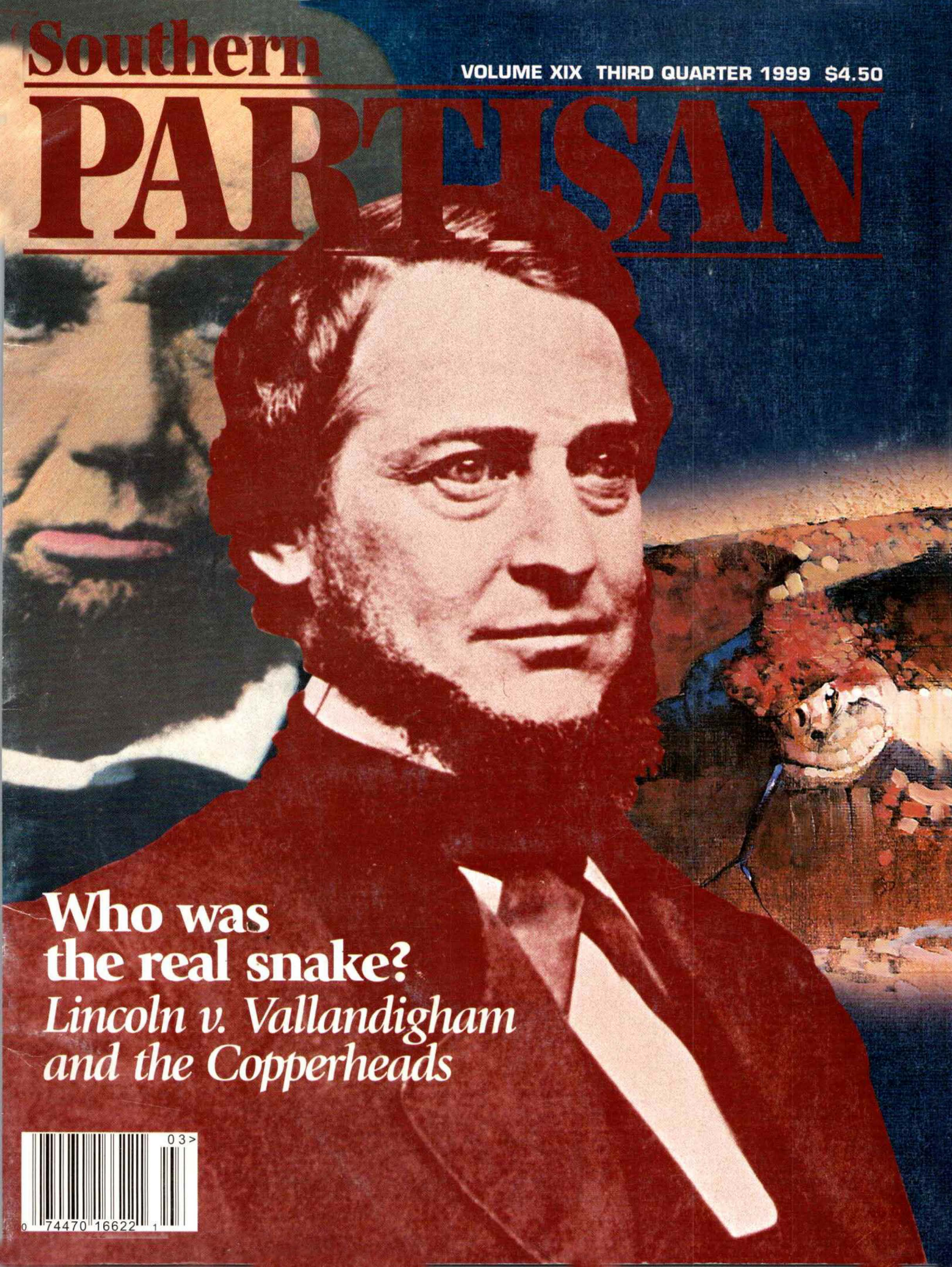


Southern

VOLUME XIX THIRD QUARTER 1999 \$4.50

PARTISAN



**Who was
the real snake?**
*Lincoln v. Vallandigham
and the Copperheads*



“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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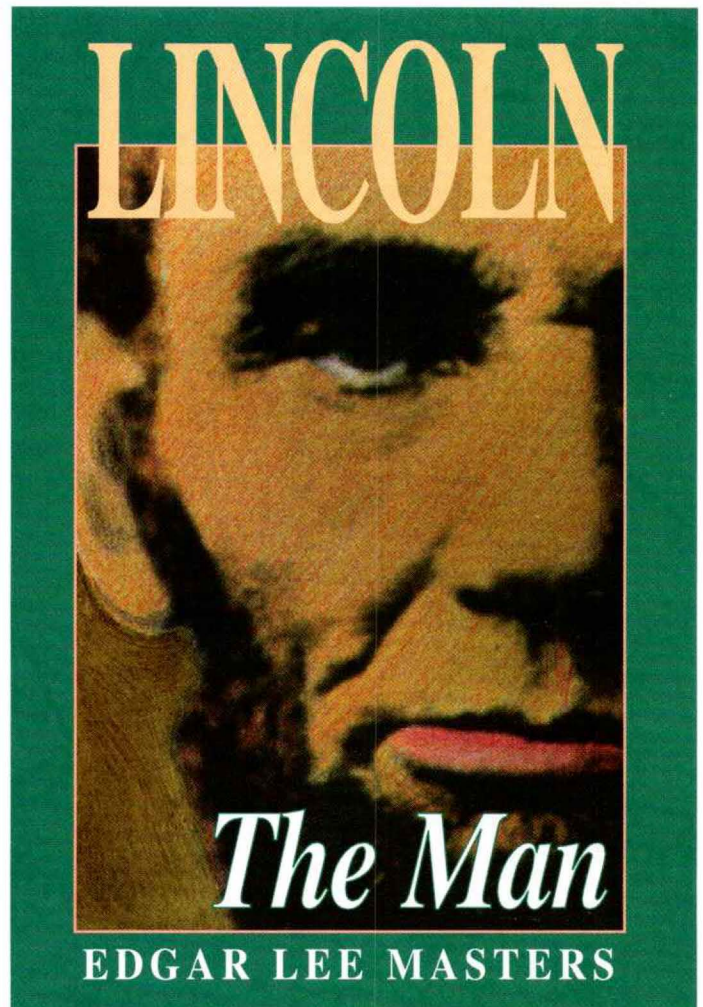
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Southern PARTISAN



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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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ARKANSAS TRAVELERS

Gentlemen:

Although my address is now in Virginia, my native state, Arkansas, is the subject of this letter. I am compelled to defend my childhood home.

In the CSA Today section (2nd Quarter, 1999), the writer refers to the stupidity of a Little Rock man. He then proceeds to similarly implicate a majority of the good people who reside in the Natural State. What we have here is an unfortunate *non sequitur*. It is true that Clinton gulled Arkansans more than once. Arkansas politics has been controlled by a Democratic machine for years. But I will remind you that the communist jackass in the White House is serving a second term. Clinton is a master sophist and he has proven that suckers abound in every state. Arkansas is miserable enough. Is it in good form to add insult to the injury she now suffers under the curse of Clinton?

Sadly, I detect a certain amount of contempt for Arkansas. It seems to me the general purpose of your journal is to edify the Southland. This entry falls short of the mark.

You should thank your lucky stars Clinton did not grow up in your fair state.

P.M. Bryant
 Boyce, Virginia

Point well taken. Arkansas deserves better than Bill Clinton or our petty jabs. We apologize and hope you will forgive us. Ed.

A WHISKEY REBELLION

Gentlemen:

Regarding your article about Jack Daniel's whiskey, I am a Northern man of Southern principles. I'm referred to by my customers as "The Northern most outpost of the Unreconstructed Confederacy." However, I can't agree with your article on the glories of Southern whiskey. My father's father was a Cajun, but the rest of my family background was all Irish.

The Irish, of course, invented whiskey as God's way of keeping them from conquering the world.

After "The Flight of the Earls" Irishmen could be found serving in virtually every army in Europe, particularly in the "Irish Brigade" of the French army. One member of this brigade retired to Cognac where he began making this liquor, the finest in the world. His name was Hennessy.

As much as I love the South, no Tennessee whiskey can even approach it.

Tom Cardineau
 Sound Beach, New York

CONGRATULATIONS

Gentlemen:

Mrs. Stringer and Dr. Roberts are to be congratulated for implementing an excellent concept in the "Recommended Reading for All Southern Patriots." It was very interesting to note points of contrast and agreement among the various opinions. And, it is a good idea, too, to print the complete list.

Tommy W. Rogers
 Jackson, Mississippi

JUDGING HUNDLEY

Gentlemen:

Colonel Daniel Robinson Hundley, C.S.A., 31st Alabama was the victim of a typographical error in your Second Quarter issue of recent date. On page thirty-seven of your article, "The Greatest Books of All Time," the author is listed as Daniel R. Howdley, instead of Hundley, in citing the writer of *Social Relations in Our Southern States*.

The Colonel has a history of such similar difficulties.

He was with the 31st at Vicksburg. The battlefield was dedicated as a memorial not so long past. A part of the park features a monument of all regiments involved in the campaign and the Commanding Officer of each. It was the 31st's honor to have their Colonel's name misspelled.

Several years back, Wilbur J. Cash published his, *The Mind of the*

South. Somewhere among some of his discussions, Cash usually made reference to *Southern Relations* and described the author as a citizen of Columbia from an old and distinguished South Carolina family.

Col. Hundley was born in North Alabama on his father's cotton plantation near the North bank of the Great Bend of the Tennessee River. He saw a great deal of this country. However, he never lived in the state of South Carolina.

The Colonel's book is rather florid, but I find much of interest in it. We live in times when the plutocrats and their oligopolies are searching without let for means to besmirch anything and everything Southern and cram it deep in the "memory hole" forever. We don't have much time left to misput our friends, as our enemies abound in pupae and swarms.

Judge R. L. Hundley
Hartselle, Alabama

★ KEEPING KOREAN COMMIES CONTAINED

Gentlemen:

Your profiles of the various presidential candidates is a welcome addition to the publication I treasure.

Elizabeth Dole's real entry into the contest is to be on the slate with the Republican presidential candidate. A scary prospect. While her husband was merely inept, she is both inept and dangerous. Her views are those who hold an ideology that is left of the planet Pluto.

And John McCain, there is more than enough about him for me to regret. His bellicose attitude, *ala* Clinton, toward those minor countries that pose no threat to U.S. interests. Significantly, that attitude does not pertain to the Communists of Vietnam; he now seems to feel that they are jolly good fellows that we need to embrace.

Honest? He could appear before us adorned with a halo and my bile would still be in an uproar. Some months ago he participated in a discussion panel on TV. A remark was made that Vietnam was the first war we lost. McCain responded no, we lost the Korean War. I won't detail my ver-

bal reaction at hearing his remark which I recognized as blasphemy. I was a combat soldier in the Korean War with the famous Second Infantry (Indianhead) Division. I, and history, declare that we won the war. There is not a single North Korean Communist soldier in South Korea.

Now, either McCain lied or he is mentally deficient. You decide. Being of a charitable nature, I opt for liar (dishonest).

Darlington M. Fadeley
Dunlap, Tennessee

We won't take a position on Korea, but Vietnam was definitely not the only war we lost. The editors of this journal, however, continue our effort to reverse that verdict. Ed.

★ ELECTORAL COLLEGE CREDIT

Gentlemen:

In your article, "A Note on 2000 Presidential Politics," you state, "it's common for an electoral majority to be so divided that a relatively small, undivided minority wins the whole enchilada. That happened with Bill Clinton in 1992."

I would respectfully suggest that this is misleading. In both 1992 and 1996, Clinton won 70% of the electoral college vote and Bush got 30%. Perot received no electoral votes, despite having received more popular votes than any outsider in over 100 years. The popular vote is irrelevant because the Incumbent Party has

We always enjoy hearing from our readers. Please feel free to contact us using any of these means

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changed the electoral college rules to make it virtually impossible for an outsider to win. All but two states have laws requiring the electors to vote for the pair of candidates who get the most popular votes statewide. In many states, such as Oklahoma where I was an Elector in 1996, it is a crime to vote for anyone else. When the Oklahoma Electors met in the State Capitol on December 16, 1996, any of us who voted for someone other than Dole/Kemp would have been arrested.

By the way, I've repented of my Dole/Kemp vote and am trying hard not to commit that sin again.

*J. Michael Brown
Tulsa, Oklahoma*

★ PARTISAN POLITICS

Gentlemen:

On 7 August 1999 the South rose again in Flat Rock, North Carolina at the inaugural festivities of the newly formed Southern Party. Over 150 Southern nationalists gathered under the pavilion of the antebellum Woodfield Inn before a garrison-sized 3rd National CSA flag to proclaim that America's equivalent of the Quebec Party had risen to re-assert the right of the Southern people to pursue the dream of a separate Southern nation they could call their own.

Coverage of this event was world-wide in scope and overwhelmingly positive in tone. Every possible communications medium was represented—TV, radio, the Internet, short-wave radio, magazines and traditional newspapers. One would think that given the massive media exposure that this event received would have at least earned a passing notice by *Southern Partisan*—a magazine dedicated to memorializing and perpetuating the unique national culture of the Southern people with a special emphasis on our Confederate heritage. I especially would have thought this to be so given the fact that the Southern Party represents the first serious, organized political effort by Southerners to establish an independent Southern nation since our Confederate forefathers first attempted the feat in 1860-65.

But, alas, I eagerly thumbed

through all 56 pages of the Second Quarter 1999 issue of the *Southern Partisan* in vain looking for some mention of the event, while noting that y'all devoted 6 pages to evaluating the GOP presidential candidacies of John McCain and Elizabeth Dole! (Sigh...) Speaking as the Provisional Chairman of this newly formed Southern Party, I can honestly tell you that the only presidential race I'm interested in is who will run for the honor of being elected as the second president of the restored Confederate States of America when the South reclaims its lost nationhood again.

I think that the *Southern Partisan* would have been wise to pay heed to the sage comments of Dr. Clyde Wilson on page 49 where he correctly noted that the two-party system has destroyed regional political power and that the Republican Party has failed the Southern people as a party that will effectively represent their interests. Thousands of Southerners have reached the same conclusion and they have been flocking to the Southern Party in droves all through the Summer and Fall of 1999, as is evidenced by the over 40,000 hits the party has seen on our website since early May of this year.

Isn't it time that the *Southern Partisan* stopped carrying water for the Party of Lincoln and started giving more coverage to the political efforts of modern-day Southern nationalists? The days of the United States of America as we currently know it are surely numbered. We are now seeing the last decadent phases of a decaying republic turned empire and the 21st century will almost certainly see the crumbling of the American Empire and the emergence of the South once again as a confederacy of free and sovereign States.

As we move ever closer towards that happy day, you owe it to your readership to be more than a shill for the Republican Party in Dixie. The *Southern Partisan* needs to live up to its name by paying just a tad more attention to the increasingly successful efforts of many Southern partisans to establish an alternative, nationalist party of the South.

*George Paul Kalas
Provisional Chairman
The Southern Party
Houston, Texas CSA
www.southernparty.org*

★ RISE OF THE BOLD EVILS

Gentlemen:

Whit Sanders and his types deserve Al Gore—or Bill Bradley who is twice as liberal as Gore. Also, they deserve a super-liberal Supreme Court and federal courts, plus the trial lawyers who will sue if you look cock-eyed, and finally no tax cut.

We have already experienced the damage Sanders can do. Led by Ross Perot who took almost twenty percent of the vote, we were burdened by liberal "Slick Willie," the most corrupt president in history.

Sure Bush Jr. has faults—show me one human who doesn't. But, he can beat Gore.

When you vote, ask yourself one question—"Who is the lesser of the two evils?"

*Barney Roskopp
Cincinnati, Ohio*

Let's see. No tax cut. Liberal appointments, like David Souter, to the high court. The biggest federal budget increase in history. Were you describing the first Bush administration? A lot of Southerners have grown weary of the "lesser of two evils" argument. As the old folks used to say, the lesser of two evils is still evil. Ed.

★ SOLI DEO GLORIA

Gentlemen:

I have just read the recent issue of *Southern Partisan*. "The Essential Clyde Wilson" was excellent.

Dr. Wilson's remarks on Southern culture were extraordinary in their practical means of preserving civilized Southern thought, *deo gratia*.

*Grace N. Ray
Irving, Texas*

★ CORRECTION

In the last issue's Special Book section we incorrectly identified the author of *Nashville 1864: The Dying of the Light*. It should be Madison Jones. Our apologies for the oversight. ☹

What is Adam's Mark?

BY CHRISTOPHER SULLIVAN

NOTE: Mr. Sullivan, in addition to being associate publisher and acting editor of this journal, is also director of the Southern Heritage Association, a rapidly growing group whose mission is to resist the organized effort now underway to demonize Southern history, symbols and traditional culture. We devote this space to a timely update on the resistance movement.

As we go to press a news release is out on the Associated Press circuit announcing that "Hotel chain urges groups displaying Confederate flag to stay elsewhere." The story boils down to this: The Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV)—an imminently respectable group of living descendants of the soldiers who fought for the South—held a convention recently in Mobile, Alabama at the Adam's Mark Hotel.

Please note that the SCV is not a political group. It is a non-partisan, non-profit organization whose activities are often charitable. For example, the SCV recently raised funds to help rebuild African-American churches that were victimized by arson. Normally the SCV devotes its meetings to dry historical presentations, while members share genealogical information about their family trees.

At any rate, the Confederate Battle Flag was, of course, displayed at their annual meeting in Mobile at the Adam's Mark. Not surprisingly, in the present climate of hysteria generated by the popular media, someone complained to management that they were "offended" by the visual presence of the flag. What is surprising—shocking in fact—is that the complaint generated an

official response by the president of the hotel chain from his office in St. Louis. Adam's Mark has written the SCV as follows: "it would be best in the future for your organization to seek accommodations" elsewhere.

This is of course an outrage for several reasons. First of all the SCV meeting in Mobile was conducted with great dignity and civility. This is a group of civilized, serious-minded people who are simply interested in history. There is not the slightest hint of bigotry or even political activism in the SCV agenda. They did absolutely nothing to deserve this treatment.

Also, by being denied "public accommodations" unfairly and for purely political reasons, one would think federal laws, with which we are all familiar in a different context, may have been breached. We can only assume that the SCV is consulting civil rights lawyers on this point.

But most of all, this is a clear violation of the protections of free speech afforded to all United States citizens under the Constitution. Apparently, the First Amendment has been effectively amended by the brass at Adam's Mark to mean: freedom of speech shall not be abridged unless you honor the Confederate Battle Flag, in which case, you have no rights.

We have an idea.

Since boycotts are in vogue these days, we urge all readers who

do not approve of the action of the Adam's Mark hotel chain to take action. To use the precise words of the chain's president: why don't we all "seek accommodations in hotels that might be able to serve [our] needs more effectively"?

However, as we make other arrangements when we seek accommodations, it is important for us not to act in silence. Every time we make reservations in a hotel other than Adam's Mark, we should (a) drop Adam's Mark a line, letting them know that you have taken your business elsewhere and why; and

(b) let the innkeeper of our choice know that you have chosen them because they have not shown bigotry toward the South as Adam's Mark has.

And by the way, to answer the question posed at the top of this column: What is Adam's Mark? We don't know. The Good Book tells us that Adam, along with his mate, was tossed out of the Garden of Eden for good cause. In that context, Adam's mark was the mark of sin. That works for us. The important point is for good Southerners to avoid writing "Adam's Mark" in the blank space that follows the words: "Make this check payable to." And if you agree, it's also important to let "Adam" (in this case Mr. Krummer) know that his establishment is indeed marked in our book as a place not to patronize. ☛

**Tell
Them
Where
To Go**

The decision to slam the door on the SCV was apparently made by Adam's Mark at the highest corporate level, by Mr. Fred Kummer, president of the chain. Therefore, if you would like to let Adam's Mark know each time you take your business elsewhere, Mr. Kummer is probably the best one to inform. He can be written or called or faxed as follows: Fred Kummer, President; Adam's Mark Hotels; 11330 Olive Blvd., St Louis, MO; telephone: (314) 567-9000; telefax: (314) 567-0602.

Does the NA really ACP?

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), under the relatively new leadership of Kweise Mfume, has managed to gain for itself a great deal of press attention lately. With its image badly bruised by internal power struggles and financial scandals, the group apparently has a new strategy. Sadly, the strategy appears to be based on finding and exploiting wedge issues that inflame passions and divide people along racial lines. South Carolina is a case in point.

The NAACP has now announced a national boycott of South Carolina until the Confederate battle flag is torn down from atop that State's capitol building. Does it matter that the South Carolina legislature recently voted to create a monument on the state house grounds to the African-American heritage? Or that the legislature also approved hanging portraits of civil rights leaders prominent in the capitol lobby? No it doesn't matter because the NAACP is not in the business of racial harmony. It's in the business of racial conflict.

As we go to press, South Carolina's Democratic Governor has

called on the NAACP to remove its boycott and allow the legislature to do its work in an atmosphere of mutual respect. No deal, came the reply. In fact, the Governor also offered to push for a separate free-standing holiday honoring Martin Luther King if the NAACP would withdraw its boycott. The reply: we are offended that the Governor would use the legacy of Martin Luther King as "bait" in the debate over the flag. Offended, indeed.

It is always a mistake to negotiate with extremists. When will so-called political and business leaders learn that the NAACP isn't interested in solutions? Conflict and controversy are their bread and butter—their *raison d'etre*. Like all bullies, they are best ignored.

Sue, in the name of God

The Religious Liberty Protection Act of 1999 represents the most recent assault by the U.S. Congress on the system of federalism. Now passed by the House and awaiting action in the Senate, the bill prohibits State and local governments from burdening a person's practice of religion if inter-

state commerce is somehow involved.

Back in 1993, Congress tried to pass a similar law hamstringing the States on religion, hooked into the Fourteenth Amendment; but the Supreme Court found the measure to be unconstitutional. This new bill simply ties the same usurpation to the commerce clause.

To give a mundane illustration of how the bill, if passed, would work: federal law would prohibit a State government from giving prisoners haircuts if long hair can be shown to be a part of the inmate's religious practice. Or a local police department couldn't require its officers to be clean-shaven without risking lawsuit from, say, a Muslim on religious grounds. In each case, the state or local government would have to prove in court that their actions served a compelling state interest. Imagine how many jurisdictions would be locked up in costly litigation?

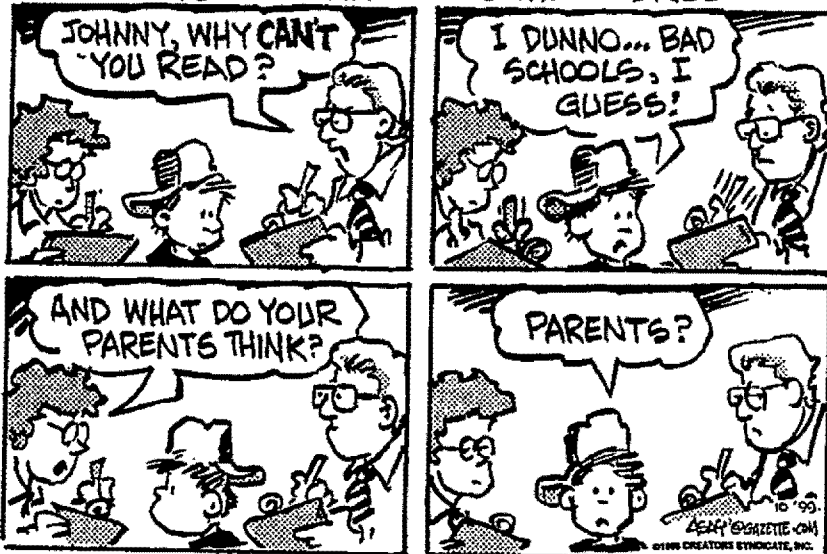
One Congressman (Ron Paul of Texas) was outspoken in his opposition to the bill. In vain, Paul reminded his colleagues that the central government was to make no laws respecting religion. Appealing to the Tenth Amendment, Paul pointed out that Congress was "intruding upon the powers of the States to establish their own policies governing protection of religious liberty."

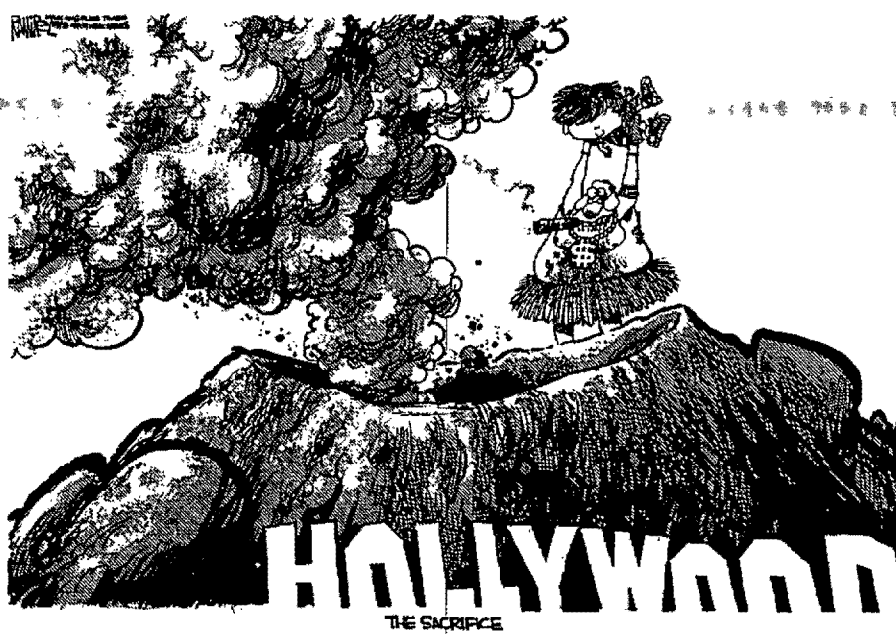
Of course, his quaint arguments were brushed aside by his colleagues, as Republicans and Democrats alike voted for the latest federal power grab. In the name of liberty, how many more liberties will be lost?

And speaking of ignorance...

In a recent column dealing with emotional symbols, William Raspberry wrote about the Pennsylvania General Assembly, which attached and passed a Martin Luther King Day Amendment to a larger bill dealing with banking. Black legislators were jubilant. A

CONCERNED ABOUT POOR TEST SCORES, EXPERTS GO STRAIGHT TO THE SOURCE!





friend of Raspberry's described the event this way:

"The main bill affected more black lives, and far more profoundly, than the King Day legislation. And there weren't two black members of the legislature who could tell you a damn thing about what was in the main bill."

A tale of tenderness

A *Partisan* reader residing in Florida recently wrote to share a small story with us. Since no phone number was attached to the letter, we haven't been able to get permission to use his name. But the story is worth retelling.

