitude. If we are successful, and I believe we will be, it will not be because we had a handful of wealthy donors to fund our efforts. It will be due to the fact that God ordained it and we were fighting for a moral cause and the people picked up on that and supported us. That is a message in itself. Perhaps one that is timely for the American people.

Southern Partisan: How close are you in your goal to establish SMI?

Guthrie: We are currently in serious negotiations with a school that has a site in East Texas. This is our first choice. We also have several fallback positions for a school in

Georgia, Alabama or possibly Virginia.

Southern Partisan: What are your immediate goals financially and how can our readers help you?

Guthrie: If we can raise \$50,000 to \$100,000, we will have the financing purchase a campus. This is very doable. We have just embarked on a major fund-raising drive and we welcome all contributions no matter how small. We hope to receive our 501(c)(3) status in short order. I have professors from West Point, The Citadel, Georgia Tech, The University of Virginia and believe it or not, the University of Massachusetts who have already expressed interest in teaching at SMI. The moral support and interest we have received is unbelievable. From all parts of the country I have received encouragement. Funds are the key right now.

Southern Partisan: How can you be contacted and where should contributions be sent?

Guthrie: We have a toll free number that you can call for information. That number is (800) 394-1699. Contributions can be sent to: SMI, 8000 Highway 20 West, Suite D102-390, Madison, Alabama 35758. We also have a web-site: <http://www.south-mil-inst.org/>

Southern Partisan: I believe our readers would be interested in the mission statement of Southern Military Institute. Can you quote that for us?

Guthrie: Certainly. “The mission of the Southern Military Institute is to train young men to be strong moral leaders who are devoted to God, dedicated to constitutional government, educated in the modern sciences, and who are able to serve their church, community, or State in civilian roles during peacetime or in military roles during times of war.”

Southern Partisan: Thank you Dr. Guthrie. God bless you and God bless Southern Military Institute.



In Search of the Real Jefferson

BY CONSTANTINE GUTZMAN

A Review of:

Thomas Jefferson

A KEN BURNS FILM
AND

American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson

by Joseph J. Ellis

Alfred A. Knopf, 1997, 365 pages,
\$26.00 cloth.

Because Thomas Jefferson left literally tens of thousands of written documents to posterity, anyone who tries to tell his life story must face the daunting task of deciding what to emphasize. This problem is even harder to deal with for someone who decides to use film as his medium, for of course very few words can be said in even the longest film. A truly dramatic presentation will have even less room for Jeffersonian monologues.

Ken Burns deals with that problem in *Thomas Jefferson* by featuring both Andrew Burstein, a confirmed Jefferson admirer, and Joseph J. Ellis, a Virginian-cum-New Englander biographer (and devotee) of John Adams, among the on-screen historians in his film. Neither turns in the sort of bravura performance Shelby Foote did in *The Civil War*, but both are interesting.

Even an informed viewer leaves the film with the feeling that he has gained new insight into Jefferson's personality.

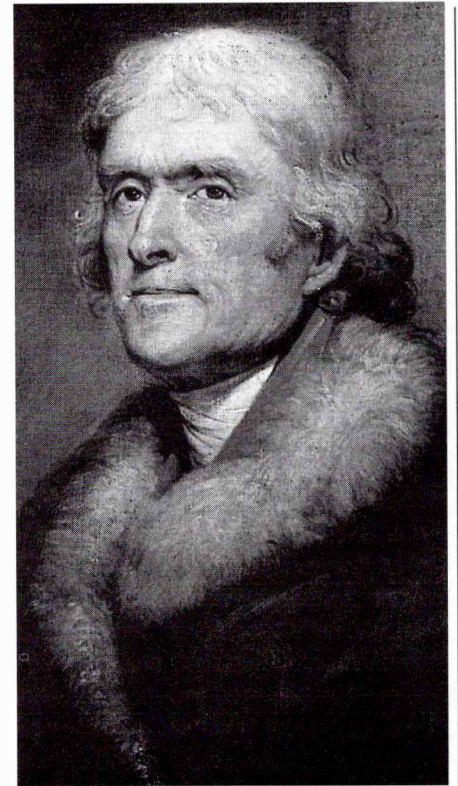
Although I write from the campus of "Mr. Jefferson's University," the University of Virginia, I am perhaps not his most admiring student. Almost despite myself, I have been impressed by the contrast between the way Jefferson treated his slaves—selling them, buying them, leaving his family's finances in such

a state that their families all had to be broken up—and the way his cousin John Randolph of Roanoke and his revolutionary superior George Washington treated theirs—by emancipating them at their deaths. Paul Finkelman, Jefferson's most vociferous critic, is given some "face time" in Burns' account, and it is telling. Jefferson can be held to our standards on this question because he helped to mold our opinion.

In a sense, then, the film is propagandistic. Burstein shows to worst advantage when he glosses Jefferson's life almost lovingly, reckoning that this glaring failing was outweighed by the Master of Monticello's achievements. Maybe it was; we are not God. What did Jefferson think of that?

Burns adopts the unusual strategy of stressing Jefferson's relationship to John Adams to a far greater extent than the one he enjoyed with his fellow Virginia Republican, James Madison. This is another rhetorical choice all biographers of Jefferson must face. If one stresses Madison, he is left with a Jefferson who appears flighty and intellectual. Madison, after all, usually talked Jefferson out of publishing his bad ideas.

To stress the relationship with John Adams is to put Jefferson in a better light. Adams, after all, was a curmudgeonly, bitter Yankee who had been defeated by Jefferson in the Revolution of 1800, and virtually all authorities now agree that Adams deserved it. In the exchanges of letters that marked the last several years of their lives, Adams was trying to vindicate himself against the optimistic conception of human nature now favored by most academics and inculcated by most universities. In short, Jefferson looks good to most people when paired with



John Adams.

Reviewers in academic journals have not been especially kind to Burns' effort. One complained, for example, that the last years of Jefferson's political career are mostly glossed, that it would have made sense for a man who gave many hours to baseball to have made his life of Jefferson more than three hours long. This criticism, it seems to me, ignores the fact that Burns has an audience of intelligent laymen, not of hyper-skeptical specialists, in mind. No, there are no new interpretations here. Did anyone expect any? Did *Baseball* or *The Civil War* offer any?

Burstein's Jefferson is avatar of a dreaming people, a people whose civic ideals rest, as George Will puts it in the film, on "a proposition." It is, of course, pointless to argue with men like Will. The fact that Virginia had been independent for several weeks by the time the Declaration of Independence was approved by its delegates to Congress has no weight in their calculus. They believe America was "founded" on "a prin-

ciple" (note: not the principle that men can secede when they wish) because they want to believe it. They are, in a sense, Jeffersonians, for although Jefferson was involved in the process of writing Virginia's constitution of 1776 in June of that year, he too came to ascribe import to his Declaration that it had not actually had.

Joseph J. Ellis' Jefferson is another fellow altogether. Ellis gave a talk at Kenwood, a portion of what was in Jefferson's day the plantation of Monticello, the day he finished writing *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*.

There, at the International Center for Jefferson Studies, Ellis presented an image of Jefferson through the eyes of a moderate man of the American Enlightenment.

Ellis' book is not a forthright conservative assessment of Jefferson, nor is it an anti-Jeffersonian screed of the type recently penned by Conor Cruise O'Brien. Rather, it seems to me a most judicious appraisal of a man prone to latch onto what were clearly some nutty ideas.

Ellis kicks off his book by making some observations on the latter-day cult of Thomas Jefferson. Noting that the scholarly assessments of him on the 250th anniversary of his birth were often harsh, Ellis ponders the question why Americans at large do not seem much to care. Even in rural Massachusetts, he notes, throngs turn out to hear a Jefferson impersonator ply his trade. Whatever the people at large may think, Ellis asserts it is high time for a serious historian to take a new, book-length look at Jefferson in light of the recent scholarship.

Anyone who has seen the Burns film will recognize parts of this book, for Ellis repeats himself. No problem, though, for his choice of insights is keen. He plays up some of the most important points about Jefferson that past biographers did not pay sufficient attention, espe-

cially that, as he also says in the movie, some of his hero's ringing generalities are so high above the fray that they can be claimed by virtually any contestant. Dixiecrats and Hubert Humphrey, secessionists and Abe Lincoln can claim him.

Well, one might answer, Mohammed could claim Christ, too, what does that prove? Ellis is not saying that neither side has the better argument, he is saying something about Jefferson's personality and his mode of thought. Several times in his account (which is episodic, not an exhaustive biography), coadjutors have to point out to Jefferson that his theoretical notions would be destructive in operation.

Jefferson's tendency is to stifle himself, but not to change his mind. Thus, for example, his notion that "the earth belongs to the living," thoroughly demolished as a principle applicable to mundane political activity by James Madison when Jefferson first raised it, reappears throughout Jefferson's correspondence for decades thereafter. Some men will not learn.

One of the most lamentable aspects of Jefferson's behavior was his spend-thrift treatment of his inheritance. Left a sizable estate by his father-in-law and his father, Jefferson left enormous debts to his heirs. He knew from a very early date that he was in financial trouble, but that knowledge did not prevent him from maintaining a substantial domestic establishment when he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Paris or from buying over 15,000 books, expensive books, in his lifetime. He "had" to have the wine, the art, the constantly refurbished "big house" on the hill.

Jefferson's response to the problem of slavery, which was a problem mainly because his own ideas had proved so popular, need not detain us here. Ellis does not take sides on the miscegenation question, but he certainly finds

Jefferson's handling of the matter unbecoming. Burns, in the fashion he first employed in *The Civil War*, gets a famous black professor to talk about this issue, as if no black could talk about anything else and no one else could talk about slavery. He, too, takes Jefferson to task for choosing opulence over emancipation. They are both right: John Randolph of Roanoke, who owned far more slaves than Jefferson, lived in far less opulence. He freed all his slaves and provided them all with substantial landholdings at his death. Jefferson might have done as much.

What is left out of both of these accounts in this regard is the financial weight of high office. Now, when President William Jefferson Clinton earns a princely sum and has a princely retinue provided at public expense, we are prone to consider the presidency lucrative. In Jefferson's day, he, James Monroe, and other politicians were wrecked by it. Jefferson's self-indulgence included his lengthy political career.

Jefferson's employment of his political coterie against John Adams and other Federalists was also inconsistent with his stated principles. He sicced a nasty newspaperman on Adams, and Mrs. Adams thought it poetic that that dog turned on his owner. Perhaps it was. In any event, John Adams was no Vestal Virgin despoiled by the Goths himself. One can be too critical...

In sum, Ellis and Burns have done creditable jobs. I recommend that anyone interested in Jefferson, from the most innocent layman to the most experienced specialist, see and read these works. They repay the effort.

Constantine Gutzman is writing his doctoral dissertation in American History at the University of Virginia.

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A Character Problem,
Take a Look At...**

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A Call To The Colors

BY DEVEREAUX D. CANNON, JR.

