

**Southern**

MARCH/APRIL 2002

# PARTISAN

## Pat Talks Tough

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Haskell Brothers**

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Terrorism:  
The Ruinous Reign  
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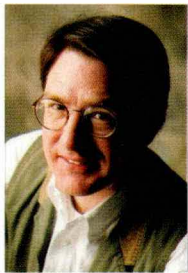
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Dear Reader,

We are pleased to welcome Pat Buchanan back to these pages. Pat has been a regular contributor to *SP* over the course of many years with the occasional hiatus for a presidential campaign.

But, the thing that endears Pat to us most, is the way in which he—alone among the national conservative movement—made anything resembling a defense of our little magazine during the past two years. When we were so wildly attacked by the national press and leading liberal politicians, Pat at least had the courage to insist that *SP* deserved a hearing on the merits. While others refused to even consider the facts, Pat took a stand and stood with us.

Here is how he responded to Tim Russert's interrogation on "Meet the Press:"

**MR. BUCHANAN:** I read *Southern Partisan*. And in my judgment, it's a good magazine, it's a fine magazine. And I have seen quotes from it that were thrown up to Senator McCain that he disagrees with and I would disagree with, just as I imagine editors of *The New York Times* would disagree with those ads in *The New York Times* from the head of North Korea praising the Communist regime.

So, I hope you will read carefully the interview with Mr. Buchanan beginning on page 16. As is our custom, Partisan Conversation is not "gotcha" journalism where we try to manipulate the subject into some sort of embarrassing statement. In fact, the purpose of these interviews is to simply allow the subject to be heard, in his own words, with as little editorial intervention as possible. I hope you enjoy it.

In the next issue we will present a symposium on Mr. Buchanan's latest work *The Death of the West*, wherein we will ask several scholars and contributors to take a look at this important book.

Another article in this issue that deserves your attention is "The Union Leagues" on page 23. This is a little-discussed subject that deserves proper attention. The depredations of Reconstruction governments in the South are something with which everyone should be more familiar.

In addition to the changes we've made to the design of the magazine, we are also making some changes to our content as well. In coming issues we will be introducing some new features and columns.

*Christopher M. Sullivan*

# Southern PARTISAN

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

—Donald Davidson to Allen Tate  
May 1927

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

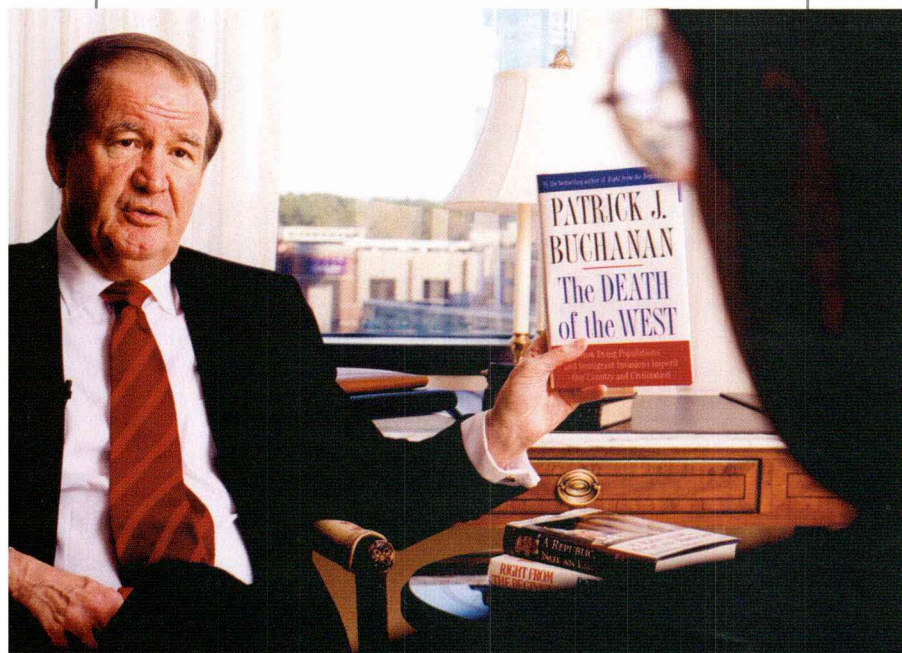
—William Gilmore Simms  
Southern Quarterly Review, April 1853

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Cover photograph by Michael Givens.

## The View From Abroad

Gentlemen:

I received a copy of the *Southern Partisan* today and I have to say that I find it to be a well produced magazine with good quality of content and production.

Here in the UK I have the honour of tending the graves of those who fought for the Confederacy that are buried here. Most of the crews of the Southern commerce raiders were UK born and are buried here as are many soldiers who served every state. In 1861 over 140,000 of the population of the Southern states were British born.

Confederate flags fly beside Confederate graves from Cornwall in the South to Edinburgh in the North and from Liverpool in the West to Scarborough on the East coast. We have never had a site molested and local governments are keen to show an interest in the connection between the CSA and Britain. Our press also covers the graveside dedications favourably; on some occasions we even have descendants of the Confederates buried here attend the memorials.

Here in Britain many families have branches that went to the South before the war of 61, and we honour the sacrifice of our ancestors who were among the quarter of a million Southerners who died in an attempt to gain Independence for their own land.

*John Collier  
Scarborough, England*

## Highway 99

Gentlemen:

Why are there so many "Dim-witted" people living in the northern states of America? And why has it taken this guy Dunshee, so long to notice the name and the [Jefferson Davis Highway] marker? What's he been doing, driving with his eyes closed? Only a puresbred Yankee would think that Jefferson Davis, had anything to do with slavery.... he drives along a road that he has probably driven along many, many times before, and he only sees it now.

It is, after all, just a name. A proud name on the side of the Southerners, but a name just the same. We in Britain have road names, that are named after well-known personalities: we have Lee, Jackson, Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson, etc. etc. We don't go around complaining

that there is a road name that is unacceptable and want it removed. What would that achieve? Nothing, except another unacceptable name.

If it were up to me, I would go and remove the name markers and the statues, and put them where they belong, in Dixie, then let those that have a problem see where they are then, on the same stretch of road, only this time they would be below the Mason Dixon, where they would be appreciated.

*Tony Jones, Commander, CSA-Europe  
Cheltenham, England*

## Who Hears A Horton

Gentlemen:

Recently there has been a lot of controversy over the World Trade Center monument and the three firefighters raising the American flag in the rubble. The three firefighters raising the flag were all Caucasian and are not portrayed as such due to political correctness.

In the Fourth Quarter 2001 issue of *Southern Partisan* concerning CSA Today, Maryland, your article about Point Lookout, that terrible Yankee prison where so many brave Confederate soldiers were tortured and starved, the song "I'm A Good Old Rebel" was mentioned as one of the only historic references to Point Lookout.

While touring Fort Donelson in the little village of Dover, Tennessee I purchased a copy of a Bobby Horton cassette tape entitled "Homespun songs of the CSA" with one of the songs called "Oh, I'm A Good Old Rebel." The honorable Bobby Horton sings "I marched with old Marse Robert for four years near or bout./ Got wounded in three places and starved at Pike Lookout."

The article in your magazine quotes the words as "I fought with old Marse Robert for four years near or bout./ Got wounded at Manassas and starved at Point Lookout." After careful research I found the original song written by Major Innes Randolph, CSA which has the following words, "I rode with Robert E Lee for three years thereabout. Got wounded in four places and starved at Point Lookout." ([spwva.prohosting.com/indes/words.htm](http://spwva.prohosting.com/indes/words.htm))

My question is why did the Honorable Bobby Horton change the words to the song to not mention "Manassas" (where the rebels defeated the Yankees twice) or "Point Lookout"? Was this his way of being politi-

cally correct? I hope this will stir the fires of controversy over "political correctness" even more!

*David "Woodstock" Shelton  
Palmetto, Florida*

*"I'm A good Old Rebel" was written during Reconstruction and, like most music of the period, has undergone numerous iterations. According to Mr. Horton, the lyrics he used were the best available at the time he first recorded the song, and any variance from other versions was incidental. — Ed.*

## Classic Mistake

Gentlemen:

I obviously enjoy *Southern Partisan* or else I wouldn't be a subscriber for the last eight years (Fall 1994). I say that in advance because I do not want you to feel I have only negative things to say about *SP*.

I received the latest issue yesterday, and lo and behold if the CSA Today section is not changed. Why? I happen to like the format that *SP* was using in every issue I've ever received *before* yesterday's issue. The change I'm referring to is having the state flags to the sides (and much smaller) as opposed to having the state flags next to the state being discussed. I absolutely dislike this new format, and for the life of me cannot understand why this change was made. Now you do not even see the entire state flags. Please discard this new format and go back to the original format.

I'm in Data Processing, and we have a saying: "If it's not broke, don't fix it." I believe that rule applies here also.

In 1985 Coca Cola made an egregious decision to cease making their classic Coke, and displaced it with "new" Coke. Coca Cola began losing sales because people liked classic Coke, and within three months classic Coke was back. For awhile both Cokes were sold, and classic Coke out sold new Coke by a 7-1 margin.

My point? Don't change things people like.

*Jeff Wolverton  
Falls Church, Virginia*

## Trouble To Windward

Gentlemen:

I enjoyed the most recent issue of *Southern Partisan* (January/February 2002). As a Georgian, I was particularly

interested in the fine article on Gen. Robert Toombs. I can only add the following anecdote, which folks around Washington [Georgia] frequently tell.

When the Chicago fire was in progress, the local folks were gathered at the telegraph office to learn what was happening. Every so often the operator would come out and give them a progress report. Suddenly, Gen. Toombs rode up in a cloud of dust, dismounted, and charged into the office. After a few minutes, he came out—a big smile on his face.

“Good news,” he roared. “We have the wind on our side.”

He was right. Chicago burned to the ground.

*John Elgin Smith  
Atlanta, Georgia*

## A Steady Helms

Gentlemen:

I enjoyed P.J. Byrnes’s eloquent tribute to Jesse Helms (Fourth Quarter 2001). I, too, was taken by surprise when I heard him for the first time. I was attending a Washington meeting of the Eagle Forum, and Senator Helms was the main speaker. Phyllis Schlafly introduced him to the crowd with the broad hint that he should run for reelection—which he did.

He was witty and caustic; but at the end of his speech, he brought tears to my eyes

when he told the story of a little boy scraping up enough money on Christmas Eve to put flowers on his mother’s grave. My husband—the strong silent type—tried to cover up his feelings, but his lower lip was trembling and he quickly took out a handkerchief and blew his nose.

Isn’t it a pity that the television people wouldn’t allow the American people to see and hear this great speaker?

*Mandy Johnson  
Washington, DC*

## The Yankee Solution

Gentlemen:

Thank you for Clyde Wilson’s “The Yankee Problem in America.” (January/February, 2002). It explained a lot. I think it is important that we make a distinction between Yankees and folks from up North. Too often, like-minded people from other parts of the country are offended by our use of the term “Yankee” because they think we include them.

I have a suggestion. Why don’t you put a short, standard definition of “Yankee” at the head of any article using the term. That way people will know we don’t dislike everybody who wasn’t born down here.

(We don’t, do we?)

*Fred “Colonel” Sanders  
St. Louis, Missouri*

*No we don’t: not all of them. Some of them subscribe to this magazine. —Ed.*

## Colorless Kennedy

Gentlemen:

I always thought the *Southern Partisan* knew its enemies. After reading your January/February 2002 issue, I am not so sure. I was shocked to see such a flattering picture of Ted Kennedy on your cover. The last time I saw the Senator up close, his face was ashen gray and his skin was as thick and rubbery as an elephant’s. Your artist put such high color in his cheeks and nose, that he looked downright healthy.

Shame on you!

*Letitia Williamson  
Dallas, Texas*



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# SOUTHERN SAMPLER

BY WILLIAM FREEHOFF

### ON OUR MOST ADMIRED GENERAL

Honor. Courage. Integrity. Wisdom. Devotion. These were the personal qualities that eventually made him (Robert E. Lee) the most admired general in American history.

—Prof. James I. Robertson Jr.

### ON PURSUING FORREST

I will order them (Union Generals Smith and Mower) to make up a force and go out and follow Forrest to the death if it costs 10,000 lives and breaks the Treasury.

—Maj. Gen. W. William T. Sherman, U.S. Army

### ON TACTICS

Always mystify, mislead, and surprise the enemy....

—Lt. Gen. T.J. Stonewall Jackson, C.S. Army

### ON RECONSTRUCTION

Never have American public men in responsible positions, directing the destiny of the nation, been so brutal, hypocritical, and corrupt.

—Claude G. Bowers

### ON STONEWALL JACKSON

He places no value on human life, caring for nothing so much as fighting, unless it be praying.

—Maj. Gen. George Pickett, C.S. Army

### ON JEFFERSON DAVIS

It stands as one of history’s most remarkable achievements that Davis fashioned a government and a fighting unit which held the North at bay for four long years.