The gentleman (originally from Virginia) is in the habit of flying the Confederate battle flag above his desk. For business reasons, a young black woman of his acquaintance was coming to stay for a time with the man and his family.

They knew the black woman was politically active (she once, for example, rode a bus from Cleveland to North Carolina to demonstrate against Jesse Helms). So, to avoid conflict, the man removed his flag before the young woman arrived.

During the visit, a deeper friendship developed; and the day the woman was to depart, the host's daughter told their guest that her father had removed the Confederate flag just prior to her arrival. Touched by the gesture, the young woman

immediately understood that there was no good reason for her to be offended by the flag. So she went to her host and asked if she could assist him in unfurling the flag and restoring it to its place of honor, which they did together.

Such tales of mutual respect and affection between the races, writ large, have always been commonplace in the South. Sadly, readers of the mainstream media would never know that.

Reparations for all

The Minority Affairs Subcommittee of the Dallas City Council has raised its magisterial voice once again to call for reparations to all U.S. descendants of slaves—and, as we all know—when the Minority Affairs Subcommittee of the Dallas City Council speaks, the nation listens.

This renewed call will undoubtedly echo to the farthest reaches of the inner cities of the North, where millions of people are born into perpetual dependency on the federal government. To them, paying massive reparations to all African-Americans will sound like a great way to use that big budget surplus we've been hearing so much about.

We think reparations would make a lot of sense—if the principle were applied uniformly to every

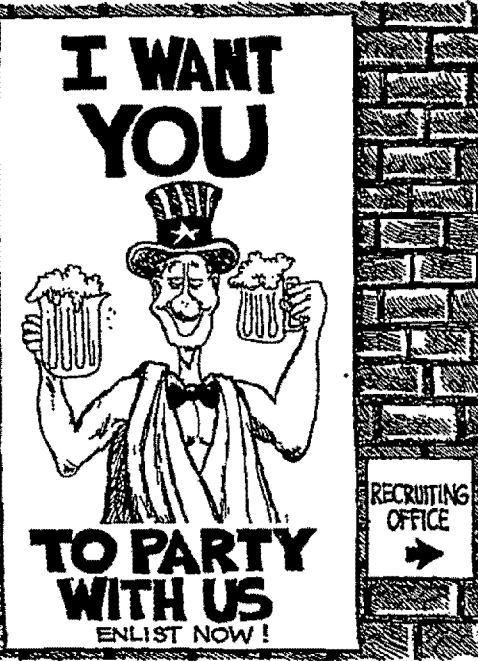
class of people who have suffered at the hands of the U.S. government. Has any one thought, for example, about the losses incurred by both free white and black Southerners during Reconstruction? For example...

- Sherman's army destroyed huge numbers of buildings, churches, homes and farm houses, depriving the inhabitants, mostly women and children, of shelter.
- On Sherman's orders, Union soldiers burned fields, slaughtered animals and stole food from the larders of people already on the verge of starvation.
- The same barbaric army also stole valuables—jewelry, silver, fine linens—from defenseless women and children left behind while their men went to war. Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, wife of the New England abolitionist preacher, even stole the silver communion service from the altar of Trinity Episcopal Church in Columbia, South Carolina.
- Later, using tax laws and condemnation procedures, carpetbaggers stole the land of thousands of Southerners throughout the region and turned the rightful owners out into the streets.

The conduct of the U.S. government during this period was not only contrary to the laws of the United States, but an abandonment of the codes of conduct observed by civilized people all over the world. Indeed, with their brutal terrorizing of the civilian population, Sherman and his troops literally invented modern warfare as we have since seen it practiced in Europe and the Middle East. In fact, the South was so devastated that only after World War II did Southerners begin to recover economically. So, how about some payback, baby?

We've had our computers running day and night; and we've come up with the following figure: the government owes all Southerners, black

CADWALDRER
OF THE SOUTHERN
LAW CENTER



STAMP
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their results.

The most segregated city in the nation? Atlanta, Georgia—the Southern metropolis Yankees think is most progressive (i.e., most like them). Atlanta has had a black mayor for many years and is considered the mecca of the region for minority job opportunities. Yet with all its virtues, it turns out Atlanta is a divided city.

What about the other four most segregated cities? Were they Southern as well? As a matter of fact, no. The most segregated were: Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; and Gary, Indiana.

Looking at the list, it's hard not to ask a few politically incorrect questions:

Why are Yankee cities generally more segregated than cities in the deep South?

Why are the cities controlled by black political establishments the most segregated of all?

Why does the nation at large continue to associate segregation and racism primarily with the rural, conservative South?

And why can't everybody just mind their own business?

Honest Abe

A gun-toting bandit dressed up as Abraham Lincoln has robbed at least ten stores in Maryland and Virginia over the past seven months. He wears a dark coat, a stovepipe hat and a black beard. On April 29, he entered Friendly's Restaurant in Columbia, Maryland, pulled a gun and cleaned out the cash register. Since that time, he's shown up at

or white, who can prove his or her ancestors were living in the region between 1861 and 1876 (the end of Reconstruction) \$82,000, tax free of course. At today's prices, \$82,000 might just pay for forty acres and a mule. Now if we can only get the Minority Affairs Subcommittee of the Dallas City Council to take up our cause, we'll have ourselves a real movement.

A modest question about boycotts

The NAACP has also threatened to boycott the ABC television network and perhaps others unless more blacks are cast in television programs. Columnist Don Feder, writing for the *Jewish World Review*,

raised a modest question:

"...does [Kwesi] Mfume [head of the NAACP] ever ask himself how putting more blacks on television will mitigate the problem of deteriorating urban schools, the inner-city drug epidemic, the black illegitimacy crisis or high unemployment among black youth? Probably not."

Mirror Mirror on the Wall

The University of Michigan, with nothing better to do, has recently conducted a survey to determine which American cities are the most segregated. They looked at factors like income, poverty levels and residential segregation. Then they tabulated the figures and published

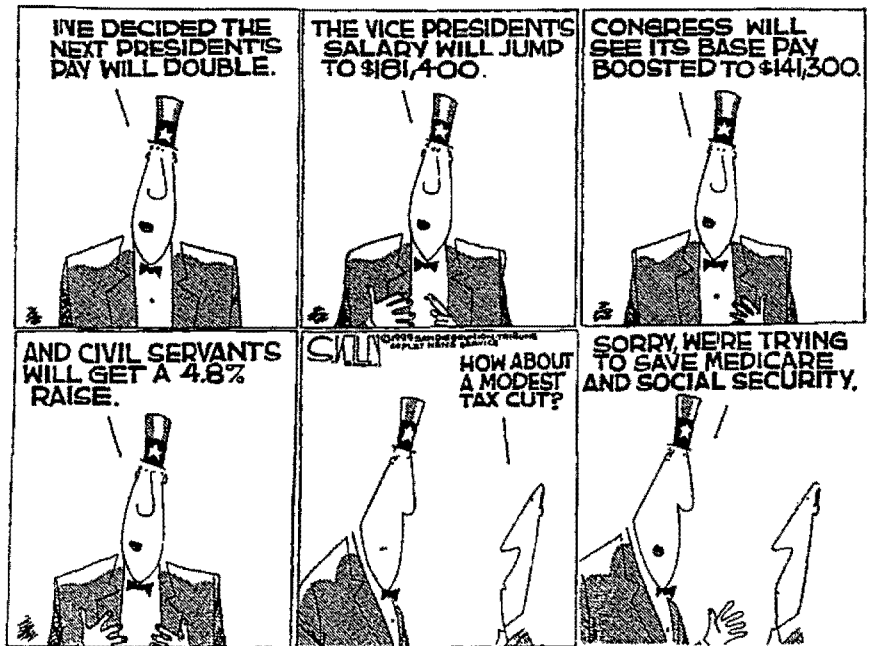
EVOLUTION...OF THE UNITED NATIONS



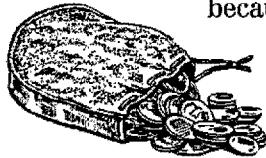
stores and gas stations in two states, where people break into a broad grin until they see his pistol.

For years the *Southern Partisan* has been trying to warn people they can't trust Lincoln. Until now, few have listened. They persist in believing the lies people like Carl Sandburg have been telling. But these robberies may be the turning point. Check in at the Friendly Restaurant and see how those folks feel about Honest Abe these days.

Meanwhile, police interested in apprehending the bandit would do well to look at the faculty members of college history departments around the area. The man behind these robberies knows an awful lot about the historical Lincoln. ☪



Scalawag Award



Careless With The Truth

It's hard to explain why, but Southerners who sell out their birthright for money are somehow not as bad as those who sell out intellectually. Those who do both, of course, mixing greed with lies, are the worst of all. Our Scalawag this time is of that order.

Author and college professor Garry Wills was educated to know better. He studied under the eccentric but brilliant Willmore Kendall, who admired the South; and Wills for a time called himself a conservative and wrote for *National Review* in its early years when *NR* was a fresh voice crying in the wilderness. But something happened to Wills along the way. Perhaps he discovered that publishers are willing to pay better for more mainstream views. We say this with charity,

because Wills has to know that much of what he's been writing in recent years is simply not true.

A recent column he wrote for Universal Press Syndicate is a case in point. Headed "Strike the Flag" Wills called for States where the Confederate battle flag is still flown to remove the banner because, he says, it is "a partisan flag flown in defiance of others—of the federal government, of the law and of the citizens in the flag's shadow who do not happen to be white." He goes on to say that the only reason the old War was fought was "to retain slavery."

These are not the casual blatherings of an ignoramus. Wills knows better. He knows that General Lee was not a slave owner and that he abhorred slavery. He knows that most of the soldiers who fought for the South had no stake in slavery. He knows but does not care enough to write the truth.

But that's not even the worst of it.

In the same column, Wills makes the outrageous claim that "300 white people were lynched between 1830 and 1860" merely for opposing slavery in the South. No one was hung merely for opposing slavery, else our ancestors would have hung General Lee. That the ludicrousness of Mr. Will's arguments passes through editorial quality control at Universal Press Syndicate is the subject of another issue.

We assume he is paid well for his columns and for the servile contribution he made to the corpus of the Lincoln myth (in his book *Lincoln at Gettysburg*). Therefore, for his financial and intellectual betrayal of his native region, we give our Scalawag this time to Garry Wills who, revealingly, couldn't even bring himself to say that he was a Southerner. Curiously, he put it this way: "...all my family was from the South (Georgia on my mother's side, Virginia on my father's) and I was born in Atlanta."

Note that he carefully avoided calling himself a Southerner. Fine by us, Mr. Will. We don't claim you either. ☪

CSA TODAY



ALABAMA

In a stunning reversal of a nationwide trend, the people of Alabama defeated legislation that would have established a state lottery.

Last year, Democratic Governor Don Siegelman was elected on a platform that featured the lottery. It would solve all Alabama's problems, he argued—and at that time a majority of people agreed with him. By this year, they'd changed their minds—and for good reason.

In most states, lotteries have raised big bucks for awhile, then slacked off and required more and more advertising and promotion to sustain them.

In addition, they're sleazy. They represent the kind of cheap scam that should be confined to carnivals and Indian reservations.

Alabamians apparently agreed. Maybe it's time for lottery states throughout the region to reconsider this tacky way to raise revenues.



ARKANSAS

Jesus told his followers to feed the hungry. The city government of Little Rock has been trying to stop them from carrying out His instructions.

Churches and other charity groups were feeding the homeless, who had been congregating in Little Rock's Riverfront Park. Annoyed, the city fathers posted a sign ordering Christians and others to stop the abominable practice by November 1 or else. It seems the homeless are attracted to the park because of the meals—and the park is a centerpiece for a commercial development called the River Market District.

In justifying the action, City Manager Cy Carney pointed out that the groups who feed the homeless need a permit under state law. Most of the church ladies cook the meals in their homes, which Caesar forbids. State Food Protection Specialist George Smith says the ladies are committing a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine and jail.

For the moment, the city fathers have agreed to let people feed the homeless on the park's edge, while Mr. Carney and friends look for another site—far, far away from the River Market District.

Meanwhile, it's a good thing Jesus didn't try that bit with the loaves and fishes in Little Rock, Arkansas.



FLORIDA

The *Miami Herald* now has a special section devoted to "gay news," where you'll find such stories as, "Instead of Rejection a Gay Ballplayer Finds Acceptance," "Falwell, Gay Group Mend Fences," and a feature on the emergence of "gay retirement communities." (Apparently, there are already exclusively gay trailer parks. Developers are now contemplating exclusively gay condos.)

Who knows, maybe Miami will someday be an exclusively gay city.



GEORGIA

It's time to outlaw end-of-the-century, end-of-the-millennium lists. They do little more than reveal what an ignorant, silly, self-centered people we are. A&E Network's 100 "most influential people" of the past 1,000 years included Charlie Chaplin, the Beatles, and Aaron Spielberg.

Then the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* came along with the 100 "most influential Southerners." The top ten were as follows: (1) Martin Luther King, Jr., (2) Orville and Wilbur Wright, (3) Jimmy Carter, (4) Ted Turner, (5) Billy Graham, (6) George Washington Carver, (7) Sam Walton, (8) Louis Armstrong, (9) Hank Aaron, and (10) Elvis Presley.

George Washington Carver isn't a bad choice—if peanuts are a big deal in your life. But to leave out George Washington, the most significant Southerner of all time! If you're going to choose a Southern president from modern times, why pick a one-term loser whose administration did little more than preside over runaway inflation and double-digit interest rates? (Woodrow Wilson and LBJ, for better or worse, were far more influential.)

King and the King probably deserve to be there. The rest, like the Buckeye-born Wright brothers, are highly questionable.

Entertainers and baseball players don't really make a lasting impact on the lives of people. Turner and Walton seem big in 1999, but 50 years from now,

they'll be forgotten, like Charles Alderton (the man who invented Dr Pepper).

As for Billy Graham—maybe so. It depends on whether or not all those converts remained converted.



KENTUCKY

Judge William Ryan, Jr. of Jefferson County has good sense. He threw out the case of a man accused of ticket scalping on Derby Day, because he'd bought one too many tickets from a scalper and was trying to sell his extra. Police arrested James Casey, and the judge ruled that they had no right to detain him on such a minor charge.

Prosecutors and police tried to argue that if this ruling stood, they wouldn't be able to arrest prostitutes. Nonsense.

If you can't sell an extra ticket on Derby Day, you might as well live in Baghdad.



LOUISIANA

Voter turnout in Louisiana's recent elections hit an all-time low. Only forty-eight percent—fewer than half the registered voters—bothered to come to the polls: 17 percent less than the previous low of 65 percent.

Maybe it's because of the crazy "open primary" they started a few years ago. We bet that if they'd go back to closed primaries, voters might show a little more interest.

In 1944, Thomas Breaux of Lafayette was a 22-year-old private serving in the U.S. Army under the command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. His unit had returned to the Philippines to avenge the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the Bataan Death March; and on November 18, Breaux was wounded in action, while firing a long-range, high-caliber rifle.

As John Wayne would say in many a film, it was only a flesh wound. Nonetheless, Breaux was given papers to fill out in order to receive his Purple Heart. He didn't bother.

"I saw fellas with legs cut off and arms missing," he would say in later years. "My little hurt wasn't anything."

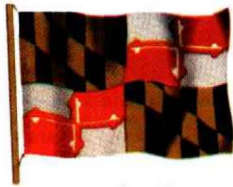
Three years ago, his son asked about the medal; and the elder Breaux said he'd never received it. So, unbeknownst to his father, the son began writing letters to the Veterans Administration and the National Archives.

This November, Breaux was told that his grandson was receiving an award and that the whole family would be attending. When the family arrived at the headquarters of the 256th Infantry Brigade of the Louisiana National Guard, General Bennett Landreneau was waiting to award him his Purple

Heart—54 years after his injury.

Breaux "choked up a little" when the General pinned the medal on him.

"Being as I refused it before," he said, "I wasn't prepared for this."



MARYLAND

Hurricane Floyd not only wrecked beachfront property and flooded low areas, it also murdered one of the most famous trees in Maryland—the nation's last surviving Liberty Tree, under which colonists gathered to whip up anti-British sentiment in the 1770s. The tree, a tulip poplar, was over 400-years-old and stood on the St. John's campus.

As workmen took chainsaws to the carcass, St. John's president, Christopher Nelson, gave the eulogy in front of about 300 mourners: "We all feel such a deep sense of sadness over the duty we have to perform today... So we'll do our best to celebrate the great life of a venerable old friend, the symbol of America's most treasured prize—the independence and liberty for all people."



MISSISSIPPI

Rapid development in the Magnolia State has led to the destruction of a number of time-honored institutions. The Great Woods have been paved over, antebellum mansions have been razed and replaced with golden arches, "Dixie" is no longer allowed at Ole Miss football games.

Now comes the biggest blow of all: After 50 years, the 601 area code will no longer be used for Northern Mississippi. Instead, 662—a number with a decidedly Yankee ring to it—will go into effect May 1, 2000.

We've got to stop these people from coming down here.

This year—1999—is the hundredth anniversary of William Faulkner's birth. Many critics regard him as the greatest writer America has ever produced—which is odd, since he was a small-town Mississippi boy who had little use for the ideas and values of 20th century America.

Faulkner wrote about the South because it was the place he knew, but his novels are less commentaries on the region than stories of people doing what they've always done, regardless of time and place.

His best novels are too difficult to read for a generation brought up on television, if only because Faulkner used complex language to render a complex world, as opposed to Hemingway, who used simple language to render a simplistic world. Faulkner, however, will surely be read 100 years from now.





If you haven't read Faulkner and enjoy Southern history, read *The Unvanquished* and *Go Down, Moses*. They beat the heck out of *Cold Mountain*.



MISSOURI

A group called the Missouri Citizen Education Fund has attacked Sen. John Ashcroft for being a racist. The basis of their charge is that he allowed himself to be interviewed by a radical white-supremacist magazine called *Southern Partisan* (2nd Quarter 1998). The MCEF called a press conference to castigate the Senator for having suggested that Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis deserve to be respected for their accomplishments. But, when Democrats rolled out the usual charges of racism against conservative Senator John Ashcroft, the GOP gave them a nasty surprise: a photograph of Gov. Mel Carnahan, Ashcroft's Democratic opponent, in *blackface*. Carnahan, then 26, was appearing in a local Kiwanis Club minstrel show.

Rep. Carson Ross of Blue Springs, the state's only black Republican, said: "The Klan wore hoods and these folks wore blackface. It was racist. An intelligent person does not consciously do something like that. He needs to repent."



The next day, SENATOR JOHN ASHCROFT Carnahan repented.

After admitting that minstrel shows were the vilest entertainment ever devised by man, he said, "I certainly regret my participation in this kind of theater, and I sincerely and readily apologize for my insensitivity of 39 years ago."

Next time the Democrats accuse John Ashcroft of racism, we hope he asks Carnahan to get down on his knees and sing "Mammy."



NORTH CAROLINA

The trouble began when Mayor Leni Sitnick of Asheville proclaimed the week of October 25 as "Earth Religions Awareness Week." Christian clergy objected. The Mayor offered an apology of sorts: "I don't tell anyone how to believe, but I support everyone's right to freedom of religion. Being aware of different religions, of all religions...should not be feared."

Sounds tolerant and even-handed, doesn't it?

In fact, to further such awareness, a "Wiccan

priestess" presented a program on witchcraft at a nearby elementary school—something she's done every October for four years now.

The more you think about this effort to promote knowledge of all religions, the more you see just how deceitful it is. Some local clergy asked the mayor to proclaim "Lordship of Jesus Christ Week" and the right to tell the story of Jesus in school at Christmas time.

Fair enough, right?

Hardly. If these things were to happen, the American Civil Liberties Union would haul the mayor and the school district into federal court before you could say "wall of separation." If Mayor Sitnick doesn't know this, then she's been at sea on the Good Ship Lollypop for the past three decades.

Sophisticates chuckle at the foolish fears of Christian clergy when children are confronted by sympathetic presentations of witchcraft. Yet a Gallup Poll on youth suicide showed that in 7 percent of cases where youngsters attempted suicide, Satanism was involved. (By the way, "sexual orientation" didn't make a blip on the radar.)

Yes, yes, we know: Wiccanism isn't necessarily tied to Satanism. But try to tell that to the parents of those dead kids.

Back in the old days, elementary school children had fun celebrating Halloween and Christmas. An ideological U.S. Supreme Court ruined all that. Now it's only fair that the rules be applied without bias.

Mayor Sitnick didn't do that, did she?



OKLAHOMA

Shock jock radio is tolerated as long as its target is conservative, Christian America. But when blacks become the butt of humor, the matter ends up in court.

In Oklahoma City, Nakita D. Colbert is suing station KOMA because she was fired—she claims for refusing to play a racially demeaning role in a skit written by the Howard Stern of Oklahoma, Danny Williams. In the skit, she was supposed to be an irate black woman named Shataquita Brown, who uses words like "sucker" and "honkey donkey."

The skit's finale:

BROWN: Your salesman told me that the cat was good for mice and all it does is lie there.

DAN: So isn't that good for mice!

BROWN: Get your honkey donkey ready, sucker.

Colbert was fired a few weeks later, and she claims this skit was the reason. How long do you suppose this kind of litigation will go on? Into the 22nd century?



SOUTH CAROLINA

The Supreme Court of South Carolina decreed that the state could not hold a referendum on whether or not to ban video poker. Both sides were gearing up for a big shootout in November, but the Justices ruled that there was no constitutional provision allowing the people to usurp the prerogatives of the General Assembly. In effect, they said, "South Carolina is a representative democracy rather than a popular democracy." The ruling was sound.

With one eye on the polls—which showed overwhelming opposition to the gambling industry—the Justices also ruled that the statute legalizing video poker only through June 30, 2000 was in force. As of July 1, no more poker machines, unless the General Assembly reauthorizes this form of gambling or the state amends its constitution.

Neither will happen.

Leaders of the \$2 billion industry threaten further legal action. Meanwhile, they are hotboxing members of the General Assembly in a vain effort to override what appears to be the will of a huge majority of South Carolinians.

On July 1 of next year the poker operators will either go underground or go elsewhere.



TENNESSEE

Al Gore moved his campaign headquarters back to Tennessee—for reasons that aren't immediately apparent.

Maybe, as he said, the new setting will show him off to better advantage—the wholesome hometown boy—despite the fact that he's spent very little of his life in the Volunteer State.

And maybe he's trying to distance himself from Bill Clinton, who gives off an increasingly unpleasant odor these days.

We haven't been too good in predictions recently, but here's one to remember: Gore will beat Bradley because he's strong among organized labor, Southern Democrats, and particularly blacks. Bradley can't win a majority of delegates without cutting into Gore's Southern support.

So maybe, in a way, Al Gore's back home after all, even if he hardly knows a soul in town.



TEXAS

In late October, when the Hays High Rebels played the San Marcos Rattlers, the

NAACP—on its latest crusade to punish history—protested the name of "rebel" and the display of the Confederate flag. In their protest, they were joined by members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, whose bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Bryant, said, "We feel grieved by the Confederate flag being flown in facilities that our tax dollars support."

Kyev Tatum of the Texas NAACP said, "When I see that flag, it sends chills down my spine."

But a black Hays High alumnus, Tony Hill, said, "It's a flag. It's just another flag to me. I don't see any problem with it myself, personally. I grew up out here. I never thought of it as a racial thing or anything like that."

And there you have it. Militant activists, who make money by stirring up racial conflict, are "frightened" and "offended" by these historical symbols. Normal people see no threat in the flag—at least, not until the NAACP and the likes of Bishop Bryant begin to stoke the ever-burning fires under the racial pot.



VIRGINIA

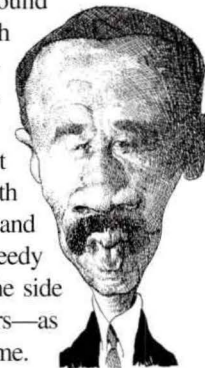
The Riverfront Development Corporation—the group responsible for the now-infamous Canal Walk in Richmond—continues to have trouble with Councilman Sa'ad El-Amin and his Economic Development Committee. It seems that blacks want to be involved in the project and reap some of the financial rewards.

In fact, at a public hearing held in July, some blacks spoke in favor of leaving Robert E. Lee's portrait up because they saw the possibility of making a few bucks. To them, Amin said, the issue "was not so much about symbols on the wall but actual opportunities for economic development in the African-American community."

However, the Riverfront Development folks—who were perfectly willing to take down Lee's portrait—gave blacks the runaround when they came forward with ideas for black-owned-and-operated projects within the development.

This incident is a perfect example of what's going on with issues like the flying of the flag and the playing of "Dixie." The greedy white establishment will take the side of black activists in such matters—as long as it doesn't cost them a dime.

If the NAACP really wanted to "advance colored people," it would stop posturing about symbols and create economic opportunities for the people they purport to represent.



KWEISI MFUME



WAR BETWEEN THE STATES TRIVIA

"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 NAMES

1. What nickname was given to Brig. Gen. Martin W. Gary, C.S.A., whose command was the last to leave Richmond?
2. After men under Col. Charles R. Jennison, U.S.A., depopulated three Kansas counties, what was the region called?
3. What cylindrical pivots permit a cannon or mortar to be elevated and lowered quickly?
4. What name was given to the day on which Robert E. Lee's retreating men were overwhelmed, April 6, 1865?
5. The English-born entertainer Harry McCarthy wrote the popular southern song "The Bonnie Blue Flag" in the spring of 1861 and performed it for the first time in what city?
6. In what vast uninhabited marshy area of tangled forest and underbrush west of Chancellorsville, Virginia, did Grant propose to fight it out "if it takes all summer"?
7. Jefferson Davis regarded what site in his home state as the "Gibraltar of the West"?
8. What city held the only gas works of the Confederacy capable of inflating observation balloons?
9. What small community was completely transformed by General Grant, who made it his headquarters and the "nerve center" of the Union for the final ten months of the war?
10. The British-built Confederate cruiser *Alabama* never entered an American port but refueled in distant places, including what far-eastern port?
11. In what building, erected for the 1860 Republican national convention, was Lincoln nominated?
12. In 1862, when Henry Halleck, U.S.A., identified "the chief depot of rebels in the West," where was it?
13. Where was the provisional capital of Confederate Kentucky situated?
14. What two rivers contributed to the strategic importance of Harpers Ferry, Virginia, now West Virginia?