A review of **Embattled Banner: A Reasonable Defense of the Confederate Battle Flag**

By Don Hinkle
Turner Publishing Company, 1997,
200 pages, \$21.95.

Last Summer, the Tennessee State Museum put on display six newly restored Confederate flags. Because this was the largest number of restored flags put into the museum's exhibits in some time, and because their premiere coincided with the opening of the Sons of Confederate Veterans 102d national convention being held in Nashville, the museum wished to showcase the new flags. The exhibit was highlighted by a display of the silk presentation flag of the 10th Tennessee Infantry Regiment in the museum lobby.

At the same time, the museum's gallery was to feature an exhibition of art by local African-American artists. A major contributor to that exhibit was Carlton Wilkinson, the proprietor of an African-American art gallery in Nashville. "Offended" by the presence of the flag, Wilkinson, amid a great flurry of publicity threatened to withdraw his exhibitors from the art show. So the museum moved the 10th Tennessee flag from the lobby to the main exhibit area. The museum assured its patrons that the decision to move the flag was made not to bow to the demands of Mr. Wilkinson, but out of concern for the safety of the flag.

In his protest, Wilkinson argued that "putting [a Confederate flag] in the path of those who come looking for African-American art will insult or scare some visitors, especially younger children."

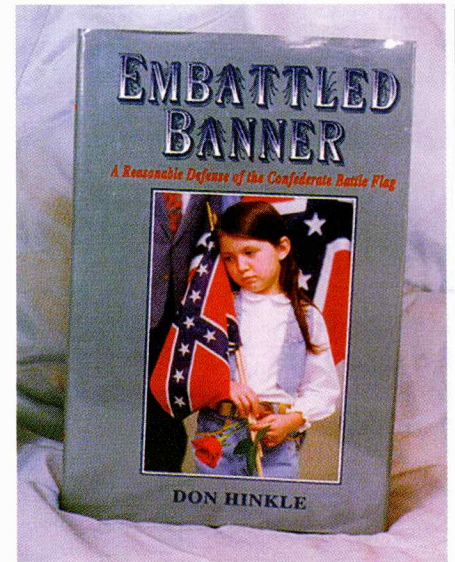
Perhaps you would naturally

assume that the flag which Wilkinson feared would frighten children was the familiar Confederate St. Andrew's cross. Not this time. The 10th Tennessee Infantry was a regiment of Irishmen, known as the "Sons of Erin." The flag which caused Wilkinson such concern and fear was a green flag with the golden harp of Ireland.

In his book *Embattled Banner: A Reasonable Defense of the Confederate Battle Flag*, journalist Don Hinkle examines attacks on the Confederate heritage like these. His exposition is written in an orderly and logical manner, beginning with the history of the flag and of the actions of those opposed to the flag. He opens with the example set by Abraham Lincoln. In September 1863 Lincoln arrested the publishers and editor of a Baltimore newspaper for publishing "The Southern Cross," a poem about the Confederate battle flag. Upon arrest they were sent across the battle lines and told not to return until the war was over. (Lincoln's retribution against the Baltimore journalists, which so clearly illustrated his high regard for the 1st, 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the Bill of Rights, may have received such a prominent position in Hinkle's book since the author is himself a journalist.)

With a journalist's instincts, he pursues the story of the flag, and seeks out the motivation of those who seek to destroy it.

Hinkle examines post-war attacks on the flag from the earliest "bloody shirt" attacks of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) to the current efforts of the NAACP. In his chapter entitled "Hatred Knows No Bounds," the author expands his theme to show that "the attacks have expanded to include everything associated with the Confederacy." The incident involving the 10th Tennessee flag occurred after the publication of *Embattled Banner*, but what could better illustrate the



point? Many have tried over the years to appease the anti-flag radicals by compromising, and replacing the Battle Flag with the "less inflammatory" Stars and Bars. Yet in Nashville the controversy centered on an Irish flag, a flag that contained no Confederate iconography, a flag that was Confederate only by association.

As Hinkle points, "The whole thing smacks of cultural genocide."

In addition to exposing the nature of the attack on Confederate symbols, *Embattled Banner* gives the Southerner the information necessary to defend his culture and heritage in a chapter entitled "The Truth Will always Suffice." Each of Hinkle's chapters is headed with a bit of poetry.

That which begins this chapter, a selection from Franklin H. Mackey's *The Southern Battle Flags*, is especially appropriate.

Do it dishonor? That battle flag?
Look on it with disdain?

No: never while our pulses
beat our honor will we stain.

Yet will we touch our elbows
close to yours, if comes the need
That we for our united land
be called upon to bleed.

And North and South as
friends again shall be each so true

That both can march to
"Dixie's Land" and "Yankee
Doodle," too;

(Continued On Page 40)

The South's Homer

BY CHARLES S. HAMEL

A Review of: Soldier and Scholar: Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve and the Civil War

Edited by Ward W. Briggs, Jr.
University Press of Virginia, 1998,
\$47.50.

B. L. Gildersleeve was one of the greatest classical scholars ever produced by the United States. Only W. A. Oldfather of the University of Illinois and B. L. Ullman of the University of Chicago and later of the University of North Carolina equaled him in breadth of scholarship and range of interests. However, Oldfather and Ullman belong chiefly to the 20th century and were Midwesterners. Gildersleeve belongs to the 19th century, and was a Southerner by birth and loyalty.

In *Soldier and Scholar*, a selection of autobiographical writings and a series of editorials which Gildersleeve wrote for the *Richmond Examiner* in 1863 and 1864, we are given a broad comprehensive view of a great scholar who fruitfully combined his classical scholarship with true devotion to his native region.

Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve was born in Charleston, South Carolina in 1831 and died in Baltimore, Maryland in 1924. James Madison was still alive in the year of his birth and George Bush was born in the last year of Gildersleeve's long life. Gildersleeve's father was a Presbyterian minister who early on taught Greek and Latin to his son. Gildersleeve remarks that he thought in Greek from the age of five. Later, he learned Latin, French, German, Spanish and Italian and attended the College of Charleston for a year before he transferred to Jefferson (now Washington and Jefferson)

College in Pennsylvania. He completed his college years at Princeton, graduating in 1849 at the age of 18.

Gildersleeve felt that he needed education in greater depth than any college or university in America could give him, however, so he headed to Germany. Germany was particularly attractive to Southern minds in the nineteenth century because of its federal structure. (The German Confederation had emerged at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 from the ruined Holy Roman Empire.) At that time, German Universities were on the cutting edge of scholarship in the classical languages. After studying at Bonn and Berlin, Gildersleeve settled on the University of Gottingen from whence he received his Ph.D. in 1853. (It is worth noting incidentally that more than one fifth of the American students at Gottingen were from the South and in the years 1845-1860 Charleston, South Carolina sent more students there than did Boston, Massachusetts.)

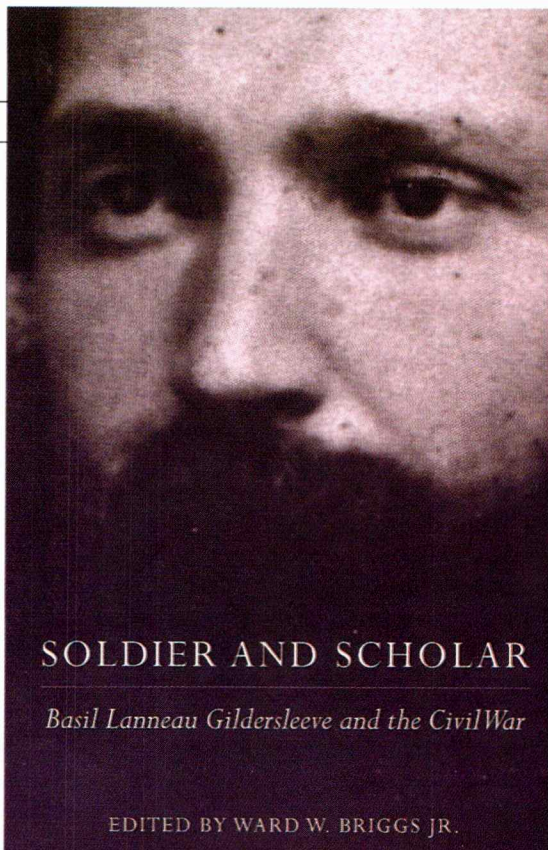
Returning to the United States, Gildersleeve tutored for a year in the South Carolina Lowcountry. In 1856 he was appointed to the chair of Greek at the University of Virginia where he remained for 20 years. When the war came, Gildersleeve continued to teach in the winter but in the summer enlisted in the Army of Northern Virginia as a private. He was seriously wounded at Weyer's Cave in 1864 and carried a limp for the rest of his life.

Gildersleeve never at any time doubted the righteousness of the Confederate cause and to the day of his death he was always proud of his service to the Confederacy. In addition to serving in the Confederate army Gildersleeve wrote during the years

1863-1864 a number of editorials for the *Richmond Examiner* edited by John Moncure Daniel, a brilliant fire-eating secessionist. These editorials appeared late in the war when Southerners were discouraged, and felt that matters would improve only if Lincoln were defeated in the election of 1864. They cover a wide range of subject matter. Gildersleeve denounced everyone from hoarders and profiteers to Jefferson Davis, whom Gildersleeve considered a bungler. Regrettably, Gildersleeve blamed the Jews and in particular Judah Benjamin for the Confederacy's failure. (To be fair to Gildersleeve, anti-Semitism was as rampant in the North as in the South but it was no doubt pressures of the war which made Gildersleeve react as he did. Gildersleeve had a number of Jewish friends including Jacob Bernays at Gottingen, under whom he wrote his doctoral dissertation.)

On the question of slavery, Gildersleeve was by today's lights polit-

(Continued On Page 40)



A Call To The Colors (Continued From Page 39)

But never ask that we shall
be so false unto our dead

That we can turn our backs
upon the flag for which they bled.

In the decades following the Spanish American War it seemed that the sentiments called for in those lines might be heeded. The patriotic fervor of World War I certainly saw it, as expressed in musical productions such as those of George M. Cohan, with their feverishly patriotic messages that often included the melody of *Dixie*. And indeed, the patriotic response by Southerners to the call to arms in every war of this century certainly contributed greatly to all of America's war efforts. And, as Hinkle points out, the

Confederate battle flag has been present all along the way. "The battle flag has always been carried into battle by Southern soldiers, whether they were fighting for Dixie or the United States." For as Hinkle's introduction points out, "the South cannot be strong if it is robbed of its past. A weak South weakens the United States."

In his sixth and final chapter, Hinkle presents the story of Michael Westerman, the young Kentuckian who was shot down beside his wife on a lonely stretch of highway in Robertson County, Tennessee. Westerman was murdered for the crime of flying a Confederate battle flag on his pickup truck. The trial of his executioners, who were convicted of murder and "hate crimes," received international publicity. Yet no journalist ever tried to tell Westerman's story. Hinkle closes this gap. In concluding

the book, Hinkle points out that in the continuing debate over the battle flag, "the Westermans remain an integral part of that discourse.