—Robert McHugh

# Soskis Rides Again

BY CHRISTOPHER M. SULLIVAN

Recently we came across a column by one Norman Solomon in which he says the following about Attorney General John Ashcroft:

So why has John Ashcroft gone out of his way to say that he looks kindly upon—and even venerates—Confederate leaders? In 1998, Ashcroft was interviewed by the quarterly *Southern Partisan*—which, according to the *New Republic*, “serves as the leading journal of the neo-Confederate movement” and has published “a gumbo of racist apologies” for two decades. Sen. Ashcroft was full of praise for *Southern Partisan*—and for leaders committed to slavery at the time of the Civil War. “Your magazine also helps set the record straight. You’ve got a heritage of doing that, of defending Southern patriots like (Robert E.) Lee, (Stonewall) Jackson and (Jefferson) Davis.”

We found Mr. Solomon’s observations interesting for several reasons.

1. When somebody slanders you, the damage can never be undone. Gresham’s Law states that bad money drives good money out of circulation. The same principle obviously applies to lies and truth. Benjamin Soskis of the *New Republic* lied about the *Southern Partisan*. When confronted with the truth on national radio, he withdrew the charge of “racism” and said we were merely “insensitive.” Now, three years later, Mr. Solomon is repeating the original charge—verbatim.

2. Internal evidence suggests that Mr. Solomon was no innocent in this matter, that he knew he was repeating a lie. Note that he, himself, doesn’t call the *Partisan* “racist.” Instead, he covers his bottom by quoting the *New Republic*. But he is executive director of the Institute for Public Accuracy, an organization that was active in propagating the Soskis charges in 1998. We sent his organization irrefutable evidence that Soskis had altered quotations to change their meaning. We also included numerous *Partisan* quotes in which editors and contributors denounced racism. It is difficult to believe he didn’t know the quotation from the *New Republic* was untrue.

3. After accusing Ashcroft of venerating “leaders committed to slavery at the time of the Civil War,” he includes a quote naming Lee, Jackson, and Davis as examples. One of the ambiguities of the War that we recognize—and people like Mr. Solomon ignore—is the fact that the vast majority of those who fought for the Confederacy were not slaveholders and had no stomach for the cause. We have pointed out that Lee denounced slavery as an evil and freed his slaves long before the War. Stonewall Jackson was never a slaveholder, nor is there any evidence that he supported slavery. Grant, on the other hand, refused to free his slaves during the War, saying, when challenged: “Good help is hard to find these days.” Instead of attacking the Confederacy, maybe Mr. Solomon should think about desecrating Grant’s Tomb.

The rest of Mr. Solomon’s article is filled with the usual high-decibel rhetoric the Left is always allowed to use—full of posturing adjectives and girlish name-calling.

In complaining that Ashcroft praised Martin Luther King, he writes: “It’s quite a scam, and Ashcroft couldn’t have pulled it off without major help from news media.” He quotes Mr. Ashcroft as saying: “I’m personally privileged and we are all privileged to follow in Dr. Martin Luther King’s footsteps in defending freedom and ensuring justice.” Scam? Come on. Every public official has to praise Martin Luther King these days. If you don’t, the thought police will come for you in the dead of night. And Mr. Solomon

blames the rest of the press because they don’t join him in shrieking and finger-pointing every time Attorney General Ashcroft opens his mouth.

He writes: “When President George W. Bush takes aim at the Bill of Rights, a flak catcher at the Justice Department comes in handy.” Takes aim at the Bill of Rights? Spare us this petulance—the rhetorical equivalent of kicking and hair pulling, the sort of nyah-nyahing that used to take place at recess on the girl’s playground in elementary school. (The boys just punched each other in the nose.)

Mr. Solomon also writes: “It’s true that Ashcroft has walked in historic footsteps of civil rights struggles. But those footsteps mostly belonged to George Wallace. Not Martin Luther King. Too bad so many journalists haven’t noticed—or prefer to dispense with history.” So how do you walk in the footsteps of struggles? Do struggles have feet? Perhaps Mr. Solomon is so angry he can’t think straight. “You’re George Wallace, that’s who *you* are!”

He closes his article by saying to Mr. Ashcroft and the press, “I despise Martin Luther King too, but at least I’m not a hypocrite about it!”

Actually, he doesn’t say that.

But suppose we attributed the quote to him anyway? And suppose it was picked up by the national media and repeated in major newspapers and on network TV? And suppose—despite his denials—more than three years later, some journalist with an axe to grind repeated the old lie yet one more time?

If that were to happen, Mr. Solomon would know exactly how we feel. ☛

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## And Speaking of the Taliban...

The Franklin (Tennessee) City Council voted 6-to-3 recently to remove the statue of the Confederate soldier that stood on the town square. In its place, they plan to erect a monument to Dayna Curry, a local woman who, for a while, was a prisoner of the Taliban.

One councilman explained why he voted with the majority: "The Civil War was a long time ago and, face it, it didn't exactly end well for our side. Dayna, on the other hand, was a prisoner in this new war who got home safe. It's a happy ending. I think it will cheer people up to see her smiling down on the town square."

On second thought, why not just put her face on the five-dollar bill? Dayna Curry could sure use the publicity. She has just signed a contract with Thomas Nelson Publishers, to produce "Dayna Curry Study Bibles."

But she'd better hurry. If our troops have a minor skirmish in Haiti or Bosnia any time in the next few weeks, the Franklin City Council may change its mind and commission a sculpture of somebody else's cheery face.

## Comedy Breakthrough

Jay Leno has invented a new approach to stand-up comedy, one that promises to bring him lots of laughs. He takes news stories involving conservatives, alters their contents to make them more outrageous, then bases jokes on his own falsifications.

Two examples.

A while back, a publication, listing Jerry Falwell as its publisher, reported that gay

rights advocates were boasting that one of the Telly Tubbies—the lavender one with a triangle protruding from its head—was homosexual. In fact, the publication was reporting a boast that had originated in the homosexual press and was repeated by *Newsweek*. Leno took the story, reported that Falwell himself had made the charge, and then proceeded to make jokes about Falwell's naiveté and paranoia. Falwell protested that he had said no such thing, but you can imagine how Leno and the folks at NBC treated *that* protest.

More recently, Leno reinvented an Associated Press story about Bob Jones University's announced drive to recruit more minorities. Years ago, BJU had lost its tax-exempt status because it prohibited interracial dating between students. So there were (and are) blacks in the student body. But according to the Leno version, BJU has *no* black students. Thus, he said, the University is trying to entice minorities by offering them separate water fountains. A funny remark—but based on what some folks would call a lie.

# Obiter Dicta

Our suggestion for a future program: Bring up the Georgia crematorium scandal. Tell everyone it was Jimmy Carter's business. Say that all the bodies turned out to be Republicans. A guaranteed laugh line.

## Could God Get a Library Card in Kentucky?

Kimberly Draper was hired in 1998 to work in the Logan County (Kentucky) Library. At that time, she was given a statement of the library's dress code, which read as follows: "No clothing depicting religious, political, or potentially offensive decoration is permitted."

At the time, she asked whether or not she could wear a cross around her neck, and was told by library director Linda Kompanik that religious jewelry was not covered by the dress code.

On April 5 of 2001, Sheryl

Appling, assistant library director, ordered Draper to remove her cross. Draper failed to do so and remained at work, the cross still around her neck. The next day, Appling again ordered her to remove the cross; and when Draper refused, Appling ordered her to go home and dress "appropriately" before reporting to work the next day.

On April 16, Miss Kompanik discussed the cross episode with her and—at the end of the discussion—told Draper she was fired.

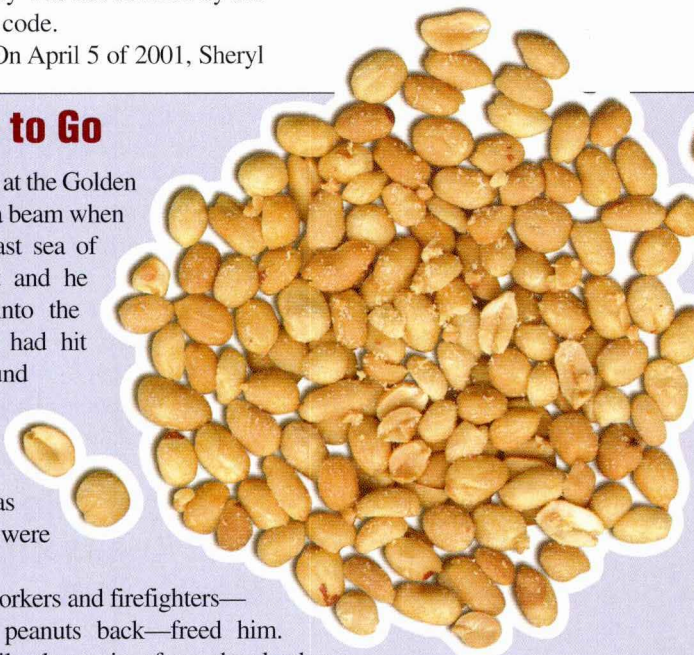
The American Center for Law and Justice has filed a suit in U.S. District Court in Bowling Green, charging that the library violated Draper's constitutional rights.

"It is unbelievable that you can be fired from a job for wearing a cross necklace," said ACLJ attorney Francis Manion. "That

## Not the Way He'd Like to Go

Floyd Goodman, Jr., an Employee at the Golden Peanut Company, was walking across a beam when he lost his balance and fell into a vast sea of unshelled peanuts. He couldn't float and he couldn't swim, so he sank down into the depths, flailing helplessly. When he had hit what turned out to be bottom, he found himself in a squat position and started hollering for help. That was a bad idea. As he put it, "When I hollered, my breath got short, so I knew it was time to stop hollering ... The peanuts were pressing on me."

After an hour and a half, fellow workers and firefighters—using wood to hold the waves of peanuts back—freed him. Afterwards, he said he had prayed silently, saying from the depths, "Lord help me. This is not the way I would like to go, Lord. I know that's not the way you want me to go."



is exactly what happened in this case. The public library system violated the free speech and free exercise of religious rights of our client. We're confident this injustice will be corrected in court."

Meanwhile, county attorney Tom Noe is whining that he is getting all sorts of hate mail. As an example, he cites an e-mail suggesting that Logan County library officials be "sent to Afghanistan with Osama bin Laden."

You call that "hate"? What about telling a woman that her religion is offensive to others?

## Getting to the Kids

Recently, we noted two different "kiddie pages" in Southern newspapers brainwashing Southern children. The worst example occurred in a column called "Carolina Kids," featured by the *Charlotte Observer*.

The lesson for February 19 could have been delivered by a New England schoolmarm. It began by describing Reconstruction as a period that "brought short-lived advancements for Southern blacks." Next it speaks of Jim Crow legislation, the first passed by South Carolina in 1895, and of increasing indignities suffered by blacks.

But Reconstruction ended in 1876, and Jim Crow didn't appear until almost 20 years later. Whatever happened to the Era of Good Feeling, during which Yankee journalists admitted the South was treating blacks as well or better than were the folks up North? And what about the Southern gentry all over the region who fought the Klan and Jim Crow?

To mention these things would be to introduce ambiguities into a narrative that was

## Out of Many Flags, One

According to Henry Farber, writing in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the old state flag—the Wicked Stepmother flag—is out-selling the new Snow White flag—and by a whole bunch.

The Ruffin Flag Company sold 50,000 Wicked Stepmothers last year and fewer than 200 Snow Whites.

In fact, Asian companies are turning out Wicked Stepmothers in such bulk that you can buy a 3-by-5-footer for a mere three dollars.

Why is this so? Farber quotes a few observations on this subject. "People hate the new flag," said Linda Jenkins, who works for a flag company in Norcross. "The only people who fly the new ones are businesses or government offices that have to fly them."

In Jonesboro the Masonic Lodge still flies the old flag. "It's the flag we've been flying, and we're sticking with it," said Rob Romigh, the local Worshipful Master (who hails from Ohio).

We feel the same way, which is why we have stuck with the old flag, in the *CSA Today* section. We debated the matter for almost half a minute.

As for Governor Roy Barnes, the biggest scalawag in Georgia, he's had this to say:

There is only one flag and it's the flag of the United States of America. That's our

flag. The flag [change] was not something I relished and wanted to do. But you just cannot allow a state to be divided.

But it's still divided, Governor—about 50,000 to less than 200.



Georgia Gov. King Roy Barnes, right, poses with Cecil Alexander, the designer of the new Georgia state flag.

intended to be a good-vs-evil morality play.

Question: What good does it do to tell Southern children their ancestors were, without exception, wicked and hateful and bigoted? What is the real purpose of such historical oversimplifications?

While you're thinking about the answer to this question, better watch what your children are reading. They may end up joining the Taliban.

## Blessed Is He Who Keeps His Mouth Shut

Several months ago, Wayne Pederson was elected president of the Virginia-based National Religious Broadcasters; and

before his bottom had begun to warm the CEO's chair, he started lecturing the 1,400 members on how to behave. Specifically he called for them to be less political:

We get associated with the far Christian right and marginalized. To me, the important thing is to keep the focus on what's important to us spiritually.... We need to not be pulled into the political arena.

Precisely the advice the group would have gotten from Norman Lear and the ACLU. "Shut up and let us handle questions like abortion and gay rights and pornography and religious freedom. Y'all just go off and talk about God with one another."