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 The Lincoln Nobody Knows, and The Amazing Civil War (1998). Civil War Trivia and Fact Book, ©1992 by Webb Garrison and reprinted by permission of Rutledge Hill Press, Nashville, Tennessee

ANSWERS

- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. The Bald Eagle. | 5. Jackson, Mississippi. | 11. The Wigwam, in Chicago, Illinois. |
| 2. The Burnt District. | 6. The Wilderness. | 12. Atlanta, Georgia. |
| 3. Trunnions. | 7. Vicksburg, Mississippi. | 13. Russellville. |
| 4. Black Thursday. | 8. Richmond, Virginia. | 14. The Potomac and Shenandoah. |
| | 9. City Point, Virginia. | |
| | 10. Singapore. | |



SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOFF

ON J.E.B. STUART

"To military capacity of a high order, and all the noble virtues of the soldier, he added the brighter graces of a pure life, sustained by the Christian's faith and hope."

General Robert E. Lee

ON GOVERNMENTS

"Governments are like revolutions; you may put them in motion, but I defy you to control them after they are in motion."

John Randolph of Roanoke

ON THE UNION

"...ours is a union, not of individuals...but a union of States, founded on a written, positive compact, forming a Federal Republic..."

John C. Calhoun

ON A YANKEE VIEW OF SOUTHERN STATESMEN

"The Southern states, whose democracy is less socially diffused than that of the northern states, has always as a rule elevated abler men than the north..."

Orestes Brownson 1864

ON WHY THE SOUTH FOUGHT

"...that which brought our forefathers to Runnymede, the privileges of exercising some influence in their government..."

Richard Taylor, Lt. Gen. C.S. Army

ON LINCOLN AND DAVIS

"The one was an unsettled, vulgar, rollicking man; the other serious, grave, dignified, and determined. The one was plebeian by nature, the other a nobleman."

The Land We Love, 1868

10 Reasons Why Al Gore Won't Do!

by Wilfred Jay

Editor's Note: For the past two issues, our Presidential Series has dealt with the Republican hopefuls (Bush, Dole, and McCain). Freelance writer Wilfred Jay now gives us a Southern-fried assessment of the two most prominent Democrats. So far, finding good reasons for Southerners to support the current crop of presidential contenders has proven to be a daunting task. The balance of the Republicans and the neo-reformers will be covered in subsequent issues.



Vice President Al Gore and Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng toast each other in Beijing (1997).

1 Gore will sometimes cross the street and walk on the other side just to avoid tipping his hat to the truth.

Recent examples of his willingness to sacrifice fact in the interest of politics include his remark about inventing the Internet and his assertion that he and Tipper inspired the novel *Love Story*. These are harmless distortions—the sort of tale your Uncle Aloysius used to tell you while the grown-ups rolled their eyes.

More disturbing was his speech to the 1996 Democratic Convention in which he discussed his sister's death from lung cancer, saying that he and his family gave up tobacco farming as a consequence. However, reporters looked into the matter and discovered that the Gores continued to reap the profits from the tobacco farm long after the sister's death and that Al had accepted campaign contributions from the tobacco industry as

late as 1990. When confronted with these facts, Gore explained that he'd suffered from "emotional numbness" and said philosophically, "Sometimes, you never fully face up to things that you ought to face up to."

Oh yes, and remember when he got caught raising money illegally at a Buddhist Temple? First, he said he didn't realize it was a fundraiser: "The DNC set up the event, asked me to attend it. It was billed as a community out-reach event, and indeed no money was offered or collected or raised at that event."

Later he said, "I didn't realize I was in a Buddhist temple." He undoubtedly thought them bald-headed men in orange togas were waiters.

In the wake of these statements, the *Boston Globe* investigated the matter and reported: "According to the documents

examined by the *Globe*, three days before the temple visit, the DNC sent Gore's office a confidential memorandum making clear the event was a fundraiser, including instructions for Gore to 'inspire political and fund-raising efforts among the Asian Pacific American Community.'"

Two days after the *Globe* published this story, the newspaper reported: "Vice President Al Gore acknowledged yesterday that he knew a fund-raiser at a Buddhist temple in California was a 'finance-related event,' reversing two months of denials in which he said he believed the gathering was for 'community outreach.'"

All of this would have been more bearable if, for the past 10 years, he hadn't swaggered around the country, pretending to be Little Goody Two-Shoes.

2

We want a President of the United States who has a personality—and a pulse.

Because, since birth, he's been tailoring his speech, attitudes, and facial expressions to the people he wants to please, Al Gore has never developed a personality of his own—merely a public persona. He greets you with all the courtesy and warmth of a funeral director. His handshake is waxen. If the casket weren't already closed, you'd swear he was the corpse. As the *Southern Partisan* reported a couple of years ago, "algor mortis" is the phase a dead body goes through just prior to rigor mortis.

Folks, we don't want a corpse as our head of state—and if we did, we'd much prefer Teddy Roosevelt.

3

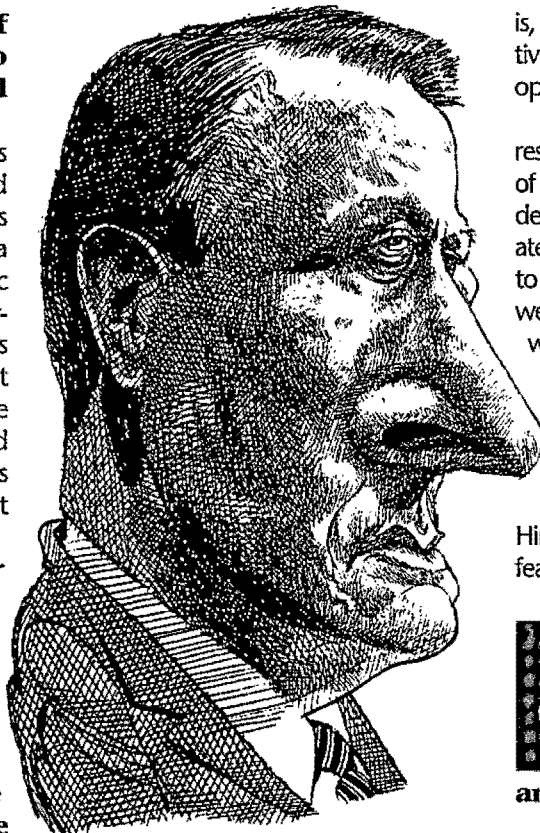
He's the mother of all tree huggers, the most crazy-eyed environmentalist to hit the national scene since Paul Ehrlich.

In his book, *Earth in the Balance*, Gore is the Chicken Little of the space age. He wants to abolish the internal combustion engine in his lifetime and he loves trees more than he loves Tipper. Consider this quote from his book:

The Pacific Yew can be cut down and processed to produce a potent chemical, taxol, which offers some promise of curing certain forms of lung, breast, and ovarian cancer in patients who would otherwise quickly die. It seems an easy choice—sacrifice the tree for a human life—until one learns that three trees must be destroyed for each patient treated, that only specimens more than a hundred years old contain the potent chemical in their bark, and that there are very few of these yews remaining on earth.

Gee, Al, the choice still seems pretty easy to us. Chop down all of the 100-year-old Yew trees you can find and save a few people along the way. To paraphrase Ronald Reagan, "when you've seen one old Pacific Yew, you've seen them all." No tree is worth more than a human life to anyone but an egalitarian of the worst sort.

Here's another book quote that shows just how seriously Al Gore takes the extreme environmentalists—and himself:



"The twentieth century has not been kind to the constant human striving for a sense of purpose in life. Two world wars, the Holocaust, the invention of nuclear weapons, and now the global environmental crises have led many of us to wonder if survival—much less enlightened, joyous, and hopeful living—is possible. We retreat into the seductive tools and technologies of industrial civilization, but that only creates new problems as we become increasingly isolated from one another and disconnected from our roots."

In other words, we can't be happy, we can't even *survive*, unless we stop cooking food in microwave ovens and stop driving cars. And it isn't just cars. We've got to get rid of the wheel—the invention that started us on this path to destruction.

Planned Parenthood and other destroyers of life are constantly expressing concern for the number of babies born in Third World countries—hence the Condoms for the Congo program. But Al Gore is much more worried about the children born in this country because they'll all grow up to use aerosol cans:

"Any child born into the hugely consumptionist way of life so common in the industrial world will have an impact that

is, on average, many times more destructive than that of a child born in the developing world."

Southerners probably have a healthier respect for nature than folks in other parts of the country, but we aren't under the delusion that we live in a blind, self-generated universe where every species is equal to every other. Or to put it another way, we're absolutely convinced the Pacific Yew wasn't made in the image of God.

Despite his Southern Baptist affiliation, Al Gore worships the Pacific Yew and the Spotted Owl. When Christ descends to earth at the Final Day of Judgement, Al Gore won't recognize Him unless He's covered with leaves or feathers.

4

Hopping around the country with his right foot in his mouth, Al Gore has made more gaffes than Dan Quayle and Yogi Berra combined.

Here are just a few.

- "A zebra does not change its spots."—a 1992 attack on Bush the Elder, quoted in the book *The 700 Stupidest Things Ever Said*.
- Speaking on behalf of Hubert Humphrey III and other Democratic candidates in Minnesota, Gore said, "They will be the education team that Missouri needs to move into the 21st century."
- Rock singer Courtney Love tells this tale of meeting Al Gore: "He goes 'I'm a really big fan,' and I was like 'Yeah, right. Name a song, Al.'" Gore replied, "I can't name a song. I'm just a really big fan."
- In attacking Oliver North, Gore said the ex-Marine was courting the support of "the extra-chromosome right wing." People with Down Syndrome have an extra-chromosome, and their loved ones let out a howl heard all the way to the Old Executive Office Building in Washington, where Gore issued an apology in which he said that he had "learned an important lesson [sic]. (Of course, it wasn't as if he'd misspelled "potato.")"
- In praising the Chicago Bulls, Gore said, "I tell you that Michael Jackson is unbelievable, isn't he? He's just unbelievable." (We agree. Michael Jackson is unbelievable.)
- When asked on Nightline about President Clinton's withdrawal of Lani Guinier's nomination to the EEOC, Gore

replied with clarity, "The theories—the ideas she expressed about equality of results without legislative bodies and with—by outcome, by decisions made by legislative bodies, ideas related to proportional voting as a general remedy, not in particular cases where the circumstances make that a feasible idea..."

• When a couple from Texas complained because the Texas Eagle, an Amtrak passenger train, had been cancelled, Gore's response read as follows: "Thank you for your letter regarding the protection of the Texas eagle. I appreciate hearing from you. I share your view that the urgent problem of species extinction and the conservation of biological diversity should be addressed."

• Just one more: "We can build a collective civic space large enough for all our separate identities, that we can be *e pluribus unum*—out of one, many."

The quote would be bad enough even if *e pluribus unum* didn't mean "out of many, one."



Al Gore has been Bill Clinton's bagman, raising money in all sorts of creative ways and with some pretty sleazy characters.

In 1989, the infamous John Huang helped plan Senator Al Gore's trip to Taiwan, where he was introduced to Buddhist master Shing Yun. And surprise, surprise! Seven years later, Vice President Gore attended a John-Huang-engineered fundraiser at Hsi Lai Buddhist temple in Hacienda Heights, California—a temple presided over by the same Shing Yun. The rest is history.

In 1997, White House advisor George Stephanopoulos admitted that the DNC had set up and paid for "special phones," "special faxes," and "special computers "for political work, for the fund-raiser work" in government buildings. During a single week in August of 1997, Gore made 86 campaign solicitations from his White House office. In 56 of these calls, he asked for contributions of \$25,000 to \$100,000. When this story broke, Gore called a press conference to weasel out of the charge that he had violated federal law by soliciting funds on government property.

He said:

"[My] counsel advised me that there is no controlling legal authority or case that says that there was any violation of law whatsoever in the manner in which I asked people to contribute to our reelection campaign...On a few occasions, I made some telephone calls, from my office in the White House, using a DNC credit card. I was advised that there was nothing wrong with that practice."

When former federal judge Abner Mikva was White House counsel in 1995, he circulated a memo for Clinton politicians which, in part, read: "Campaign activities of any kind are prohibited in or from government buildings...also no fund-raising phone calls or mail may emanate from the White House." So Gore had been warned.

As for those DNC credit-card calls, some were obviously charged to the U.S. taxpayer, because shortly after this story broke, the DNC reimbursed the government for as many as 20 calls.

Ignoring FBI director Louis Freeh's opinion on the subject, Attorney General Janet Reno decided not to appoint an independent counsel to look into Gore fund-raising activities on government property. Then, on August 19, 1998, Justice Department officials came across a memo that appeared to contradict Gore's account of his campaign solicitation. On August 26, Janet Reno—with her ample back to the wall—ordered a 90-day inquiry into the possibility that Gore had lied to Justice Department prosecutors and FBI investigators. The results of that inquiry? We all know what happens when the Clinton Administration investigates itself.

In addition to hanging out with Chinese agents, Gore was photographed in chummy proximity with convicted felon Jose "Gordito" Cabrera at a Florida campaign event in 1995. And that same year Cabrera made a \$20,000 contribution to the Democratic National Committee.

Did Gore know that Cabrera had served 3 years following a conviction in 1983 for Conspiracy to Bribe a Witness in a drug case—and another year for tax evasion in another drug-related scam? A year after the Gore photo and a Cabrera contribution to the DNC, Gordito was sentenced to 19 years for smuggling cocaine—three tons of the stuff.

P.S. The Justice Department refused

to release the photograph of Gore and Cabrera until pressured to do so by Republicans.

Howard Glicken is a long-time fundraiser for Al Gore. Last time we heard, Glicken—who has two license tags with plates that read "Gore1" and "Gore2"—was awaiting sentencing for illegal fund raising (i.e., soliciting foreign campaign contributions. He raised \$2 million for the DNC and the Clinton-Gore ticket in 1996.)

In 1983, Glicken was forced to leave the precious-metals trading division of Capital Bank in Miami because the bank believed he had unethically split a \$90,000 commission with a friend. In 1991, Glicken's company was accused of laundering drug money and agreed to pay \$375,000 to settle the charges.

Disillusioning, isn't it, all this illicit money grubbing? You feel the way you felt when your nephew—who just received his Eagle Scout badge—was caught molesting the neighbor's eight-year-old boy. How could such a wholesome, bright-eyed boy do such nasty things you ask yourself.



Gore is predictably bad on the sexual issues, despite a carefully cultivated Mr. Clean image.

As he told Women for Gore in 1999: "I will always, always defend a woman's right to choose. Every time Congress has played politics with that fundamental personal right—imposing gag rules and attaching anti-choice language to any bill they can think of—we have stood up to them and stopped them. If they try it again, we'll stop them again. And if they try after the year 2000, with your help, I'll stop them."

Gore also favors more family planning and less parental consent. Here's what he said in a speech to the National Women's Law center: "Reproductive freedom is also about the right and responsibility to prevent unwanted pregnancies. That is why we insisted on an increase in funding for family planning services—while fighting back restrictions that would have required parental consent. And as the nation's largest employer, we are setting an example by requiring the 300 federal health plans to cover contraceptives."

He's also the poster boy of the gay rights movement, one of its most strident,

self-righteous champions. In 1992, his picture appeared in a prominent gay rights publication—dressed in scanty shorts and standing next to a similarly clad Bill Clinton. Neither group has quite gotten over it.

7

Like all the boys in Washington, he's chums with Communist China.

Gore belongs in the Henry-Wallace-Jerry-Brown-Bubble-Head tradition of the Democratic Party. Witness his crazy ideas about the environment. But does that craziness manifest itself in his adoration of Red China? It's hard to tell.

He foresees the nations of the world holding hands with one another like high school sweethearts. On the other hand, he's been up to his starched collar in the Clinton's ongoing courtship of Chinese agents.

So which motivates him to declare himself unequivocally for Most Favored Nation status for China and membership in the World Trade Organization? Moony globalism or real politick? On second thought, who cares?

8

Gore wants to take away the guns of law-abiding citizens—bill by bill, law by law.

Many conservatives are bewildered at the intransigence of the National Rifle Association and other gun lobbies. "Why," they ask, "oppose the ban on assault weapons? Why not go ahead and pass the legislation and end all this divisive bickering?" The answer is simple: The bickering will never end until no one is allowed to own a gun. When the Brady Bill was signed into law, Sarah Brady was asked what she thought. Her reply: "It's a good first step." That's what they'll say after banning assault weapons, banning rifles altogether, and banning handguns. And banning pistols. And banning shot-guns. Might as well stand and fight on assault weapons—because each victory by the anti-gun lobby makes the

next one that much easier.

Al Gore has been a leader in the fight against the right of citizens to bear arms. In fact, he cast the tie-breaking vote in the latest assault on the Second Amendment. "That means we must engage our children in positive, constructive activities between 2 and 6, [by expanding] access to quality after-school care for all our children." [emphasis added]

So how would you like government to manage the after-hours activities of your kid and everybody else's kid nationwide? You can bet there would be lots of team sports and lots of talk about gender equity, sexual orientation, and multiculturalism. And while they were listening to this indoctrination, the kids would smoke and do drugs for sure.

9

He wants to send everybody's kid to college and use everybody else's money to do it.

His position: "Al Gore has worked to expand student loans and lower their cost to students; to create HOPE Scholarship tax credits, to make the first two years of college virtually free for every American...Al Gore believes that in the knowledge-based economy of the 21st Century, everyone who is willing to work for it must have the chance to go to college."

In the first place, what makes him think that college grants and loans are free? Nothing is free in this world, as Simple Simon found out. Many parents are paying 40-50 percent of their income

each year in federal, state, and local taxes—just so politicians like Al Gore can prance around and say how generous they are with other people's money.

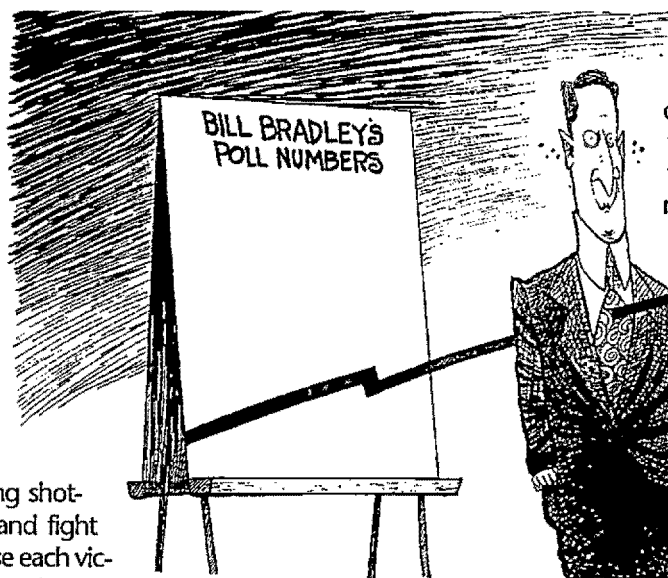
In the second place, why should a college education be free any more than food, clothing, and shelter? Why shouldn't people have to pay for college? Back when there was no government subsidizing of higher education, people of modest incomes could afford to send their kids to college. Today, when government grants and loans abound, only the very rich can afford tuition, room, and board. Anyone who doesn't think there's a connection, doesn't understand the law of supply and demand.

10

Gore wants the whole world to move to the United States and vote Democratic.

Gore not only supports more immigration, but believes that immigrants should not become Americans in every sense, like those of us who were already here. He puts it this way: "[America is] not a 'melting pot' that dissolves all differences. With each wave of immigrants, we have become not only more diverse—but also more open and equal; not only culturally richer—but also spiritually stronger. Now, in our present time, we can say with pride that we are not only the most diverse multi-ethnic society in human history, but also the nation with the strongest and most enduring common values."

Baloney. The questioning of traditional morals and the emergence of the "culture war" have stripped us of our most basic values. You can't blame that on immigration, but you can certainly blame it on the secular doctrine of multiculturalism that has encouraged new immigrants to continue speaking their native language and refuse to assimilate—as immigrants in the past were eager to do. Consequently, new waves of immigration have brought nothing but trouble and divisiveness. As soon as a new group gets off the boat, they form an ethnic pressure group and start lobbying for special rights and benefits.



10 Reasons Why Bill Bradley Won't Do!

by Wilfred Jay



1 He supports Hillary-care.
Bradley says that if he's elected President, he'll use the power of the office to push for universal health care—by extending health insurance to all Americans. On the surface, this sounds like a great idea—and terribly, terribly caring. In fact, such a plan would further undermine the greatest health care system in the world, which is already in trouble because of federal interference. Each time the federal government meddles in the provision of goods and services—whether it's the practice of medicine or the education of our young—two things inevitably happen—(1) the cost goes up for everybody and (2) the quality of goods or services deteriorates.

When the National Education Association first persuaded a Democratic President and Congress to

provide federal funding for education, our schools were doing a good job. Today they're in shambles—and middle-class parents can no longer afford to send their kids to the better colleges and universities.

Likewise, if the federal government begins to provide medical insurance for everyone who can't afford it, then no one will be able to afford medical care without insurance, and the whole system will decline as the result of bureaucratic meddling. Bradley's heart may be in the right place on this one, but he should read *The Road to Serfdom* by F.A. Hayek before he proceeds further.

2 And speaking of education, Bradley's ready to spend billions on Clinton-Administration programs designed to indoctrinate our children and wrest control of our schools from parents and local boards.

Bradley voted for \$56 billion worth of extra federal spending on education and training programs. He supported Goals 2000—a Clinton program that enables the U.S. Department of Education to influence curricular decisions, despite the fact that the law authorizing the creation of the Department specifically forbids such interference.

Finally, he voted to authorize \$800 million for grants to state and local education agencies to "reform" schools. In this case, "reform" means more social meddling and further involvement by the National Education Association, whose primary goal these days is to use federal dollars to promote a massive social and political agenda in our school system.

3 Bradley supports the gay rights agenda.

For example, he has said that "[g]ays should be allowed to serve openly in the military." In stating this opinion, Bradley admitted he didn't consult with senior military officials about the impact such a policy might have on the morale of servicemen and women. Instead, he concluded, "There have been gays in the military as long as there has been a military. They've only had to hide." Precisely. And hiding means you don't hit on the other guy in the shower or sharing your foxhole.

In addition, while he says he personally opposes same-sex marriages, he refused to support a ban.

4 Bradley looks with favor on the massive influx of immigrants that has destabilized American society.

He voted to allow immigrants to go on welfare regardless of their sponsor's income. He voted against allowing INS agents to search open fields without a warrant—and get this—even if they have *probable cause*. He voted in favor of reimbursing public schools for the education of foreign students, and he also voted to spend \$100 million for the education of immigrants. (Immigrants tend to vote Democratic.)

5 Bradley is Willie Wetlegs on defense.

Bradley apparently believes that, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, we can beat all our swords into plowshares and romp like carefree moppets into an

untroubled future. He wants to eliminate or reduce funding for “unnecessary weapons systems,” including SDI, Trident III, F-18’s, and B-2’s. He has even said that Bill Clinton’s defense budget is too extravagant.

6 Bradley supports efforts to wean kids away from their parents and churches.

He voted in favor of continuing federal funds to school districts that deny students the constitutionally protected right to voluntary prayer; and he also voted in favor of distributing condoms and other contraceptives to kids—even when their parents object. Studies too numerous to haul around in a backpack prove that condom distribution doesn’t keep teenage girls from getting pregnant. (Out of every hundred teenage girls whose boyfriends use condoms, 16-17 percent get pregnant within a year.) Yet Bradley supports the policy anyway. And he opposes posting the Ten Commandments in schools.

7 He’s yet another globalist—willing to sacrifice American jobs in order to satisfy the insatiable appetite of international traders.

He supported GATT, NAFTA, and Fast Track authority for the President. Here’s what he said about NAFTA: “I was a strong supporter of NAFTA. I think it created more positive results than negative. Some people have been hurt by it. Those people ought to be helped. But I think that, overall, it’s a benefit to the country. I also was a major backer of the WTO. I think that the answer to a lot of our economic problems is more trade, more fairly shared worldwide.”

But he isn’t willing to do what’s necessary to make the international market freer and fairer. For example, he voted against the economic sanctioning of Japan—even if the Japanese didn’t stop manipulating the market for car parts. In other words, he doesn’t really believe the market should be free.



8 Bradley apparently believes that passing gun control laws will solve the problem of violence in our streets.

“I think it’s about time somebody stood up to the NRA,” Bradley was quoted as saying in the *Boston Globe*. “What we need is a little plain speaking about where we are in the world today.” Translation: He wants to ban specific weapons, increase requirements for registration and licensing, and limit the number of guns a citizen can buy to one per month. This moon-blanced thinking shows that Bradley has taken too many cruises on the *Good Ship Lollypop* and expects an MGM ending to every federal program. No one who believes that such legislation would reduce gun-related violence deserves to be President of the United States.

9 Still a jock at heart, Bradley thinks government is one big basketball game.

Don’t take our word for it. Here’s what he’s said: “And after I was in the Senate a number of years, I realized that legislating was not dissimilar [to being on a championship basketball

team]. It was very similar to actually playing team basketball because you had to get different people from different backgrounds with different personal agendas to come together and work toward a common objective. And I think that’s an aspect of leadership.”

To use his own analogy, what Bradley is proposing for our country is like trying to fix a basketball game so that all the players are the same height, nobody fouls anybody else, everybody scores the same number of points, and the game ends in a tie. That isn’t life, Senator, any more than it’s basketball.

10 He’s opposed to the GOP’s \$792 billion tax cut because he wants to spend the surplus on new federal programs.

Bradley said of the bill: “I’d veto it. There are more important things that we need in the country now than the size of this tax cut. For example, there are still 44 million people in the country who don’t have any health insurance, there are still 15 million children in America who are below the poverty line. It’s not fiscally responsible. It could have the perverse effect of preventing reducing taxes if we got into a recession, and you need a tax cut available for countercyclical reasons.”

You see, he’s a meddler—the kind of guy who can’t keep his hands off the controls. He wants to use tax cuts as a means of manipulating the economy rather than as a recognition that the money belongs to the taxpayers in the first place, that a reduction in taxes isn’t giving them their hard-earned money back, that a tax cut means not taking their money from them in the first place.

One final point: Bradley is too tall to be President. Our last tall president was Abraham Lincoln, and he was responsible for the War Between the States, the bloodiest conflict in the nation’s history. He also allowed General Sherman to make war on the civilian population—sacking their larders, stealing their silver, burning their houses and barns, and hauling them off in chains.

This nation couldn’t survive another such war, which is why we shouldn’t elect a man as tall as Bill Bradley. ☪

Joseph Sobran

born in Detroit, Michigan, Joe Sobran majored in English at Eastern Michigan University and did graduate studies in English, specializing in Shakespeare. In 1972, he went to work for *National Review Magazine*, beginning what would be a 21-year stint, including 18 years as senior editor. Since 1979 he has been a nationally syndicated columnist whose work can be seen in hundreds of daily newspapers and magazines including *Southern Partisan*.

Mr. Sobran is the author of the book *Single Issues: Essays on the Crucial Social Questions*, published by The Human Life Press, and he is currently writing a book on the abandonment of the Constitution.