But to them it's something far more profound than just a debate over the battle flag; for in the midst of the often heated discussion, their only son was killed."

Hinkle's book is a worthy addition to the literature on the Confederate flag controversy and is recommended reading for all Southerners concerned about their embattled heritage. ☪

Devereaux D. Cannon, Jr. is a Nashville attorney and former Tennessee Division SCV commander. He has served as an advisor of Southern Partisan for over a decade.

The South's Homer (Continued From Page 39)

ically incorrect. Privately he referred to slavery as "the Jonah of our vessel." Publicly in two editorials he professed the view that the cradle to grave care which slavery offered was preferable to Northern wage slavery. Gildersleeve also denounced speculators and praised the heroic sacrifices made by the common soldier.

After the war, Gildersleeve continued to teach at the University of Virginia until 1876 when he was appointed chair of Greek at the newly founded Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. For Gildersleeve and his family it was a congenial move. Baltimore was in every respect a southern city and at Johns Hopkins he was finally given the chance to do work commensurate with his great talents, establishing the first German style graduate program in the U S. Ultimately Gildersleeve would direct 67 doctoral dissertations in the graduate program. He also founded *The American Journal of Philology*, the first classics periodical ever published in the United States. In 1885 Gildersleeve

brought out his commentary on the Olympian and Pythian odes of Pindar (518-438 B.C.) one of the most difficult but ultimately rewarding of the Greek poets. A sentence from his preface well illustrates how Gildersleeve blended his Southern experience and classical scholarship without any distortion to either. Speaking of Pindar, Gildersleeve notes that someone who acknowledges no local roots is a man to whom "country" is merely an abstraction. Pindar's siding with his native Thebes in the Persian War might be better understood thus. "A little experience of a losing side might aid historical vision," writes the Southern patriot.

The American South has given the country some singular individuals who have had a national impact in a number of different ways; Lee, as a heroic military figure, Faulkner as a great writer, Cordell Hull as statesman of World War II, and B. L. Gildersleeve as a classical scholar. Much like the others there is no doubt that Gildersleeve's Southern roots and background were formative to his greatness.

Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, the

Confederate veteran who put America on the map as a country which could be the equal of any in the quality of its classical scholarship, is buried in University Cemetery in Charlottesville, Virginia. The epitaph on his monument reads "Life's bivouac is over," a translation from the Greek dramatist Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.), and the perfect benediction for the scholar-soldier that was Gildersleeve.

Ward Briggs, professor of Classics at the University of South Carolina, is generally a very competent editor of the epistolary material in this Gildersleeve collection, but more attention should have been paid to spotting typographical errors. In a footnote on page 127, the Third Punic War is said to have been fought in 149 AD rather than 149 BC. Other than the above reservation, this is a book which thoughtful Southerners interested in their history should read and ponder. ☪

Charles Scott Hamel lives in Chapin, South Carolina and is publisher of Southern Partisan.

Crime & Punishment—1990s Style

TED ROBERTS

We Southerners love justice. And I don't mean the old, posse joke: "hey, let's give this sheep rustling varmint a fair trial and then hang him quickly so we can git home in time for ham 'n grits supper."

We Southerners love justice because ever since that embarrassing tableau at Appomattox Court House in April of 1865 we've felt put upon. Seven decades of economic misery was the bad news. The good news was three to four generations of poets and novelists tortured with feverish imaginations, aching with the injustice of it all entertained and instructed a curious world.

No pain – no gain applies to literary endeavors as well as weight lifting. Comfortable, well-fed folks with no anxieties rarely gild the world with beauty or insight. They have little in common with William Faulkner and his best pal, Jack, in the big square bottle.

Ditto for the Irish. A lack of spuds and mastery of their own fate conjured up poets, playwrights, and novelists who preached to the world in strange and shocking dialects, Same tonic; injustice. All of which brings me to my good friend, Herb, who like William Faulkner and those verbose Irish, likes a beer now and then.

He and I had a few yeasty libations the other night at the malt shop. As we drained our last mug, here comes the waitress bearing down on our table with that ominous piece of paper that must be indented with a viable credit card.

"Uh, Herb, I'd love the privilege, but didn't I treat last time?"

"Yeah, but what's love or last time got to do with it?" This was outright illogical – even for Herb.

"I learned it from watching the Court TV channel," he continued. "Past behavior is unallowable as evidence."

This liberal courtroom view was not at all in sync with Herb's medieval mind that considers the Magna Carta

our last socially useful legislation on due process. To Herb, the Iron Maiden, the Boot, and the Rack are a prosecutor's best friends.

"All simple, low maintenance devices," says Herb, "much more reliable than the polygraph."

He thinks the Miranda Act is Carmen's old gig at the Copocabana.

The sight of my VISA card, slapped into the outstretched hand of our server, stimulated Herb to further conversation—jurisprudencewise. He was full of suggestions. First (and he picked this up from Steven Landsburg's new book *Fair Play* published by Free Press) any juror voting for acquittal in a murder case must take the defendant home for a week's sojourn in the bosom of his family. ("Dearie, this Cracko "Gunner" McKenzie—responsible for a mass wipeout at work – not because he's evil, but due to the fact that he suffered an irritating, third straight lottery loss. He's really an OK guy. Signed his forced confession—"Troubled." He'll be sleeping in the chaise lounge in our bedroom.)

Herb had a few more suggestions:

- 1 In any case involving personal injury, at least three members of the victim's family shall be seated as jurors.
- 2 A "National Love Our Felon Week" in which the families of ACLU members are locked up in a 2' by 2' jail cell alongside the incarcerated.
- 3 Defendants must appear in court, dressed in their working uniforms. If the subject wore jeans, a T-shirt and a nose ring the night of his felony—that's what he wears to court.
- 4 Community Service will be abolished. Athletes with drug or alcohol related convictions and a raging compulsion to discuss them shall be gagged and kept ten miles from any schoolroom.
- 5 The maximum education for Public Defenders is a grammar school.
- 6 A defendant pleading insanity must submit to a prefrontal lobotomy by a

terrified paramedic.

- 7 All felons are formally sentenced on Leap Year, February 29, and time is duly measured from that date. "Let the Supreme Court chew on that instead of criminal rights," says Herb, the legislator.

The Penal System? Herb's got a nifty approach. "You empty the jails, round up the cons, and run the last great cattle drive in American history. From the four corners of our errant land, you herd 'em to the top half of North Dakota.

And just in case the state of North Dakota objects to the use of the state as a hazardous human waste dump, there's Herb's "twelve foot cliff" concept, named after, amazingly, a 12-foot cliff on the outskirts of his home town. This fresh approach makes jails and prisons obsolete. An earth friendly solution, says Herb—an intelligent use of natural resources—particularly cliffs, ravines, and deep gullies. Herb's idea involves pushing convicted felons off a 12-foot embankment – for simple theft. And raising the stakes from there. His ultimate height is 500 feet. Really a waste of 450 feet, he says, but 500 feet has a certain drama about it. Fringe benefits to society; a) our inactive lawbreaker spends a long spell indoors—off the streets, b) has lots of time to ruminate on the tradeoff of a busted pelvis vs .15 dollars worth of convenience store contraband, and c) saves the taxpayers the cost of basic prison services, plus today's amenities of ping pong, TV, and weight rooms. (Now that's what we *really* need; stronger hoodlums!)

Just as soon as the Congress gets Social Security fixed up, Herb's going to present his program. He's no pollyanna. He expects some opposition from the North Dakota delegation. ☼

Ted Roberts hails from Huntsville, Alabama where he concocts tales for Southern Partisan, some of which are true.

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

"In the introduction to *a Treasury of Civil War Tales*, I wrote, 'This volume does not begin to exhaust the rich lode of Civil War material available.' The same is true of the present volume. Hopefully, though, *Civil War Trivia* will prove to be an enjoyable challenge to every student of this most unusual of wars, the ramifications of which continue to our own time."

—*Webb Garrison in the introduction to Civil War Trivia*

FAMOUS FIRSTS

1. What was the specific objective of Henry Heth's Confederate division, which made the first major contact with Union forces at Gettysburg?
2. The CSS Virginia, the first ironclad warship of the Civil War, was fashioned from the hull and engines of what Union vessel?
3. What especially colorful troops fought for the C.S.A. in the first battle west of the Mississippi?
4. Who is generally credited with having won the first engagement of the war?
5. Where was some of the first Confederate currency printed?
6. What underwater vessel was the first to sink a ship in wartime?
7. Who first defined the term Lost Cause, referring to the South's unsuccessful attempt to leave the Union?
8. What regiment is widely considered to have been first to break and flee at First Manassas?


9. What officer of the U.S. Army was the first to reject an offer to become commanding general?
10. What was the first plantation mansion seized by Federal forces?
11. Why is the Civil War regarded as the first modern war?
12. For the first time in a large-scale war, troops were deployed en masse via what transportation system?

- February 17, 1864.
7. Journalist Edward A. Pollard in his book *The Lost Cause*, 1866.
8. The First Rhode Island.
9. Col. Robert E. Lee, who instead joined the Confederate army.
10. Arlington, the property of Mrs. Robert E. Lee.
11. It was the first total war aiming to destroy the heart of a country, rather than just its army, with new strategy, weapons, and military techniques.
12. Railroads.

ANSWERS

1. They were looking for shoes for their troops.
2. The *USS Merrimack*.
3. A brigade of Indians led by Albert Pike.
4. Brig. Gen. Daniel H. Hill, C.S.A. (Big Bethel, Virginia, June 1, 1861)
5. New York City, under a contract made before April 1861 and canceled after Fort Sumter.
6. The CSS *H.L. Hunley*, by ramming the *USS Housatonic* in Charleston harbor on

Webb Garrison is a veteran writer who lives in Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. Formerly associate dean of Emory University and president of McKenree College, he has written 40 books, including A Treasury of White House Tales, and A Treasury of Christmas Stories. Civil War Trivia and Fact Book, ©1992 by Webb Garrison and reprinted by permission of Rutledge Hill Press, Nashville, Tennessee.



SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOF

ON EQUALITY

"The propaganda of egalitarianism encourages belief that any society embodying distinctions must necessarily be torn with envy and hatred."
—*Richard M. Weaver*

ON POWER

"From the nature of man, we may be sure that those who have power in their hands...will always, when they can...increase it."
—*George Mason*

ON CHECKS AND BALANCES

"To the Government of the United States has been entrusted the exclusive management of our foreign affairs. Beyond that it wields a few general enumerated powers. It does not force reform on the States."
—*President James K. Polk*

ON THE PUBLIC DEBT

"In all public expenditures the most rigid economy should be resorted to, and, as one of its results, a public debt in time of peace should be sedulously avoided."
—*President John Tyler*

ON UNION MAJ. GEN. BENJAMIN "BEAST" BUTLER

"I therefore pronounced and declared the said Butler a felon, deserving capital punishment, and ordered that he be no longer considered and treated as a public enemy of the Confederate States, but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind; and that in the event of his capture, the officer in command should cause him to be immediately executed by hanging."
—*President Jefferson Davis*

S O U T H E R N Motor Sports



BY BILL LAMKIN

As a Southern boy, I appreciate the details of life exclusive to the blessed South. And thankfully, there are some things about being Southern that are in your blood and no matter how much unsweetened tea one drinks they will never be removed: mama, grits, "Yes Ma'am," dogs, pick-ups, deer hunting, sweet tea, football, and *stock-car racing*. Some may disagree with the last item on my list, but, I stand by it.