Those who have been

fighting the political enemies of Christianity for decades were understandably miffed, including Don Wildmon of the American Family Association and James Dobson of Focus on the Family—neither of whom is to be confused with Jimmy Swaggart or Father Coughlin.

After this pontificating and the subsequent furor, Pederson finally yielded to mounting pressure and resigned. In a subsequent interview, he said he hadn't meant to offend anyone.

What I was trying to say is that Christian broadcasters should be more known for their theology than for their politics. That caused some concern from some of our broadcasters, who feel very

called toward being involved politically. They thought I was trying to move in another direction.

Now what gave them that idea?

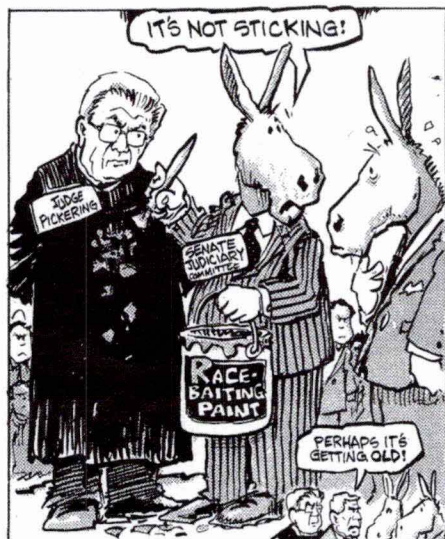
## Practice Run

When President Bush nominated Mississippi Judge Charles Pickering to fill a vacancy on the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, the Left took the occasion to practice its rusty Borking skills.

Though somewhat conservative, Pickering was by no means an Antonin Scalia or a Clarence Thomas, so his confirmation did not signal the end of judicial activism in America. On the other hand, at some point, this President might have the opportunity to nominate a Supreme Court Justice and then Borking would be a crucial part of any Leftist response. Besides, Pickering was a white Southerner; and Norman Lear and Kweisi Mfume and Patricia Ireland didn't want another one of those guys on the federal bench.

Consequently, the usual organizations swung into action—People for the American Way, the NAACP, the SCLC, women's groups, Big Labor. As always, the Borkists cried "racism," since that charge had always energized black activists and they, in turn, had always passed along the word to their perpetually credulous followers.

This time, however, the blacks back in Laurel, Mississippi wouldn't take orders from their would-be overseers. They said Pickering had been their friend, had opposed the Klan, and had helped them improve educational and economic conditions for poor blacks.



At that point, something happened that, on the surface, made the miracle at Lourdes look like an ordinary trip to the grocery store: Some of the most prominent left-leaning media admitted the Borkists had gone too far. *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and NBC's Tim Russert distanced themselves from this latest smear campaign, expressing their concern over the fairness of the attack.

Question: Did they do so out of a long-dormant sense of journalistic decency, or were they aware that the public wouldn't buy this one—and that Americans would look with suspicion on any future attempt to Bork a Supreme Court nominee? Whatever the reason, it was a surprising grace, like a warm spell in winter that brings yellow blossoms to forsythia branches.

## A Few Words in Favor of Reparations for Blacks

Black activists are demanding reparations from American and foreign corporations, as well as from the federal government. And we're now inclined

to support these demands—under certain conditions.

Sure we know all the arguments against reparations:

- that nobody living today has ever owned slaves,
- that only a small percentage of whites in the 18th and 19th centuries owned slaves,
- that you can't blame people today for what happened 140 years,
- that awarding reparations to one group would open up a can of worms,
- that using tax dollars for this purpose would increase tensions between the races,
- and that blacks would be taxed as well as whites.

Black advocates say the whole country should suffer because of the transgressions of our great-great-grandfathers, that we should have to pay for their sins. Maybe they're right.

Just don't ask Southerners to contribute.

The government has no right to tax Southerners. We've already suffered more than enough to square our debt. According to the Yankees and the blacks themselves, the War Between the States was about slavery and nothing else. That's why the Union Army invaded the region and killed hundreds of thousands of Southerners. In addition, they burned our homes and farms, confiscated our wealth, and stole our lands. We even lost the right to govern ourselves during that purgatorial period known as Reconstruction.

## Flags of Oppression

An alert reader sent in the photos reproduced nearby, taken of a HAIER Refrigeration Company near Camden, South Carolina. You may remember that the South Carolina legislature, under pressure from the Chamber of Commerce, determined that the Confederate Battleflag was too controversial to be allowed to be displayed.

It seems, however, that HAIER, a subsidiary of COSCO and no doubt a member of the Chamber of Commerce, is proudly flying the official flag of Red China.

The ChiCom flag is larger than the US flag and is flown higher than the Palmetto flag.

The plant, ironically, is just a few miles from the site of the Revolutionary battlefield in Camden.



## All Choked Up

Fritz Hollings, the junior senator from South Carolina, has been in the news recently because he is chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, which is investigating Enron—and because Hollings is attempting to lay Enron like a casket pall on the doorstep of the White House.

In pursuit of this goal, on February 4, Hollings launched into a diatribe after Ken Lay came before his Committee and took the Fifth. In his attack on Lay and the Administration, Hollings made the following points:

- He said that Mitch Daniels, White House budget director, had been on the Enron payroll.
- He said that Paul O'Neill, Secretary of the Treasury, had been on the Enron payroll.
- He said that Harvey Pitt, head of the Securities and Exchange Commission, had been on the Enron payroll.
- He said Daniels had decreed that the economic stimulus package contain \$257 million for Enron.

Indeed, the picture he painted was one of GOP corruption at the highest level. If all four of these statements were true, then the Bush Administration would be in deep trouble, as would the Republican Party in the upcoming off-year elections.

However, as the *Weekly Standard* pointed out, all four statements were untrue.

Then, in a follow-up diatribe, Hollings made an even more shocking charge. He said that the Clinton Administration had placed restriction on off-share accounts to shut off Osama bin Laden's access to funds, but that the Bush Administration, at the insis-

tence of economic adviser Larry Lindsey, had lifted the restrictions.

And what was the result of this sleazy move by Bush operatives? "You had 9/11," Hollings said, triumphantly.

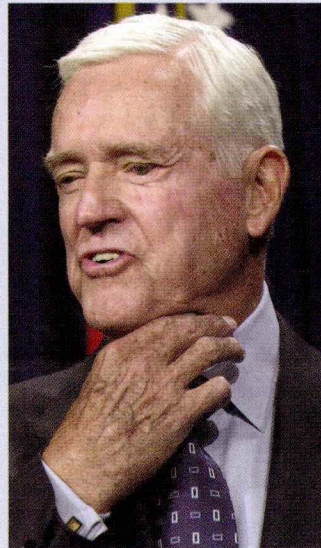
Of course, investigators have determined that the money for the 9/11 attacks didn't come from offshore accounts. Apparently Hollings's staff didn't tell him—or if they did, he conveniently forgot it.

The *Standard* complained that the national press refused to expose the Senator's flagrant errors (falsehoods?): "With rare exceptions, not a word of Hollings' novelistic approach to the truth was reported in the mainstream press, including the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*."

One of those exceptions was Fox Cable News, which featured the Hollings gaffes. In fact, shortly after the Senator strutted and fretted his hour on the stage, Fox commentators Britt Hume, Fred Barnes, and Juan Williams watched film clips of these phony charges, framed in all but incomprehensible rhetoric.

There was Fritz, that perpetual sneer on his face, drawling one non-sequitur after another. What was he saying? What was the connection between Enron and Osama bin Laden? They both had offshore bank accounts, but the money for the terrorist attacks didn't come from that source. Still puzzled, Hume ran another clip, but the commentators still couldn't comprehend the illogic—and there was Fritz, as full of himself as a barnyard rooster, head cocked at a rakish angle, as if to catch every word of his own eloquent gibberish.

"A senior moment," said Barnes, using a recently coined



euphemism for senility.

Juan Williams said that maybe Hollings actually knew something they didn't know.

They both had it wrong.

Fritz was simply being Fritz—Senator Know-It-All, the Baron Munchhausen of the South Carolina Lowcountry. This is the way he's talked for the past 40 years, first as governor, now as U.S. Senator. You don't have to make sense when you know you'll be holding office for the rest of your life.

South Carolinians used to be embarrassed by his loose tongue, bad manners, and unbearable swagger. They've gradually learned to live with him, the way families learn to live with an alcoholic uncle. You don't pay any attention to what he says or how he says it. You just pray that no one else listens. When they do, you're mortified.

So to Britt, Fred, and Juan, we can only say: "Fellows, we're mortified. Yes, he's one of ours—we admit it—and if you come down to Columbia some Friday afternoon, we'll explain him to you. But it's going to take the whole weekend."

And we have been stigmatized ever since.

So Southerners have paid their debt. Now it's time for the Yankees to pay theirs. After all, they brought the slaves over here in the first place, condoned slavery in every colony, and even allowed five Union states to retain slavery during and after the War. They have yet to suffer for their complicity.

Bottom line: Let them pay the whole bill.

And as soon as they do, let's talk about the way they treated the Irish.

## Politically Correct Tributes

Just in case you thought flags were the only Southern symbols under attack, we have these two reports from Virginia and Maryland.

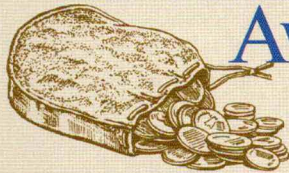
The Black Caucus in the Virginia legislature is now refusing to recite the Salute to the Flag of Virginia, "because of its Confederate ties." Since the pledge was originally composed by the ladies of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (as were many such state salutes), the members of the Black Caucus have declared it *ipso facto* intolerable.

Del. Jerrauld Jones (D-Norfolk) and others have proposed an amendment to the House Rules deleting the pledge since it is such a painful reminder of segregation. For the record here is the exact text of the Pledge to the Virginia State Flag:

I salute the flag of Virginia, with reverence and patriotic devotion to the "Mother of States and Statesmen," which it represents—the "Old Dominion," where liberty and independence were born.

For now, they recite the

# THE Scalawag Award



John H. Hager, former Lt. Governor and a “moderate Republican,” is currently serving as Democratic Governor Mark Warner’s “anti-terrorism czar.” Hager came to his position already committed to speak at a Lee-Jackson Day ceremony at the old Virginia House of Delegates chambers.

When Warner heard about it, he huffed and he puffed. However, according to the AP, he reluctantly told Hager he could attend anyway and give his speech on Lee, Jackson, the War, and tourism in Virginia.

But Hager got the all-to-obvious message. The next day he withdrew, with the following explanation:

I appreciate Governor Warner’s willingness to respect my earlier decision to keep the prior commitment, but I feel it is no longer appropriate.

Fred Taylor, state president of the Preservation Association of Virginia, was burned up.

## Hager’s Retreat



Governor Mark Warner, center, announces the appointment on Lt. Gov. John Hager, left, to Assistant to the Governor for Commonwealth Preparedness.

“As governor of Virginia, Mark Warner has a responsibility to recognize state holidays,” he said. “They are using everything Southern as a dividing tool.”

So which one of them should get our Scalawag Award this issue—Governor Warner, who wanted to have it both ways, or

Czar Hager, who weaseled on his obligation to the Preservation Association?

This time, we’re giving the prize to Hager—and for two reasons. (1) He is such a politically correct wimp. And (2), we will have many future opportunities to honor a man like Mark Warner with this award. ★

Pledge of Allegiance to the U.S. flag; but the time will surely come when they remember Old Glory’s association with slavery and demand that it be replaced with the African National Flag. After all, every one of the original 13 colonies practiced legalized slavery. (Massachusetts was the first to abolish the institution, but Bay State slave traders continued plying their lucrative trade.)

If black leaders continue to rummage through the trunks in the nation’s attic, looking for old slights to pout over, they will eventually feel so wronged they will have to secede.

Meanwhile, just to the north in Maryland, another bill has been presented to repeal the use of “Maryland, My Maryland” as the state song.

After a spirited public hearing, a Senate panel voted 6-3 yesterday to kill the bill, which would have replaced the song’s lyrics with a pastoral poem written in 1894 by a Western Maryland schoolteacher.

“I do believe we need to change the song, but this might not be the one,” Sen. Paul G. Pinsky, a Prince George’s Democrat, said of the suggested replacement.

In particular, the politically correct types and Chamber of Commerce clique (as if there was a difference) object to the offensive language of the song, such as;

Avenge the patriotic gore/  
That flecked the streets of  
Baltimore./ And be the battle  
queen of yore, Maryland! My  
Maryland!

And,  
She is not dead, nor deaf, nor  
dumb-/ Huzza! she spurns  
the Northern scum!/  
She breathes! she burns! she’ll  
come! she’ll come!/  
Maryland! My Maryland!

Let’s hope the citizens of Maryland and Virginia can stave off the loss of yet more Southern symbolism.

### Man convicted of shooting while in rage over words “New Jersey”

Thomas Ray Mitchell, 54, of Texas City has been convicted of shooting his girlfriend because he thought she was about to say “New Jersey.”