In 1994, he founded *Sobran's*, a monthly newsletter of his essays and columns.

Southern Partisan: Since you are an official baby boomer, educated in the 60s and at a Northern University, how did you avoid becoming a flower child?

Sobran: Well, that's a good question. I was temperamentally very conservative even though my family was mildly liberal for those days. I met Adlai Stevenson: you know, Democrats were still kissing babies and not killing them, and we wouldn't have even dreamed of that being part of the party platform. So I sort of passively accepted the liberal view of politics because I thought it was the position of the true intellectual, but then I had a few friends who started straightening me out, giving me Ayn Rand and Bill Buckley



Our Favorite Copperhead

to read. These broke the hold of liberalism on me. Also I should mention I was a Catholic convert. And you know a Catholic has a kind of affinity with Southerners, because they both have an attachment to lost causes. They don't think that because a cause was lost it was the worst cause. The bad guys often win.

Southern Partisan: Let's talk about presidential politics. You are now officially a candidate for the vice-presidency with the Constitution Party. What made you decide to get into elective politics?

Sobran: Well I really didn't decide except that Howard Phillips, for whom I have tremendous respect, asked me and it hit me like

a bolt from the blue as they say. I thought it over for a couple of days, and it seemed like a good thing to do. I want to get the message out about restoring Constitutional government, which we haven't had since 1861. Early 1861 I might add. The way I look at it, the supposedly sovereign American people can have their Constitution back anytime they want to, but they don't seem to want to right now. I think it's mostly a problem of ignorance and miseducation. The government is in revolt against the people and the people have abdicated.

Southern Partisan: I see. Well now I must plead ignorance to the ballot status of the Constitution Party. Are you eligible for federal matching funds and, if so, would you take them?

Sobran: We are on the ballot in every state except Virginia. The Constitution says no electorate can go for two candidates from the same state, from his own state that is, so Howie has to have somebody from out of state since we both live in Virginia.

As for matching funds, we're not eligible at this point, and we would not take them anyway. That's a matter of principle with us.

You know one of the corruptions most people aren't even aware of is the corruption that the government can regulate its own opposition. The two major parties do everything they can to keep other parties off the ballot.

Southern Partisan: Let me ask you about Pat Buchanan. What is

your view of Buchanan and his flirtation with the Reform Party? Is that something that you hope that he does?

Sobran: No. I was hoping he'd join us. Howard and I tried to recruit him to the Constitution Party. Well, the available matching funds are a major consideration for him unfortunately. But... oh well. It seems to me he could have gotten that kind of money another way, because he's such an attractive candidate.

Southern Partisan: Some people argue that the Balkanization of conservatives, with you running and Buchanan running, will simply deliver the Presidency to either Gore or Bradley. Surely there's enough of a difference between the two major parties that it would be better not to have Gore for four years than to divide the Conservative vote.

Sobran: Well, that question, if you think about it, answers itself. The other day Mona Charen became the latest to write that all Buchanan is doing, to the extent that he gets votes, is to make sure that Al Gore or Bill Bradley appoints the next few Supreme Court Justices. My question is, who's going to confirm them? The Senate Republicans. That's what they've always done. The Senate voted 97 to 3 to confirm Ruth Bader Ginsburg. But, they keep confirming Clinton's appointees, and they'll do the same with Gore.

Southern Partisan: So the idea that you and Buchanan might have the mathematical function of delivering the Presidency to Gore or Bradley doesn't bother you?

Sobran: No. As a matter of fact, Republicans are more likely to vote right against a Democrat than against a Republican President. Republican Presidents can get away with a lot of bad things because they have party loyalty going for them. I think it would be better to keep the government divided, as it now is, rather than to have a Republican President. The Republicans started out as a centralizing party. They're not the friends of the Constitution.

Southern Partisan: Have you ever

considered yourself to be a Republican?

Sobran: Yes, I was for a long time... until 1988. I came out of the voting booth having voted for George Bush and I thought, what I have done? I didn't immediately leave the party, but when Bush went back on his promise not to raise taxes I said, that's it! You can betray us just so often, then I start noticing. One such betrayal was when Gerald Ford refused to visit with Solzhenitsyn. I remember, a magazine—I think it was called *First Monday*—they had a picture on the cover of Ford meeting with a bunch of kids dressed up as characters in the *Wizard of Oz* (a really silly picture) with a caption, "And he didn't have time for Solzhenitsyn."

Southern Partisan: Of course, Lincoln was not a majority president. It was the divisions within the other party that enabled him to win a plurality. What does that say about the Electoral College? Should it be abolished?

Sobran: I've just been re-reading the *Federalist Papers* and trying to make up my mind about that. I'm inclined not to abolish it simply because it gives the states some kind of status in the general system. You know we're *not* supposed to be ruled by sheer majority will. The idea is to pit different forces against each other so there will always be, as we say, checks and balances. Those have been sadly eroded, especially after the 17th Amendment virtually abolished the Senate, making it popularly elected rather than legislature appointed. The states have no way of defending their prerogatives anymore against the federal government, and it's gotten to the point where they don't want those prerogatives back. They're willing vassals.

Southern Partisan: You've written about Confederate President Jefferson Davis and the South's attempt to leave the Union. Since you're of Northern birth, how did you come to be such a stalwart defender of the South?

Sobran: Well it's the most round-about thing imaginable because I started off believing all the Northern

mythology and a lot of the liberal mythology as well. Bit by bit it had gotten chipped away over the years. At one time I was quite an enthusiast of Lincoln. Professor Harry Jaffa at Claremont College is a great defender of Lincoln, and I was under his influence for awhile. Then, I discovered the 10th Amendment and I thought, "Now wait a minute how does all this square with the 10th Amendment?" I was a nut on the 10th Amendment for many years until I realized that it too was only a small part of the whole picture—although a very crucial part. Finally, I saw that Lincoln was a great consolidator.

Basically, if the Anti-Federalists had lived to see the "Civil War," (I hate to use that phrase as much as you must hate to hear it) they'd have crowed. They'd have said, "we told you so, we told you this Constitution would lead to federal tyranny." And it did. I mean the basic principle of American Politics, the genius of American Politics, was the insight that power should be divided.

It became much worse later on because there was still a residual respect for the Constitution, even in the North, as when they at least had the decency to force the South at bayonet point to ratify the 14th Amendment, rather than simply assuming the power without an amendment. But by the 1960s, the federal government simply did what it wanted; took any power it pleased. The turning point was really the New Deal. And then by 1973 the Court could throw out one of the most basic laws of the states, protecting the unborn, as unconstitutional. That was a totally fraudulent ruling, not an honest mistake, and it was a real dereliction on the part of conservatives and religious people that they didn't immediately call for impeachment of the Justices at that point.

Southern Partisan: After President Clinton survived his impeachment, some prominent conservatives began to say that we've lost the culture war and that we should give up on the idea of reforming the government. Are you in that camp?

Sobran: Well, it's never over. You can never give up. I mean sometimes you're in the catacombs and sometimes

you're on top, but you have to keep fighting God's fight. Despair is a sin.

The *Federalist Papers*, by the way, do contemplate the possibility of armed resistance. In Number 28 Hamilton, of all people, says that if the federal government usurps power, the state militias will be able to resist it. I think that's the point of the Second Amendment. That's why it connects the security of a free state and militias with the personal right to keep and bear arms, because they were insisting that the people should have the means of resisting the central government if it overstepped its limits. Now they didn't foresee the way it would actually work out. They expected a direct conflict between state and federal government. They didn't

expect that the states would be sort of split down the middle between people who had been, let's say, bought by the federal government and those who treasured their freedom, which is the way it is now. So, as a prediction, it was all wrong; but as a concept, it's fascinating because it means they really did expect the Second Amendment to provide the means of what we now call civil war.

Southern Partisan: So do you have hope that America can be saved?

Sobran: I think it can be, but we're pretty far down the slope at the moment. I'm hoping that people can be awakened and realize they've been robbed of their heritage, that they're

amazingly out of touch with their ancestors.

America is still the greatest country on earth and all that, but the Constitution they're talking about today is not the one written by our ancestors. In 1986, or thereabout, Justice William Brennan gave a great speech at Georgetown University, a real manifesto. He said when he referred to the Bill of Rights, he was referring to the first eight amendments and the 14th Amendment. So the 9th and 10th didn't count for him. Now that tells you the

Sobran on Shakespeare

In addition to being a political columnist Mr. Sobran is also a scholar on the works of William Shakespeare. In 1997 he released a book called Alias Shakespeare, which argued that the author of the works of Shakespeare was actually Edward Devere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

Southern Partisan: Can you give us a synopsis of your conclusion about William Shakespeare?

Sobran: Any writer's work reflects his life and if you read any standard life of Shakespeare you will scratch your head looking for connections because we know a fair amount about the man from Stratford, but none of it connects with the works that he supposedly wrote. Whereas if you study the life of Devere, you'll find his fingerprints all over those plays. I devoted two chapters of my book to the sonnets and how they reflect Oxford and certainly not William of Stratford. Oxford's life, because he was a nobleman, is very amply recorded, and there are so many things that link him to those Shakespeare works.

Southern Partisan: How were your arguments received?

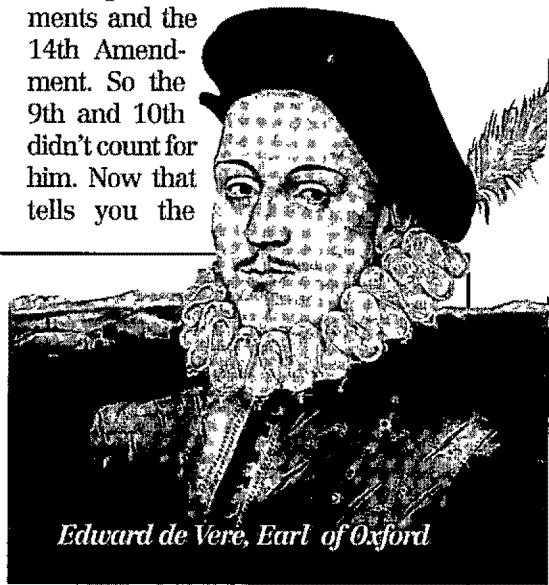
Sobran: I'll tell you this. The people who attacked my book could not

meet the arguments head on. They just sneered at the whole idea as silly, and they didn't bother explaining why or how the sonnets reflect William's life and not Oxford's.

Southern Partisan: What's your favorite Shakespeare play?

Sobran: I guess *Hamlet* for a lot of reasons. One, it's a very Christian play. In fact it revolves around the issues of the Reformation. It's amazing how many people don't see this. Critics think of it as sort of a psychological study of Hamlet, but there's so much about people dying without the Sacraments and then what happens to them. You know the ghost complains that he's been murdered by his brother and deprived of the Sacraments. Then *Hamlet* has a chance to kill his uncle, but he's praying, and he wants him to go to Hell. Then he sends friends Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to death without time for Confession. And there's the controversy about Ophelia, did she kill herself or not? If she did, is she entitled to Christian burial? Hamlet of course has been a student at Wittenberg, so all these things tend to be overlooked. But they're part of the reason I'm interested in the play.

Southern Partisan: What's your



Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford

opinion of Hollywood's current interest in Shakespeare?

Sobran: Well, it's funny. I always say I don't mind a modern dress version of Shakespeare, but I can't stand a modern ideas version because they're really hoisting concepts on him that don't fit the plays. One of the worst examples is one of the best movies. It's Olivier's *Hamlet* where you get all this Freudian nonsense. It's funny because Shakespeare hasn't become dated since that movie was made but Freud sure has. So that's what makes it look old-fashioned now.

I've seen some of the recent ones. Let's see, they had *Richard III* as a fascist; it completely misunderstands what Richard was. He's not a fascist, he's a murderer! There's a difference! True, fascists commit murders, but all he wants is the throne. He's not trying to remake society and centralize the media and all that. Just because he kills little kids doesn't mean he must be a fascist. I think I'd make him a Democrat. ☺

whole problem.

The 9th Amendment basically tells us that the Constitution is not meant to be an exhaustive list of the people's right, but the 10th Amendment tells us that the Constitution is an exhaustive list of the federal government's powers. So I don't think of the 10th Amendment as a State's Rights Amendment, I think of it as the Reserved Powers Amendment. It means that whatever the federal government is not specifically authorized to do, it's forbidden to do. Now of course they've been getting around that by enormously inflating the Commerce Clause of Art. I, Sect. 8 and letting it cancel out the rest of the Constitution.

Southern Partisan: So you see the Commerce Clause as the crack in the dam?

Sobran: Think about it. If the Commerce Clause means everything they want it to mean, then slavery and liquor could have been banned by a simple act of Congress, because they were both certainly interstate commerce, but nobody understood that provision to mean that. Regulate meant regularize, not take over. Regulate has come to signify total control now. That's not what it meant to them. That's why they speak of a well-regulated militia. The word regulate causes a lot of trouble because of that anachronism.

The 14th Amendment has been used to give the federal government basically a negative on all the formally reserved powers of the States. The defenses are gone. There is no way that the States and the people can defend themselves against usurpations which are just so routine now. We don't even call them that anymore. Most people don't even know what the word usurp means. With a total centralization of real power, the States and localities have only as much power as they are allowed to keep.

The language of the framers is really alien to us, and that means we can't even converse with our ancestors. I don't think there are five members of Congress who could hold

intelligent conversations with the authors of the *Federalist Papers*. I'm not idealizing the *Federalist Papers* by the way. I'm not sure the Constitution was such a great idea either.

Southern Partisan: Why is that?

Sobran: Well, look how it came out. The Anti-Federalists have been vindicated over time. Now, the Federalists might well reply that this is because of the way the Constitution has been abused and abandoned. The answer to that is, yeah, but you guys said it was foolproof. You know, the Federalists kept ridiculing as extremely improbable the abuses that the Anti-Federalists predicted, but the basic one has come to pass. The federal government has amassed so much power it's irresistible now.

Southern Partisan: Who would you pick out of history as our heroes, as people we should look up to?

Sobran: I have the deepest admiration for the Christian martyrs, especially those we don't know. Those who had the holiness and grace to suffer in obscurity for their faith. It takes almost unimaginable courage to endure torture and death and to know that you're not even going to be honored for it, so I think of them often. They're the people I most admire of all time.

In politics I have some, too. I have great admiration for Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stevens. I think they give the most distinct explanation of the war and, of course, Davis furthermore showed great courage all his life. And another thing, he was full of personal charity. You hear all these wonderful, homely things about Lincoln, but I don't know one story about him actually giving something materially to someone poorer than he was.

Southern Partisan: There's a lot of Lincoln's proponents who don't really know much about Lincoln.

Sobran: Gary Wills wrote a book called *Lincoln at Gettysburg*. He called the Gettysburg Address a giant

though benign swindle. So he acknowledges that Lincoln distorted the Constitutional tradition, although he approves of it. Now that's just great. It's like all these people who say, "well, Franklin Roosevelt had to lie to us about his intent of getting us into World War II." Well, what about democracy folks?

I don't want to defend slavery. It's an evil and anyone who introduces it is reprehensible, but... you know Christianity put up with slavery for a long time, because people just couldn't see how you could have a social order without someone on the bottom rung. And slavery in America was not comparable to slavery in Africa, where slaves were routinely mutilated, blinded, castrated, crippled to keep them under control. You get the impression even from American propaganda, that the US originated slavery. In fact, it's the one African institution we imported.

Southern Partisan: I understand you're also a movie fan. Any favorites?

Sobran: Well, my all time favorite is *The Third Man*, a great thriller set right after the WWII. I've seen it 50 times. Even when you know how it's going to come out, it doesn't lose its fascination. What's wonderful about that film is the way it captures the attitude of the defeated, specifically the girl who the hero falls in love with. Joseph Cotton plays the hero. The movie is about the divided city amongst the Brits, the Americans, the Russians, the French, and yet there is no propaganda in it. It's just a very hard sober look at a country that's been bombed to smithereens. It got me thinking a lot about war

Also, Lawrence Olivier's *Henry V* was one of the most beautiful films of all time because, the production is still so beautiful and he speaks the lines so well. He's magnetic.

Southern Partisan: Well, good luck with your campaign. Thank you for taking the time to talk with us.

Sobran: Oh, it's been a pleasure—anytime. ☺

THE COPPERHEAD

Tradition

BY GRADY W. CONNERROSS

Before I begin, a confession may be in order. I grew up in Massachusetts, and I am currently in my second year of graduate school in New York City. While I have always had great affection for my native Massachusetts, my feelings regarding the Big Apple have been well articulated by Hank Williams, Jr., who sang: "You can send me to hell or New York City. It'd be about the same to me."

I began my career as a Harvard undergraduate in 1990. This was the year of the campus-wide outrage over then-senior Brigid Kerrigan's decision to fly a Confederate Battle Flag in her dorm room window. As you might expect, the professional malcontents on campus pounced immediately. At least one protest was staged outside Brigid's window, a move which suggested that what the protesters could not achieve through force of argument, they intended to accomplish through just plain force.

One black student decided to hang a large swastika out her window, explaining later that such a symbol probably causes as much pain for Jewish students as the Battle Flag does for blacks. Well, there's Harvard intellectual life for you.

At the time, I didn't feel very strongly about the issue. As a lifelong Northerner, and, I confess, somewhat brainwashed on issues relating to the South and the war, I simply observed this incident from the sidelines. But the visceral hatred for the South among these radical students at



"Shutting Up Shop" an anti-Copperhead cartoon from the period.

Harvard, an institution which has done damage to this republic that can probably never be adequately calculated, convinced me that Southerners must be great people indeed. After reading *I'll Take My Stand*, I was an instant convert.

Modern-day Copperheads, such as myself, agree with Southern scholars Donald Davidson and Clyde Wilson that the fate of the American South must be of interest to anyone concerned with the fate of Western civilization. Southern League President Michael Hill reports that a member of the British Parliament told him: "Over here some of us are immersing ourselves in the States' rights issue and the wise words of John C. Calhoun and others of the South. So your battle is ours, too."

And it is with this in mind that Northern sympathizers during the war criticized the Lincoln administration. Charles

Mason, a former chief justice of the Iowa supreme court who served in the Buchanan administration, spoke for northern conservatives when he wrote that "our only hope is in the success of the Southern effort." As a believer in federalism and constitutionalism, Mason feared that a Northern victory would usher in a government firmly centralized in Washington. "What power has Napoleon III which is not possessed in a greater degree by Abraham the 1st? He is an absolute despot. We hold our lives, our liberty and our property solely at his will." Mason and other Copperheads were convinced that it had been the influence of the South in the Union that

had held despotism at bay for so long.

Until about 1960, historians generally dismissed the Copperheads as men whose "hearts were black, whose blood was yellow, and whose minds were blank." Their hearts were black, presumably, because the Copperheads somehow could not bring themselves to join New Englanders in singing "His truth is marching on" while the South was being looted and pillaged. Their blood was yellow because they did not wish to fight against Southerners who had done them no wrong, yet in Lincoln's America it took more than a little courage to write and speak as boldly and forthrightly as did the Copperheads, and indeed many of them ended up in jail. Their minds were blank, went the old bromide, but their grasp of the Constitution far surpassed that of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner,

the latter of whom actually said that nothing against slavery could possibly be unconstitutional.

The Copperhead movement was centered primarily in the middle west, particularly in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, although pockets of Southern sympathizers could be found all over the North. It had its roots partly in economics, for when the War Department imposed its Mississippi River blockade, southern markets were suddenly cut off to Midwestern farmers. The result was severe economic dislocation.

But as usual, a purely economic explanation only accounts for so much. Steeped in American history and political philosophy, the Copperheads opposed the centralizing despotism of Abraham Lincoln on distinctly ideological grounds. While their views varied regarding the legality of secession—which many of them opposed—they generally believed in states' rights and chafed at the use of coercion against any state.

John Mullaly, editor of New York's *Metropolitan Record*, ranked among the most radical of Copperheads. Regarding the war, he wrote: "Which do we prefer—to let the South go, or to lose our own liberties in an attempt to force it unwillingly into a union with us; and when to keep it in such a union we would require an army of occupation in every Southern State.... For our part we must say that we prefer liberty to Union on such terms, and if that be treason make the most of it."

Following the Northern victory, *The Old Guard*, another New York Copperhead paper, observed: "The Union that survives this conflict by our triumph, is precisely of the character of the union between England and Ireland—a union maintained by fraud, and force, and despotism—a union that is cemented by the blood and tears of Ireland!—a union without consent, without choice, without liberty!"

It went on to state its position in terms more dramatic still: "We, a northern man, and New England born too, dare write these things, because they are true! We challenge denial! We throw upon our own section the eternal shame of this wrong—of this war against liberty and self-government, and challenge denial by an appeal to the record, if any man dare!"

Nearly all Copperheads, moreover, agreed on one thing: Radical abolitionism, particularly of the New England variety,

"The Union that survives this conflict by our triumph, is precisely of the character of the union between England and Ireland—a union without consent, without choice, without liberty!"

was a root cause of the war, and of the fanaticism with which it was being fought. While slavery ultimately ended peacefully in the rest of the hemisphere, American abolitionists, the Copperheads believed, were out for blood.

Dennis A. Mahoney, editor of the *Dubuque Herald*, and Iowa's most prominent Copperhead, was particularly impatient with Northern ideologues. A disgusted Mahoney declared that Lincoln was under the sway of "a dozen isms and Tom fooleries upon which the entire North under the lead of Abolitionized Massachusetts has gone mad." (Mahoney, incidentally, would be imprisoned in 1862, having been granted no trial and accused of no crime.)

Along these lines, *The Old Guard* expressed a sentiment with which many Southerners could agree: "It would have been infinitely better that New England should have left the Union, as she attempted to do in 1812... for then the rest of the country would have reposed for ever in the arms of peace and prosperity."

Russell Kirk was exactly correct when he remarked that "New England was incessantly tempted to improve and purify—particularly to improve and purify other people." (It was this incorrigible crusading spirit that the Copperheads most disliked about New England. Had New Englanders been satisfied to confine their Jacobinism and their heretical version of Christianity to their own region, the South could have had no objection. But the descendants of John Winthrop's "chosen people" were a restless lot indeed.)

A Copperhead newspaper put it more bluntly. "[C]ommunities like... New England, covered all over with sores, and social ulcers and rottenness dripping from them on every side, believe they have a 'mission,' not to cure their own hideous diseases, but to inflict them on these healthy and simple people."

Charles Mason pointed out that one of these "hideous diseases" was a political philosophy that seemed to have been taken from the very worst elements of the French revolution. He detected in abolitionist

fanaticism a dynamic that would not be fully worked out until all vestiges of human inequality had been obliterated. "Let the people reflect upon the consequences of all this radicalism," he wrote, "before they find blood flowing in the North as well as the South."

Worse than this, radical Northerners, while assuming a posture of Christian charity and goodwill, were in fact filled with hatred for their southern countrymen. This realization particularly enraged the *Old Guard*, which had this to say regarding the abolition-minded churches of New England: "Let any one look over the records of [their]... assemblies, conventions, and so forth... for some years past and he will find that far more time has been devoted to the generating of hatred against the people of the southern States than has been consumed in fostering the personal piety of the flocks committed to their charge."

The outlook of the ordinary Southerner has been precisely the opposite of this. Southerners have generally been humble enough to recognize that the responsibilities and obligations of daily life are difficult enough without crusading around the world, fighting for a metaphysical proposition. There is a reason why the Southern agrarians do not speak of a New World Order.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, for example, who dearly loved his native New England, admired and respected Southerners' attachment to their own soil. In an 1863 article for the *Atlantic Monthly*, he wrote: "In the vast extent of our country—too vast by far to be taken into one small human heart—we inevitably limit to our own State, or, at farthest, to our own section, that sentiment of physical love for the soil which renders an Englishman, for example, so intensely sensitive to the dignity and well-being of his little island, that one hostile foot, treading anywhere upon it, would make a bruise on each individual breast."

It was an awareness of the distinctiveness of Southern civilization that made the Copperheads' appeals for justice so insistent. Charles Mason believed that

“Southern statesmen...always...best understood our institutions and were most honest and zealous in preserving them unadulterated.” To attempt to beat the South into submission, as the radicals wished to do, was to deal a potentially fatal blow to the section that had produced the country’s best thinkers and statesmen. And this the Copperheads could not bear to do.

It was only a matter of time before the Radical Republicans took the Copperheads to task for these heretical views. No one escaped unscathed, as even the most timid critics of Lincoln were accused of the most base treachery.

The most fantastic of the traitorous schemes attributed to the Copperheads was the alleged “Great Northwest Conspiracy” of 1864. According to Republican propagandists, hundreds of thousands of traitors, after freeing Confederate prisoners, planned to take over several Midwestern states, secede from the Union and form a separate Northwest Confederacy. It was to be independent both of the Union and the South, but friendly to the South and sympathetic to its efforts at independence.

As much as the modern-day Copperhead might wish that such tales were true, virtually all of them turn out to have been entirely the product of an active Republican imagination.

The myth of a widespread Northern conspiracy to compromise the war effort served its purpose, however, by dampening criticism of the civil liberties record of the Lincoln administration, which arrested some tens of thousands of civilians and shut down more than 300 newspapers over the course of the war. And until revisionist historians successfully demonstrated that rumors of Northern conspiracies were completely without foundation, pro-Lincoln historians could explain away wartime suppression of civil liberties by pointing to an alleged internal threat posed by the wily Copperheads.

Moreover, it provided a pretext for the Radical Republicans’ hysterical search for “traitors.” One Ohio Copperhead complained: “Praise Abolitionism and you are a patriot; support the Constitution in a consistent, truthful way and you are a traitor—so say these Republican judges.” And indeed, the Radical Republican Ben Wade even admitted in 1863 that he automatically suspected of treason anyone who frequently appealed to the Constitution.

It also provided an impetus for the Union Leagues, which had thus far been able to excite little enthusiasm among the masses. Within a short period of time, chapters of these Leagues spread throughout the Midwest, acting simultaneously as propagandists and espionage arms of the administration. Horrified by the rapid spread of the Union Leagues, Copperheads were known to deride the new organization by translating its “U.L.A.” acronym as “Uncle Lincoln’s Asses.” (They couldn’t be intellectuals all the time.)

The Leagues tarred with the brush of treason even those obviously Union-minded Democrats who merely objected to Lincoln’s prosecution of the war. And the results were devastating. Historian Robert Rutland writes that the “Copperhead label

ment and constitutional liberty, “we know no North and no South. . . We have denounced the violators of the Constitution and laws of our country for the past four years, in the midst of mobs and riots, and threats of imprisonment, and of death; and we have not now one word to recant.”