With football and deer season ended, the only thing that can be found on television is hockey, basketball, and classic movie re-runs. I guess that's alright for some people. But we Southerners want some real action. Not to fear, February comes and with the chilly air also comes Speed Week, the Daytona 500, and the four greatest words in our language: "Gentlemen, start your engines."

The 1998 season represents the 50th anniversary of the fastest growing spectator sport in the United States (in 1997 average attendance was over 100,000 per race). Don't forget that NASCAR originated in the CSA before it became popular across the USA. (I believe it is almost impossible for a sport that is dominated with so many Southern participants to go disliked around the nation and the globe. After all, we are the friendliest and toughest people alive.)

This season will be filled with commentary from past champions and winners from across the decades that have made NASCAR such a wonderful and powerful sport. Perhaps this 50th season will be remembered as one that is heroic, challenging and down-to-the-wire. It would be great to see a points race decided in at Atlanta at the final lap (like in 1992

with Alan Kulwicki and Bill Elliott). This will only occur if the wins are spread among the drivers better than last year. In 1997 Ford dominated, winning 59% of the 32 races with only seven drivers. Chevrolet won 11 races with 2 drivers (Jeff Gordon won 10 of those) and Pontiac won only 2 races (with 2 drivers). 1998 is already an improvement in the win category. In the first five races in the 1998 season, there were 5 different drivers and each of the 3 manufacturers has been represented in victory lane.

At the end of the 1997 season as I hungered for horsepower, I made some preseason predictions that were never published. Among them was the most notable win of the decade: Dale Earnhardt winning the 40th Daytona 500 on his 20th try. Way to go Dale! For all those who believe that he is past his prime and is on a slide, #3 proved them wrong on February 15, 1998 in a hard-fought, much-deserved victory. ("The Intimidator" went one step beyond this fan, however, when predicted that 1998 would be his 8th championship.)

In the next race (Rocking-ham) Jeff Gordon and crew did a wonderful job coming from back in the pack to a repeat victory at "the Rock." In the inaugural Las Vegas 400 Mark Martin made a hard charge towards his first (but not last) victory of 1998. On March 9, Bobby Labonte won his third victory in four tries at Atlanta Motorspeedway in a rain delayed Monday running of the bulls. And, on March 22, Dale Jarrett took his third straight checkered flag at Darlington in the TransSouth 400, proving that some men can tame the track that is "too tough to tome." It is clear that the drivers in the "new breed" aren't "kids." They are men of steel. The Gordons, Labontes, Jarretts, and

Martins need a new motto: "If it is paved, it's *ours*."

1998 could be an exciting season with winners we haven't seen in some time (that is, if other teams can catch up with Ford on aerodynamics and Jeff Gordon in crew efficiency). Here are some predictions for the 1998 season that I *am* willing to publish: Mark Martin will win the Winston Cup, Ward Burton, Kyle Petty and Ricky Rudd will win; Johnny Benson and Michael Waltrip will win their first W.C. victories; Darrell Waltrip will retire to go into the announcer's booth for 1999, Jerry Nadeau will win "rookie of the year;" and there will finally be a solution to those awful restrictor plates that prevent the return to the glorious "Davey Allison sling-shot." The only way we will know if these predictions become reality is to watch the races. In November there will be a 50th Winston Cup Champion.

A Southerner should have his cultural I.D. checked if he doesn't like NASCAR Winston Cup racing. Where else will you ever see so many Confederate battle flags on television without snide commentary? All my life I have heard the words, "The South's Gonna rise again." Well, it has risen in the form of NASCAR, and the tide is swelling to unbelievable proportions. You see, NASCAR knows what the Democrats and Republicans also know—you can't succeed without the South. "*Southern* Gentlemen, start your engines!" ☘

When not watching NASCAR events, Bill Lamkin is in the pulpit of Linden Presbyterian Church in Linden, Alabama.

NEWS FROM MUSIC CITY



BY JON RAWL

There will soon be a new Byrd House in Texas. Tracy Byrd and his wife Michelle plan to build a new home for his family near his hometown of Beaumont, Texas. The home will be about 5,000 square-feet, and will include a large country porch on the front. The floor plans are ready to go.

"The Voice," Vern Gosdin, is staying busy these days, despite suffering a stroke three years ago. A native of the "Heart of Dixie"—Alabama, Vern's hit songs include "Set 'Em Up Joe" and "I Can Tell By The Way You Dance." Gosdin has recorded an album and plans to release it later this year. His bank account has grown lately with Yankee dollars, thanks to royalties from George Strait's remake of his old hit, "Today My World Slipped Away."

Country music rebel Willie Nelson has started his own music network: Outlaw Music Channel. Launched in February, the network is co-owned with the Kickapoo Indians in Kansas. Shows broadcast include the Dolly show, Porter Wagoner show, Country Carnival and more. OMC also features programming on Indian heritage.

Willie's old singing partner Johnny Cash recently expressed his "thanks" to the current country music community by taking out a full page ad in *Billboard Magazine*. The ad featured an old picture of Cash at San Quentin Prison, flipping the bird. The ad included the words; "American Recordings and Johnny Cash would like to acknowledge the Nashville music establishment and country radio for your support." This unique ad came after Cash won the Grammy for best country album this year. Over the past few years, Music Row hasn't been very supportive of the 66-year-old singer, refusing a major label deal to him. Furthermore, Johnny's upset over the refusal of country radio to play songs from his Grammy winning CD.

Country radio strikes out again. It appears the folks who care nothing about history had their way with the last single from Sawyer Brown, "Another Side." The song, written by lead singer Mark Miller, dealt with the subject of brother against brother in Mr. Lincoln's War. Although the music video was added to Hotshot rotation at CMT. The video was shot at Stones River National Battlefield in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Unfortunately, when "Another Side" was released to country radio, it received little airplay. Despite this, we thank Mark Miller and the rest of Sawyer Brown for having the intestinal fortitude to write, record, and release this song of substance.

Louisiana's Tim McGraw and Mississippi's Faith Hill are expecting baby number two this summer. The newest addition will join one-year-old sister, Gracie. Faith and Tim are keeping the sex of the baby a secret until it's born.

Southern Belle Lee Ann Womack ("The Fool," "You've Got To Talk To Me") says she will shield the entertainment spotlight from her young daughter, Aubrie. Seems Lee Ann became worried when fans started desiring autographs and bringing gifts to Aubrie. Although the East Texan has home-schooled Aubrie by herself in the past, Lee Ann will get help now from her parents. Both have a Masters degree in education.

Do you know what country artist just loves Taco Bell? Garth Brooks. When he travels, he sometimes orders take-out from the fast food restaurant for his crew. When he was on tour in Europe last year, Garth said the one thing he missed about America while he was over there was Taco Bell. Que pasa, y'all?

Northwestern Mutual Life's "Generation 2001" survey of the class of 2001 yielded an interesting result. According to college freshman, Garth is one of a handful of current musicians

most likely to be performing 30 years from now.

The Tennessee/Virginia border-town of Bristol may soon be the official birthplace of country music. Congressmen from those states introduced resolutions that would give the city the nickname. In 1927, Jimmie Rodgers and the Carter Family recorded the first country music sessions in Bristol.

Clint Black loves his cellular phone. Just ask fellow co-writer and singer Steve Wariner. Steve says he often gets random phone calls from Clint, and Clint always tells him he can't talk long. Steve's reponse: So why does he even bother calling me if he can't talk?

It's a boy of another kind for singer Toby Keith in '98. Last year, Toby welcomed a new baby son, Stelen. This year, Toby welcomed his second race horse on his Oklahoma ranch, a 2-year-old chestnut named Red River Boy. The horse is a half-brother of Jack Branch, Toby's other horse. Jeb Stuart, Wade Hampton and Nathan Bedford Forrest would be proud.

Confederate enthusiast Rhett Akins forgot his drivers license while cruising down Broadway Avenue in Nashville recently, and as fate would have it, a policeman just happened to stop him. As Rhett told the officer about his forgetfulness, the singer didn't forget where he had been stopped; underneath a massive billboard that just happened to be sporting his new album cover. He told the officer that he needed only to look up for his I.D. The officer was convinced and allowed Rhett to go scot-free, but not until he got an autograph from the star. Akins, a die-hard War Between the States fan, often receives books on the subject from his fans. Now that's a Rhett we can be proud of! ❖

Jon Rawl, CSA (Country Singing Authority) lives near the battlefield at Franklin, Tennessee.

Southern Cooking

BY SALLIE JEAN

Low-fat Southern cooking might seem like an oxymoron, but with Spring coming on, we Southern girls start looking forward to summer, swimsuits, and the white sandy beaches of Hilton Head, the Gulf Shores of Alabama, or many another romantic rendezvous near the sea. So it's time not necessarily to slim down, but to make sure we're as svelte as we usually are. That's just good manners. We don't want to distress the eyes of Southern seaside visitors.

This year, however, I've been interested in low-fat recipes for another reason. My husband had a minor health scare and is now on a reformist health kick. So he's been reading up on how elite special forces train and been doing his own imitation Navy SEAL, or British SAS, or, I suppose, Mosby's Rangers workout. The hard liquor has been locked away and will remain so—at least for Lent. And—quite unlike him—he's taken to requesting more fruit and vegetables in his diet.

Southern cooks pride themselves on preparing good, wholesome vittles for friends and family. Whipping-up good, wholesome, low-fat vittles, is, to my mind, simply a furtherance of that principle. With our men's Southern military traditions, our traditionally unrivaled predominance in beauty pageants, and our close-knit, kid-messy families, we have a lot to stay healthy for. So here are a few ideas for down-home, lip-smacking, low-fat cooking.

First, two appetizing dips that even Confederate calorie counters can enjoy:

SWEET POTATO DIP

1 pound sweet potatoes (1 large)
2 tsp. crushed garlic (about 3 cloves)
2 Tbs. extra-virgin olive oil
2 Tbs. lemon juice
6-10 good shakes of Tabasco sauce

Peel the potato and boil in just enough water to cover until soft. Drain

and place in food processor or blender with all other ingredients. Process until smooth. Add salt, pepper or more Tabasco sauce to taste. Serve with assortment of sliced vegetables to dip.