Mitchell did not claim

insanity as a defense, but relatives testified that he gets angry, curses, and bangs on walls when he hears certain words or phrases, including “New Jersey” and “Wisconsin,” though he never had harmed anyone before the shooting.

He has been committed numerous times to mental facilities in Illinois for periods of three weeks to three months since 1985, relatives testified.

On the first day of his trial, Mitchell did not react when the phrase “New Jersey” was uttered twice in his presence. He appeared to be holding his ears closed with his index fingers when relatives testified about his problems.

We would’ve hated to have been on that jury. ★

# CSA TODAY



## Alabama

As we go to press, the Alabama Senate has voted 26-0 to allow voters to decide if they want a constitutional amendment allowing the Ten Commandments to be posted in public buildings—including schools and courthouses.

The amendment was sponsored by Senator Gerald Dial (D-Lineville) who has posted the Commandments in his statehouse office and is eager to see others do the same thing.

“Hopefully,” he said, “it will have some impact on some students and other people who see it.”

Of course, the Alabama constitution doesn’t forbid posting the Commandments now. This action simply gives everyone an opportunity to orate on the subject—and to thumb their noses at the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled in 1980 that it was unconstitutional to display the Decalogue in Kentucky classrooms.

Good for Alabama. The more the High Court has to rule on this issue, the more ridiculous the judicial system will seem. Thomas Jefferson said in his Second Inaugural Address that the states have the right to hold religious exercises. But you can bet that some day soon Justices Breyer, Ginsburg, and Souter will tell the people of Alabama that Jefferson believed no such thing.

## Arkansas

Farmers in Arkansas are having another rough year. For example, prices of soybeans, rice, and other grains are at a record low.

The plight of Jerry Ford, a soybean and cotton farmer, is typical.

“We are looking at commodity prices at levels that are much lower than what it costs to grow crops,” he

said. “This is a no-win situation.”

Congressman Marion Berry advocates a government bailout, as does the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

“[Congress] has done supplemental farm program payments in each of the last four years,” Berry said. “Unfortunately, the reason we had to do that is because the prices have fallen so low.”

And how much do supplemental farm program payments cost the American people? Last year farmers received \$21.4 billion in federal assistance. And this year Arkansas senators Blanche Lincoln and Tim Hutchinson backed a bill that would have boosted spending on agriculture and nutrition programs *by almost 80 percent*.

So what’s going on here? Why isn’t the market working?

One reason is because agribusinesses in other countries are producing crops like soybeans at a much lower cost than U.S. farmers. Where did they get the money to do this?

From the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

And who funds these operations? Basically, we do—the U.S. taxpayers.

In other words, we’re giving money to people in other countries so they can run us out of business. Makes a lot of sense, doesn’t it?

## Florida

According to Connie Ward of the Southern News Service, Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center, recently spoke at the University of West Florida in Pensacola. Dees, who is white, feeds at the same trough as the NAACP—i.e., he gets money from bigoted Yankees by pretending we have more racial problems down here than they have up there.

According to the report we received, Olaf Childress, who edits a newspaper in Baldwin County, Alabama, approached Dees at a reception following the speech and said he wanted to ask one question: “I love the people in this hall as much as you do. Therefore, my question is, why do you continually attack us Southern heritage groups and try to make out that we are racists, when we are not racists?”

Childress, a man of some years, should have expected what he got.

Dees poked him in the chest with a finger, whereupon two campus cops, as if on cue, grabbed Childress and hauled him off. As one witness told it, “They shoved him backwards through the lobby and pushed him into the door to open it, and continued to shove him out to the sidewalk in front of the building. I couldn’t believe those two young, strapping campus cops would physically manhandle an older gentleman like that.”

Questioned afterwards, not one of the security guards was willing or able to say what Childress had done wrong. If you had asked one of the Brown Shirts why they had thrown a dissenter out of a Nazi rally at Munich, they wouldn’t have answered either.

## Georgia

After 9/11, state flags all over Georgia were replaced with U.S. flags at half-mast. Many thought it was temporary, but in most cases, people have just moved the U.S. flags to the top of their poles.

To correct this, Tim Pilgrim and Elijah Coleman erected a pole with the true Georgia flag on a vacant lot next to the highway near Scalawag Governor King Roy’s home in Mabelton.

Kenneth Waters liked it so much that he called Elijah to put one up on

his land. Before they knew it, they became “For Sale Poles.” Every time Elijah put one up, he got dozens of phone calls from others wanting one.

Elijah has bought \$3,000 worth of poles and flags and is now volunteering seven days a week to drive to anyone’s land who wants one and install it himself at the price of \$33 a piece, which is no more than the wholesale cost of the materials. He’s calling it “Project Wave.”

Powder Springs, the home of sell-out Senator Steve Thompson, is now wild with Confederate-mania. Waters writes that on the main street,

there are flags after flags after flags, one right after another; *it is unreal! It is a shocking scene, like being in the twilight zone!* It is becoming like this everywhere west of Atlanta on heavily traveled roads, and people are noticing.

Waters reports that 200 poles are already up, and they’re well on their way to reaching their goal of 500 before the November elections.

## Kentucky

Benjamin Edward DeJarnette, one of Kentucky’s last remaining sons of a Confederate soldier, died in Hawesville recently. He was 104.

His father, Benjamin DeJarnette, fought in the Confederate Army during the entire War. Benjamin was 58 when his son was born on December 14, 1897.

In a 1999 story published in the Owensboro *Messenger-Inquirer*, Mr. DeJarnette said he loved to ride his electric scooter and hated corrupt politics.

He joins the growing number of “real sons” who have crossed over the river and joined the bivouac of their fathers. May sons and fathers sleep in peace, oblivious to the shrill voices that slander their names.

## Louisiana

According to the AP, an investigator hired by Bossier City to check out claims of racial bigotry in the fire department has found “no credible evidence of discriminatory policies

and procedures or of a racially hostile work place.”

The investigator was able to cite a few mild incidents, including one in which a white firefighter made a remark about blacks and collard greens. According to the report, the firefighter “was warned, counseled and reprimanded.”

Despite the good report, Chief Donnie Faith still has made changes in policy to appease the disgruntled black fire fighters who filed the charges. As an example, applicants to the Fire Department are no longer required to have emergency medical training. Henceforth, they will be taught these essentials during basic training.

Two questions:

1. Why does equality so often mean a lowering of standards?
2. And how come so many young he-men get their feelings hurt these days?

## Maryland

Another emasculated mascot to report.

Poolesville High School, whose team used to be called the Indians, will change its name to the Falcons. Students were forced to select a new mascot after civil rights groups raised such a fuss that the Maryland Commission on Indian Affairs pushed for the change. At least four schools statewide were involved. Poolesville seems to have been the first to cave.

“We’ll finish the year as the Indians, and next year we’ll be the Falcons,” burred Carla Toomey, president of the PTA. “The community, in time, will move on.”

Well, that’s real profound, Carla. And if Poolesville had told the protesters to stick it in their ear, the community, in time, would also have moved on, wouldn’t it?

## Mississippi

In case you haven’t heard, Hooters is a restaurant chain that features waitresses who wear shorts, T-shirts, and no bras. (“Hooters” is a slang expression for breasts.) In other

words, it’s just the kind of place they need in Horn Lake, Mississippi.

The local aldermen, tongues hanging out, voted 3-2 to bring on the babes.

Then the past raised its ugly head. Some local folks said the lot where Hooters intends to build was an old cemetery. If so, then state law forbids construction. Records don’t support the claim, but Horn Lake City Engineer Gerald Davis says he clearly recalls the cemetery.

“I remember when I was a young boy that I would cross the street so I didn’t have to walk by the cemetery,” he said.

But who wants to believe these old timers when you can bring in a business with such obvious assets? Engineers are looking for evidence of graves, but we predict they won’t find any.

However, we would remind Hooters of what happened in the movie “Poltergeist,” when some greedy developer built houses on an old graveyard: Skeletons came barreling up out of the ground and began grabbing folks by their legs and other parts of their bodies.

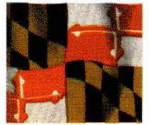
## Missouri

Matt Pitts, a student at the University of Missouri-Columbia, returned from a weekend at home to find his room vandalized and his Confederate flag torn to shreds.

Pitts and his roommate have been harassed ever since they hung a 3-by-4-foot Confederate flag in their dormitory window. His fellow students asked UM authorities to remove the flag, but thus far they have refused to do so. Meanwhile, Pitts says he is the victim of a hate crime. “They didn’t take anything; it was motivated by our beliefs.”

UM law professor Sylvia Lazos said, “He is certainly making a good argument, but when legislatures consider who hate crimes are committed against, they do not historically consider Confederate devotees.”

And therein, Professor Lazos, lies the problem.



## North Carolina

It's them hateful tool boxes again.

Members of a Georgia construction crew, working at Mission St. Joseph's Health System in Asheville, were told to remove Confederate flags from their clothing and tool boxes.

Merrill Gregory, spokeswoman for the hospital, said that St. Joseph's has long had a policy mandating that workers dress in a professional and appropriate manner. O.K., Merrill, now just what does that mean? Do you suppose everyone understands instinctively that they can't have a Confederate flag on their hard hat—or tool box? Is that the kind of knowledge a fellow acquires at birth, even before the doctor spansks his little bottom? Or is it something St. Joseph's has written down, folded up, and hidden away in its watch pocket—and not told anybody until now?

Mike Sidero, speaking for the company that hired these terrorists, said that last week a manager had asked a worker to replace a painted helmet, but—gee whiz—that had nothing to do with the flag: “We made somebody remove their hardhat because it was painted,” he said. “Not for the fact of what was painted on it, but that it was painted.”

A better answer than Merrill's, Mike, but we don't buy either one.

## Oklahoma

Republicans in the Oklahoma House are proposing legislation that would require students to observe a moment of silence each school day. The bill would also mandate the posting of the Ten Commandments and “In God We Trust” in public buildings.

Spearheading this agenda is Rep. Lance Cargill (R-Harrah) who says his party wants to stress morality, family, duty, and patriotism in this session.

“For years the school day began with the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance and a prayer,” Cargill said, “But a recent focus on political correctness has pushed aside these wholesome and all-American traditions ...

We want to see a restoration of these kinds of values.”

Whether or not such initiatives would improve the moral climate in Oklahoma communities is anybody's guess. However, the official repression of religion in this country has become all but intolerable to a growing number of its citizens. If the ACLU and other secularist organizations don't back off and let people practice these harmless and inoffensive pieties, you can expect the first serious movement to amend the U.S. Constitution.

## South Carolina

The NAACP is still squealing and stamping its foot over the Confederate flag, which hangs limply on an enormous pole as part of the Confederate monument on the State House grounds. Their newest strategy: to stop the cars of Yankees as they cross into South Carolina and tell the folks not to visit the state or to spend money there.

Needless to say, the business community and its errand boys in the General Assembly are wringing their hands. All their scheming and plotting has come to naught. They have been betrayed. The boycott is still on—and they fear that this new high-profile action will be even more effective than the earlier PR campaign, which wasn't effective at all.

As for the heritage groups, they are monitoring the situation carefully. In the unlikely event that this strategy works, they are ready to muster at the border and give the NAACP a helping hand.

## Tennessee

Cracker Barrel is in trouble with the politically correct crowd again. Last time the hooraw was over the firing of a lesbian waitress. This time, 21 blacks are suing the Tennessee-based chain, alleging systematic racism. Specifically, they charge that Cracker Barrel has deliberately segregated black customers by seating them in the smoking section and by denying them service. The plaintiffs say this policy has been pursued in 175 cities in 30 states.

If these charges are true, then the Cracker Barrel management deserves to be convicted of Capital Stupidity. Even if you're the worst racist on the planet, you can't get away with this kind of conduct.

And that is precisely why we find these charges highly suspect. This smells like another Jesse-type shake-down. In the first place, there would be no profit in pursuing such a policy. White people—at least white Southerners—no longer have a problem with integrated restaurants. They expect to see blacks at nearby tables and are comfortable with them. So why drive away black customers from your 450 restaurants? It doesn't make sense—not when other businesses are targeting blacks in their advertising.

Also, two of the plaintiffs claim they were discriminated against in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Missouri. Apparently we're to believe they went driving from state to state, stopping at Cracker Barrels, sitting in clouds of smoke, never getting served. By the time they got to Missouri, you'd think they would have tried a Dairy Queen instead.

Donald M. Turner, CEO of Cracker Barrel, has said in response to this suit, “We take very seriously our commitment to treat all customers fairly. We believe in good service, and good service is colorblind.”

He claims Cracker Barrel will go to court if necessary to fight these charges. We predict they won't. We bet attorneys are already telling him to settle—that a trial—with Court TV in attendance—would be destructive to the company's good name. The lawyers are probably right; but if this is yet one more shakedown, wouldn't it be nice if just one company dug in its heels and said, “Not this time”?

## Texas

Two and a half years ago, Herbert Richardson, an official of Texas A&M, removed the portrait of former Aggie chancellor Gilbert Gilchrist from the lobby of ... the Gilchrist Building. It seems that





someone complained because, in the background of the painting, is a portrait of his hero, Robert E. Lee. The Gilchrist picture was removed six months after the building was dedicated.