The last year or so of the war, naturally enough, witnessed the Copperheads’ rapid decline. They had hoped that Lincoln might be ejected at the ballot box in 1864, but the Democratic candidate, George McClellan, was nowhere near the radical alternative they so desperately sought. Still, some maintained to the bitter end that perhaps a Democratic victory would carry a number of Democrats into Congress and into governorships across the country, who might have some influence over a



Davis and Lincoln playing shuttlecock. Cartoon in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, June 20, 1863.

almost turned Iowa into a one-party state, and with few exceptions, wrecked the political future of the chief Iowa Democrats.”

All things considered, the Copperheads proved remarkably tenacious, even in the midst of persecution. Franklin Weirick, the Copperhead editor of Pennsylvania’s weekly *Selinsgrove Times*, was threatened with lynching by a local abolitionist mob, but continued publishing his frankly pro-South columns unabated. Late in the war, *The Old Guard* wrote that in defense of the principles of self-govern-

President McClellan.

But by this time it was far too late. Republican propaganda had taken its toll. Indeed, the war itself had taken its toll, as the apparent imminence of Northern victory hardened the hearts of most moderate Unionists, who henceforth became increasingly impatient with the Copperheads. The Copperheads’ very inability to prevent the nomination of McClellan demonstrated how considerably their influence had waned.

Even at their peak, not all Copperheads were radical Southern sym-

pathizers—many of them, in fact, were staunch Western sectionalists. But they recognized the principles on which the South stood, and understood that the triumph of the North and its theory of a consolidated Union would lead to disaster.

The poet Robert Frost—Robert Lee Frost, in fact—once wrote that history is a tale not of the progressive discovery of new truths, but of a series of old truths going in

and out of fashion. And as we survey the current political landscape, the principles of localism and self-government which the South championed, while not exactly fashionable among Washington elites, have once again won the hearts of middle America—the normal, non-victimological, taxpaying public. Across the country, all sorts of grassroots movements favoring radical decentralization have begun to appear.

Given at the end, the staunch Pennsylvania Copperhead Franklin Weirwick was hopeful when he remarked in the late summer of 1865 that it was “not probable that this is the last time the South will attempt revolution.”

And should she decide someday to go her own way, civilized Northerners will wish her well. And a few of us may wish to go with her. ☛

Clement Vallandigham: *The Pat Buchanan of the 1860s*

BY WILLIAM LEJEUNE

A review of

The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vallandigham & The Civil War (North's Civil War Series, 8)

By Frank L. Klement

New York, 1999, 351 pages, \$32.50

Editor's Note: A new edition of this classic work is now available from Fordham University Press. The review below notes, among other things, parallels between the Copperhead leader and a more modern agitator who also pushes the limits of dissent.

Frank L. Klement first published *The Limits of Dissent* nearly 30 years ago. Its re-issue today is a welcome reminder of a neglected chapter in the history of the War Between the States.

Klement's scholarly investigations and writings over three decades radically revised the interpretations previous historians and popular press accounts had given to Copperheadism and the career of Clement L. Vallandigham. He persuasively debunked the conventional wisdom that the Copperhead movement, with Vallandigham in command, was a large scale, tightly knit organization of dangerously traitorous Northerners sympathetic to the South. Like the “vast right wing conspiracy” alleged by Mrs. Clinton, the Copperhead threat was a fiction used as an excuse by Lincoln to crack down on his critics. Klement contends there was no such thing as an organized, coherent threat to the policies of the Lincoln Administration in the North.

Considered by many to be the foremost

authority on the subject, Klement writes of the public life of Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio during the period 1845-1888. Vallandigham was the *ad hoc* leader of the Copperheads, a reptilian term coined by the Republican press to describe Northern Democrats who criticized the Lincoln Administration. Over the years, the term has been generally used to quash and defame any Northerners who sympathized with the South's position in the war.

In 1842, at age 20, Vallandigham passed the Ohio bar and began to excel at the law and in politics. He was elected to the Ohio legislature and served from 1845 to 1847. Between 1847 and 1858, he was very active in Ohio Democratic politics. He also owned, managed and edited a successful newspaper; he grew a lucrative law practice and held a brigadier general's commission in the Ohio militia. After three failures at the polls, in 1858, Vallandigham gained a seat in the Thirty-fifth Session of the United States Congress.

Throughout most of his political career Vallandigham was known as a Jacksonian Democrat. He championed the causes of Midwestern farmers and city workers. He was personally opposed to slavery, yet he believed the national government had no Constitutional authority in the matter. Both Southern secession and Northern coercion were unacceptable to Vallandigham, who advocated compromise, but if a choice had to be made, he favored allowing the South to secede peacefully. His often used slogan was “The Constitution as it is, the Union as it was”.

Throughout his wartime career, Vallandigham was a target of every distortion, calumny and rumor the Republican press and other Lincoln supporters could

fabricate to make him appear to be a traitor and a dangerous enemy of the government. All came to a head in April of 1863 when Vallandigham tested General Ambrose E. Burnside's Order No. 38 which made military courts and the General's opinion the arbiters of what editors and public speakers might say or write in criticism of the federal government.

Vallandigham, seeking his party's nomination for Governor of Ohio, made the effort to silence dissent into a campaign issue. He took the General to task at a Democratic rally on April 30. Burnside had him arrested in the middle of the night and hauled before a military court, where he was convicted of treason for his public statements. As a consequence of that conviction, Lincoln exiled Vallandigham to the South.

Vallandigham was a fiery orator, a journalist and a candidate for high office who dissented from the prevailing policies of his country and antagonized the most powerful people of his day. In return, he received an avalanche of bad press and abuse. It is difficult not to notice the parallels to Patrick J. Buchanan in our time, an equally fiery orator whose brand of broadside dissent draws from the popular press labels like “hatemonger,” “isolationist” and “extremist” (less clever than “Copperhead” but then we live in less clever times).

Klement ends his excellent biography of Vallandigham as follows: “Clement L. Vallandigham always believed that time would vindicate him and posterity would adjudge him a prophet. But time vindicated Lincoln not Vallandigham.” It should be noted that “time” is not over yet. The trends that Vallandigham saw and opposed are still working themselves out today.

Mr. LeJeune was a civilian administrator for the U.S. Department of the Navy. Now retired, he lives and writes in Summerville, South Carolina. ☛

Clement Laird Vallandigham

American Constitutionalist

B Y R O B E R T C . C H E E K S

We will support the Constitution of the United States in its whole entirety as it came to us from the fathers believing it to establish in principle the very best form of Government which the wisdom of man ever devised."

Clement Laird Vallandigham was a handsome, distinguished, gentleman of forty-one when he entered his second term in the United States House of Representatives from the Third District of Ohio in the fall of 1860. A Peace Democrat, Vallandigham supported the Fugitive Slave Law, opposed the radical Abolitionists, and wholeheartedly embraced the concept of States' Rights for the same intrinsic reasons the Founders did. By all accounts Congressman Vallandigham was an unabashed Constitutionalist.

In fact, as the editor and owner of the Democrat *Western Empire* in Dayton, Ohio, Vallandigham declared in the paper's inaugural editorial, "We will support the Constitution of the United States in its whole entirety as it came to us from the fathers believing it to establish in principle

the very best form of Government which the wisdom of man ever devised."

Vallandigham's district was "western" and democratic by nature and inclination and served as a perfect platform for it's representative's pro-Constitutional opinions, political leanings, and personal prejudices. Mr. Lincoln's war propelled the "west" (i.e. Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, etc.) into a serious economic depression caused by the cessation of river traffic, a dramatic decline in farm prices, a large food surplus, an



accompanying bank panic which closed businesses and threw thousands out of work. The "westerners," as they were called, quickly abandoned what little support they'd provided for the Republicans and flocked, increasingly, to Vallandigham's Peace Democrats. They could easily see that all this economic misery in their section was caused by the Republican sponsored Morrill Tariff Act of February 20, 1861, and that the outcome of this economic and political perfidy was the enrichment of Mr. Lincoln's friends, primarily New England's manufacturing elite. Then, with a hubris not seen in America since the knavery of the Yazoo land fraud, the Republicans, with the President's eager approval, passed the tariff act of July 14, 1862 which hurt the "west" even more by reducing the free list and increasing rates on already "protected" items. It does not take a genius to understand that since the central government no longer had the South's purse to drain they turned their fiscal attention to the West.

And while the Republicans brought poverty and misery to the "west" with pro-manufacturing economic policies, the "working class" began to wonder what would happen if abolitionism, another item on the radical Republican agenda, was instituted. Many white laborers in Northern cities feared that freeing the slaves would lower wages and jeopardize existing jobs thus fueling an already virulent Northern racism. Some Republican businessman actually used freedmen as strikebreakers or to lower wages which impacted on recent immigrants, mostly the Irish and Germans, who retaliated by rioting against free blacks in

many Northern cities.

Congressman Vallandigham spent the first two years of the Lincoln administration taking every opportunity to attack the Presidents' usurpations, including his proclivity to throw people who disagreed with his despotic policies into jail. He even went so far as to introduce legislation that would incarcerate Mr. Lincoln if he continued in his efforts to quiet anti-war editors and other who disagreed with the administration. But in the House of Representatives, controlled by the

County. As a result, the fiery orator was defeated in his bid for Congress. While he'd been ousted from Congress, Vallandigham, now a nationally prominent Constitutional Democrat, began a western speaking tour. At each stop he denounced the plethora of legislation promulgated by the radical Republicans supporting the empowerment and centralization of the Federal government. His lectures were well received.

When he returned to Ohio he found that the Lincoln Administration had established a "Department of Ohio," comprised of the states of Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, and Ohio. Clement's brother wrote that the "military district" was, "...placed under the command of General Ambrose Burnside, a rash, weak, and ignorant man, who, evincing at the battle of Fredericksburg his total incapacity to contend with armed rebels at the South, had been sent to control unarmed Democrats in the West..."

Burnside left Baltimore on the evening of March 22, 1863 in a pouring rain that portended future failures for Mr. Lincoln's anointed, pro-abolitionist, commander. "Old Brains" Halleck, Lincoln's Number One, informed Burnside that it might be propitious if he invaded east Tennessee where there were "Union" Southerners the president was particularly fond of

ensconced in those mountains. He also suggested that his duties included protecting the tender supply lines feeding the Army of the Cumberland which included challenging the South's nimble cavaliers, one of whom, General John Hunt Morgan, was at that moment, enjoying a rapacious Confederate spree at Mt. Sterling, Kentucky.



Vallandigham giving his fatal demonstration.

Republicans and bereft of Southerners, it came to nothing.

Clement Vallandigham's political career came to an end in March of 1863 when the infamous Thirty-seventh Congress adjourned. Several months before, the Ohio State Legislature had succeeded in gerrymandering Vallandigham's district by adding pro-Lincoln Warren

And while there was much on the bewhiskered general's plate Halleck also sent along a memorandum concerning "the relation of the military with the civilian population." The memorandum, initially sent to General Rosecrans, was copied to Burnside and suggested that "more rigid treatment of all disloyal persons" was an objective a good Unionist commander could understand.

Further the arriviste Chief of Staff, "...defined loyal, neutral, and avowedly hostile citizens," recommending a course of actions against each group. Ominously he wrote, "...and it is time that the laws of war should be more rigorously enforced against them."

There was plenty of unrest among the citizenry of the Department of Ohio. In Indiana, passage of the Enrollment (Conscription) Act on March 3, 1863 had the opposite desired effect, filling the rolls of the Knights of the Golden Circle (i.e. "Copperheads"). These God fearing Democrats were fed up with Mr. Lincoln's usurpations. They took their stand in one Indiana county and caused a covey of federal provost guards sent to round up deserters fleeing for their lives.

Other violence soon erupted. Democrat newspaper editors in Ohio so infuriated pro-Lincoln federal soldiers, with their anti-government editorials, that the soldiers burnt down several offices.

However, no sooner had the bumbling Burnside "taken command" of the Military District of Ohio, than he began to issue bombastic edicts designed to quell the unrest. Three were singularly offensive: No. 9 declared criticism of the Civil or Military Administrations a crime; No. 15 rescinded the Second Amendment of the Constitution; No. 38 proffered the gibbet for anyone found guilty of "implied treason."

Vallandigham who determined to seek the Ohio governorship saw his opportunity

not only take a stand for the Constitution, but a chance to do a little electioneering as well. At Mt. Vernon, Ohio on May 1, 1863 the Knox County Democrats held a giant anti-war rally that drew nearly 20,000 Ohioans. Clement spoke for two hours manifesting what one writer referred to as "manliness, candor, genuine patriotism, and true statesmanship..." He contrasted "between the life-long Unionism of the Democratic party, and the original and continuous disunionism of the Abolition (Republican) party..." And, finally, he attacked the Lincolnites for their "monarchical usurpations..., the disgraceful surren-

was seized by armed Federal soldiers and surreptitiously carried off in the dead of night. Lincoln's chief enforcer, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, had prepared an order suspending the writ of habeas corpus. However, the president had learned from Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon Chase, an Ohio native, that the Federal judge hearing the case had refused a similar request the previous year and told Stanton to put the order in abeyance.

In the meantime, Democrat newspapers boldly proclaimed Vallandigham's arrest and Dayton's Democracy flew into a rage! A Republican paper, the *Dayton*

Journal, was burnt down prompting Burnside to send federal troops in to quell the rioting. The *Dayton Empire*, another Democrat paper, published searing headlines; "Will Free Men Submit? The Hour For Action Has Arrived." Soldiers were dispatched to the paper's office and the editor, Mr. John Logan, was taken into custody. On the first floor federal soldiers made a frightening discovery; two hundred stand of muskets and a small brass cannon. Revolution was afoot on the shores of the Miami River!

In the end Vallandigham was found guilty in a military court and was ordered to "close confinement in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor." President Lincoln was deftly able to outmaneuver his pro-Constitutional foes. In a typical Lincoln-esque homily the President said, "...Must I shoot a simple-

minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch the hair of a wiley (sic) agitator who induces him to desert?" In the mind of Abraham Lincoln, Clement Laird Vallandigham, who eloquently defended free speech, freedom of the press, and the right of dissent against the hubris of a consolidated government was a "wiley (sic) agitator."

Lincoln, in a brilliant political maneu-

"...the Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and peace, and covers with the shield of protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances."



*"The Copperhead Party—in favor of a vigorous prosecution of peace!"
Cartoon in Harper's Weekly, February 28, 1863.*

der of the rights and liberties of the people by the last infamous Congress, and the conversion of the government into a despotism," and most of all for their sanguinary war; a war that had sent many an Ohio boy home in a pine box.

General Burnside had a couple of snitches in the audience recording Vallandigham's words and several days later, back home in Dayton, the Democrat

ver, rescinded the court's ruling and banished Vallandigham to the Confederacy.

After a few weeks and a circuitous journey through the Caribbean, Vallandigham ended up in Canada. While in passage he received the news that he'd won the Democratic nomination for Ohio governor. He made Windsor, Canada his campaign headquarters and went to work. And while he pulled more votes than any Democrat before, he was nonetheless defeated.

Something had happened that the Democrats could never have foreseen. In the 1862 elections they had hurt the Republicans as the citizenry grew tired and disgusted with the war and its inevitable tax burdens (including an egregious, unconstitutional, Income Tax), its horrific carnage, the seemingly endless stream of battlefield defeats, and the emancipation of slaves in Confederate territory. But in 1863 Federal victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg coupled with the myth of prosperity and full employment (actually the result of a temporary economic boom in the "northern war industries") bought with the blood of America's young men convinced "large majorities ... that they were ready to accept a new day."

Democracy was soundly defeated, Vallandigham quietly returned to Ohio to practice law, unfettered by the federal government. The defeat of the Democrats in 1863 signaled the rise of New England's



"Punkin' Head" Vallandigham depicted as a pumpkin among the Canadian thistles. From Harper's Weekly October 31, 1863.

capitalist-bourgeoisie as America's dominant political-economic force. In effect, the Republican Party had become the State.

Vallandigham receives little notice in the history books because he boldly challenged Lincoln's unconstitutional and extralegal pronouncements, therefore he challenged the Lincoln Myth: no one survives such blasphemy. He stood for the old Republic's first principles and he was defeated by a powerful cabal that portended "vast changes in the arrangement of classes, in the distribution of wealth, in the course of industrial development."

Following the war the Supreme Court heard a case (Milligan) the government brought against the anti-war

"Copperheads." They'd been tried for treason, found guilty, and were scheduled for execution. The Court struck down the findings and ruled: "...the Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and peace, and covers with the shield of protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was even invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government." It appears the Supreme Court was concerned with the establishment of laws and executive actions that portended a "police state," Lincoln's true legacy.

Six years after the war, in one of history's ironies, Clement Laird Vallandigham accidentally shot himself. He was demonstrating how a certain Mr. Meyers had died from a self-inflicted gunshot wound rather than being murdered by his client.

He succumbed on June 17, 1871.

Robert C. Cheeks is a freelance writer and historian living in Lisbon, Ohio. ☪

SIDE LIGHTS AND LIGHTER SIDES

A THINKING MAN

General Albert Sidney Johnston was known as a deliberate man. When a friend started to dart across the street just in front of an approaching carriage, Johnston calmly told him, "I believe there is more room behind that carriage than in front of it."

SOUNDS REASONABLE

Prior to entering the Confederate Army, James H. Lane was a professor at the North Carolina Military Institute. Although less than thirty years of age,

the future Confederate general was totally bald. Teased by cadets about his lack of hair, he responded that he dwelt on a higher plane than his more hirsute friends, there being not a hair between him and heaven.

UNUSUAL

In 1883 when the mother of Union General U. S. Grant died, the minister presiding over her funeral was H. A. M. Henderson, once the Confederate officer in charge of the Confederate prison camp at Cahaba, Alabama.



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CONFEDERATE HONOR ROLL:

26th North Carolina

BY ROD GRAGG

On July 1, 1863, the 26th North Carolina helped break the Federal line on McPherson's Ridge at Gettysburg. Although facing the heralded Iron Brigade, the troops of the 26th N.C. succeeded in pushing back the Federal defenders with a courageous, uphill assault. Their victory came, however, at a horrendous cost.

The 26th North Carolina was organized at Camp Carolina near Raleigh on August 27, 1861. The regiment consisted of 10 companies drawn from eight North Carolina counties. Its first commanding officer was Colonel Zebulon B. Vance, who was later North Carolina's wartime governor. In September of 1861, the regiment was transferred to the North Carolina coast near Morehead City. Under the instruction of Lieutenant Colonel Henry K. Burgwyn, Jr., an alumnus of the Virginia Military Institute and the University of North Carolina, the 26th gained a reputation as one of the best-drilled regiments in Confederate service.

The regiment's baptism of fire came on March 14, 1862 at the Battle of New Berne. The regiment was also engaged in the Seven Days Battle near Richmond, seeing action at King's School House and Malvern Hill as part of General Robert Ransom's brigade. In August of 1862, the regiment was transferred to General James Johnston Pettigrew's brigade, and served in southern Virginia and North Carolina.

When the regiment joined Lee's army of Northern Virginia for its 1863 invasion of the North, the 26th N.C. was commanded by Colonel Henry K. Burgwyn, Jr., a 21 year-old graduate of VMI and UNC. Second in-Command was 26 year-old John R. Lane. At Gettysburg, the regiment served in Pettigrew's Brigade, Heth's Division, A.P. Hill's Corps.

As part of Heth's Division, the 26th N.C. was among the advance elements of Lee's army engaged at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. The men of the 26th North Carolina watched and waited for hours as the fighting raged back and forth before them. Finally, about 2:30, they were ordered into battle, commanded with driving Federal forces off McPherson's Ridge. They advanced in a battle line, their color-guard leading the way.

After crossing shallow, briar-cluttered Willoughby Run, they headed up the wooded slope of McPherson's Ridge into "a devastating fire" unleashed by Iron Brigade from Michigan and Indiana.

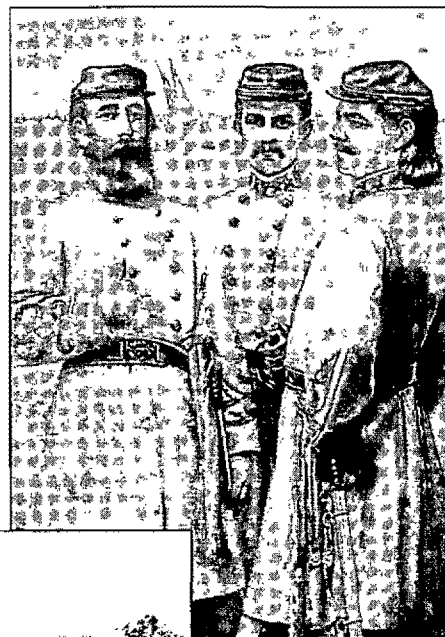
One after another, the 26th's color-bearers were shot down. Lt. George Wilcox was the 11th man to pick up the 26th's fallen flag. "After we had driven the enemy slowly but steadily about halfway up that long wooded hill," Wilcox would later



Lee's Army crossing the Potomac enroute to Gettysburg

recall, "I saw Captain [W.W. McCreey] in front of me, lying flat on the flag, dead. I pulled it from under him and started on with it. I was shot twice, the second time in the foot, which for a few moments numbed my leg so that I had to stop." Seeing Wilcox go down and the charge wavering, Colonel Burgwyn took the flag. Every man who had carried the flag had been killed or wounded, but the troops had to be rallied—so Burgwyn held the flag aloft, within seconds he too fell mortally wounded. Then Lieutenant Colonel Lane picked the bloodied banner. "Twenty-sixth, follow me," Lane shouted. The North Carolinians rushed forward, "yelling like demons." Moments later, Lane too was shot down and the flag fell for a final time. However, the 26th's last, desperate push was successful: the Federal line broke and the first day at Gettysburg belonged to the Southerners.

The 26th's survivors rested on the second day of battle, then joined Pickett-Pettigrew charge on July 3. They were led



The Colonels of the Regiment: J.R. Lane, H.K. Burgwyn and Z.B. Vance

by 22-year-old Major John T. Jones, and were not turned back until face-to-face with the Federal defenders atop Cemetery Ridge. Afterwards, when the regiment's surviving troops assembled for roll

call, no more than three officers and 67 men were available to answer. The regiment had suffered an 85% casualty rate. In his classic work, *Regimental Losses During the Civil War*, Colonel William Fox stated: "The loss of the 26th North Carolina at Gettysburg was the severest regiment loss in the Civil War."

After Gettysburg, the 26th North Carolina again displayed its courage—and suffered more—at the Battle of Bristow Station. Although its ranks were severely depleted, the regiment remained in the Army of Northern Virginia and saw more action. In 1864 and 1865, the regiment was engaged in some of the bloodiest fighting of the Virginia theater—at the Wilderness, Petersburg, Reams' Station, and Hatcher's Run. The battered 26th remained a part of Lee's army until the end, and surrendered at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. Of the estimated 1,200 troops who had served in during the war, only 120 were present at Appomattox. The 26th North Carolina had indeed "covered itself with glory." ❁

SMOKE NEVER CLEARS

BY H.W. CROCKER III

Gray Ghost: The Life of Colonel John Singleton Mosby, by James A. Ramage, University of Kentucky, 448 pages, \$30.00.

Speaking of Mosby's Rangers, a Union officer said, "Nobody ever saw one; they leave no tracks, and they come upon you when you least expect them." Northern mothers—even after the war—admonished noisy children with "Hush, child, Mosby will get you!" Mosby knew the power of his name and his men's reputation. All the wiry Mosby had to do was say, "I am Mosby," to reduce his opponents to spluttering fear.

He was not a big man—5 feet, 8 inches tall, only 128 pounds, and haunted by bad health until the war—but he was a determined fighter, and a smart one too. Mosby's Rangers dispensed with traditional military discipline and protocol—though they fiercely guarded their reputation as soldiers serving a military function, not to be mistaken for bandits—but they were, in their own dashing way, as thoroughly professional as any units under Confederate arms. Mosby's men traveled silently, carefully ridding themselves of canteens, sabres, and other noisy implements that would clank as they rode. In lieu of sabres, the men were armed with revolvers, which were much more effective in the raiding melees his men fought. And perhaps most striking of all was that Mosby, who had no prior military training—aside from his own extensive reading in military history—was an expert intelligence gatherer. General Robert E. Lee, who was a master at analyzing intelligence, gave more weight to Mosby's reports than to those coming from any other scout.

So while Mosby was both the eyes and ears of the Army of Northern Virginia, he was more than that. He had teeth, and he had dominion. He was the Gray Ghost who held sway over a swath of territory in Northern Virginia that became known as "Mosby's Confederacy." Union troops that

crossed its borders never felt safe, never knew when Mosby's horsemen might come pounding out of the darkness, firing their revolvers.

In his preface, Professor Ramage—who teaches at Northern Kentucky University, and who is also the author of *Rebel Raider: The Life of John Hunt Morgan*—thanks his son-in-law, a former Navy SEAL, for his assistance in helping the professor understand irregular warfare. The expertise shows.

Mosby, like modern special forces units, used "fear as a force multiplier." He kept his own men well rested, but maneuvered to strike when the enemy was tired and groggy. His preferred time of attack was 4:00 a.m. On top of the element of surprise and capitalizing on his enemy's fatigue, Mosby made sure that whenever his men struck, the enemy knew it was Mosby's Rangers that had done the attacking, so that the reputation of Mosby and his men grew, and added to their strength.

Though Mosby never had more than 400 men under his command at any one time, the Federal forces found it impossible to stop him. Lee told Mosby, "Colonel, I have never had but one fault to find with you—you are always getting wounded." In one particularly tight spot, Mosby had been captured by the Federals and badly wounded. But he kept his head well enough to pretend he was a mere "Lieutenant Johnston, 6th Virginia Cavalry" and was soon to die. Stripping Mosby of his boots and trousers, the Federals left him behind, thinking there was no sense taking as a prisoner an imminent corpse. But friendly civilians packed the pantless Mosby in an ox cart, and drove him over ice-laden roads to safety. Remarkably, he recovered.

Immediately after the war, Mosby became a prosperous attorney, but he

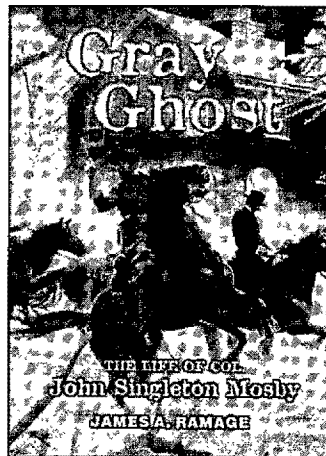
threw away material comforts in order to pursue a life of controversy. As Professor Ramage notes, Mosby was never happy or fulfilled unless he was fighting—with words, if not in combat. First, like Longstreet, he became a Republican and tried, quixotically, to unite Virginia's Conservative Party with the Republicans. Later, he endangered his reputation among his fellow Southerners even more, when he joined the post-war battle of the books over who was to blame for the loss at Gettysburg. When some fingers pointed to Mosby's own beloved commander Jeb Stuart, Mosby loyally rode to his defense. Mosby blamed Henry Heth and A. P. Hill for stumbling into action at Gettysburg and drawing the rest of the army into a battle Lee wanted to fight elsewhere. But because some of Lee's most ardent defenders had blamed Stuart, Mosby's defense was regarded as a slap at the infallible Lee.