BLACK BEAN SALSA

1 can (15 1/2 oz) black beans
7 Tbs. medium or hot salsa
Juice from one lime
2 cloves garlic, minced

Drain and rinse black beans. Put all ingredients in a food processor or blender and process until smooth. Garnish with chopped fresh cilantro. Serve with *baked* tortilla chips.

And now, two main dishes which take the taste buds way beyond your normal low-fat fare of baked chicken or grilled fish:

BAYOU BURRITOS

2 jalapeno peppers, seeded and diced
1 small red pepper, seeded and diced
1 small onion, diced
1 stalk celery, finely chopped
1 24 oz. can crushed tomatoes
1/2 tsp. dried cilantro
2 bay leaves
2 cloves garlic, minced
pepper and several dashes of Tabasco to taste
2 cups cooked rice
1 1/2 pounds catfish fillets
Tortillas (corn or flour), warm in oven for the last 10 minutes of baking time

Simmer the jalapeno, red pepper, onion and celery in a little water until tender. Add all remaining ingredients except catfish and simmer 20 minutes. Layer the fillets in the bottom of a 9x13 baking dish and pour sauce over them. Bake at 350° for 20 to 30 minutes, or until fish flakes with a fork. Remove bay leaf. Flake fish into large bite size pieces. Stir in rice. Spoon generous portions into warmed tortillas. Garnish with fresh chopped cilantro, non-fat sour cream, lettuce and



of course, extra Tabasco sauce to taste.

CORN GRITS CASSEROLE

1 cup yellow corn grits (a.k.a. polenta)
3 cups water
2 large zucchini, sliced
2 large chicken breasts, cut in chunks
2-3 Tbs. non-fat chicken broth
or water
1 Tbs. crushed garlic
1 24 oz. can crushed tomatoes, with Italian seasoning, garlic, oregano, etc. to taste mixed in (no need to cook ahead)

Boil water in a 2 qt. saucepan, *slowly* add grits and salt to taste. Reduce heat to low, cover and cook, stirring occasionally until tender and water is absorbed (15 to 20 minutes). Meanwhile, cook chicken in a non-stick frying pan or Wok over medium-high heat, using chicken broth or water to keep it from clinging to the pan. Stir frequently. Add zucchini and garlic when chicken begins to turn white and continue to cook until chicken is done and zucchini is at least slightly limp. Put chicken/zucchini mixture into a large baking dish, pour grits over and top with tomato sauce. Sprinkle with non-fat Parmesan cheese if desired. Bake at 350° about 35 minutes (dish can be made ahead and kept in the refrigerator, but you will need to increase baking time by about 10 minutes to heat thoroughly.) See you at the beach!

Sallie Jean is the Southern Partisan cooking columnist.

The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist

by Andrew Burstein
Virginia, 334 pages, 1995, \$ 37.50
cloth / \$ 14.95 paper.

Andrew Burstein's *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist* is an unusual book. Rather than focusing on Jefferson as thinker, as most scholars of Jefferson have done, or on the more important question, which is what Jefferson actually did, Burstein has chosen a new approach. What, he asks, did Jefferson feel? What were his private relationships like? What was the shape of what Burstein calls Jefferson's "well-ordered dreamworld?"

In a book unpopular among "Jeffersonians," Richard Matthews described Jefferson as an essentially Rousseauistic figure, one who wished for a polity in which the state had essentially withered away, in which fellow-feeling had replaced coercion as social cement. Here, Professor Burstein shows (without quite saying so) that Jefferson's political views were an extension of his domestic ideal. Burstein is thoroughly sympathetic with Jefferson. Indeed, there is little in Jefferson's intellectual world, with the notable (and completely predictable) exceptions of his views regarding racial and sex roles, that Burstein does not seem to endorse.

Burstein's plan takes the reader through Jefferson's life, showing how Jefferson structured his home life and his close relationships. Burstein posits that unlike Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, Jefferson did not put politics above all. Rather, he says, Jefferson valued his family and his sentimental attachments to friends of like mind above other matters. Unlike many other historians, Burstein takes seriously Jefferson's protestations, repeated over four decades, that he would rather be at Monticello.

Burstein describes Jefferson's

ideal for life: a set of similarly inclined fellows (James Monroe, James Madison, and John Page were among his favorites) living near Monticello and enjoying good wine, good conversation, and endless self-absorption. Madison and Page were never persuaded to come live nearby, and Monroe was a soldier, not a *philosophe*. In time, Jefferson came to depend on the proximity of his daughters, then his surviving daughter, and their families.

He did not need physical proximity in the way the nearly illiterate "statesmen" of today might, for Jefferson partook of the vibrant epistolary culture of his time. His correspondence with John Adams and that with James Madison have each been collected in handsome, multi-volume editions, and they surely repay a reading even today. That with Madison was full of political thought of a high order.

However, it was that with Adams that was most in line with Jefferson's ideal. He and Adams, the crusty, Federalist Yankee, shared ties of experience and generation Jefferson and Madison did not share. They were able to share discussion of various points of philosophy and the pains of aging, as well as reminiscences of Revolutionary days. Jefferson and Adams each wished the other was nearby.

In the manner of the Romantic movement—one thinks of Chateaubriand's prose works, for example—Jefferson cultivated sentiment. Here, Burstein shows, Jefferson was reliant on the works of Laurence Sterne. In fact, Burstein has proven that the references to Sterne sprinkled throughout Jefferson's writings are evidence of a deep influence, a thorough-going indebtedness of the freethinking Virginia Revolutionary to the work of the English clergyman. In so short a review, there is not time for a thorough description of this influence, but it is fascinating work Burstein has done here.

Jefferson was uncomfortable in

crowds. He was at his best in small groups. From his earliest surviving correspondence, we learn that Jefferson always at least imagined that he had extremely close friendships. One historian, Burstein notes, called Jefferson's personality "feminine," and that seems an apt adjective.

As anyone passingly familiar with his thought knows, Jefferson was not typical of his age in his approach to matters of ultimate import. He was, to put it clearly, a neo-pagan. Where such as St. Gregory of Nyssa could find good in ancient pagan philosophy, which sometimes approached apprehension of Truth despite the fact that the Incarnation had not yet occurred, Jefferson was a consistent opponent of Christianity. Despite his protestation, often treated seriously by historians, that rejecting all the basic teachings of Orthodox Tradition (the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the Annunciation, the Apostolic Succession, etc.) made him a true Christian, those of his contemporaries who cared saw through him.

Burstein's description of Jefferson's beliefs makes clear that he was nearly a classic pagan (on the Roman model). He was, says the author, sure that intercourse of free minds would lead to increasingly close approximations of moral truth. "Social success," Burstein notes, "was his first priority in life." Burstein quotes a couple of Jefferson's dozens of half-educated aspersions on monasticism, without which no book on Jefferson would be complete. In sum, his insistence on self-centered pleasure was totally at odds with Christianity.

This book, then, shows what Jefferson the private man was like. The reader interested in Jefferson's presidency, his foreign policy, his constitutional thought, or his political thought generally should consult one of the excellent books on those topics. For a biography of Jefferson, one should begin by reading Ellis's recent, awardwinning tome, if not Merrill

Peterson's much longer, old standby. Anyone who already knows why Jefferson was important and wants an idea what made him tick will profit from reading *The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist*. Given its specialized subject, it is a good piece of work.

—Constantine Gutzman

The Long Affair: Thomas Jefferson and the French Revolution, 1785-1800

By Conor Cruise O'Brien
Chicago, 1996, 367 pages, \$29.95 cloth.

Conor Cruise O'Brien was first famous for his U.N. work in the Belgian Congo decades ago, and he has been a prominent Irish politician. More recently, he had a hit with his biography of the British statesman Edmund Burke. Now, following up on an interest in the French Revolution apparently stoked by that other book, O'Brien has cast his gaze across the water, to Burke's contemporaries in the United States.

His original plan, O'Brien says, was to examine the American response to the French Revolution. It seems he knows when he has bit off more than he cares to chew, for the result was this book on a far narrower topic: that of the third president's "affair" with the French Revolution.

It is difficult for this reviewer, a super-traditionalist, to find anything positive to say about the French Revolution. Its effects in Germany, Russia, and—the subject under consideration here—America were absolutely awful (both in the old and in the new sense of the word). O'Brien shows that, had it not been for the trust Americans placed in George Washington, things could have been far, far worse.

Along with his lieutenants and presidential successors, James Madison and, especially, James Monroe, Thomas Jefferson was a

passionate advocate even of the most murderous phase of the French Revolution. The religious language Jefferson used in describing political disagreements (language he would never have used, of course, in actual theological disputation) were brought to bear on critics of the French Revolution.

In a particularly blood-curdling missive, Jefferson told a friend he could live with murders of several of his French friends if "liberty" were the result. American friends and former collaborators, "heretics" such as George Washington and John Adams, found themselves under assault for daring to refuse to follow the French Republic in its career of conquest. The wholly counterproductive Anglophobia that would have its ultimate fruit in the burning of the U.S. Capitol in Madison's shameful presidency led Jefferson to class neutrality as betrayal.

Jefferson's willingness to brook virtually any extent of barbarism if committed in the name of the French Revolution reminds O'Brien, and I think rightly, of Pol Pot and Stalin. It also seems to O'Brien that the Oklahoma City bombers' appropriation of this strain of Jeffersonian thought is appropriate, and I think he is right about that, too. Once a man has attempted to legitimize murder as a political tool, honesty requires we "credit" him when it is used in pursuit of political goals.

Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* is held by many to be the outstanding novel of all time, but the last 100-plus pages' silly historical theorizing seem to me to disqualify it even from inclusion in the top tier. A similar proportion of O'Brien's book is devoted to present-day pontificating of similar merit. Let us give it the same treatment we give Tolstoy's historical thought.

At times, such as in ascribing Jeffersonian piety to the University of Virginia's current personnel, O'Brien displays lapses in scholarship that show why expertise is valu-

able. Still, his excoriation of the French Revolution and his exposure of Jefferson's full-throated endorsement of that enormity's most despicable features make this book worthy of the price.

—Constantine Gutzman

Notes from the Underground: The Whittaker Chambers-Ralph de Toledano Letters, 1949-1960

by Ralph de Toledano and Whittaker Chambers.
Regnery, 1997, 342 pages, \$24.95.

Whittaker Chambers bore witness to the titanic struggle between freedom and Communism, a struggle that dominated the latter three generations of the century and frightened an entire world with the awful specter of nuclear annihilation. He spoke from profound personal experience. Seduced by communism while a Columbia student in the 1920s, Chambers led an underground spy ring that reached into the highest levels of the New Deal until, in 1938, he abandoned the communist party and built a new life as a journalist. Ten years later, in what is known to history as the Hiss Case, he broke his silence in order to warn America of the grave danger of communism.