Now a new portrait of Gilchrist, recently completed, hangs in the lobby. (And guess who isn't in it!) As for the other one—the obscene one—last month it was re-hung in a conference room, along with old photographs and a note carefully explaining why Lee is in the picture.

In an interview with the local newspaper, Richardson explained himself: "I still feel it was the right thing to not have that in the main lobby. On the other hand, I didn't feel this painting, which is really a historical item, should be censored. So the compromise was to put it with other historic items in one of the main conference rooms."

Political Science professor John Robertson, who has been stirring this pot, was quoted by the AP as saying, "It's not that Robert E. Lee wasn't a hero; it's that he also stood for an institution that was vile and evil. If you're going to have any kind of public setting where you have a symbol, why have an exclusionary one?" (Apparently he doesn't know that Lee denounced slavery long before the War and freed his own slaves.)

Former A&M president Frank Vandiver—who is a genuine historian and an expert on the War—set the record straight: "Certainly not most of the people who fought for the Confederacy were fighting specifically for slavery. To try to eradicate the past is very dangerous because those doing it may have problems with their own past. My position is, leave well enough alone."

Ours too.

## Virginia

Southern heritage groups played a large part in defeating Republican candidate Mark Earley after he refused to recognize Confederate Heritage and History month, a tradition established by Governor Allen. Last year, when Scalawag Governor Gilmore recognized April as Civil War month and pandered to the NAACP, a dozen or so counties immediately declared their own Confederate Heritage month.

How long this county-level protest can hold up remains to be seen, but Buchanan County is in the lead again. The Board of Supervisors, by a unanimous decision, accepted and approved the Resolution of the Lt. Col. Vincent A. Witcher Camp SCV to have April 2002 declared as Confederate Heritage and History Month. The Chesterfield County Board of Supervisors has followed with a similar resolution. ♣



## SIDELIGHTS & LIGHTERSIDES

Compiled by Ralph Green

### A PARTISAN CONVERSATION

A voracious reader, one Union officer always tried to work a discussion of books into any conversation. He once read Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*, in an English translation since he spoke no French. Shortly afterward while passing a house near the Bloody Angle at Spotsylvania he saw a young lady sitting on the porch. He stopped, bowed to her, and endeavored to engage her in conversation. After a few words with her, he remarked, "By the way, have you seen 'Lee's mis-erables'?" anglicizing pronunciation of the book's title. Indignant, the lady replied, "Don't talk to me that way. They're a good deal better than Grant's mis-erables anyhow!"

### CLOSE!

From the *Confederate Baptist*, Wednesday, December 3, 1862:

"In the absence of field officers, and after the wounding of the senior captain, the command of the 15th Virginia Regiment at Sharpsburg devolved on Rev. E.J. Willis, formerly pastor of the Leigh Street Baptist Church and now Captain of Company A. At one time, seeing that the flag-bearer had been shot down, he seized the colors himself. Waving them, he was in the advance when the staff was cut in two by a bullet. Eleven bullets passed through various portions of his clothing, one through his cap, and one carried off a portion of the scabbard of his sword."

### INSPIRED NOMENCLATURE

Col. Hal Simpson always delighted in the interesting names of Texans who enlisted in Hood's Brigade. Co. A boasted "Argyle Campbell," "Winkfield Shropshire," and "Glen Drumgoole," all good Scots. Co.

G (the Reagan Guards) had "Smith Bottoms," "Jasper Stalcup," and "Elbert E. Pugh." Co. H listed "Romulus T. Rhome," "George Washington Culpepper," "John Steincipher," and "Ignatz Honingsburger." Co. M included "Reason Hutto," "Bolewar J. Capps," "J. Pink O'Rear," "Buttons Evans," "Mutt Morgan," and "Shady Roach."

### SORRY ABOUT THAT

When the first Confederate shot hit Fort Sumter the War could have started a month earlier than it actually did. Shortly after dawn on 8 March 1861, a Southern battery was conducting a drill, practicing the motions of firing its guns. Suddenly a mortar roared as an actual shot was fired at the fort. As the fort's garrison manned its guns to reply, the commander of the battery rushed over in a small boat under a flag of

truce to apologize for the accidental firing.

### KEEP IT QUIET

During the night of May 21-22, 1864, near Front Royal, Virginia, 200 members of the 15th New York Cavalry held a party which ended in a riot. Officers from a reserve post half a mile away had to ride in and settle the dispute. After a brief quiet, Union Captain Michael Auer heard several shots from the same site and galloped into the camp shouting and cursing, demanding to know the meaning for "all this fuss." The answer stunned him: "It means Mosby's got you." While the attention of the Yankees had been on the riot, John S. Mosby and 99 of his Rangers had captured the picket post and then the camp, taking 75 horses and sixteen prisoners. Auer became number 17. ♣



# Final

D

uring a recent stopover in Atlanta to promote his new book, Patrick Buchanan took time to share with *Southern Partisan* some honest, if not very encouraging, views on the state of western civilization and the future role of the South.

A long-time supporter of the magazine, Buchanan is a first-rate Southerner and his love of the South can be found throughout his several books and speeches. Whether discussing his childhood in Washington, D.C. (when it was still a Southern city) in *Right From the Beginning*, mourning the loss of respect for Confederate patriots in *The Death of the West*, or discussing his Confederate ancestors in this interview, he never backs down in his defense of the South.

Longtime columnist and best-selling author, presidential aide to Nixon and presidential candidate on three occasions, he has personally witnessed the debilitating effects of the 1960s' revolution and the subsequent rapid decline of our society's structure. There is no better person to comment on where we have been and where we certainly are going.

Photographs by  
Michael Givens

# Warning

## PAT BUCHANAN AUGURS THE APOCALYPSE

**SOUTHERN PARTISAN:** *You are currently promoting your new book, *The Death of the West*. We had to go to a number of stores before we could find copies of your book. They were sold out.*

**BUCHANAN:** The book is in the seventh reprinting now, but I'm afraid they didn't print enough in the first run. There isn't any doubt that *Drudge* set off the booster rocket. Of course, once it gets on *Drudge*, it's not only that people go to Amazon.com but every booker of a radio and TV show in America is constantly on the lookout for something fresh and controversial, and this was both.

*Do you think alternative media sources such as the Drudge Report will break up the big media monopolies?*

I fear newspapers are dying, all over the country. There are very few good ones left. I think talk radio clearly is a tremendous force, and it is a great conservative force in America, and the Internet is huge because it is an end run around political correctness. But in my view as a columnist, I want to get printed because I belong to the generation that likes to read the magazine, hold it up. I like to get them on my kitchen table, whether it's *New Republic* or *Southern Partisan* or *Chronicles*, and so I think the niche markets for magazines are going to do OK. On the op-ed pages I think a lot of the columnists are living in old boring yesterday issues. The new issues are the survival of culture and civilization. Instead, conservatives spend all of their time talking about a stimulus package. That is

why I wrote about "economism," the great heresy of conservatives. They are all wrought up over how much the gross national product grows. They believe the higher the GDP the better off America is: Kempism, that is what I called it in one of my earlier books.

*Was it difficult to have your new book published?*

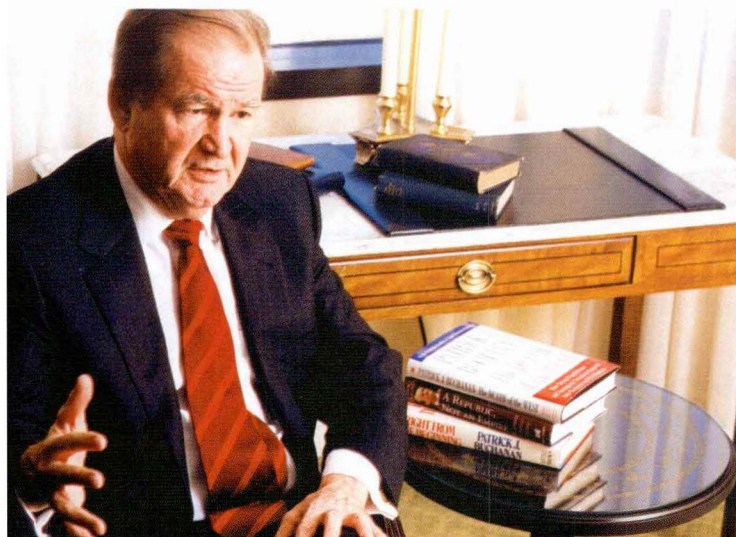
My old publisher was scared to publish it even though I put the last one on the *New York Times*'s best-seller list for them, thanks to Alan Dershowitz and Donald Trump. They said, "This is a pro-Hitler book," and the thing shot right up to the *New York Times* list. This new book deals with the vanishing white race and the vanishing European race and the death of our culture and our civilization, and these are very sensitive subjects. But I give St. Martin's credit for stepping in, and Tom Dunne was very courageous. He made a bid on it and then he upped the bid, and working with him has been terrific.

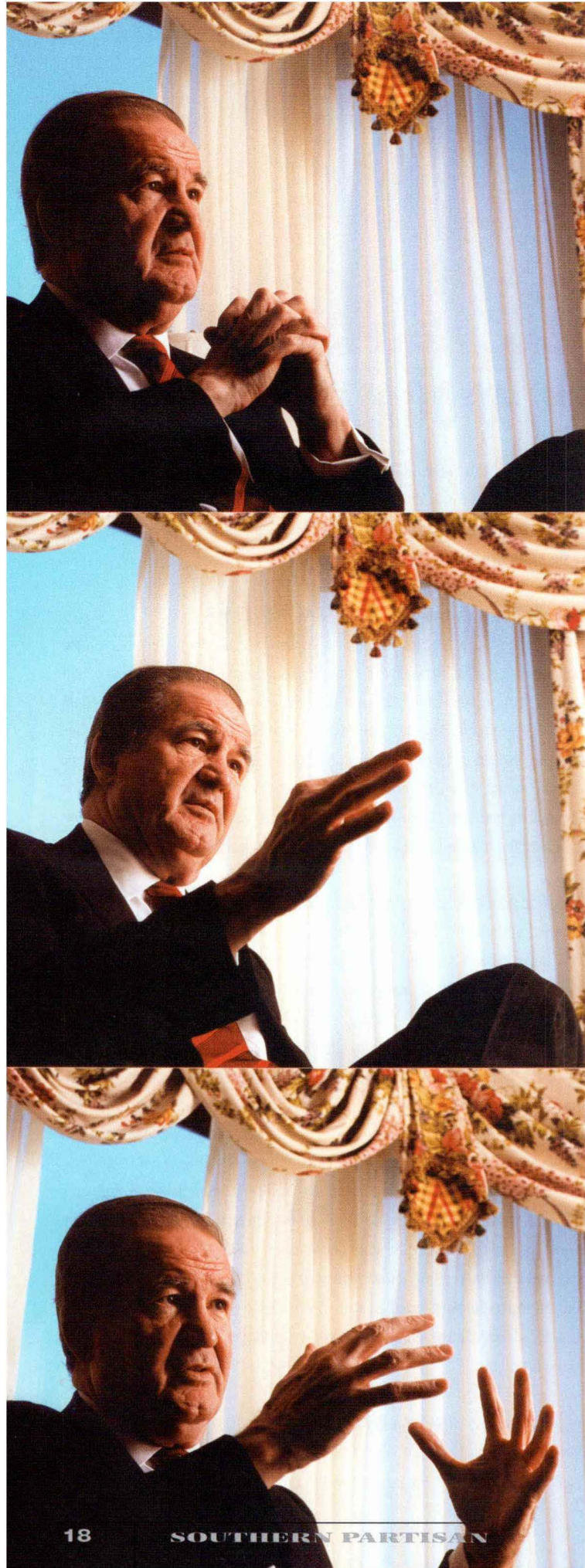
*These are fellows that saw a profit coming.*

They thought it could be a good seller, but I think they are rather astonished at how remarkable it is doing. But I'm very pleased with it because the message is an important one. I'm prepared to go all over the country and keep going for months, as long as I can keep selling the book and getting the ideas out. I had a great interview with *Pravda*, my favorite old newspaper. It is getting tremendous comment in Russia, especially with their problems of depopulation, and that interview has been translated even into Serbian and Polish. The *Daily Mail* excerpted a segment and they said, "Now give us a good hot headline, Buchanan." I said, "Well, Britain is headed for a series of long hot summers." Since they didn't know what that meant, they said, "Can you be a little more specific? Can you say 'riots'?" I would like to go over there to Europe and talk on the whole issue of the West. I'm profoundly pessimistic about the survival of our culture and civilization as we know them. The issues I talk about in this book, the four threats to the West, are the issues to which true conservatives ought to dedicate their political lives and careers, and I don't think I can say it better than I said it there.