After the war—and after the self-destruction of his law practice—Mosby received jobs from Republican administrations. He served the American government in Hong Kong, where he developed such a reputation for honesty, reform, and fraud-busting, that on his departure, a Chinese warlord asked Mosby to draft some of his fellow Confederate officers to lead Chinese armies against the French in Annam (Vietnam).

During the First World War, he criticized the bloody impasse of trench warfare, commenting that Lee and Stonewall Jackson would have found a way around the entrenchments, and renewed a war of maneuver. "As it is, the forces are just killing. The object of war is not to kill. It is to disable the military power."

Over time, Mosby's controversies faded, and his popularity returned, the Gray Ghost passing into legend—and even into a television series, not to mention a winery in Amissville, Virginia.

The last word belongs to Lee, who always admired dash and daring. "Hurrah for Mosby! I wish I had a hundred like him." James A. Ramage's *Gray Ghost* shows us why. ☪



Those Whigs Again!

by Stephen Page Smith

The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America

By Kevin Phillips

Basic Books, 1999, 707 pages, \$32.50

Advice to the reader: If you cannot see immediately what this book has to do with the South, be patient and read on.

About seventy years ago, a young Cambridge historian named Herbert Butterfield published a slim volume entitled *The Whig Interpretation of History*. Slim it may have been, but its impact is still being felt.

Butterfield noted a tendency among historians to fit all of history, but especially the history of the English-speaking world, into a paradigm. In this paradigm, historical forces, figures, and events were divided into the stark categories of friends and enemies of progress. Therefore, historical winners were not merely successful, but also righteous, while historical losers were not just defeated, but also damned. The result, said Butterfield (who was himself a nominal Liberal and a devout Methodist), was to treat Whigs, Protestants, and industrialists as friends of progress, and therefore the heroes of the narrative, while dismissing Tories, Catholics, and agriculturalists as enemies of progress, and relegating them to a kind of historical B team, useful only as foils for their Whig protagonists. This tendency he termed "the Whig interpretation of history."

The foremost practitioner of this style of historical writing was the eminent Thomas Babington Macaulay, then dead for seventy years. At the time Butterfield wrote, its leading

exemplar was Macaulay's great-nephew, G. M. (for George Macaulay) Trevelyan. Although their historical interpretations have been exploded (almost literally) by the horrific events since 1914, the Whig historians can be charged with a large measure of the responsibility for the popular misconceptions underlying

the profound historical ignorance of the mass of the population at the end of the twentieth century.

This detour into scholarly historiography is necessary to introduce *The Cousins' Wars*, in which Kevin Phillips, heretofore known for his book-length political speculations, reveals himself as the latest (and, one can hope, the last) of the Whig historians.

Phillips burst onto the politico-literary scene as a twenty-something prodigy with his first book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, in 1969. The passage of thirty years has shown Phillips' factual investigative findings in that book to be of enduring value, while his conclusions from those facts have had to be heavily revised, to say the least. There is a pattern that has continued in Phillips' later books, culminating in *The Cousins' Wars*.

Phillips' thesis is that what he calls "the cousins' wars"—the English Civil War of 1642-1649, the American War for Independence of 1775-1783, and the War Between the States of 1861-1865—"seeded each other and, in so doing, guided not only politics but the rise of Anglo-America from a small Tudor kingdom to a global community and world hegemony."

The actual content of the book is too voluminous to summarize in a review, but the real points of interest are in the conclusions and analysis, so here are some of the high points.

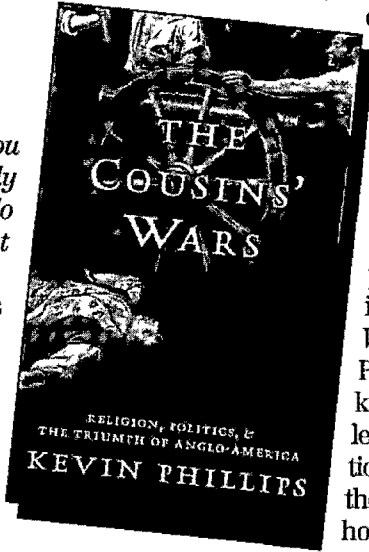
First up on Phillips' screen is the

English Civil War, a conflict now seen by historians as too complicated to reduce to the shorthand categories of Cavalier and Roundhead. Phillips approaches the politics of Tudor-Stuart England much as would the pollsters and pundits of our own day. He gives the impression that he would have liked to have been a kind of seventeenth century Teddy White, writing a series of monographs along the lines of *The Making of a Parliament, 1640*. He does a good job of describing the geographic distribution of political support, but his conclusions from his findings are less than persuasive. Many people moved back and forth in their support of King and Parliament, sometimes on principle, sometimes coerced, sometimes to advance immediate interests. Phillips concentrates on outward actions, to the neglect of inward motives.

Much recent scholarship on the seventeenth century apparently has been ignored. There are not even bibliographical references to Mark Kishlansky's *A Monarchy Transformed* (1996), nor to Kevin Sharpe's magisterial *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (1992). If he had ventured further into existing historical literature, Phillips might have had to confront the powerful argument, *contra* the Whigs, that King Charles, not the Parliamentarians, was the real champion of the liberties of the people.

The book devotes the least space to the first of "the cousins' wars," but it is the template laid over the narrative of the other two.

Next, and more problematic, is the American Revolution, which Phillips sees as the continuation of the Cavalier-Roundhead struggle on the North American continent. There were elements of that, of course, but it is far from the whole story. Besides, in this revolution, just who were the conservatives? The Loyalists were defending what they saw as a divinely ordained order, while the patriots were resisting what they saw as innovation encroaching on their liberties. Again, the method is to describe the



areas where the different political persuasions predominated and to analyze them sociologically for clues to their political orientation.

Finally, Phillips comes to THE WAR, that of 1861-65. Predictably, as a Whig, he divides the participants into the good, the virtuous, and the high-minded (that's the Yankees), and, on the other side, the backward-looking obstructionists (that's us). All honest historians acknowledge the error to which this simplistic distortion leads, not only now, but also at the time when the events were still fresh. As only one example among many, there is the famous letter of Lord Acton (himself a Whig-Liberal in politics) to General Lee of November 4, 1866, in which "the historian of liberty" wrote:

...I saw in States' Rights the only availing check upon the absolutism of the sovereign will, and secession filled me with hope, not as the destruction, but as the redemption of Democracy... Therefore I deemed that you were fighting the battles of our liberty, our progress, and our civilization; and I mourn for the stake that was lost at Richmond more deeply than I rejoice over that which was saved at Waterloo.

Applying the Whig interpretation to these wars leads to the conclusion that the losers in each contest—the Royalists, the Loyalists, and the Confederates—were enemies of progress and deserved their fates. Well, as T.S. Eliot was later to remark, there are no lost causes for the simple reason that there are no *gained* causes, so winners and losers are not the fixed categories that some think them to be. For example, who won the English Civil War? Cromwell and the regicides enjoyed a decade of power, but at the end of that time the young Charles II assumed the throne to which he had succeeded at his father's

martyrdom. The Restoration monarchy was strengthened, not weakened, by England's brief descent into republicanism. Yet, at the same time, both Crown and country were permanently changed by the political, religious, and social upheavals of the preceding two decades. Perhaps the best description of the national reconciliation after the Restoration is provided, not by a historian, but by a poet. As T.S. Eliot wrote in "Little Gidding," in some transcendent way, those who contended for King and Parliament were —

All touched by a common genius,
 United in the strife which divided them;. . .
 We cannot revive old factions
 We cannot restore old policies
 Or follow an antique drum.
 These men, and those who opposed them
 And those whom they opposed
 Accept the constitution of silence
 And are folded into a single party.
 Whatever we inherit from the fortunate
 We have taken from the defeated
 What they had to leave us—a symbol:
 A symbol perfected in death.

Likewise, it can be argued that the independence of the North American colonies was of both immediate and long-term benefit to Britain, as well as to America, so that both sides won. It is more difficult to see how the Confederates of 1865 can be deemed winners, but the mere existence of this magazine and its readers, the present-day prosperity and influence of the South, the survival of the memory of Confederate valor, and the continuing relevance of the ideals for which the South fought, all tend to show that the rebels were not nearly as licked as the Yankees thought they were!

The subtitle chosen for the book is significant: *Politics, Religion, and the Triumph of Anglo-America*. At some points, Phillips writes as one who

thinks he has made an original discovery, that religion is the motivating factor for much of what is called politics, although there is abundant evidence for that throughout modern (post-1500) history, and most especially in contemporary America. Still, many secular journalists and politicians find it hard to accept that religious beliefs represent real convictions, and not just shifting interests. In *The Cousins' Wars*, Kevin Phillips shows that he understands at least the outward manifestations of religious beliefs and their effects on political behavior. We still need a serious historian to write this story "from the inside," as a profound believer, to make it fully intelligible.

At this point, some Southern evangelicals may be wondering how it is that they are cast on the same side (the losing side) of history as Catholics, Royalists, and Tories. Well, the fact is that the Whigs got it right in saying that the Confederates of 1861 stood on the same side, if in a different position, as the Catholics of 1517, the Royalists of 1642, and the Tories of 1776. But where the Whigs went wrong was judging these to be the losing sides. Remember what T.S. Eliot had to say about lost causes.

Southern evangelicalism, along with traditional Anglicanism and Catholicism, stands ranged with Orthodox Christians of all eras against the Unitarianism that is the lineal descendant of the New England Puritans. As the Fugitive poet and Agrarian philosopher Alan Tate wrote in his seminal essay, "Religion and the Old South," the South was defeated before its religious institutions had a chance to develop to match its political and social institutions. Who knows what the religious (and the social, the political, and the economic) landscape of the South might look like now had it not been for the Great Unpleasantness of 1861-65?

Phillips has paid the South the compliment of recognizing that the reasons for which it fought the desperate struggle of the 1860s were not small, local, and immediate, but

grand, universal, and timeless. They had been fought for before and have been since—and may be in the future, in some part of the world. In any event, they will be debated, so all lovers of liberty must be prepared for the intellectual contest, even if they are never called on, again, to engage in the physical one. This book will be part of that preparation.

It may sound strange to say that a 700-page book is too short, but that is what Kevin Phillips has produced in *The Cousins' Wars*. His research is excellent, and he has brought out many useful, if discrete, facts. His difficulty comes in trying to weave them into a thesis that will withstand scrutiny. It remains for another author to take these facts of Anglo-American history and render a truer picture of our past as we all—Confederate and Yankee, Cavalier and Roundhead—face new challenges together in the third Christian millennium.

All Empires End in Ruin

By Joe Scotchie

A Republic, Not an Empire: Reclaiming America's Destiny

By Patrick J. Buchanan.
Regnery Gateway, 1999,
437 pages. \$29.95.

During the 1996 presidential campaign, candidates for the GOP presidential nomination were asked what professions they would choose if they were not in politics. Pat Buchanan said that he would like to write history. In *A Republic, Not an Empire*, Buchanan more than lives up to that role, giving a thorough reading of America's perilous journey through the world of foreign affairs.

In recent years, Buchanan has discovered the rich heritage of 18th and 19th century America. His previ-

ous book, *The Great Betrayal*, claimed that all great American presidents, sooner or later, learned the virtues of trade protectionism. Or as Buchanan likes to note, there are no free traders on Mount Rushmore. In this book, Buchanan becomes the only national figure to take George Washington's dictum of "no entangling alliance" seriously. This, too, was a policy followed by every president up until Woodrow Wilson's utopian notions altered the course of U.S. foreign policy.

If Washington is the lodestar, then the example of Great Britain represents a warning to current American hubris. Masters of the sea, Britain's accidental empire sowed the seed for that nation's eventual demise to second-power status. Following World War I, the British badly wanted America to join the League of Nations. British subjects in Asia and the Middle East were becoming rebellious. American boys would serve as protectors of the British Empire. The U.S. Senate said no and a brief age of normalcy in the states commenced.

Heavily influenced by the

views of certain British historians, Buchanan seconds the notion that British war guarantees to Poland in the late 1930's really sealed that empire's fate. When Hitler invaded Poland, the U.K. declared war on Germany. Only it was a "phony war." Britain could not act to save Poland; the U.K. had issued a guarantee they would

not honor. More monstrous calamities followed. Buchanan suggests that a defense pact between Britain and France would have prevented Hitler from ever considering an invasion of Western Europe. Instead, the German dictator would have only moved east, marching through the unfortunate

Poland before, like Napoleon, meeting his end in the Soviet Union. Key to this scenario is that the United States, as its citizens then desired, would have stayed out of a much shorter World War II. As readers know by now, Buchanan has been raked over the coals for this World War II revisionism.

But the war did bring down the British Empire. Since then, that once mighty nation has generally been a willing subject of the budding American empire.

Buchanan believes the United States is similarly overextended today, not just in Eastern Europe, but in Asia and the Middle East. Right now, the American empire seems impenetrable, invincible. No one can imagine an American defeat on the battlefield. At the same time, no empire lasts forever. Americans will pay the price of empire in dollars (i.e., tens of billions, maybe even more to patrol the Balkans). But they will not pay the price in blood, witness the immediate pullout in Somalia, following a fire fight that left 18 Americans dead.

A somewhat sympathetic reviewer in the *Wall Street Journal* sees validity in Buchanan's nay saying. The commentator turned presidential candidate is playing the role of the Roman slave whose duty was to whisper, "Remember, thou art mortal!" into the ears of conquering Roman war heroes. The reviewer, who is British, claims the rise of a European super-state will overtake America's current economic and military dominance. Consider also the American defense budget. Empire-building costs money. Empires also cause resentments galore. Most prominent is our expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe. When the Soviets pulled out of that region, Americans and Western Europeans promised Moscow there would be no NATO expansion. Russia, China and India are now moving toward their own mutual defense pact. India and Pakistan have tested nuclear weapons. Iran will probably develop nuclear weapons, so, too, may Iraq. If Yugoslavia had nukes, would



NATO have bombed that little country day and night for 76 days last spring? Empires have a bad habit of making endless enemies.

A nation with a republican heritage can survive these trends, but only if its people possess a large historical memory. For the U.S., that is a very dubious proposition at best. Buchanan is writing American history for a public that does not care about its nation's past. History is strewn with fallen empires. Since some originally made great contributions to Western culture, their demise is more painful. Rome sought to dominate the known world, only to allow its gates to be crashed, its civilization destroyed by barbarian hordes. The same boomerang effect is occurring today in Great Britain as former colonists from Asia and the Caribbean flood this sinking isle, causing, in part, secession movements in Scotland and Wales. Here at home, Bill Clinton happily awaits the day when the United States "loses its dominant European culture" while George W. Bush boasts about a Texas that "in the near future" will not have a majority ethnic group. When empires end in ruin, they often are destroyed from within. Ambivalent Americans seem destined to learn this iron rule of history the hard way.

Tate's Take on Dixie

By Tommy M. Stringer

Essays of Four Decades
by Allen Tate
ISI Books, Wilmington,
Delaware, 1999, 640
pages, \$29.95

Allen Tate was a man of letters existing in the modern world. More importantly to us, he was a Southern man of letters existing in a modern world created and sustained by the Yankee capitalist economy. As a man of letters, a profession more complex and less appreciated than being a mere writer, he became famous as a writer of fugitive

poetry, a contributor to *I'll Take My Stand*, an excellent biographer of Stonewall Jackson, a fiction writer and creator of the New Criticism, a standard of literary criticism taught in universities for decades.

For nonreaders of high literature, literary criticism is dry reading and much of Allen Tate's newly reissued book, *Essays of Four Decades*, is devoted to analysis of poetry techniques and criticisms of writers ranging from John Donne to T. S. Elliot. However, his book contains a set of essays that must be read by those Southerners attempting to understand the de-christianized and de-humanized world in which we now live.

In his first essay, appropriately titled "Man of Letters in the Modern World," Tate defines the tremendous challenge posed to his profession by the advent of mass communication. In his world of the 1950s, where the "media" consisted primarily of the radio, he asserts that mass communication debases language through its vapid familiarity. A debased language then dehumanizes society by obscuring the meaning of the words that society holds common. Honor, dignity and love are no longer commonly understood. In our world of the 1990s, our dehumanized modern society continues to communicate at an increasingly rapid pace, but we have ceased to live in communion. If we agree with Tate that there exists an inverse relationship between an increase in valueless

communication and a decrease in societal values, then we can understand how the proliferation of violent language and images have led to the violent actions that we face today and will continue to influence the deterioration of society in the future.

The average American has allowed those who manipulate the media, whether they be academics or politicians, to deny his place in the histo-

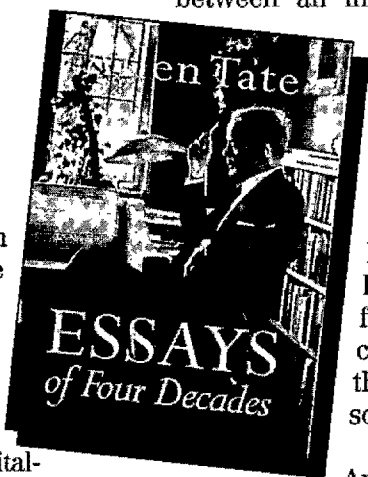
ry of Christendom and has accepted the panacea of multiculturalism where all ideas are of equal value and no effect. The Southern instinct, when faced with another "ism," is to turn to our traditions. Whether military, political or religious, our traditions have sustained us for over three hundred years. But to which tradition do we turn when faced with a society that is anti-tradition?

In his essay entitled "What is a Traditional Society?" Tate explores the difference between contrived images of a romantic past and those habits of living that have been handed down through generations. In other words, he states that tradition is not the Greek Revival house, but it is the way of life lived by the inhabitants of the house. He suggests that money has caused modern Southerners to mistake the columned big house for the way of life that built those columns. We name our subdivisions "plantations" and think we are like the agrarians of old. Tate asserts that tradition is more than a mere collection of fragments from the past. Tradition must rest on a unified moral code.

The relevance of Tate's essay becomes clear when applied to the current conflagration in South Carolina over the Confederate Battleflag. Many supporters assert that the Flag is a Southern tradition and should fly over the Statehouse as a memorial to those who died in the War, while flag detractors counter that because it no longer represents any political entity it should be relegated to a museum or completely discarded. But the detractors are missing an important point. The Flag should fly not just as a memorial but, more importantly, because it continues to represent a unified moral and political tradition that is distinctly Southern.

Reading Allen Tate is a rewarding challenge, not because his words are difficult to understand, but because his ideas contain substance and a relevance to our current situation that cannot be underestimated.

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Southern PARTISAN Book Survey Bibliography

Our last issue was a special millennium edition presenting the greatest books of all time. In compiling our list we consulted seventy distinguished historians, writers, editors and scholars we admire, asking them to offer a list of the most important books civilized Southerners should read. Because of space limitations, we included only the most frequently mentioned titles. As promised, we are now publishing a complete listing of all the books recommended by all of our panelists.

As we noted last time, *The Bible* (King James Version) was at the top of virtually every list we received. For this compilation, however, it seemed somehow inappropriate to list *The Bible* under "G" for God in the author index. Therefore, let it be understood that the tally below is of all recommended books—other than *The Bible*—listed alphabetically by author. We suggest that you keep these listings and regularly consult them as you select the books you and your children need to read.

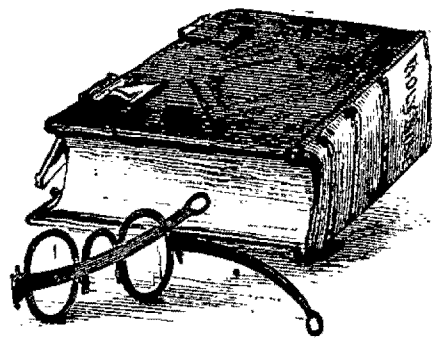
And the Walls Came Tumbling Down Abernathy, Ralph
Essays on Freedom and Power Acton, Lord
History of Freedom and Other Historical Essays
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For Good and Evil Adams, Charles
*Great Britain and The American
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The Education of Henry Adams Adams, Henry
Sir Roger De Coverly Papers Addison, Joseph
Complete Plays Aeschylus
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The Eumanides Aeschylus
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Confessions Augustine
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Works Jefferson, Thomas
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The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia
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Ulysses Joyce, James
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Critique on Pure Reason Kant, Emmanuel
Andersonville Kantor, MacKinley
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Contra Mundum Kendall, Willmoore
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Swallow Barn Kennedy, John Pendleton
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Was Jefferson Davis Right?
.....Kennedy, Ronald and Donald Kennedy
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Complete Poems Kipling, Rudyard
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General Lee Lee, Fitzhugh
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Trouble in Mind Litwack, Leon
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.....Livingston, Donald
The Secession Tradition in America
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The Scottish Gael Logan, James
Music in Western Civilization Long, Paul
Georgia Scenes Longstreet, A.B.
De Rerum Natura Lucretius
A Wake for the Living Lytle, Andrew Nelson
Alchemy Lytle, Andrew Nelson
Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company
.....Lytle, Andrew Nelson
From Eden to Babylon Lytle, Andrew Nelson
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The History of England Macaulay, Lord
Discourses On Livy Machiavelli, Niccolo
The Prince Machiavelli, Niccolo
For Cause and Comrades MacPherson
The Guide to Perplexed Malmoides
Jefferson and His Time Malone, Dumas



Le Mort'd Arthur Malory, Thomas
American Caesar Manchester, William
The Glory and the Dream Manchester, William
The Last Lion, Winston Churchill
..... Manchester, William
The Magic Mountain Mann, Thomas
Homo Viator Marcel, Gabriel
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An Introduction to the Basic Problems of Moral
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Das Kapital Marx, Karl
Lincoln the Man Masters, Edgar Lee
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Of Human Bondage Maugham, W. Somerset
Edmund Pendleton Mays, David John
McCarthy's Suttre McCarthy, Cormack
Elliot's Debates on the Federal Constitution.....
.....McClellan, James & M.E. Bradford
I Rode With Jeb Stuart McClellan, Henry B
Life in Old Virginia McDonald, James
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Cracker Culture McWhitney, Grady
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Life of John C. Calhoun Meigs, William
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Considerations of the Causes of the Romans'
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..... O'Connor, Flannery
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Crossroads of the Confederacy

By Bryant Burroughs

When Stonewall Jackson's old Second Corps marched into Lexington in June 1864 on its way up the Shenandoah Valley to threaten Washington, the troops filed silently by Jackson's grave with guns reversed and heads uncovered. Three blocks farther down Main Street, they passed Jackson's house on their right, while on a hill to their left stood the massive white colonnade of Washington College, to which Robert E. Lee would come a year later to spend his remaining five years rebuilding the South. Just beyond the college, on a high ridge overlooking Lexington and the Maury River, stood the smoldering ruins of the Virginia Military Institute.

Today a visitor to Lexington can retrace that route and discover a town almost untouched by time. Despite its proud history of service to the South and the fact that it is home forever to the two icons of the Confederacy—Lee and Jackson—Lexington has resisted the temptation either to join Atlanta's "New South" mash or to advertise its attractions in glitzy neon. Instead, it is a little town quietly going on with the business of the South.

Its very location symbolizes its insulation from modern revisionists. Nestled in the great valley walled by the Blue Ridge Mountains to the east and the Alleghenies thirty miles to the west, Lexington lies near the busy juncture of I-64 and I-81. Yet the visitor must leave even old US11 onto US11-Business to enter the town. Main Street runs one-way north and Jefferson one-way south, and within a three-block square are Jackson house, W&L, and VMI.

The white colonnade of



Stonewall Jackson statue at Virginia Military Institute barracks. Photo by Bryant Burroughs.

Washington College—now named Washington & Lee in honor of its two great benefactors—still dominates the little hill off Jefferson Street. It was the summer after Appomattox that the trustees stunned even themselves by asking Lee to become the college president. It was an audacious request. The college had only forty students and four professors, and the destructive war and its terrible defeat meant that few families in the South could now afford tuition. The man sent by the trustees to approach Lee with the offer was forced to borrow a suit and \$50 to make the trip. It was a wise investment.

Down the hill from the Colonnade is the chapel Lee had built. In the basement is Lee's office which remains exactly as he left it September 28, 1870. Lee is buried in the family crypt across the hallway from the office, and just a few steps outside is the burial site of Traveller, the beautiful and proud horse that many observers felt God created just for General Lee.

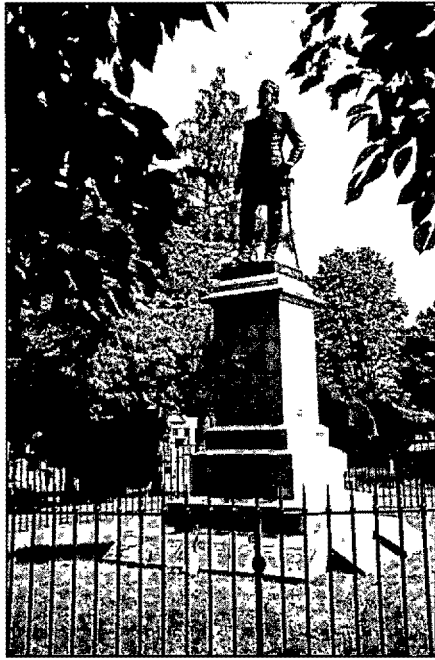
A hundred yards across the slope from the chapel is the R. E. Lee Memorial Church, but in 1865 it was known as Grace Episcopal. It was at the altar of this church that the rector, W. N. Pendleton, Lee's friend and former artillery chief, was arrested

by the Union occupation troops for omitting the prayer for the President of the United States. He was released late that evening, but the church was shut down for a period. When Pendleton requested that the church be permitted to re-open, he received the following note of refusal from the federal commander: "Your quibbling would be impertinent were it not contemptible."

Nearby is the Lee-Jackson house. Lee lived in this house his first four years at Washington College, and he must have felt the presence of his great lieutenant, for at the rear of the house was a small apartment. It was in this apartment, before the War, that the young VMI professor, T. J. Jackson, had lived with his bride, the daughter of the college president.

Two blocks away is the Jackson House, the only home ever owned by Jackson and which has been lovingly restored with period pieces, many of which were owned by Jackson and his second wife.

The sandstone ramparts of VMI stand on a high ridge next to Washington & Lee, with a history just as proud. It had staffed the Army of Northern Virginia with officers, and at New Market in 1864 became the only college student



Stonewall Jackson statue in Jackson Memorial Cemetery. Photo by Bryant Burroughs.

body to fight as a unit in battle. One of the young men who survived that battle created the statue of Jackson that now guards the barracks gate, and in front of the statue are four artillery pieces that Jackson used in drilling VMI cadets.