Ralph de Toledano covered the Alger Hiss trials for *Newsweek* and began a special friendship with Chambers that lasted until the latter's final heart attack in 1961. Their letters—with Chambers writing from his Pipe Creek farm deep within the rural wilds of Maryland and Toledano from his *Newsweek* posts in New York and Washington—reveal the very human Chambers whose love, warmth, wit, and breathtaking intellect prompted William F. Buckley to remark that there was "no experience in life like a friendship with Whittaker Chambers."

(Continued On Page 48)

(Continued From Page 47)

The letters vibrate with the beat of the great heart of Whittaker Chambers, whose strength and spirit animated the conservative anti-communist movement that eventually toppled the Soviet empire a quarter-century after his death. But Chambers' letters remind a triumphant America that its death struggle with communism was not just a political battle, but a spiritual war. He agonized that America was embracing the very tenets of secular materialism that marked its sworn foe, and his letters recall the "the older altars" of faith that were central to the western tradition for which America stood against the Soviet Union. He insisted that "God alone is the inciter and guarantor of freedom," and, flowing naturally from that reality, that "political freedom, as the Western world has known it, is only a political reading of the Bible."

But he recognized that America along with all the western democracies had abandoned these first principles, and that the results would be disastrous. He wrote in January 1952, only five days after being vindicated by Hiss' conviction for perjury: "At heart I have always sensed that the cause of the West is a lost cause so it is a hard cause to defend, for it keeps defeating itself." Despite his pessimism, Chambers devoted the years 1948-1961 to defending the faith of the older altars and warning an America bent on denying that faith that it would do so only at its own peril.

"A man's special truth is in the end what is all there is to him," Chambers wrote in 1950, "and with that he must be content though life give him no more, though men give him nothing." This book of letters may be added to the writings that must be consulted in order to understand the "special truth" of Whittaker Chambers, writings that include Sam Tanenhaus' excellent 1997 biography, Terry Teachout's edition of Chambers' essays (*Ghosts on the Roof*), and Chambers' own incomparable *Witness*.

—Bryant Burroughs

DEVOUTLY SPEAKING

BY ROBERT P. HILLDRUP

He was born in Port Royal, Caroline County, Virginia, on June 30, 1840, and his mother, a staunch Christian, named him John Wesley for the Church of England preacher who had become the father of Methodism.

When the War came, he was a student and a clerk, 5 feet, 10 inches tall, with gray eyes. On May 22, 1861, responding to the call to defend his state and region from the invaders, he joined Company K, 30th Virginia.

Two of his brothers joined Company M, 55th Virginia.

A little over a year later at Sharpsburg, John Wesley and the 30th Virginia went into action alongside the little Dunkard Church. In 15 minutes, the 30th Virginia, or what was left of it, was driven from the field on the bloodiest day in American history. The regiment lost 49 killed or mortally wounded, 113 others wounded and 10 captured.

Only two other Confederate regiments, the 1st Texas and the 13th Georgia, suffered more fatalities.

One of the 30th's wounded was John Wesley, who had taken a ball in his chest. He lay where he fell and in the wake of the battle, Union troops took him prisoner. A Union surgeon who examined him was blunt and candid. As was common with such wounds of that day, the prognosis was grim: the wound was mortal.

John Wesley would not survive.

But somehow, he lived through the day, and then the next. On the third day, he was still alive, and he mustered the strength to tell his captors that if he were to die, he would prefer to do so while trying to reach his Virginia home. The Yankees, still overwhelmed with their own wounded, paroled him and sent him on his way. John Wesley began his walk of more than 150 miles to "New Lick," the family farm in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, west of Fredericksburg and near where the battles of Chancellorsville, the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House were still to be

fought. How he endured the walk, or how he survived, John Wesley left to his God. But walk he did and survive he did until he reached his home. Three months later, he told his family his duty remained.

He returned to the 30th Virginia.

John Wesley was still with the 30th Virginia at Appomattox in 1865. More properly, he was the 30th Virginia, for with the exception of two recent draftees, he was the only one to be surrendered at Appomattox from all who had served on the regiment's rolls. As a final indignity, a Yankee clerk misspelled his name on his parole.

For the remainder of his life, John Wesley remained a man under orders. Ordained to the Methodist ministry, he went where God and his Bishop sent him, from Virginia's Eastern Shore to its Piedmont, preaching the Gospel, administering the sacraments, and burying the dead, including several of his own children. On June 28, 1895 he died, and was buried in the cemetery of the church he was serving. His tombstone reads.

He died with his armor on.

Those who remembered him recalled how he would often straighten up and pat his chest when he felt the bullet he took to his grave move within his body. Others talked of how he and other Confederate veterans who gathered at his final bedside laughed, and told stories and sang, "When you've seen as much death as they," one said, "dying has no fear."

I've always felt that what John Wesley was, and what he became, what his life said about the discharge of duty and the keeping of faith, was a monument to the best of Confederate soldiery and the role religion played in enduring the unendurable. Which is why I keep a photograph of John Wesley on my wall.

For, you see, his full name was John Wesley Hilldrup and he was my great grandfather's brother...

Robert P. Hilldrup is a member of Shady Grove United Methodist Church in Short Pump, a suburb of Richmond, Virginia.

The Sobran

VIEW

BY JOSEPH SOBTRAN

The Insolubility of Politics

WASHINGTON – the late Henry Hazlitt, a disciple of the great Ludwig von Mises, was a classical liberal (or *libertarian*, as we'd now say) and incisive critic of the modern centralized state. His little classic *Economics in One Lesson* is a model of showing the simple principles at the heart of complex issues.

Hazlitt died at age 99 in 1993. But he has reappeared in a new book, left unfinished at his death. Edited by Felix R. Livingston and published by the Foundation for Economic Education, it's titled *Is Politics Insoluble?* Hazlitt's answer to that question is pessimistic: Yes.

Why? Because of the very nature of politics. In a democracy, where all sorts of groups demand legislation favoring themselves, laws are easy to pass and nearly impossible to repeal.

"Since its beginning," Hazlitt observes, "Congress has enacted more than 40,000 laws. It is a fair assumption that most of these are still operative in some form." He cites a 1968 study by a congressional staff that concluded that "no one, anywhere, knows exactly how many federal programs there are."

The rate of legislation and spending is always accelerating to meet the demand for special favors. Hazlitt quotes Frederic Bastiat's dictum: "The State is the great fiction by which everybody tries to live at the expense of everybody else."

The logic of the situation dooms us to constantly encroaching tyranny, not Stalin-style, but (I paraphrase Hazlitt loosely here) pain-in-the-butt style. The piling up of petty laws and regulations is bound to continue indefinitely, gradually

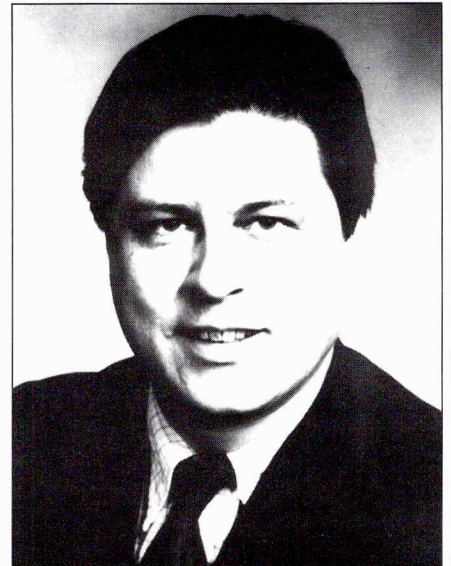
choking off freedom of action – and eventually even freedom of speech and thought.

Hazlitt's love of principle and distilled expression show both in what he says and in what he quotes. Many of his best citations concern the perversion of democracy into a system of what Bastiat called "organized plunder," and of perverting voting into larceny by other means; while the good citizen who dutifully obeys the law and pays his taxes, asking no favors for himself, becomes the victim of venal politics.

The British historian Alexander Tytler observed: "A democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can exist only until the voters discover that they can vote themselves largess out of the public treasury."

The British economic philosopher Herbert Spencer warned that in a pure democracy, people who don't pay taxes would be free to vote themselves a generous share of other people's money: "During the days when extensions of the franchise were in agitation, a maxim perpetually repeated was 'Taxation without representation is robbery.' Experience has since made it clear that, on the other hand, representation without taxation entails robbery." Spencer noted that the "increase of freedom in form" has been followed by "decrease of freedom in fact."

Spencer again: "All socialism involves slavery. . . . That which fundamentally distinguishes the slave is that he labors under coercion to satisfy another's desires." When some citizens use the franchise to enrich themselves at others' expense, involuntary servitude has merely



taken a new form; chattel slavery may be gone, but the state can become the instrument of the same general purpose of enabling some to live by the labor of others. As Spencer puts it: "The essential question is: How much is (the individual) compelled to labor for other benefit than his own, and how much can he labor for his own benefit?"

Spencer formulated the operative principle of modern democracy: "that no man has any claim to his property, not even to that which he has earned by the sweat of his brow, save by the permission of the community; and that the community may cancel the claim to any extent it sees fit." Hazlitt himself amplifies this point: "The government may pass and enforce any law it sees fit, guided only by what it regards as the merit of the individual case; and no part of any citizen's freedom or property shall be respected if a majority of 51 percent or more decide otherwise."

Let Spencer provide the coda: "The function of Liberalism in the past was that of putting a limit to the power of kings. The function of true Liberalism in the future will be that of putting a limit to the power of Parliaments." Unfortunately, even the word "liberalism" has now become a synonym for statism. ❖

Joseph Sobran lives in Arlington, Virginia.

Stonewall Jackson: The Man, the Soldier, the Legend

by James I. Robertson,
Macmillan, 1997, 950 pages, \$40.00.

Stonewall Jackson had his critics.

Socially and physically awkward, a food faddist devoted to water cures and stale bread (he timed its aging with a watch), a rote learner whose relentless self-discipline helped him overcome a hardscrabble childhood (but which alienated him from the aristocratic Virginia cadets at West Point), he was "Tom Fool" Jackson, the fiercely committed Christian who more often than not fell asleep in church, the occasional martinet and continual eccentric. For example, "When a guest entered Jackson's office, the general would say solicitously, 'Let me take your hat, sir.' After receiving it, he would look around for a moment in search of a place to put it. None ever seemed obvious, whereupon Jackson would drop the hat on the floor."

Even as a soldier, he had his detractors. George Pickett wrote: *He places no value on human life, caring for nothing so much as fighting, unless it be praying. Illness, wounds, and all disabilities he defines as inefficiency and indications of a lack of patriotism. Suffering from insomnia, he often uses his men as a sedative, and when he can't sleep calls them up, marches them out a few miles; then marches them back. He never praises his men for gallantry, because it is their duty to be gallant and they do not deserve credit for doing their duty.*

War transformed Jackson. In it, his shaky health miraculously cured itself, his eyes glittered as action approached, and the stiff-minded scholar drew his battered VMI kepi low over his eyes and became the brilliantly aggressive and audacious general, rising at "early dawn" (which by Jackson's watch could be 3:30 in the morning) and marching his men so rapidly, so far, and so unpredictably that Stonewall's

ragged infantry became known as his "foot cavalry."