*The message of the book is that unless something is done to change, the West is going to die. What are the things that need to be done?*

Well, the West is dying because of the collective decision of the young men and





women of the West simply to have small families or no families at all. These are free choices that have been made by individuals and you're going to have to turn around the hearts and minds of a generation and reconvert them to the ideal that we grew up with, which was that the good life is a large family where the mother takes care of the children at home and the father has a living wage to raise that family. Now the problem is that the ideal is under assault from the new economy and its magnetic pull of women into the marketplace, and from a culture that mocks the old ideal as boring, and from the feminist movement which says that marriage is a prison and marriage is slavery. So I think it's going to be an impossible task to do, because if it's not turned around quickly then you're going to have to depend on the masses of millions of immigrants to save Western culture and civilization, when they don't come from that culture and civilization. I have some ideas in the back of the book that I think would help. I propose a complete moratorium on immigration, repatriation of illegal aliens, marinating children in the history of their country from first grade up, and compulsory English for all immigrant children. We need political leaders who will stand by and defend the history, traditions, and heroes of the past and celebrate them the way we used to. But that requires a commitment and a desire on the part of leaders who want to save our culture and civilization. And I don't see that present right now. We are very much on the defensive. It's not only old Confederate heroes who are under attack: they've taken care of Columbus, they've taken George Washington's name off schools. Andrew Jackson's under attack. Jefferson's under constant attack. The old pioneers and the cowboys, the great Western myths, they're under attack, and lately they've gone after the Crusaders. We have the greatest civilization in history. And if we don't believe that, if we don't argue that case, how do we think it's going to survive?

*We talked about the book being introduced in the alternative media. You've run for president three times...*

Right. Very successfully twice.

*Do you see something similar to alternative media with the two dominant political parties?*

The trouble is that the two parties are monoliths now and both of them are dependent on the same sources of corporate money in such enormous volumes that these people call the tune. And I think that the parties simply no longer reflect the will of the people who vote for them. We don't have a real democracy; we have a virtual democracy. Southern folks will understand me. We have 95% of the American people in favor of voluntary prayer in the public school and the posting of the Ten Commandments. They can't have it. 75% agree with me on reducing legal immigration and halting illegal immigration completely even if it means putting troops on the border. And about 95% believe in making English America's official language. And you can't get it. And these are not just spur-of-the-moment opinions. This is the sustained belief and conviction of the whole nation, and it's not being translated into policy.

So what we have is the nation being governed by elites, but the elites in Washington are very, very similar and interchangeable. There are people that I came to Washington with who were young idealists with Nixon. We wanted to win the Vietnam War and defeat Communism, and now they work hand in hand with Democratic lobbyists, moving back and forth, depending on the issue, and

**I think it's going to be an impossible task to do, because if it's not turned around quickly then you're going to have to depend on the masses of millions of immigrants to save Western culture and civilization.**

Confederate Memorial Day march. He stood up, he cheered "Dixie," waved his hat for the playing of "Dixie," had old Fighting Joe Wheeler sitting beside him, and he committed the United States to preserve the graves of Confederate soldiers as well as Union soldiers who had died. And if they could do that then, what is the problem with us now that we cannot honor the Confederate dead at Point Lookout down in Maryland. Washington, D.C. Republicans, they'll scatter.

*Any chance of breaking up these monolithic political forces?*

That is what I tried to do. The ideal was if I could get enough media and get into the debates, create a party at 10% or 15%, which then would have leverage on the Republicans and we would say, "If you don't create an America First foreign policy and you don't stop the export of the jobs of working Americans abroad, and you don't stand up for traditional values..., then we're not going to support you, and you're going to go down to defeat. Now you need us. And to try to reshape that Republican Party because our system is structured so that eventually whatever happens, even if one of the parties collapses, two new parties are created. And it comes back up naturally. Back in 1860 there were four parties running, but eventually, two that evolved into Republicans . . . and Democrats. In 1992 and in 1996 I tried to do it from within the Republican Party and we came a lot closer than people realized to sending Bob Dole, even earlier, out to sell Viagra. And if we had won one more primary, he would have been finished. So

depending on who pays them. Many of the so-called beltway leaders of the current conservative movement are the very people we came to Washington to run out of town. And they're the people I came to town with. And the movement to which I belong has been very much corrupted and betrayed. Eric Hoffer said that every great movement becomes a business and eventually winds up as a racket, and that's certainly true of the Civil Rights Movement, and I'm afraid it's true of much of the Conservative Movement. Do you think that there are any conservatives who'll stand up for the battle flag?

*No.*

I mean, in 1968 you had no trouble. Where we stood was instinctive. Lee and Jackson are a marvelous tradition, and I have written how Bill McKinley, President of the United States, was a boy at Antietam, and how he rode right into the middle of the battle with food for these troops. He used to break down in tears saying how he saw the dead, how they were piled up. In 1898 as president, he went to Atlanta and there was a

is it going to break up? Yes, it will, but I don't know when and I don't know how. So that's why I'm going to go back to my basement and start writing books.

*This is the first anniversary today of George Bush's inauguration. How do you think he's sized up as President of the United States?*

He's done a fine job as war leader. And I think it's because there's good stuff inside the President and the crisis brought it to the surface. He has kept the country focused, and he has fought a war that is moral, honorable, and just in a way that is just, minimizing casualties of Americans and of Afghans alike. So I think he's done well there. On domestic policy he is his father's son. And I've noticed him hanging out with Teddy Kennedy lately, which would indicate that he has fallen in among evil companions, and so we have to look out for the President, even as his mother did.

*Since Bush came into office, there were all the questions about the Florida election . . .*

The Florida thing. He was considered an illegitimate president but the night he spoke to the Congress of the United States he became President of the United States much the way Nixon did in 1969 when he gave his great Silent Majority speech and defied the establishment and asked the people to stand with him to stay the course in Vietnam and Agnew went out and gave that attack on the media. At that point the country coalesced behind Nixon and he went on to win 49 states. For Kennedy, of course, the Cuban Missile Crisis did it. With Reagan it came early with the attempted assassination and the manner in which he conducted himself. The people came to realize they had a rather extraordinary fellow in here and a fundamentally good and decent man who was not as he was caricatured by hateful and hostile media. So every president, almost, has that kind of moment, and I think at that moment, George Bush became not only the president of all the American people but of a generation in the way that Jack Kennedy was the president of my generation.

I do believe the Republican Party is headed in the wrong direction. It is attempting to pander to the Hispanic vote. It is, I think, compromising or surrendering principle for what it thinks is going to be political gain, and its course is suicidal. Massive immigration of Third World folks who invariably, on becoming citizens, will vote overwhelmingly Democratic is going to be the end of the Nixon-Reagan lock on the American presidency and, I think, of a conservative Republican Party, because these folks coming in benefit far more from social programs than they do from tax cuts. The only way you can win this Hispanic vote is by outbidding the Democrats in social programs, which entails betraying the small-government, conservative principles of the party. It's not like the coalition we put together for Nixon, which was the Republican base and the northern ethnic Catholics and Southern Protestants, and we put that together with a coherent, consistent conservative policy. We brought the Southerners in on patriotism, on populism, on conservatism, on law and order, on tough judges, and there was nothing inconsistent between that and the small-business, Republican base of the party. But now to win this new constituency, or to try to win it, you've got to outbid Democrats on Democrat terrain. You do that, and the Democrats will outbid you, and then they'll tell the people that the Republicans actually are stingy as they can be, they're anti-Hispanic, that's why they won't double it. The way Reagan did it, he said the Democrats are weak sisters, they won't cut your taxes

thirty per cent. So he had the Democrats saying, "We'll give you twenty," and he said, "Well, you guys aren't bold. Let's go with thirty." So if you're moving in that direction, then the Democrats look wimpish and look "me too," but if you're moving in expanding government, you can't beat the Democratic Party expanding government. They just keep bumping you out of the game, and finally the conservatives will leave if you go too far, so you've got to stop.

*The South was solidly Democratic, then switched over and has been solidly Republican. Do you think traditional Southern conservatives should stick with the Republican Party or should we be looking around for something new?*

I think you should do both. I think fundamentally that in a two-person race, almost invariably the Republican is going to be the superior candidate in terms of Southern traditions and values and political convictions. But the point is that the Republican Party nationally is, on the cultural issues and social issues, drifting to a posture of neutrality in the culture war. On the big government issues, it's a Xerox copy almost of the Democratic Party. On trade policy, Republicans are more for shipping jobs overseas and for the global economy even than Democrats are. On interventionism they're as bad as the Democrats are in many cases. And the one thing, frankly, that was my greatest concern was the Supreme Court. And on that, with Mr. Bush, you have a chance. With Mr. Gore, zero chance. And since the Supreme Court has basically seized from the Congress of the United States most of the franchise of social policy in America and dictates that, these are all-important choices. So by and large, when you're talking about the presidency of the United States, which is the one office that really counts, I think Southerners were right to stick with Bush over Gore. But if it comes to the Congress of the United States, my view is the Republicans were a much better, more principled, tougher party out of power than they've been in power. I can't think of a single Republican who, if you get him away from a TV camera or a microphone, and ask him, "Have you been disappointed in what happened with the Great Revolution of '94?" would not tell you, "I sure have."

*Why does it seem that Republicans ... and I don't want to pick on Trent Lott but he comes to mind, Trent Lott was a fellow that seemed to be a traditional Southern conservative, and then all of a sudden he gets in power and he becomes mushy on almost every issue?*

One reason certainly is who pays the room, board and tuition and beer money for these guys on Capitol Hill? It's the Chamber of Commerce, the Business Roundtable. They cannot say no to these guys. The Republican Party on Capitol Hill are the bellhops of the Business Roundtable. Trent is a good fellow but I think he does not have the gifts of intellect and articulation and disposition to make a powerful conservative case in the national media. Secondly, I think that it is who finances that party and they all know it. Third, the Republican Party in Washington is fearful that following its convictions now could lead to its defeat. It no longer believes, for example, that right to life, opposition to affirmative action, that these are winning issues nationally, especially life, and it wants to get away from the social and cultural and moral issues because it thinks that where they worked in the Reagan Era, they no longer work, that a majority has moved over to the Democratic side on these issues. A fourth reason is the Republican Party is an intimidated party. When Alan Greenspan walks up to the Hill and says,



"Look, you give \$18 billion to the IMF or there's going to be a global financial collapse and you'll be responsible," they don't know. They're saying, "Look, not me. Not this hoss. Get him the \$18 billion. Why risk it?" So they don't have the courage of their convictions. That's the problem. Republicans don't have the courage of their convictions, and the Democrats have no convictions.

*After the September 11th attack there was a brief moment in the media where pundits and even some politicians actually stood up and were condemning political correctness, moral relativism, multiculturalism, then it was overwhelmed by patriotic fervor. Is there an opportunity there in the next election rounds for some Republican to try to take back part of that cultural initiative to say these ideas are what led us to be attacked?* Well, if you're talking about Republicans being willing to stand up and—if you will—fight the culture war, the answer is no. First, they bring down the wrath and hostility of the media. Second, they then bring accusations of divisiveness, and so they don't want that fight. What they prefer to fight on is tax cuts. They know tax cuts are more popular than tax increases, and they're comfortable on that ground. And they understand that. It is "economics *uber alles*." You will find them shying away, and running away, from these moral and social issues. I have a whole section in my book titled, "The Intimidated Majority." They're very uncomfortable with this, especially the younger generation. It has no meaning to them. Grim picture.

*Suppose a young man comes to you and he's just out of college and maybe he's just gotten married, who's a traditional conservative and he's concerned about the same issues that you talk about in your*



the first president since Zachary Taylor with both houses of Congress opposed to him, the entire national establishment against him, hated by the media because of the Hiss case and all the anti-communist campaigns, and I think he did a marvelous job in his first term. In terms of foreign policy, he tried to extricate us from Vietnam at the same time we won the war, and he didn't dishonor what those guys had sacrificed for. He took on the national media. He took on the establishment. Where I fault him is that Nixon was not a conservative. Basically Lyndon Johnson laid the foundations of the Great Society and Nixon built the skyscraper. If you take a look at all those social programs of the Great Society, they were all funded and financed under Nixon. On economics, a lot of mistakes were made. Nixon was fundamentally a good man and a patriot who had flaws and who was very good to me. He was like a father to me for three years before we went into the White House, and I owe him virtually everything I am.

*It seems that a good way for a President to increase his poll numbers is to be a war leader. Is there any conclusion that we can draw from that about America?*

When the bombs begin to fall, the American people rally behind the President of the United States, especially if they perceive it to be a just cause. Clinton might have gotten a boost by bombing Serbia, but I found that criticizing that war while it was being conducted did not cost me as much as opposing the Gulf War had, so there's no doubt that Americans still will rally behind the President, but especially in this case, where clearly we are in the right. Any American that's got an ounce of patriotic blood is going to say that we've got to go punish these people for doing this and root them out and finish them off. But one of the strengths of the President's is I simply do not see anyone in the Democratic Party who has the charisma and personality to really defeat Mr. Bush. I mean, if Gore couldn't do it with a pat hand and a good economy, I don't think he can do it with a beard. I don't think he's going to make it. Boy, he's got a problem now. He's got to figure first when am I going to shave this off and second how am I going to explain why I did it.

*And with the Taliban in the news every night, I'm not sure beards are ...*  
He'd better not let it grow out.