But the most beautiful and haunting place in Lexington is the cemetery a few blocks south of VMI. Here the very air is holy. Overarching the gravestones are trees whose soaring heights whisper that they were witnesses to those mournful processions, so many soft Lexington springs ago, in which black-draped townsfolk carried husbands and sons to rest far too early.

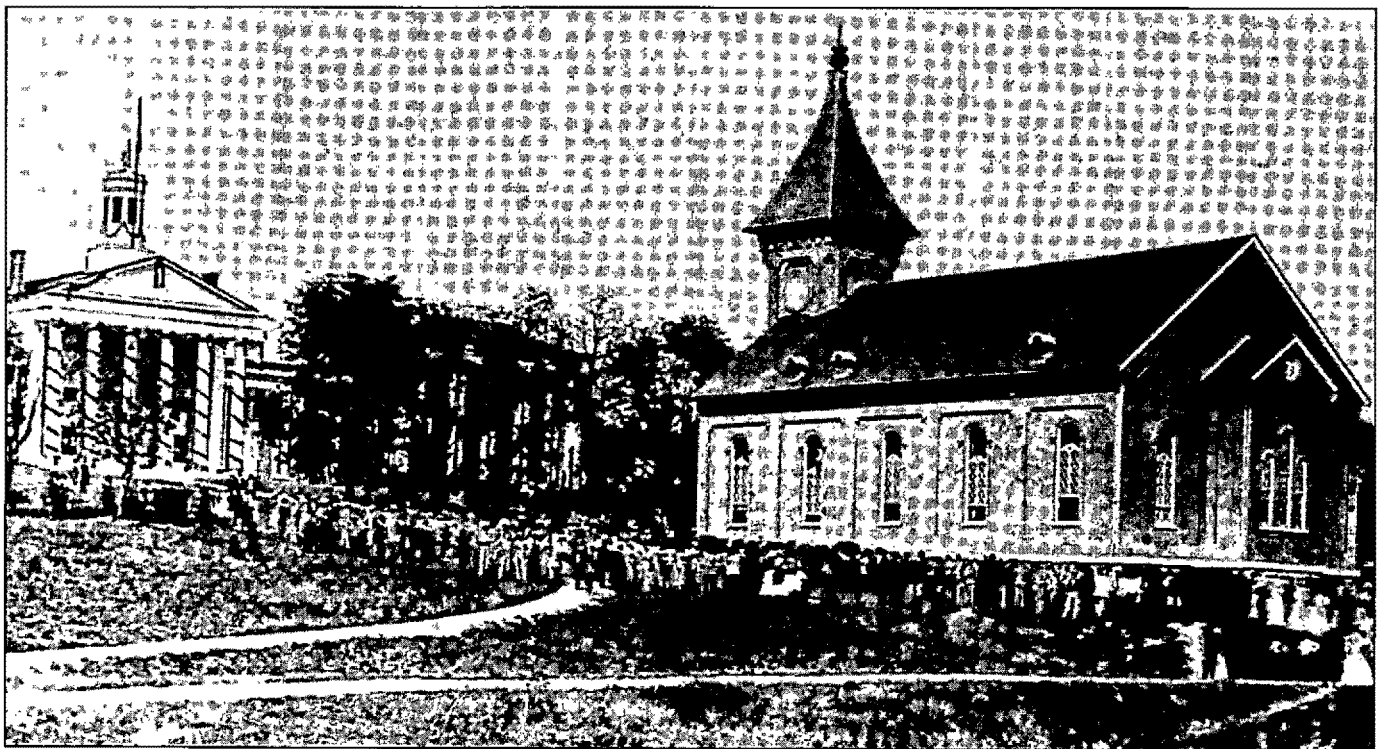
Just inside the black iron gate is the marker for Sandie Pendleton, Jackson's brilliant chief of staff and, in many ways, the son that Jackson never had. He was killed five days before his 24th birthday. On the other side of his burial marker lies his little son: born two months after Sandie was killed, but who lived only a year. Death cares not for years.

A few steps away lies Franklin Paxton. Jackson created a stir by promoting his fellow townsman over higher ranked officers to command the famous Stonewall Brigade, but Jackson's eye for combat commanders was unerring. A few weeks before Chancellorsville, Paxton's wife had sent him a miniature pic-

ture of herself, and he responded with a letter: "I have received your miniature, reminding me of times when you and I were young; of happy hours spent, a long time ago, when I used to frequent your parlor in the hope that you might be what you now are, my darling wife." He was shot down in the great charge at Chancellorsville, and died with his hand on his wife's picture.

Jackson himself, mortally wounded in the same battle, lies buried in the center of the cemetery. The silent trees witnessed many tears in the days after Chancellorsville: one company of Paxton's Stonewall Brigade was the Liberty Hall Volunteers, which was comprised of the Washington College Class of 1861. It lost 19 killed and wounded of the 28 men who went into the battle.

The little Southern village of Lexington has remembered the wisdom of Plutarch: "It is indeed a desirable thing to be well descended, but the glory belongs to our ancestors." ❧



Mourners gather for Lee's funeral at the Washington College Chapel in Lexington, Virginia.

Used by permission Virginia Historical Society.

SOUTHLINE BY CHARLEY REESE

The Confederate Battle Flag Is Not The Problem

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League are in a huff because the Confederate battle flag still flies from the South Carolina Capitol (underneath the U.S. and South Carolina flags). They have promised to boycott South Carolina until it is hauled down.

The NAACP once passed a resolution calling the dear old banner "the most odious symbol in the Universe." I think that's a bit of an exaggeration. I suspect most South Carolinians don't care if the NAACP and Urban League boycott the state since neither organization is known to be big spenders at their annual conventions.

There is no point in arguing the meaning of a symbol. The meaning of any symbol, like beauty, lies in the eyes of the beholder. It is appropriate to toss in a few facts.

The flag which flew over slave states the longest number of years is the United States flag—Old Glory, the Stars and Stripes. The Confederate battle flag was just that, a battle flag, carried by Confederate soldiers whose bravery and skill have been universally celebrated whether today's politically correct folks like it or not. Winston Churchill referred to the Confederate armies' battle against overwhelming odds as one of the most glorious moments in Anglo-Saxon history.

The South did not secede to preserve slavery, and the North did not go to war to free the slaves. Both sides were racist. The issues were the Constitution and economic rivalry. Slavery was a sideshow issue that made for good propaganda.



Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee—one of the greatest human beings who ever lived and whose picture has been recently banished from an attraction in Richmond, Va.,

which he defended so ably—disapproved of slavery and freed his slaves as soon as the terms of his father-in-law's will legally allowed him to do so. Union Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, whose later presidency was notoriously corrupt, retained his slaves throughout the war.

Five of six Southerners owned no slaves, and the 1860 census showed several thousands of free blacks living in the South. Some of them owned slaves. Slavery was recognized in the U.S. Constitution and upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. Some blacks fought for the Confederacy. Virtually all of the slave trade was run by Northerners, New Englanders in particular. The people were enslaved in Africa by Africans.

Finally, the Confederate battle flag was not placed on the South Carolina Capitol for racial reasons. It was originally put there in preparation for the centennial celebration of the second most important event in American history.

Today's widespread attack on symbols of the Confederacy is just part of cheap, racist politics. I suspect the average black American doesn't give a hoot about flags and monuments, but being against all things Confederate gives black and white race-card players a cheap way to pretend they are doing something.

The real problems facing black Americans are economic and social and have nothing to do with Confederate flags and monuments. Or with racism, for that matter, but Lord knows those characters making

a good living out of racism are never going to admit it.

I wouldn't presume to tell the people of South Carolina what to do, but if it were up to me, I'd keep the flag flying. One, I wouldn't submit to blackmail. Two, I would not allow cheap, ignorant race-baiters and political panderers to slander my ancestors who died for the noble cause of preserving a constitutional republic which, by the way, was largely a Southern invention to begin with.

A Confederate chaplain, R.L. Dabney, told a group of young Southerners in 1868, "We have no need, sirs, to be ashamed of our dead; let us see to it that they be not ashamed of us." Amen to that.

Truly Important Things Don't Seem To Matter in Our Country

Unless you are an M.C. (member of Congress), you shouldn't waste any time worrying about who gets what leadership position. The outcome will have no real effect on the end product of Congress.

Some Americans seem to have made a religion out of politics and act as if secular salvation depended on the outcome of partisan and ideological skirmishes. Heck, folks, they are the ones who created the problems. They're not going to solve them.

Politics in America today is all about the four P's—position, power, perks and patronage. The majorities in both parties are not about to do anything that would jeopardize their position, power, perks and patronage. Consequently, they will reform nothing, because true reform would involve repealing bad laws and defunding bad programs. Either of those would rile at least some of the special-interest groups permanently camped on the Potomac and far outnumbering the elected officials.

The fact that Beltway journalists

get obsessed with the minutiae of inside-the-Beltway partisan warfare and maneuvers doesn't mean the rest of us should. We have more important things to think about.

There are minorities in both parties actually concerned about good government as they see it—a few socialists on the Democratic side and a few libertarians on the Republican side. There's a populist or two. But the fat majorities in both parties are true converts to the Western religion of big government and social engineering.

So regardless of who's in or who's out, the general drift of government will continue along the same path. It would take a political revolution on the part of the voters to effect change, and as I've said, it's more likely that I will climb Mount Everest. Whether or not one thinks they should be, the majority of Americans are content with their lot.

A recent letter to the editor sort of summed up American contented-

ness for me. A woman wrote that she didn't care if the entire National Basketball Association season were canceled because, as it turns out, the new fall shows on TV are so entertaining.

It doesn't seem to matter to most folks that American troops are bogged down in the Balkans indefinitely. The attitude seems to be that they are volunteers doing what they get paid to do, so who cares.

It doesn't seem to matter that U.S. blundering and catering to China will probably force Japan to end its relationship with the United States and rearm.

It doesn't seem to matter that the United States is also driving Russia away from democratic reforms and at the same time alienating a key segment of the world.

It doesn't seem to matter that the global money lenders of the world have so strangled many countries with debts that they are hopelessly mired in poverty.

It doesn't seem to matter that an average of 350,000 crimes per day are committed in the government schools.

It doesn't seem to matter that what's left of American culture is so decadent it would bring a blush to the cheeks of Nero.

It doesn't seem to matter that an adulterous sociopath who is a national security risk is occupying the White House.

It doesn't seem to matter that much of what passes for higher education is a joke and that the politically correct police are busy snuffing out what remains of academic freedom on many campuses.

But, after all, the new TV shows are entertaining and there's still college football, hockey and the National Football League. And explosion and fornication films continue to roll out of Hollywood. Indeed the cup of America runneth over.

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THE SOBRAN VIEW BY JOSEPH SOBRAN

The Case for the Confederacy

Washington — As the Civil War ended in May 1865, Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, was captured by Union troops. He was put in painful shackles and held in prison for two years, in solitary confinement, on charges of treason and conspiring to kill Abraham Lincoln.

Davis was never brought to trial. The absurd charge of plotting Lincoln's death was soon thrown out. Eventually the charge of treason was dropped too, because Davis' enemies knew that his defense would probably deal a powerful blow to Union propaganda. So he was denied the day in court he passionately craved.

What would Davis have said in court? Two Southern partisans of the



Confederacy, James Ronald Kennedy and his brother Walter Donald Kennedy, answer the question in their recent book, "Was Jefferson Davis Right?"

(Pelican, \$16.95). It will come as a revelation to anyone, Northerner or Southerner, who has been raised on the Union version of events.

In Davis' time, even many Northerners agreed that a sovereign state had the right to withdraw from the Union. A large body of people in the North were willing to accept a peaceful separation from the South. Lincoln had thousands arrested without trial for expressing such views, including several Maryland legisla-

tors who, while remaining in the Union, opposed using force to keep other states from seceding.

Davis himself advised against secession on grounds of prudence, but when his home state of Mississippi pulled out of the Union, he sadly resigned from the U.S. Senate and reluctantly accepted the Confederate presidency. Like Robert E. Lee, he believed that his primary loyalty was to his state, not to the Union, and that the defense of his state couldn't be treason.

Davis explained his position in 1881 in his two-volume memoir, "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" (republished by William Mayes Coats in Nashville). The Declaration of Independence had proclaimed that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states" — that is, 13 separate sovereignties, not, as Lincoln said, a single, monolithic "new nation." When these sovereign

states ratified the Constitution, Davis argued, they did not surrender their sovereignty; several of them, in their acts of ratification, reserved the right to secede, and the other states, by accepting these acts as valid, recognized that right.

Lincoln was forced to take the a historical position that "the Union is much older than the Constitution" and that no state could ever withdraw from it. As the historian Pauline Maier puts it, Lincoln's understanding of the Declaration of Independence was based on "wishful suppositions." He was guided by Daniel Webster's famous nationalist slogan, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable" – an illogical credo that leads to dangerous nonsense. If liberty was "inseparable" from Union, why did the framers adopt constitu-

tional safeguards to prevent the possibility of federal tyranny?

After Lincoln's death, a vindictive Republican Congress required the Confederate states to adopt two constitutional amendments as a condition of "readmission" to the Union – which Lincoln had insisted they had never left! This coerced ratification remains a disgrace to the Constitution.

In his memoir, Davis addressed these and other issues with iron logic. It's a pity Lincoln did not live to face a more profound debater than Stephen Douglas.

Davis had many warm friends in the North, including President Franklin Pierce (under whom he had served as secretary of state) and Lincoln's own secretary of state, William Seward. While in prison he received messages of sympathy from

thousands, including Pope Pius IX. Even some abolitionists protested the cruel treatment he received. Such wealthy Northerners as Horace Greeley and Cornelius Vanderbilt put up \$100,000 for his bail. Even his former slaves honored him at his death in 1889.

But like so many great controversies, the debate between North and South was settled not by reason but by force. And in the history books, as usual, the victors' rhetoric prevailed over the losers' logic. Today few Americans, even in the South, understand the case for the Confederacy. Any talk of "sovereign" states – the vital question of 1861 – sounds archaic.

In the end, both sides lost the war. A country out of touch with its own ancestors is truly impoverished—and uneducated.

MAINSTREET BY WILLIAM MURCHISON

Gentlemen, Please!

When I heard it on *Good Morning America* a few weeks ago I stopped what I was doing, grabbed pen and paper, and jotted it down for the record. This was too good—too, you might say, quintessential.

There had been wildness at a Woodstock rock concert; some women had been raped. As a witness to the mayhem related to Charlie, or it may have been Diane—whoever; "I could see that this gentlemen was holding this lady down and was violating her."

Now, brothers and sisters, age and experience have dissuaded me from over-confidence in judging things I haven't seen; but of this I'm tee-totally, one-hundred-percent-or-your-money-back certain; the gentleman violating the lady was no gentleman.

There is a larger point concerning which I am, if anything, more cer-



tain still: It is that, in the 20th century's ember moments, the term "gentleman" has lost its core meaning; as has, for that matter, the term "lady." The meaning is gone because the concept is gone. You figure this out from watching *Good Morning America*, reading the newspapers, and generally just from observing life. A five- or six-hundred-year-old institution is clearly out the window. Kaput.

How come? Allow me, in reply, to reminisce briefly. Just what *was* a gentleman (back when such walked the earth)? A gentle man, yes, but what did that connote? A certain kind of fetching-up, for one thing. The gentleman's parents had spent much of their time saying to him things like, "A gentleman does this," "A gentleman doesn't do that."

Virtually every time, the things a gentleman did or didn't do pertained to how those things were perceived

and received by others. A gentleman, in a certain sense, *lived* for those others—family, friends, strangers. His study was not what he could get by with; his study was what, as a gentleman, he was obliged to do, sometimes against his very human inclinations.

The gentleman, if he *was* a gentleman and not some jackanapes with jeweled stick-pin and smooth tongue, didn't lie, cheat, or steal. He certainly didn't violate the helpless or search for ways to put one over on somebody else. He did his duty.

Ah. There's a moss-encrusted concept for you—duty. It was real enough once. Gentlemen took it to heart. There were matters that stood apart from whim or even self-interest. They turned on considerations not of interest but of right—and of wrong.

This was back when right and wrong were verifiable propositions, and you knew with some certitude which was which. As we know now, all that doesn't signify. It's appetite, it's desire: Things of that sort signify.

"Excuse me, ma'am, may I violate you?" doesn't come into the conversa-

tion. In fact, on such occasions, there probably isn't much conversation.

Gentlemen, you'll gather, don't fit comfortably into the 90s way of doing things. For one thing, the decade of the 90s doesn't believe there's only one way of doing things—the right way. There are, well, options; diverse shadings; contrasting viewpoints. Maybe the gentleman at Woodstock was conveying, if a little forcefully, his understandable admiration for the lady; he may have inferred on her part a desire for communion. You never know about these things.

So, that's one trouble with the concept of the gentleman—the unbending nature of standards. Another trouble is image: the idea that some guy who tries to act like a gentlemen probably does it because he thinks he's better than other people.

The 1990s aren't big on differentiation. Affirmation is what they like: self-esteem, everybody feeling tip-top (following completion of the indicated therapy). So, you didn't come by these inner concepts naturally, or didn't have them implanted? Well, who ever said inner concepts are the only kind you can have? Anything's fine; everything's fine. Except on the cold ground at Woodstock...

So, good night, ladies; good night gentlemen. Merrily we roll along, no doubt. Toward what I wouldn't presume to guess.

Reassessing Joe McCarthy

You hear it all the time—"McCarthyite," "McCarthyism." You're supposed to respond by plunging fingers down throat: Gag; urp. What a terrible-horrible-awful-no-good creature, the late Joe McCarthy.

Such is folklore. Frogs cause warts, and Joe McCarthy established a regime marked by suppression of free thought and artistic endeavor. The legend endures to this day.

Except ... except ... this: Wouldn't it be constructive, half a

century after the great terror, to look back and see if the old werewolf was as awful as when many supposed they heard him pounding after them?

Naturally, it would be constructive. Not that we're up for it, but God bless him (as per usual), William F. Buckley gives it the old college try in his fine new novel, *The Redhunter* (Little, Brown; \$25).

The standard riposte is going to be, whad'daya expect? Hasn't WFB spent his career defending Joe? Such a question implies that everybody who ever had a good word to say for the mission of clearing communists from government is, *ipso facto*, an apologist for extremism.

Even if such an imputation held water, it could not spoil a vastly entertaining and, yes, educational novel. Novel—not biography. (Prof. Thomas Reeves, in the 80s did the definitive job there.) A biographer writes from the outside; a novelist tries to crawl inside the skin and share, from that perspective, what he finds.

What Buckley shows us in *The Redhunter* is the human Joe McCarthy, recollected in part, imagined in part (with research); a Joe McCarthy, who wasn't any plaster saint, wasn't George Washington either, or even Calvin Coolidge, but who tried sincerely to serve a valid and righteous cause.

He didn't always use good judgment, this Joe McCarthy. But he had virtues: He liked and enjoyed people; had a sense of humor about himself; never bad-mouthed his adversaries in private, only in public; and, not least, understood how large communism's threat was to the West.

God help us, he was human. More human than any modern propaganda apparatus would ever permit a well-known political figure to seem publicly. Smug anti-McCarthyites, the sort who tried to trash Elia Kazan's reputation at the time of his special Academy Award (as if the great Kazan's "naming names" of Hollywood communists somehow impeached his body of work)—Anti-

McCarthyities, I say, aren't going to like or even read this book. That's hardly to dismiss it as worthless propaganda.

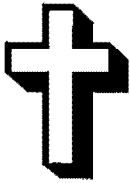
Buckley's reader sees Joe through the eyes of a fictional McCarthy staffer, the brilliant Harry Bontecou, who has reasons of his own for despising communism. To Bontecou, anti-communism is a matter of patriotism and common sense. The reds do threaten America; they do have agents in the government. Shouldn't somebody do something about it? We meet those who are doing something—not just Joe but also Whittaker Chambers, Richard Nixon, J. Edgar Hoover.

(Ah, but how come no mention of Joseph Kennedy Sr., who was tight with McCarthy, imbuing his older sons with the kind of anti-communist zeal that subsequently became unfashionable?)

For a while, things go great: reds on the run. But Joe gets careless—specifically in his engagement of, and growing dependence on, his real-life, loose-cannon staffer, Roy Cohn. Cohn cushions an already sheltered boss from reality. McCarthy's own friends come to question his judgment and its presumptive ill-effects on a cause more important than any man. Joe drifts helplessly down the neck of the whiskey bottle. The Army-McCarthy hearings are a debacle; Army Counsel Welch asks if the senator has no shame at long last; the Senate censures the once-feared Joe; Joe dies—Aged 48.

Was Joe McCarthy a bad man? Had he been such, it seems unlikely that 33 senators, half of them Democrats, would have eulogized him. "For the perpetuity of the Republic," he fought, said Everett M. Dirksen.

Human, yes; painfully, distressingly so. But human—say this for Joe—on the right side, the side of human freedom over and against tyranny, and, as we used to say in those naïve old days, godlessness. ☪



DEVOUTLY SPEAKING

BY ROBERT P. HILLDRUP

Baptist Banalities

There's a new church in my suburban Richmond, Virginia neighborhood. It's a Baptist church—I think. But you wouldn't know it from the sign outside.

It's all part of a trend toward a form of generic Christianity that seems to be catching on. Don't mention your denomination. It scares people.

Apparently this generic trend works. In a recent article in *Christianity Today*, Pastor Ed Young of what was once Los Colinas Baptist in Dallas was quoted as saying that when the church's name was changed to Fellowship Church, what had been a congregation of 150 in 1990 shot up until it reached 7,300.

"Most of our church wouldn't be here today if we had 'Baptist' in the name," Pastor Young was quoted as saying.

In fact, Southern Baptists are steadily purging the organization of any denominational nomenclature. The Sunday School Board is now Lifeway Christian Resources; the Baptist Bookstore is now Lifeway Christian store; the Home Mission Board is now the International Mission Board. A few years back the Baptist College of Charleston (S.C.) remade itself as Charleston Southern University. It is only a matter of time before the globalists in the convention achieve their goal of getting the "Southern" out of the name (they came close last year).

As a Southerner accustomed to being surrounded by all sorts of denominations, this business gives me mixed emotions. At heart, I would like to see Christianity reunited. Many of its divisions make a mockery of both the faith and its Founder.

But at what price? The United Methodist Church to which my wife and I belong is growing like a weed—a relative exception in Methodism—and while it has a

fine young pastor, its services have all the spiritual substance of a civic club meeting. It's kept its denominational name, but it makes sure it doesn't say or do anything that would cause any visitor to seriously examine the state of his soul. A soul, the Scripture warns, is a high price to pay even for winning the whole world.

No, there are some things to be said for being sincerely denominational. The *World Almanac* lists 22 different Baptist churches, and I'll bet the majority of them can be found in the South. There are 10 different kinds of Methodist churches; 16 Pentecostal, and the list goes on.

All this makes for certain types of disputes in the Body of Christ, and where most of these disputes are to be lamented, many are enlightening, saying, as they do, more about the disputants than about religious truth.

The Southern Baptist Headquarters, for example, recently put out a little booklet on how one might convert Jews. Many Jews have taken offense, and I can't blame them particularly for, after all, if you are already God's Chosen People and you don't make a practice of going around trying to convert Christians, why can't the Christians leave you alone?

The Baptists, no doubt, look at the matter rather like a scientist who discovers the secret of eternal life. Would it be ethical to keep such "good news" to one's self?

But the real denominational flak that came down on the Baptist's heads came not so much from the Jews but from Richmond's Roman Catholic and Episcopalian bishops, two liberal busybodies who snatched up their clerical skirts in horror and launched a twittering attack upon the Baptists.

Leaving the Jews out of it, to their delight no doubt, would Christianity be better off if the Southern Baptists were amalgamated with such Episcopalians and Roman Catholics as these two bishops represent? Hardly.

So there is something to be said for denominationalism, after all, that rich pageantry which is so much a part of the South. As long as that pageantry exists we may all be better off.

Homogenization may be good when it comes to preparing milk. I'm not sure that it does much when it comes to religion.



SOUTHERN MOTORSPORTS

BY BILL LAMKIN

Mr. Consistency

The 1999 season is roaring past with great excitement and fury. In the heat of the summer there have been some heated exchanges taking place. The Intimidator has shown some force and continuity on the track. On August 15, Dale Earnhardt started his 600th race and two weeks later he won his second of the year by nudging ("that's just racing") Terry Labonte on the final lap to take the checkered flag at Bristol in a controversial finish that looked like a replay of four years prior when Dale turned Terry sideways as Terry slid into victory lane. This time tempers were flaring and the crowd booed vehemently. But, as Dale so eloquently put it, "They always boo the guy in victory lane."

The Jeffs, Burton and Gordon, have blistered the tracks as each has won a year-leading 5 races. In many of these wins, Jeff Burton has blown past his brother Ward as he captured the checkers. Ward has shown his southern gentleman nature very well as he has led Bill Davis Racing to the best single-car team standing in the points. When asked if he was tempted to push his brother out of the way at Darlington, Ward mumbled something that sounded like, "Well, not him, but maybe somebody else."

Mr. Consistency this year is Dale Jarrett. DJ has regularly been in the top 10 of almost every race. That is why he has maintained a constant points lead over Mark Martin and Bobby Labonte. Don't be shocked when DJ wins his first Winston Cup in 1999 while he and Jeff Burton combine to give Ford the lead in the manufacturer's points. But, the other consistent man is giving Pontiac a big smile and the ride of their year—Bobby Labonte. He, also, could possibly win his first Cup in 1999. He and rookie teammate (that's right he's only a ROOKIE) Tony Stewart are devouring the competition.

In at most recent three races Tony Stewart has had the chance to win. He ran

out of gas at New Hampshire in July, finished second there in September, and did win his first race ever at Richmond in September. Young Mr. Stewart is a man of great tenacity and fight. He has made Coach Joe Gibbs a happy team owner by placing and keeping both teams in the top 10 all season. Can you remember a rookie with this kind of prowess on the track? It has been over 20 years since a rookie won a race. Amazing. He looks better than Jeff Gordon and even Dale Earnhardt in their rookie years. This young man has the ability to win many races in a long career. I have two words for Joe Gibbs: "KEEP TONY."

Just after the Stewart win at Richmond, Joe Nemechek won his first ever Winston Cup race (becoming the eleventh winner this year) at Loudon, NH while being hotly chased by Stewart to a yellow-flag finish. This is the first time since 1970 that first-time winners have won back-to-back races. This is very good for Nemechek as he earlier announced that he would not return to Sabco Racing in 2000. His resumé looks a lot better for next season. With eight races remaining look for some other surprises in the competition. 1999 is a great racing year and it could get better.