Jackson, like Lee and like so many of the other brave Virginians who fought for the Old Dominion, prayed for peace. Before the war, Jackson wrote to his wife: "People who are anxious to bring war don't know what they are bargaining for; they don't see all the horrors that must accompany such an event." Jackson did not want the Union torn asunder, but he also refused to abide by a Union that, in his view, was bent on trampling the Constitution, violating the rights of his home state, and subjugating the South.

When war came, Jackson's advice was "to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard." "We must give them no time to think," he said. "We must bewilder them and keep them bewildered. Our fighting must be sharp, impetuous, continuous. We cannot stand a long war." And to that end, he wanted to take the war to Northern territory to "force the people of the North to understand what it will cost them to hold the South in the Union at bayonet's point."

His model general was Napoleon. Jackson's own axioms of war were: "Always mystify, mislead, and surprise the enemy, if possible; and when you strike and overcome him, never let up in the pursuit so long as your men have strength to follow . . . [and] never fight against heavy odds, if by any possible maneuvering you can hurl your own force on . . . the weakest part of your enemy and crush it."

For all the fame he earned at Manassas (where he was given the name "Stonewall") and in the Valley, it was at Chancellorsville that Jackson's star shone most brilliantly. And it was there that he was shot down, mortally wounded, in the twilight, by friendly fire, while scouting ahead of his lines. As the ambulance wagon carried him along pot-holed roads to Guiney Station, men and their wagons coming in the opposite direction gave way, the men shouting, "I wish it were me, sir!" and offering prayers, food, and tears. An emotional General Lee, who prayed

harder for Jackson's recovery than he had prayed for anything in his life, sent Jackson a message: "Could I have directed events, I should have chosen for the good of the country to have been disabled in your stead...I congratulate you upon the victory [at Chancellorsville] which is due to your skill and energy." Jackson's response was to turn his face away and murmur, "General Lee is very kind, but he should give the praise to God."

When Jackson succumbed to pneumonia stemming from his wounds, the entire state of Virginia—indeed, the entire South—was plunged into mourning. Even the Spartan Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who was slow to appreciate Jackson's achievements, was stunned. After Jackson's funeral, "when a friend found Davis in the [Confederate] White House staring blankly into the distance, the president bestirred himself and said: "You must forgive me. I am still staggering from a dreadful blow. I cannot think."

James I. Robertson's biography is one that truly deserves to be called magisterial, with engaging scholarship that provides new information and corrects previous errors, misinterpretations, and myths, giving us a fully rounded portrait of a hard-driving (but non-swearing) general who was also a loving husband, a happy children's playmate, a winsome friend, and a sincere man of God. One hopes that a copy might land on the desk of every member of Richmond's City Council, the cynical politicians who at this writing have proposed to remove the name of Stonewall Jackson from a city bridge. Maybe they will feel a stir of conscience for trying to erase the names of heroes who gave their blood for old Virginia. ☪

H. W. Crocker III is Executive Editor of Regnery Publishing and editorial adviser to the Conservative Book Club and Movie/Entertainment Book Club in Washington, D.C. Another version of this review appeared in Human Events.

THE DIVIDING LINE

BY PATRICK BUCHANAN



Republicans should ponder: Why, when they do so well at the congressional level, have their last two national tickets won but 37 percent and 41 percent of the vote?

In January's *Chronicles* magazine, columnist Sam Francis, the author of *Revolution from the Middle*, hits upon the reason the GOP lost its lock on the presidency. Quite simply, in the 1990s, the party lost the MARS, the "Middle American Radicals."

And who are they?

No, they are not "soccer moms." Mostly white middle class, with incomes below \$50,000, MARS "view themselves as sandwiched between—and victimized by—an elite . . . that is either indifferent to them or hostile to them, and an underclass with which the elites are in alliance and whose interests and value the elites support at the expense of the interests and values of Middle Americans."

For half a century, this vote has determined which party holds the presidency. MARS abandoned Harry Truman over his firing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Korea and the charge that Democrats had coddled Alger Hiss and betrayed at Yalta what American boys had won on battlefields of World War II.

So potent was the "soft on communism" charge that, as late as 1954, Sen. Joseph McCarthy's approval rating stood at 50-29 percent favorable.

In the 1960s, the MARS re-emerged in the Wallace movement, the backlash against the Great

The Middle American Radicals

Society. In 1964, Alabama Gov. George Wallace won the white vote in every Democratic primary he entered. In the Humphrey-Nixon race, he had 22 percent of the vote at his peak and ended with 10 million. In 1972, Wallace led the Democratic field in votes and victories until he was shot down in Laurel, Maryland.

Though derided by the media as immoral, Nixon's "Southern Strategy" was designed to bring the Wallace movement into camp, without the baggage of segregation. It succeeded splendidly.

In 1972, Nixon and Spiro Agnew, tribune of Middle America, swept 61 percent of the vote and 49 states.

When Nixon and Agnew were destroyed by Watergate, Gerald Ford, a Washington insider, could not hold the MARS. But when an Iranian mob took U.S. diplomats hostage, and Jimmy Carter put out yellow ribbons, they turned on Carter and reappeared as "Reagan Democrats."

And because Ronald Reagan defended their values of patriotism and traditionalism, he led the GOP to three landslides.

But George Bush was seen as having broken two key pledges: not to raise taxes or to sign a quota bill.

Thus, 19 million MARS walked off to Ross Perot in 1992, and 8 million did the same in 1996.

The party that wins the MARS wins the presidency. But is the GOP willing to pay the price? No leader who ever rallied them—McCarthy, Nixon, Agnew, Wallace, Reagan, Perot—was forgiven. For capturing this vote requires the raising of issues that isolate the media and cultural elites from the country.

And for such crimes, there can be no forgiveness.

What Sam Francis has hit upon

is the formula for a new governing majority: re-welding the MARS, with their fire, passion, energy and convictions, to the Republican base, by elevating those issues that separate Middle America from the national establishment.

What issues? High among them is immigration, which 83 percent of the nation, according to a Roper poll, wants restricted.

The MARS are also enraged over surrenders of U.S. sovereignty and oppose U.S. imperial interventions in places like Bosnia and Somalia.

They want no more NAFTA deals, no more foreign aid, no more racial preferences.

They want term limits on their politicians, prayers in their schools and an end to affirmative action and the trashing of America's heroes—from Columbus to Washington, to Robert E. Lee.

Consider:

While Republican national tickets were twice losing California, voter initiatives to impose term limits on legislators, cut off welfare to illegal aliens and end racial preferences swept the state.

The MARS, writes Francis, are the "core and nucleus of the American culture and the American nation.

Any movement of the right that wishes to succeed in national politics must mobilize Middle American forces as both Nixon and Reagan did."

Does the GOP have the kidney to go after and win these folks back?

That will be the great political question of 2000. ☼

Pat Buchanan is an advisor to Southern Partisan.

Death Row Reflects Realities of Crime, Not Discrimination

Attorney General Janet Reno unveiled new statistics on hate crimes and is pushing for new laws to expand the scope of such offenses. It's all part of President Clinton's "race initiative," but it's not confined to the federal government. From Florida comes news of that state's consideration of a constitutional amendment to ban "arbitrary, capricious or discriminatory" punishments.

The Florida proposal is important (a) because it shows that stupidity and injustice are not confined to the federal government or the Clinton administration and (b) because if Florida actually adopts such an amendment, similar ones will be pushed through in other states and perhaps eventually alter what remains of the U.S. Constitution.

The reason for the Florida amendment is that there are just too many non-whites on Florida's death row.

As of today, there are 137 black convicts and 223 white convicts in Florida who face the death penalty, while 20 condemned convicts fall into "other" racial categories. In other words, of a total of 380 convicts convicted and sentenced to die for capital crimes, 36 percent are black and 58.7 percent are white. Since the state is composed of 83 percent white people and 13.6 percent black people, that's just not fair.

In fact, it's downright undemocratic.

So, says Miami lawyer H.T. Smith, who chairs the commission's Committee on the Declaration of Rights, we just have to amend the state constitution to forbid such blatant racial discrimination against blacks.

"The importance of eradicating

capriciousness, arbitrariness and discrimination from our penal system is so important a statement to we [sic] in the "New South," Mr. Smith insists.

Whether the amendment would ensure that either fewer blacks commit fewer capital crimes or more whites commit more capital crimes so the Florida Death House will more closely resemble a racially balanced TV commercial is not clear, but probably the commission hasn't thought about that yet. Nevertheless, it has reached the conclusion that a racially unbalanced Death House, in which there are a disproportionate number of blacks, is the result of "arbitrary, capricious or discriminatory" sentencing and proof positive of racial bias in the state courts and penal system.

This is why its proposal reeks stupidity.

There is, of course, no reason at all to think that there is any injustice or discrimination because of the racial composition of the Death House. The racial composition of the Death House reflects the racial realities of capital crime:

- A disproportionate number of blacks commit murder, and that's why there are a disproportionate number of blacks on Death Row.

- The same is true of hate crimes in general, at least for their commission if not of the punishments meted out for them. When Miss Reno released the 1996 hate crime figures this month, it turned out that of 8,935 known offenders, 66 percent were white and 20 percent were black. But nationally, blacks constitute only 12.1 percent of the U.S. population and whites 83 percent. When it comes to criminal bigotry, then, blacks are over-represented by about 8 percent,

while whites are under-represented by some 17 percent. Do we hear any proposals for a constitutional amendment to redress the racial imbalance in these statistics?

Of course not.

For that matter, I'm willing to bet that the inmates of Florida's Death House, like those of all Death Houses in all states, are overwhelmingly male. Do we hear any proposals for constitutional amendments to redress this gender imbalance that is obviously due to "arbitrary, capricious or discriminatory" sexual discrimination against men?

Of course not again.

Perhaps we will soon see the day when judges and juries must consult the racial statistics of the prisons and death houses before they can decide whether to return a verdict of guilty or stick murderers with the bug juice. Perhaps they will even be obliged to round up a few law-abiding white folks to imprison or execute at random just to make sure the prisons and death houses are in proper racial balance.

Or perhaps they will simply turn loose a few convicted black murderers to adjust the prison population to reflect the composition of the population at large.

Determining justice by racial quota is preposterous, but no more so than regulating any other function of government or society by it.

It is in fact the logical conclusion of the unexamined assumptions of both Florida's foolish commission and the president's foolish race initiative - that only whites are at fault for crime, bigotry and injustice and that any fact that contradicts that view must by its very nature be the result of racially "arbitrary, capricious or discriminatory" thinking. ☛

Samuel Francis is a nationally syndicated columnist and an original contributor to Southern Partisan.