*When you were running for president, there were an awful lot of people in the South who said that you would make a good president of the United States, but you would make an even better second president of the Confederate States. What do you think of that description of you? Because they were describing you as a second Jefferson Davis.*

Well, I agree with virtually everything in the Constitution of the Confederacy except its solemn commitment to free trade, which is in there, because I do believe that one of the reasons the Confederacy did not succeed was its heavy dependence on cotton trade. Lincoln got his 1,000-ship navy and starved them to death. I understand their commitment to free trade but I think it leaves a nation at the mercy of other nations. The Hamiltonian idea of national economic self-sufficiency, economic independence being indispensable to political independence, it seems to me Hamilton was right on that one. One of my ancestors was a very prominent secessionist and his brother Cyrus Baldwin, my great-great-grandfather, was killed in the war. My father's grandfather was captured

*book. What advice would you give him?*

The advice I give all of them. First I would tell him to read and study the true conservatives, not these surface characters, the talk show gabblers, but study the true conservatives. Second, do not go into politics until you have a profession or a vocation or a business of your own that allows you to live independently, because I've seen too many young fellows who immediately go into politics behind a candidate and a cause they believe. He gets elected, and they go in and then he's defeated or leaves, and they have nothing to fall back on. So then they have to sell themselves to the highest bidder, and then they have to become compromised, and then they wind up working in that milieu up there in Washington.

Let me tell you a story. I was in the Reagan White House and they were in the Roosevelt Room discussing a bill which was going to disallow lobbying by people who worked in the Administration for two years after they left. And I went in the Roosevelt Room, I said, "This is a good bill. Let's cut this stuff out," and there was almost a riot in there. This was all these guys could do. You tell them they're not going into lobbying and that's it. It's the food stamp line. When I first came to work for Nixon, I didn't have the foggiest idea what I was going to do after we were in there. But these fellows are long-term boys. They look at the White House as simply two years getting a credential, something to put on the resume, when they go out and offer their services to the local lobbyists, so it's a very corrupting system.

*What kind of president was Nixon from your perspective?*

Nixon was a good—Nixon's first term, he was an excellent president, and he was vindicated by the American people when he won 49 states. He came into office



right outside of Atlanta at the Battle of Jonesboro which was the last battle when Sherman took Atlanta and I've got a reprint that says "William M. Buchanan Captured by Forces of Gen. William T. Sherman outside Atlanta" and he spent the rest of the war in Camp Douglas, the prison camp, and then they released him in May of 1865. I've got a picture of my father as a little teeny baby on his lap in about 1906. I think he died in 1914.

*You mentioned your ancestor was a secessionist. There has been, in the last twenty years or so, quite a lot of upheaval in terms of governmental unity, the old Soviet Union is broken up and now we have this idea of devolution in Scotland. We even had Tom Daschle talking about wanting a system to have senators from a given state to have veto power over federal judges in that state. And Slate magazine had an article entitled, "Let's Ditch Dixie," which was essentially the idea that the South was growing so fast compared to the North that before long Southerners were going to be pushing Northerners around if the Yankees didn't do something to change that. Do you see anything like that coming about?*

All the Yankees are coming down here! That's why the South is growing. I remember as my friend Sam Francis said, "Look, before we go to secession

we've got to realize that if we secede our elected leaders are liable to be Bill Clinton, Al Gore, and Newt Gingrich and Trent Lott. So is this a dramatic improvement?"

*Yes, but we didn't vote for them. We looked at Trent Lott and Newt, but we didn't elect Bill Clinton. Northerners helped do that. Do we have an ideal system or do you think the American system can be improved?*

Well, I think the American system can be and really ought to be dramatically improved. I would like to see the devolution of virtually all of the federal powers and have a strengthening of states' rights, the restoration of true federalism and get the federal government back to a much smaller size and into an area where it belongs such as foreign policy. Like Clay and Calhoun, we should focus on the great issues such as tariff and trade policy. I believe that is the way to keep America together. That is the way to allow local customs, traditions, to be maintained, and frankly, you've got to crack the power of the U.S. Supreme Court because it is a judicial dictatorship. It is telling Americans how they may and may not live. When you have to wake up the first Monday of October, and subsequent Mondays, and have these people telling us how we should govern ourselves, they have far more dictatorial power, and they exert it with far greater abandon, than the king of England ever did. Can you imagine the king of England telling the Americans to get the Bibles out of the public schools? As I said, the founding fathers would have said those three little words, "Lock and load."

*Do you see secession as a legal and viable option in the United States?*

Prior to 1860, it seems to me that the right to secede was inherent in the Constitution. If we are a nation of free and independent states, that means that you are free to stay or free to go. Between 1789 and 1860 you had individuals like Jackson and Calhoun battle over the Tariff of Abominations, where Jackson was very much a nationalist even though he had been born in South Carolina, raised in Tennessee, and when Calhoun's Southerners wanted to nullify the Tariff of Abominations and simply have it non-applicable, Jackson threatened to hang his own vice president, Calhoun. And since Jackson *had* hanged people, it was a fairly serious threat. This was not your basic Washington politician. And so he was a nationalist, but Lincoln himself, if you read my book *A Republic, Not an Empire*, Lincoln himself had said in 1848 when he was resisting Polk, what he called Jimmy Polk's War against Mexico, that the states had a right to secede. There's a Lincoln quote. Quincy Adams had said in 1845, "If they bring in Texas into the Union, it's a legitimate cause of disunion," and all through this period, you've got this idea "Do these states have the right to break away?" I believe constitutionally, yes, they did. But there's no doubt the matter was settled by the War Between the States and it was settled in blood, and after Appomattox the United States of America was no longer a plural noun. It became a singular noun. And that's when the issue was decided. We tried it once. It didn't work.

*Thank you for talking to us about these important issues.*

It's been my pleasure. ✪



# The Union League: Uncle Sam's Klan

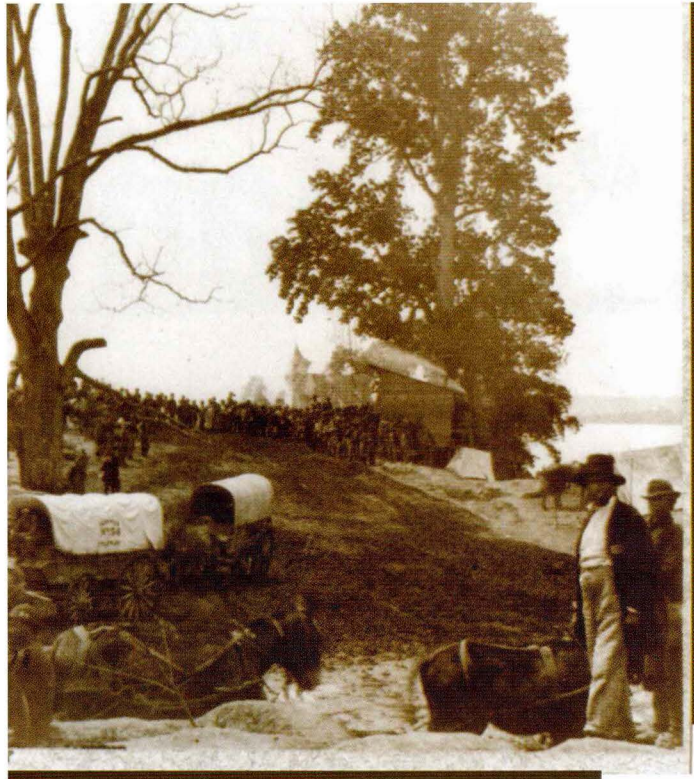


707 Twelve men posed in front of Sanitary Commission lodge, Washington, D.C. (*Library of Congress*)

**T**he Ku Klux Klan was created in 1867. Remnants, while very different from the original, still exist today. The deeds of this organization still provoke loathing and the cry of “racism.”

Yet our popular comprehension of the Klan is inverted and confused. The Ku Klux Klan arose to counter the activities of an agency of the federal government known as “the Union League.” What is not well known is that the infamous tactics of terror, lynching and violence were, in fact, initiated by the Union League. For instance:

- The Union League created a 200,000-man military force led by white officers, in the former Confederacy. This military instrument became the private army of the carpetbagger governors. Terror kept them in power. These armies also defended against other ambitious carpetbaggers who tried to usurp illegal



Sanitary Commission wagon train at Belle Plain Landing, Virginia  
(Library of Congress)

power with illegal force.

- The Northern leadership of the Union League also directed this army to torture and kill “reactionary” blacks who would not follow their orders and give support to the Republican Party.
- This army conducted a reign of terror to prevent native Southerners from resuming their rights as citizens.
- The Union League’s activities, directed from Washington, exacerbated racial antagonisms.
- The Union League is not an historical episode. It relates to contemporary America. It helped generate laws and a culture of opinion that continue to affect policy today.

### U.S. Sanitary Commission: Forerunner of Union League

The creation of the Union League began with the start of the War Between the States, which galvanized women’s charity groups. Reverend Henry Whitney Bellows was the minister at the All Souls Unitarian Church in New York City. He conceived and developed the United States Sanitary Commission, a union of women’s church, social, and fraternal societies devoted to aiding the soldiers. The Sanitary Commission coordinated their efforts.

Reverend Bellows went to Washington to convince the “army’s Medical Bureau to allow the Sanitary Commission to improve living

conditions among the troops, since more of them died of disease than were killed in combat.”

Dr. Clement Farley, head of the Medical Bureau, approved, so that during the War Between the States the Sanitary Commission sent agents and medicine to 500 battles and directed the work of 7,000 aid societies.

Reverend Bellows picked Frederick Law Olmsted for the top executive position. Olmsted was already world famous in two completely different areas. First, he was a renowned landscape architect. He designed Central Park in New York City, Prospect Park in Brooklyn, South Park in Chicago and Mt. Royal Park in Montreal.

Olmsted was also rabidly anti-Southern, which he demonstrated in his other career as a writer. In the 1850s he wrote “Journey in the Seaboard Slave States,” in which he damned Southern society. Under Olmsted the Sanitary Commission gave birth to the politically anti-Southern Union League. He saw the League as a tool to fight the political heresies that bedeviled the Northern cause during the war. He viewed the principles of the Constitution (state sovereignty, the doctrine of a limited role for the Federal government) as a destructive force, which made it difficult to win the War. Olmsted detested the fact that each state raised its own troops. This made national discipline hard to achieve.

In 1862 the Democratic Party, which was opposed to the War, won startling victories in six Northern states. New York’s winning governor was Horatio Seymour. He believed in state sovereignty and defied Lincoln’s call for a military draft quota. Olmsted believed this divisiveness would clear the way for a Confederate victory.

Olmsted wrote that loyal Union men would stamp out this treason even if the war “took seven years” and the citizens put up a “gallows in every town.” He felt that the politics of Seymour demanded that the ideals of the Sanitary Commission should be promoted through a national club, a “Union League,” advocating a centralized government to promote unity.

In January 1863 there was a New York

chapter. Soon most cities in the North had a League club. Neither Bellows nor Olmsted understood the consequences of the League’s activities, but others did. Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton Schuyler, the great-granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton, said, “All tend now toward centralization, unconstitutional and illegal, or despotic measures ... a revolution at home, and a dictatorship.”

### The Union League, Freedmen’s Bureau and Reconstruction

Since the basic tenets of the Union League for a centralized state paralleled the ideals of the Republican Party, most of its officers were Republican officials. Judge James Edmunds was national Union League President from 1863 to 1869. He was also the Republican Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington. Through his efforts the League fused with the Republican Party for a Southern organizing campaign, to bring loyalty to the “traitorous South” after the War.

Then the 15th amendment to the Constitution gave Southern blacks voting rights while disenfranchising most whites. The League evangelized among the freedmen, initiating them into the League.

During Reconstruction, the former Confederate States were under military occupation. Civil law scarcely existed. The army was the only real government. Inescapably, the Union League’s vote-building activities were absorbed into the military’s political agency: the Freedmen’s Bureau.

The Bureau had officially been created to help the former slaves make the transition to citizenship. It was to supply them with the skills and education to survive on their own. As an agency of the War Department, it took on the coloration of the army’s basic objectives: to turn the South into a colony. It controlled all the ex-slaves and the whites displaced by the War, and the tens of millions of acres of property confiscated from “traitors.”

The Bureau’s commissioner was Oliver Otis Howard. He said, “Unlimited authority gave me scope and liberty of action ... legislative, judicial, and executive powers were combined in my commission.” That meant General Howard was an absolute dictator, making the Freedmen’s Bureau a shadow government. The Bureau had its own military court system, which replaced civil courts. Private citizens were tried under harsh military justice rules. The Bureau unconstitutionally confiscated millions of acres of private prop-

erty, then repopulated the South with loyal Northerners on that land.

Overtly, the Bureau was to teach the freedmen. Covertly, the Bureau was to transform “racist” whites. This meant the Bureau nationalized thousands of Southern schools, the enormous expense of which was paid by the proceeds from the confiscated lands.

## The Union League: Freedmen’s Bureau Militia

The Union League fused with the Bureau to make certain, by force if necessary, that newly enfranchised black voters would indeed vote in the Republican column. The militia force also perpetuated the carpetbag administrations, as private armies of the governors, to subdue rival carpetbag politicians.