In the second half of the season we have seen a lot of shifting taking place—and not in the gearbox. Several teams have announced the release of their drivers or the recruitment of new drivers. Darrell Waltrip announced that 2000 would be his swan song. Kenny Irwin, Ricky Craven, Derricke Cope, Joe Nemechek, and Jimmy Spencer are just a short list of drivers who will be looking for new sponsorship or employment in 2000. But, in the last issue I promised to address the topic of the vanishing "owner-driver." Why is the "owner-driver" fading away?

I have a theory that these men—good drivers—just have too much on their minds. The shift from employee to entrepreneur is a huge, hair-raising (or losing) risk. Add the additional factor of millions of dollars in overhead, payroll, and corporate sponsorship and you have a recipe for chaos. Entering 1999 there were 4 owner-drivers: Dave Marcis, Ricky Rudd, Bill Elliott, and Brett Bodine. In 2000, there will be at least one less owner-driver. Ricky Rudd will drive the #28 Texaco

Ford for Robert Yates Racing (a formula for success). These men, as owners, have had terrible success in their battles toward victory lane. There is simply too much to think about when you are the boss to put yourself into a competitive position. When these men are heading into turn 3 at 200 mph they are very aware that they could lose, personally, a lot of money if they wreck. Very simply, the owner/driver is an animal of a prior age whose demise is almost certain. These men weekly prove that they can compete. If they were to make the transition to "driver" only, I do believe we could see the level of competition increase among these drivers. But, until then, they will continue to have mediocre careers while the teams continue to advance on and off the track. Why? The teams have more money and the owners have more time to devote to support-raising while the drivers concentrate on driving.

The 2000 racing season will be dynamite. Dale Earnhardt, Jr. and Matt Kenseth will make the rather quick transition from Busch to Winston Cup and their presence will be known. These young men, like this year's phenom, Tony Stewart, will fight to win and they will fight hard until they win. They aren't satisfied with simply finishing. They want to win. With that growl in their guts, the fans should expect to see more and more intense racing with every turn of the wheel. And, we shouldn't be satisfied with anything less, either.

Musings

An Interplanetary Traveler Examines Social Security

BY TED ROBERTS

My good friend, Herb, and I were hoisting a few cold ones at the corner bar and, as usual, discussing the great mysteries of the universe; like how come there's no graffiti in the ladies room. And how does the Social Security Administration avoid the blessings of compound interest on our meager savings.

"Yeah," said Herb. "And why do they take away your money if you're under 70

and make over a pittance a year?"

"A great injustice," I added, since I'm under 70 and make over a pittance a year. I explained that merciful legislation had recently softened the penalty, somewhat.

"Big deal," said Herb. "In 2002, it dissolves entirely like the witch in the Wizard of Oz. Great—three more years of tyranny. And isn't it strange," added Herb, "that a caring government has designed a set of laws forbidding discrimination against us oldsters and yet the Social Security Administration—an integral division of that government—punishes us because we're old and crowding up the job market. Kinda' like the shepherd having a barbecued lamb picnic right there in the pasture."

Our theme this particular night was horrors of age discrimination. Both Herb and me are antiques with wobbly teeth drawing gaunt Social Security checks. \$1140 a month! Herb was bellyaching. "I don't think my cat can live on that," he complained. "Not if he likes that soft, juicy cat food that comes in cans and looks like paté."

"Hey, that won't cover his vet bill," I chimed in.

"Yeah," says Herbie, "and if I make a few bucks a year, they penalize me. Me and my employer's money and they take it away from me. How come?" Here I noticed that the fellow at the next table had bent out of the way to eavesdrop, even looking away from the big screen TV where five muscular amazons went through a burlesque routine under the guise of an aerobic workout. He was an interesting looking guy. He owned three heads. One, where it's supposed to be and another at the end of each arm. He went through a tray of beers fast.

The waitress explained he was a regular. Came down from Venus every Wednesday night. Parked his spaceship at the truck stop next door. Well, no wonder he loved our beer—the Hubbell telescope has detected not a single brewery on Venus. And he was fascinated with earth-women who had only one mouth to instruct menfolks.

He wanted to learn our concepts of government, he said to my pal Herb and me. "Tell me about this Social Security

thing. What has it to do with age discrimination?" I patiently explained that all your working life you and your employer save a portion of your wages for your old age. "Does the government contribute?" he asked thoughtfully with one mouth while the other two sucked on a couple of beers.

"Well, not really," I answered, "though your pile does swell slightly, due to the yeasty nature of compound interest as it sat in dark government vaults."

"Yeah," Herb added, "it grows with the speed of a stalactite."

"If they added no coins of their own, why do they have the authority to penalize you for additional wages?" asked our visitor.

"They just do," said Herb. "It's a law, I guess. Sure keeps us old geezers—uh, elderly folks—outa' the job market. That was the idea back in '32. Not enough jobs, you know. Young guys needed those slots. In '32, New Deal Economists saw the job market as a zero sum game of musical chairs. There weren't enough seats for all."

"What if you open a store selling this delicious beverage (he held up his beer) and employ people to brew, deliver, and serve this ambrosia? Haven't you created even more employment opportunities, or slots as you call them?"

"Makes no difference. You still get chopped—33-cents on the dollar—that's the penalty on every buck of wages over the limit. Comes right outa' your Social Security check—a super disincentive for remaining productive in your sunset years."

All three faces assumed a puzzled look. "Well, do they give the deducted dollars to your kin or a friend designated by you?"

"Nope," I answered, "it just goes back in the pot I guess."

The only sound for a few minutes was three beers pouring into five open mouths. "Let us move to another facet of this mystery," said our Venusian philosopher. "This government entity is the same organization, is it not, that initiated the rules about treating older citizens with kindness and strict impartiality—do I have that correct? And does this same government not support enormous lawsuits against employers who are unwise enough to lay off employ-

ees over the age of 40? Did I not read this in the Intergalactic News?"

We assured him he had a lock on that concept. "Right," said Herb, "First Union Bank just ponied up 58 mil—biggest age-bias settlement ever. Wow—wish they'd fired me."

"Well, why doesn't some lobbying group—like the planetary association of retired people—sue the veritable backside off this governmental department?" continued our alien interrogator.

"I dun'no," said Herb. "Nobody seems excited about it. It's a non-issue."

He looked puzzled. "I am here on a business mission," he said, "to identify the good things on earth and take back samples to my home planet. On Venus, we have no beer or government—only small green rocks. I shall bring back some beer for my friends. But this government thing sounds unjust and obscene. You can keep it. Umm, what are these delicious, salty viands? They are excellent."

"You mean you got no potato chips on Venus," said Herb with derision.

"No," our new Venusian friend replied, "but we have no government either." He flashed a meaningful and triumphant look at my pal Herb. He left with a six-pack and a bowl of chips. But no government. I heard the roar of his space ship as he blasted off for home. Sounded like he was in a hurry.



PARTISAN OUTDOORS

BY JIM MCCAFFERTY

Beaver Pond Bass

With the possible exceptions of the coyote and certain members of Congress, no warm-blooded creature has been more universally cursed, vilified, and attacked in the South than the beaver. Branded as an undesirable for the damage his kind's tree-felling can do to croplands and timber, the beaver has been

trapped, shot, and spit at, and his dams dynamited with a malice once reserved only for boll weevils and carpetbaggers.

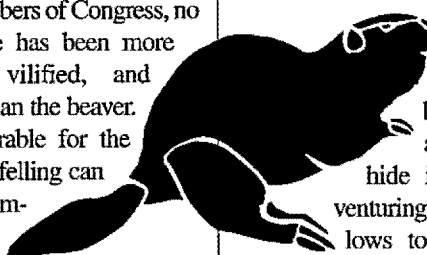
In the face of this hostility, the beaver, like the federal government, has prospered and multiplied. As his tribe has increased, so has the number of beaver ponds in Dixie. According to the last estimate I heard there were believed to be some 100,000 acres—over 156 square miles—of beaver-impounded waters in my home state of Mississippi alone! That's more surface area than all nine of the lakes on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway that runs through Mississippi and Alabama, from Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico.

Now your local county forester and county agent may not be jumping for joy over the prospect of all those beaver ponds, but if you're a fisherman, there's some good news among all that water. Beavers, you see, typically improve the quality of bass fishing on streams they impound. Samplings by biologists have demonstrated that beaver ponds increase stream fertility and outdo free-flowing drainages four to one when it comes to producing eating-sized bass.

Both largemouth and Kentucky (or spotted) bass are common in most Southern beaver ponds. Which fish predominates depends upon which was the major species in the stream before the beavers erected their dam. While trophy fish of either species are rare in beaver-dammed waters, four- to five-pound largemouths are not uncommon, and one- to two-pound bass are eager and plentiful.

Not all beaver ponds are good bassing holes. Oxygen seems to be a determining factor. A relatively deep pond with some current through it is far less susceptible to oxygen depletion—and resulting fish kills—than are shallow, stagnant waters.

Deep water by lake and reservoir standards is virtually nonexistent on most southern beaver ponds, many of these animal-impounded waters will have some holes six feet deep or more, particularly in hilly country. Not surprisingly, bass are drawn to such areas where they can hide in safety, occasionally venturing out into adjacent shallows to forage for minnows,



salamanders, crawfish, and other beaver-pond delights.

Such deeper areas are typically found in the parts of the pond where beaver activity is greatest. Since beavers build up their dams and lodges (mound-like beaver houses made of piles of mud and sticks) with mud from the bottom of the pond immediately next to their construction site, there are likely to be deep holes along the dam and next to the lodge. Just as in a man-made reservoir, the bass in beaver ponds like to take up positions along the edges of such holes.

Another likely spot to find deep water is along the channel of the impounded stream. Old creek runs are easier to locate in a beaver pond than in a reservoir. Typically, they are discernible as open lands amidst the clutter of the pond.

Beaver ponds make for excellent fishing throughout the year, but they are especially good in the winter and early spring. During the warmer months the jungles of vegetation that usually surround such ponds can make fishing a difficult, if not unpleasant, proposition.

There is a bright side to the profusion of plant life in and around beaver ponds. During the torrential rains and gusty winds of late winter and early spring, the heavy growth of trees, brush, and weeds shields the pond. As a result, beaver ponds are often clear and calm when your local reservoir is a white-capping sea of muddy froth.

Beaver pond bass show a definite partiality for spinner baits and jig and pig type lures, fished slowly, during the colder months. Plastic worms work well then too, but even better when the water is warmer. Buzzbaits and crankbaits are the ticket in the spring. With the latter, natural finishes are especially effective, particularly crawfish colors.

I used to fly fish a string of beaver ponds in north Mississippi quite a bit. Wet flies like large woolly worms and eel and leech patterns work best in cold weather. Muddler minnows and deer hair bugs, fished quietly and allowed to sit still for long periods of time, will pay off in warmer months (as early as late February here in Mississippi) when the fish begin hitting on top.

Whether you wade, walk, or paddle in, it's likely you'll have more than one pond from which to choose. Normally beavers

build a complex of ponds—two or three large ones, with maybe a smaller one or two built on tributaries of the main stream. Don't spend too much time on any single pond; keep moving. Not only will you get your lure in front of more fish that way, you'll be protecting the resource as well. Over-fishing can really disrupt things on waters as small and fragile as most beaver impoundments. Studies indicate that five or six angler days of fishing per acre are about all that most ponds can support in a given year.

If you don't know where some fishable beaver ponds are in your area, ask your local county agent, forester, or game warden. One of them can point you in the right direction.

Good fishing!



NASHVILLE VOICE BY JON RAWL

Playing 'Possum

Nashville's "Old Timers" are not lacking these days in terms of having intestinal fortitude.

Take George "Possum" Jones for example. This year alone, he's survived a near-fatal car wreck; then stormed the charts during the summer with his first hit in years ("Choices"). That would be enough for most 68-year-olds to handle, huh? Not Jones.

His comeback tune was nominated for "Song of the Year" during September's Country Music Association (CMA) Awards. A bozo CMA committee then asked George to perform his song on the CBS broadcast, under the condition he only sing 90 seconds of it. George understandably had an East Texas fit over that request, and kindly refused their snipping action.

For years, the CMA Awards have become more than a show. Waylon Jennings, Ricky Van Shelton and more have vocally cried wolf over the organization's demands.

George's anger stemmed from the fact

that all of the other songs nominated in his category would be performed in their entirety. To add insult to injury, pop stars Jewel and N'Sync were asked to perform on the show, to "attract a younger demographic." Get out of here, letting these freaks who've had no place in country music take over the stage on country's biggest night in prime time!

CMA officials refused to budge on their demand, so George kindly told the CMA Awards to forget it. He and wife Nancy stayed home for this year's show.

Fellow legend Eddy Arnold called Jones and praised him for taking a stand; other singers also told George they agreed with his decision. To cap off the festivities, during Alan Jackson's performance on the show, the youthful Georgian let the CMA folks know how he felt about the Jones fiasco by performing a snippet of Jones' "Choices" drawing a standing ovation from the crowd.

As a veteran of the country music business, I know what the Country Music Association is. It's kind of like a modern day Abraham Lincoln: controlling, stupid and always paranoid about image. Obviously, I'm no CMA member.

The organization has a history of being controlled by a few power players on Music Row. How else have non-country singers like Alison Krauss, The Mavericks, The Tractors and others won awards this decade, when they were hardly known to country music.

Major labels are notorious for getting their CMA member-employees to vote for a selected artist, in what's called "block voting."

It's time more George Jones's out there take a stand and secede like the great states of Dixie, uncovering the pettiness of the organization. The CMA's history and recent actions serve only to hurt country music.

Singer Mindy McCready is out of a record deal. Mindy ("Ten Thousand Angels," "Guys Do It All The Time") was mutually divorced from BNA Records. The label parted ways with the blonde singer after dismal sales of her second album.

McCready's label dropping was taken well by most of Nashville. She represents all



McCready

that is bad with 90's sex symbol acts, as opposed to certified singers.

Discovered as a teenager in a karaoke bar, she had never performed live with a band until after having a hit song.

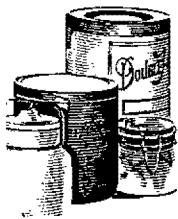
A romance with veteran record producer David Malloy helped her land a record deal.

You could call McCready a manufactured singer. She simply did not know what she wanted, but in the meantime over a million gullible fans were buying her albums. In 1997, she started dating actor Dean Cain of Superman fame, later becoming engaged to him. All of a sudden, McCready thought she was an "actress," and moved off to Hollywood with Cain. She even planned on having a television series about herself, but luckily no Hollywood producer took the bait.

What we can learn from Mindy is that Music Row should pay more attention to an act before they sign them to their roster. Unfortunately, record executives know that sex sells (e.g. Shania Twain), but in the long run country music, as a pure art form with moral virtues, suffers.

To cap this off, looking back Mindy is proud of her "groundbreaking" role in country music. She beat out Lorrie Morgan as the first singer to don a navel ring.

I think I'm gonna' faint.



SOUTHERN COOKING

BY SALLIE JEAN

Oven-Baked Treasures

Last week the boys and I joined four other mothers and their children to tour a local historic manor house. Imagine 16 chil-

dren running loose in your great, great, great grandfather's estate... fortunately, this house had the distinction of being the country's first children's museum. Not a science experiment or video in sight, but *lots* of hands-on fun for all. First the children put on bonnets, aprons, and floppy hats and played with old-style toys. Then, they helped card and spin wool and put a few rows of yarn through the loom. Finally, they went to work in the kitchen. What a racket! Our modern gadgets pale in comparison to the butter-churning, laundry-wringing, apple-coring, milk-straining and other helpful "machines" of their day. Our children had a ball, but I imagine if they'd had to do any of those tasks day in and day out—not to mention making candles and soap, tending the garden and helping with the livestock—they would have been a bit less enthralled. We mothers were most surprised by the fact that their oven took at least eight hours to heat up, and it was a luxury to have one built inside one's home.

If you are faced with these living conditions or, like my husband, are a bit distrustful of microwaves (a convenience we recently acquired as a gift) then these oven-baked treasures are for you.

SLOW BAKED STEW

With Beef: Layer in a Dutch oven, 2 pounds lean beef cut in chunks, 1 chopped onion, 1 bunch celery chopped, 6 carrots cut in chunks, 3 sweet potatoes, 1 turnip and 1 package mushrooms. Blend 2 tsp. salt, 1 Tbs. sugar and 2 Tbs. tapioca and sprinkle over the layers. Then pour one can tomato soup over the above. Cover tightly and bake 4 to 5 hours at 250°. **With Eggplant:** Pour a little olive oil in the Dutch oven, then layer sliced eggplant, potatoes, onions, green pepper, mushrooms, zucchini, okra and tomatoes. Proceed as for beef stew, adding garlic and basil to the tomato soup.

BBQ BEEF BRISKET

Combine 1 tsp. salt, 2 tsp. garlic salt, 2-3 Tbs. Worcestershire sauce, 2 Tbs. hot pepper sauce (or more) and 1 Tbs. chopped garlic. Sprinkle over a 5-6 pound trimmed brisket and wrap the meat in foil and place in a baking pan. Bake 7 to 8 hours at 225°. Remove juices and add

water to make 2 cups. Combine this liquid with 1 cup catsup, 1/2 cup Worcestershire, 3/4 cup brown sugar, 1 Tbs. lemon juice and 1 Tbs. hot pepper sauce. Chill brisket; slice thin. Return meat to pan, pour sauce over and heat in oven until bubbly (about 45 minutes)

NUTTY SWEET POTATO CASSEROLE

Butter a large casserole dish thickly. Slice 4 large, peeled sweet potatoes one inch thick and layer in casserole. Heat 2 Tbs. honey with 2 Tbs. butter and drizzle over potatoes. Sprinkle with 1/4 cup raisins. Cover tightly and bake 40 minutes at 400°. Meanwhile, melt 4 Tbs. butter and stir in 1/4 cup bran (can be crushed cereal or unprocessed bran) and 1/2 cup chopped pecans. Sprinkle over potatoes and bake uncovered 5 to 10 minutes.

KEY LIME CHEESECAKE

For crust: Combine 1-1/2 cups graham cracker crumbs with 2 Tbs. sugar, 1/4 cup melted butter and 1 tsp. grated lime rind. Press mixture into a deep dish pie pan or a 9-inch springform pan. Bake at 350° for 5 minutes. Let cool. **For filling:** Beat together 3 packages cream cheese, 3/4 cup sugar, 3 eggs, 1 Tbs. grated lime rind, 1/4 cup Key lime juice and 1 tsp. vanilla. Pour into prepared crust and bake at 350° 50-55 minutes or until set. **For topping:** Combine 2 cups sour cream, 3 Tbs. sugar and 1 tsp. lime juice and spread evenly over cheesecake. Bake at 425° 5 to 8 minutes. Let cool to room temperature on a wire rack, then transfer to refrigerator and chill at least 8 hours before serving. Garnish with lime wedges if desired.

My momma always told me that oven-baked meals were the best because once you got the oven going, it was cheap—energy-wise—to cook a multi-course meal, and it was great for easy entertaining. That's true. And it's also a lot easier to do now than it was in our great, great, great grandparents' time when it took eight hours to get the old wood-burning stove going. So whatever my husband thinks about modern conveniences, I say let's make the most of them. ☺

George W. and the Talk Interview

As the front-runner for the GOP nomination, George W. Bush has taken more than his share of hits from the press. Every time he steps into the light of day, eyes blinking, some reporter asks him whether or not he used cocaine in his younger years. Yet Bush's defenders are certainly correct when they say that the statute of limitations has long since run out on the relevancy of that issue. No one should be held accountable for the sins of youth—except young people.

However, Bush's use of the "f" word in a recent magazine interview is another matter, and conservative commentators like Suzanne Fields are wrong when they attempt to dismiss what he did as inconsequential. It was a significant mistake—one that reflects on his qualifications to hold the presidency.

Too often we forget that the president is not only the nation's political leader, but also the head of state. In the latter role, he exemplifies (or embodies) the United States of America—both to the American people and to the rest of the world.

This role is ancient and mysterious, hearkening back to a time when the reigning monarch *was* the nation. Thus Shakespeare has kings call each other, "my brother England," "my cousin France." Indeed, in a more primitive age, when the king or chief-tain was killed in battle, the war was over since the nation or tribe itself was, in some mystical sense, dead.

To be sure, we've largely outgrown that idea—but not entirely. When we have a head of state we trust and admire, then we tend to feel better about ourselves, particularly in our dealings with other peoples. And often that feeling transcends partisan politics.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was president, his fireside chats inspired many Americans to believe in economic recovery, even though unemployment remained high until World War

II. And people who despised the New Deal nonetheless felt comfortable with Roosevelt as a wartime leader—because they believed him to be a man of dignity and character.

Today, we have a head of state who has turned the White House into a sexual playpen and lied on national television about his behavior. According to the polls, he still remains an effective political leader, but a majority of the American people regard him as a contemptible man. No one can measure the damage of this widespread perception to national morale and to foreign relations.

When you put them both on the scales, does the public use of four-letter words weigh as heavily as President Clinton's gross misconduct? Clearly not. But Bush's obscenity—let's call it by its proper name—is by no means weightless.

Indeed, many people are profoundly disturbed by the trend in our society to use obscene language in everyday conversation—to strangers as well as to acquaintances. These days, it's difficult to move through a shopping mall without hearing just about every four-letter Anglo-Saxon word in the vocabulary of sailors and sleaze merchants.

Some argue that such language is harmless enough, that those who use it do so without thinking. Yet this argument assumes there are no social or moral consequences stemming from the coarsening of an entire nation's sensibilities. The English literary critic Herbert Read once wrote that "style is the ultimate morality of mind," by which he meant that the kind of language you use reveals the kind of person you are. What does the growing use of four-letter words say about the morality of the American mind? More to the point, what does Mr. Bush's language in the *Talk* interview tell us

about his character?

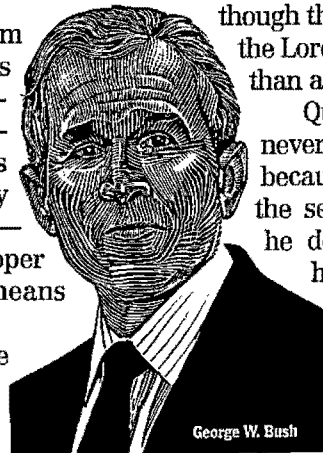
His obscenity doesn't suggest that he is as morally careless as Bill Clinton. Men who use such words publicly don't necessarily cheat on their wives. But the interview does reveal something about his perception of the people he proposes to lead.

At the very least, George W. Bush's language in this interview shows a disturbing contempt for the sensibilities of millions of Americans who have not yet learned to use the "f" word as casually as movie stars. In adopting the obscenity of the Hollywood crowd, Bush offends the simpler (and arguably purer) sensibilities of those Americans who go to church every Sunday, never blaspheme, and believe that somehow four-letter words—even though they don't take the name of the Lord in vain—constitute more than a mere breach of taste.

Quite properly, Bush would never have used the "n" word because it would have offended the sensibilities of blacks. Had he done so, he would surely have forfeited the nomination. Yet he is perfectly willing to offend a group of people who form a substantial part of the GOP base. Will he be just as contemptuous of

them if he assumes the presidency? In addition, with his unapologetic use of four-letter words, Bush seems to be rejecting the notion that the President of the United States has a responsibility to maintain the highest standards of taste, dignity, and propriety to which all Americans can aspire. In attempting to prove that he could use the "f" word along with the guys in the locker room, he has affronted the sensibilities of millions of Americans, black and white.

His failure to apologize to these good people is not merely a reflection on his own lax sense of propriety, but also his arrogance as a well-heeled, well-connected front-runner. (Being a Bush means never having to say you're sorry.) It's not too late for conservatives and Republicans to insist that he acknowledge his error. ☼



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By
Financially Supporting Our
Return The Battle Flag Lawsuit**

Confederate Heritage Fund has recently discovered an Alabama Law that would require the Confederate Battle Flag to be flown on top of Alabama's State Capitol, should we receive a favorable Court ruling.

We have a good case and are now raising desperately needed funds to file our Return The Battle Flag Lawsuit.

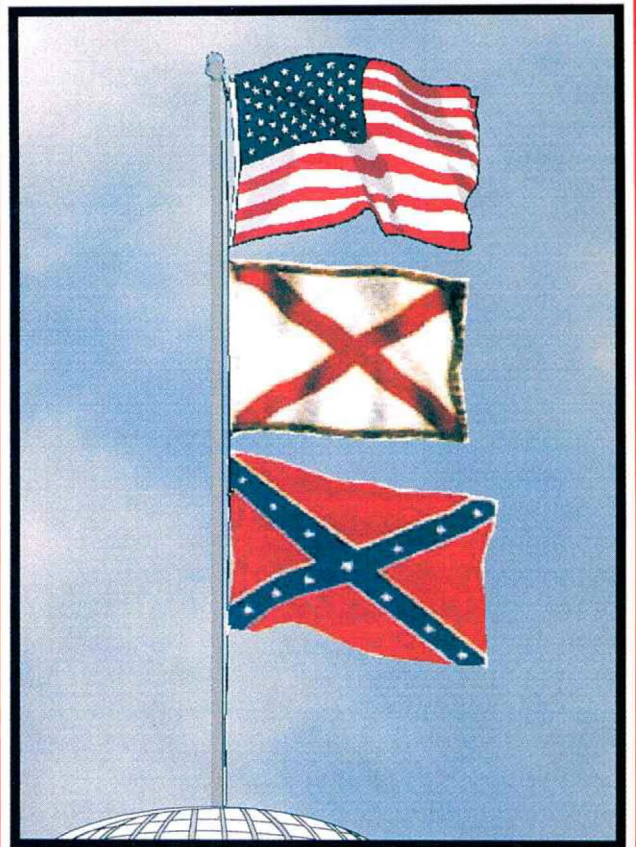
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Confederate Heritage Fund is a State-registered, volunteer-run, non-profit organization with no salaries, no rents and little overhead. Therefore, monies donated go directly to file our Return The Battle Flag Lawsuit. Roger K. Broxton, President of Confederate Heritage Fund, is a member of the Alabama Division Headquarters Camp #1622, Sons of Confederate Veterans.



For almost 30 years (1963-1992) the Confederate Battle Flag flew, as seen above, on top of the Alabama State Capitol in memory of the 100,000 Alabama Veterans who fought and the 30,000 who died during the War For Southern Independence.

In 1992, against the wishes of the people of Alabama, State Judge William Gordon ordered the Confederate Battle Flag NOT to be flown on top of Alabama's Capitol. Judge Gordon's ruling has NEVER been appealed to a higher court.

The last election in Alabama shifted the balance of power in our favor on the State Supreme Court, which is probably where our Return The Battle Flag Lawsuit will finally be decided.