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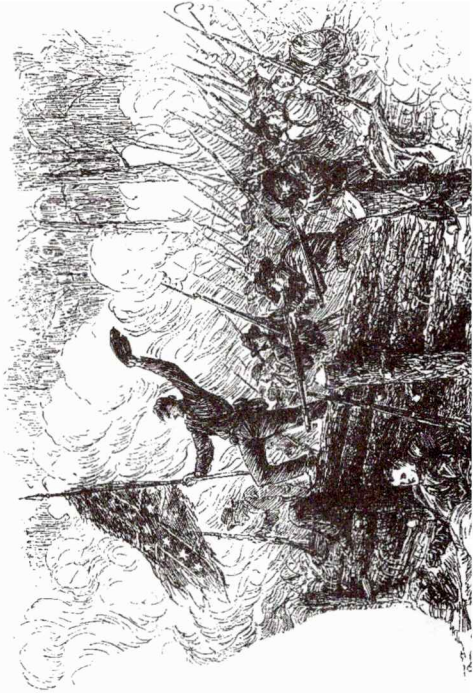
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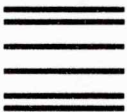
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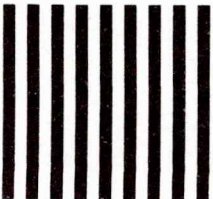
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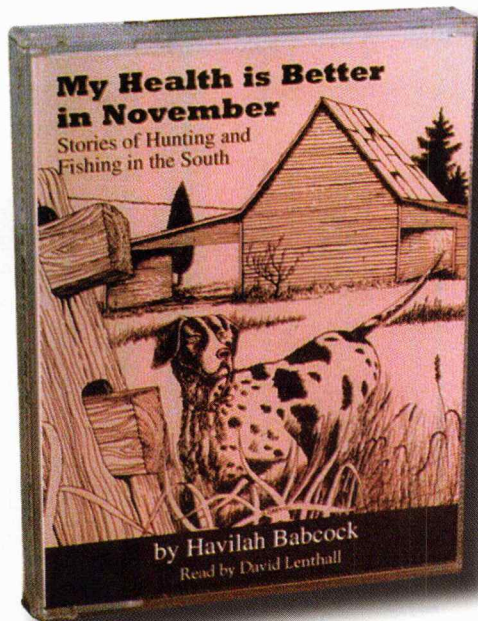
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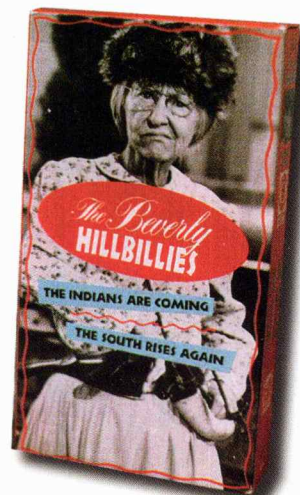
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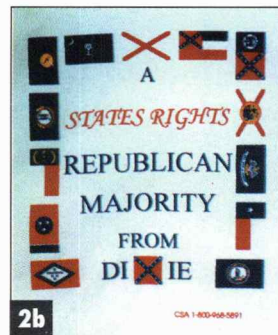


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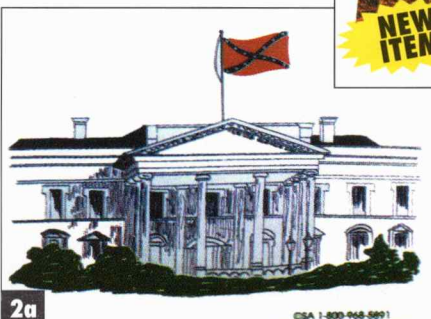
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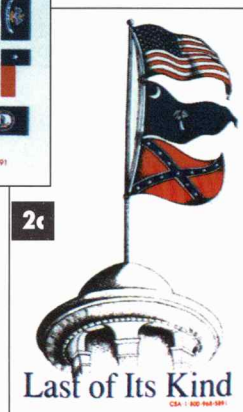


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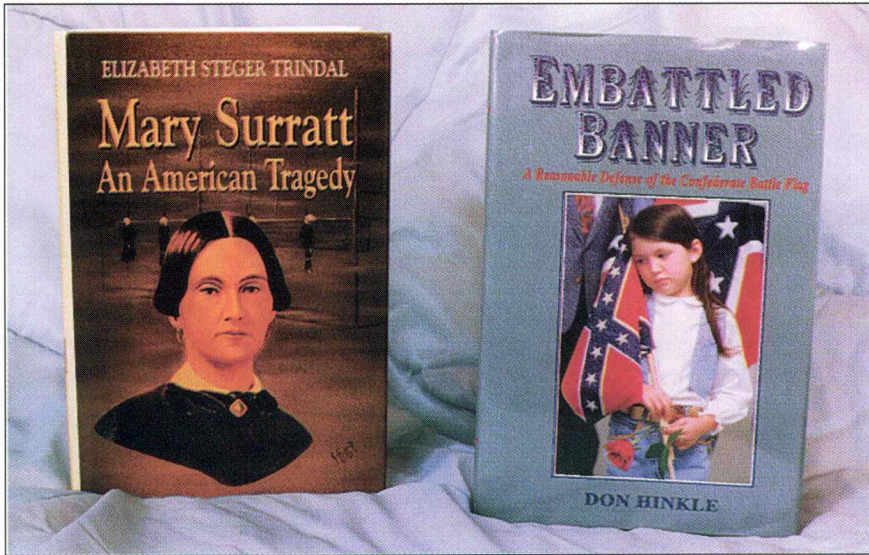
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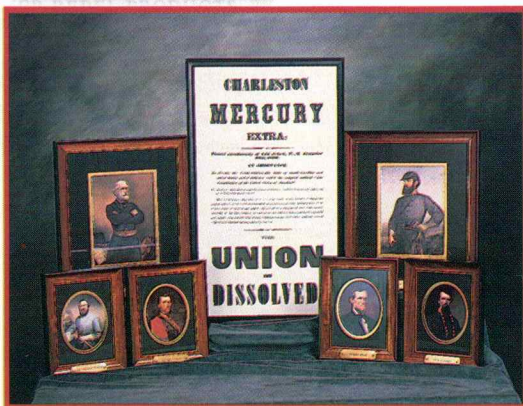
Select four from the following list in any combination:
 (a) Peach Preserves (b) Pear Preserves (c) Blackberry Jam
 (d) Peach Butter (e) Spiced Peach Chutney (f) Strawberry Preserves
 (g) Blueberry Preserves (h) Fig Preserves (l) Muscadine Jelly
 (j) Wild Honey (k) Chow Chow (l) Vidalia Onion Mustard
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17 Our price is only **\$10**



- 5 Robert E. Lee (a, b, c, d, e)
- 6 Stonewall Jackson (a, b, c, d, e)
- 7 J S Mosby (a, b, c)
- 8 Jefferson Davis (a, b, c)
- 9 JEB Stuart (a, b, c)
- 10 Bedford Forrest (a, b, c)
- 11 Lee on Traveler (a, b, c)
- 12 Great Seal of the Confederacy (a, b, c)
- 13 Flags of the Confederacy (a, b, c)
- 14 Last Meeting of Lee and Jackson
 x- 16x18 \$60
 y- 25x30 \$160
- 15 Lee's Farewell to the ANV (12X14) **\$60**
- 16 The Union is Dissolved! (11X18) **\$34**

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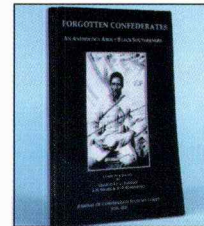
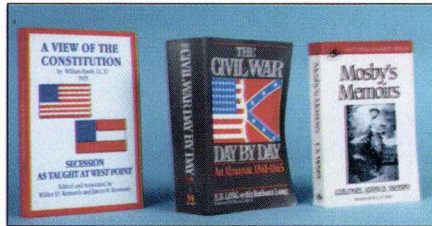
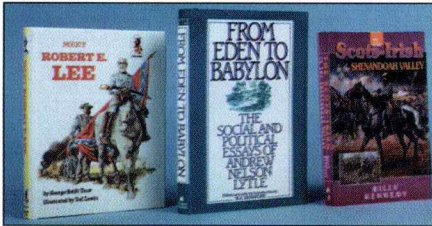
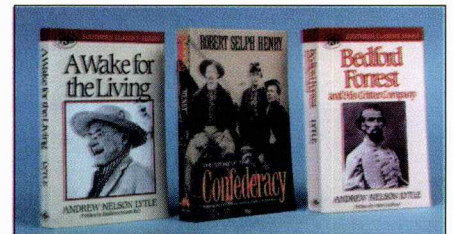
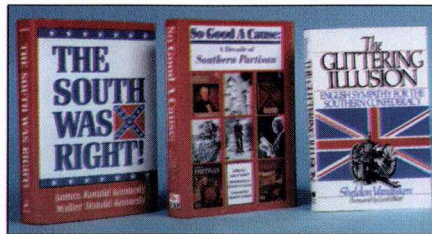
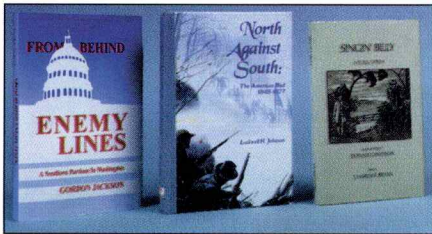
PRINTS KEY	
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b 8x10	\$48
c 10x12	\$60
d 15x18	\$130*
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**Note: These sizes are premium quality Victorian style frames.*

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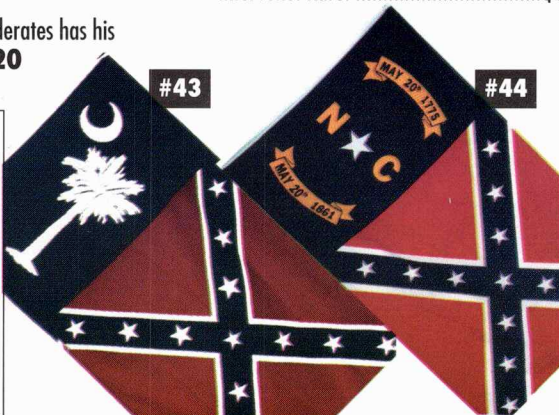
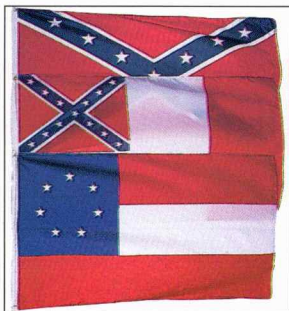




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| 24 Florida (d, e) | 34 Tennessee (b, c) | |
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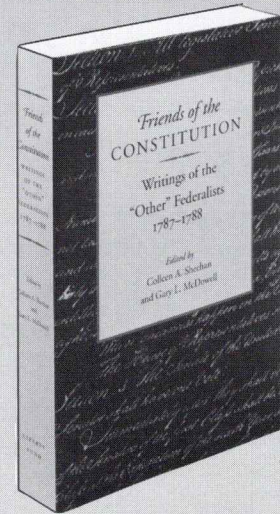
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