Governor Holden of North Carolina showed the magnitude of the Union League militia: “I can control at my word, 80,000 men.” Holden was head of the Union League in his state. He told this to a Reverend Smith. Smith replied: “This is a dangerous power. Very dangerous power in the hands of one man.”

In South Carolina, Governor Scott armed 20,000 militiamen before his election in 1870. Altogether there were as many as a quarter-million League militiamen in the South. In Arkansas, they were used most often. This produced the famous “Brooks-Baxter War.”

In the 1872 gubernatorial election, Republicans split into Liberal and Radical factions. The Liberals rallied to evangelist Joseph Brooks. The Radicals chose Elisha Baxter, a circuit judge. There were many irregularities in the voting. Baxter was declared the winner. Brooks attempted an injunction from the courts, but his case was dismissed. A second appeal favored Brooks. His militia forced Baxter out of the Statehouse. Baxter set up his government at Anthony House, also in Little Rock. Baxter called up his militia. There was much firing. President Grant recognized Baxter. The war was over.

In 1868 in Louisiana, Henry Clay Warmouth, a former Union army officer, was elected Republican governor. In 1871 Warmouth was opposed by S.B. Packard, a U.S. marshal, and George Carter, Speaker of the Louisiana House of Representatives.

When the legislature convened, Carter was expelled. A Warmouth man was installed as Speaker. Carter’s supporters set up a second legislature over the Gem Saloon on Royal Street.

Warmouth called up his 5,000-man mili-

tia. They stormed the Gem Saloon building. Carter’s legislators counter-attacked the Statehouse. They failed. A second attack was aborted when President Grant ordered U.S. troops against Carter. His men returned to Warmouth’s Statehouse.

Election day, 1872: Warmouth was now opposed by Packard, McEnery, and Kellogg. There were two returning boards, two winners. Packard seized Mechanics Institute for his Statehouse. The legislators impeached Warmouth and Kellogg was declared the winner. Warmouth occupied Lyceum Hall. Again, two legislatures, two governors: Kellogg and McEnery.

Lt. Governor Pinchback called in the militia against Warmouth. McEnery’s militia attacked the police station. He was repulsed. Still two governors.

1874: Kellogg and McEnery fought a pitched battle. Kellogg’s militia surrendered. Now, one governor: McEnery. President Grant ordered in Federal troops. Kellogg was put in the Statehouse.

1876: Again, two governors, as Packard and Nichols claimed victory. Packard, the Republican, seized the Statehouse. Then Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President. All Federal troops were withdrawn from the South. Packard left for England as U.S. consul.

In Mississippi in the 1875 election, James Alcorn, a former governor and senator, faced current Radical governor Adelbert Ames. Under Ames, the Union League increased, as did violence. Ames said that since the state government commands respect of the colored race only, it must depend for military support on colored troops.

During the campaign Alcorn denounced a Radical sheriff named Brown and planned to attend his rebuttal speech, but Brown assembled his League militia to frighten Alcorn.

This provoked a battle at Friar’s Point, Alcorn’s home. Women and children were evacuated. When the smoke cleared, Brown’s militia was in retreat. Governor Ames placed his Union League militia on a war footing. All-out war seemed imminent.

United States Attorney-General Edwards Pierpont negotiated a peace agreement. All three sides disbanded their League militias. Without their private armies the carpetbaggers were overwhelmed at the polls and the Democrats easily took the legislature. They planned to impeach Ames but he resigned first.

In Texas in 1873, Governor Edmund Davis was defeated by Judge Richard



Fredrick Law Olmsted

Coke. Davis used his League militia to retake the Austin Statehouse. When President Grant refused to send Federal troops, Davis capitulated.

## Black Militia vs. Black Democrats

Since blacks were largely the only voters in many Southern states, the carpetbaggers compelled them to join the League’s militia and vote Republican. Some blacks refused. This was treason. Militiamen were ordered to convince them otherwise, through violence. For instance, in Franklin County, Tennessee, a conservative black man had the temerity to make a political speech. Armed League members broke up the meeting, provoking a fatal clash between League blacks and black and white conservatives. When the gunfire subsided, one white conservative was dead and twelve white and black conservatives were wounded. Twenty-seven League men were wounded.

At a Georgia League meeting, this banner was displayed: “Every man [Negro] that don’t vote the Radical ticket, this is the way we want to serve him: hang him by the neck.”

Mr. Daniel Goodloe was the U.S. Marshal for the state of North Carolina. He said, “I have also heard of combinations of Negroes ... [that] have mobbed Negroes for voting the Conservative ticket. In fact, I believe there are well authenticated cases of the sort.”

In Mississippi, in 1870, the State Legislature passed an anti-Ku Klux Klan law. It offered a \$500 reward for conviction of any person in disguise found guilty of a violent



Lt. Governor Pinchback of South Carolina

crime. The first indictment grew out of the assaulting of a Democratic black named Adam Kennard, by a group of hostile blacks in Ku Klux disguise. In March 1871, Kennard, as Deputy Sheriff, arrested three blacks for breaking their labor contracts. One night, disguised men whipped, shot, and wounded Kennard. The attack was led by the white Radical, Daniel Price. Kennard had Price and the blacks arrested under the new anti-Klan law.

### Union League Black Militia Terrorizes Whites

The third function of the League militia was to control the Southern white population. In South Carolina, Joe Crew, a League militia captain, told his men that if they wanted provisions they should go into the fields and take what they wanted. If whites did not settle with them correctly, they should burn down their homes.

Senator Francis Blair of Missouri said, "The colored militia were on parade (in Union, South Carolina) with arms in their hands. They met on the road a one-armed white man who had formerly been in the Confederate service, who had some whiskey in his wagon. This they demanded, flourishing their arms. He gave them some. Then they demanded more. This he declined, upon the ground that it was not his property.... They deliberately took him from his wagon, carried him into the woods, and there shot him in cold blood.... To permit such a case to go unpunished ... would be equivalent to the granting of a roving commission of theft and blood."

Barn burning was the most common outrage committed by the League militia against whites. The loss of a barn meant complete ruin to the farmers. For instance, in Gaston County, North Carolina, there were nine barn burnings in one week. Black offenders were arrested and

confessed they were League men. State Senator John W. Stephens, a henchman of Governor Holden, at a Yanceyville Union League meeting, gave a book of matches to the blacks, saying they would be useful in burning out the white people. There ensued an orgy of arson: nine barns in one night; the Yanceyville Hotel; a row of brick houses; tobacco crops of leading citizens. Stephens was later executed by the Ku Klux Klan.

Stephens' death provoked the anti-Klan law of 1870, the "Shofer Bill." Governor Holden could then declare any county to be in insurrection and send in the militia. One company was led by Colonel George "Cut-throat" Kirk. He marched through Caswell and Arkanance counties. They were alleged to be in insurrection. Kirk committed atrocities which the New York "World" denounced as a "disgrace to the 19th century."

In Arkansas, two days before the 1868 general election, Governor Powell Clayton declared martial law. Then came four months of terrorism and internal civil war. The entire population of towns in the militia's path fled. They roamed the country, torturing and killing those they captured. Towns like Warren and Hamburg were gutted. When "the prisoner was killed while attempting to escape" became a familiar phrase in the militia commander's reports, even Governor Clayton expressed a desire for more details.

In Georgia, during the elections of 1868, there was a march of 300 heavily armed Union League blacks from Albany to Camilla, led by two white Republicans: N.P. Pierce, candidate for Congress, and Mr. Murphy, candidate for elector, and head of the Albany Union League. They came to Camilla for a Republican rally. The sheriff of Camilla urged them to disband. They refused. He gathered a posse. Both sides opened fire. Eight blacks died, twenty-five were wounded. Two whites were killed.

The Freedmen's Bureau sent a distorted picture to the Northern press. They presented it as a massacre, in which the heartless whites butchered helpless Negroes to prevent their meeting. Yet even the carpetbag committee of investigation found the violence was caused by Pierce's and Murphy's march.

In Mississippi, Peter Crosby was the Negro sheriff of Vicksburg and head of a company of League militia. In 1874 a taxpayer's convention ejected him from office, because of his extortion methods. Governor Ames mobilized his militia and put Crosby back in office. The Mayor of Vicksburg mobilized the city's

militia against Ames. On December 7, the opposing militias clashed twice. The second battle was at Pemberton monument. Thirty-eight were killed. Federal troops were sent to Vicksburg. They protected the hated Crosby.

In 1870 a congressional committee was formed to investigate a secret terror organization called the Ku Klux Klan. Supposedly it violently abused blacks and intended to reinstate slavery. Yet, this committee found that the Klan arose as a consequence of the Union League's brutality, and that the Klan was falsely charged with crimes against blacks to generate more power for the carpetbag governments and to divert attention away from their enormous corruption. The minority report of the committee stated: "Had there been no wanton oppression in the South, there would have been no Ku Kluxism. Had there been no rule of the tyrannical, corrupt, carpetbag or Scalawag rule, there would have been no secret organizations. From the oppression and corruption of the one sprang the vice and outrage of the other."

### Conclusion: The Consequence of the Union League for Today

Roberta Cason, in her *The Union League in Georgia*, wrote:

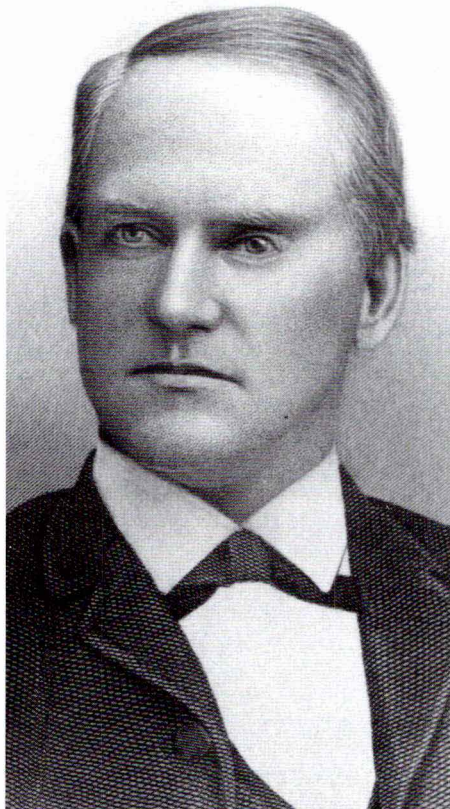
The prejudices and antagonisms that the Union League fostered are felt even to this day. It is obvious that if the building tendencies of the days following the War had been cultivated and allowed to take their course, the problem of the Negro freedmen would have slowly evolved a solution. For by and large, the white men of the state were sincerely and seriously interested in the welfare of the Negro.... The Union League of Georgia did more to breed suspicion between the races, to create misunderstanding, to ignite often justifiable but nonetheless dangerous explosions of feeling and conduct, to estrange the black man from the people among whom he must live, to fan alive and to kindle in new places fires of prejudice, than any other single influence. There can be no doubt that if the races had not been set against each other, these situations, pregnant with fearful implications for the future, would never have come about.... The Union League distorted the Negro's reaction to freedom, enslaved him politically for a time, and was a vital factor in creating the situations that have resulted in his economic slavery. ❖

*John Chodes has written numerous articles about the Reconstruction Era. He is now completing a biography of Jabez Curry, the Confederate cavalry officer and educator.*

# Soldiers Before They Entered the Field

BY BRYANT BURROUGHS

AS the two Haskell brothers turned from the stacked guns and folded flags of Appomattox, the wounds of war weighed terribly upon them. One had lost an eye to a rifle bullet and the other had an empty right sleeve. General Lee had appointed Alexander Haskell to lead the cavalry corps and John Haskell to lead the artillery corps in the sorrowful surrender march, and now their final duty was complete. As they reunited with three other brothers and rode toward South Carolina, their hearts were heavy with memories of two brothers who would never return home.



Alexander Haskell



John Haskell

## The Haskell Brothers of South Carolina

Charles and Sophia Cheves Haskell gave seven of their eight sons to the Army of Northern Virginia. Sacrifice and military bravery had been woven into the Haskell heritage from the time that Charles Haskell's grandfather, Colonel William Thomson, had commanded one of the three Continental Army regiments organized in 1775. His story was related many times in "The Home Place," a rambling structure of eight large rooms and two attics located along the Little River outside Abbeville, as the eight Haskell sons were born: Langdon in 1831, Charles in 1835, William in 1837, Alexander in 1839, John in 1841, Joseph in 1843, Lewis in 1847, and Paul in 1849.

When South Carolina seceded in December 1860, the two oldest sons had moved away: Langdon owned a plantation in Arkansas and Charles was in construction engineering work in Mississippi. The two oldest at home, William and Alexander, immediately joined the First South Carolina Volunteers commanded by Colonel Maxcy Gregg, a prominent lawyer who had been a member of the secession convention. They arrived in Charleston on January 8, 1861 and were joined

in March by Langdon and Charles, both of whom had accepted staff assignments. As tension in Charleston Harbor mounted, John left South Carolina College to join his older brothers in the Confederate forces before the guns fired at Sumter. It marked the beginning of a moving story of courage and sacrifice that would lead the brothers to terrible battlefields before the sad ride home to Abbeville.

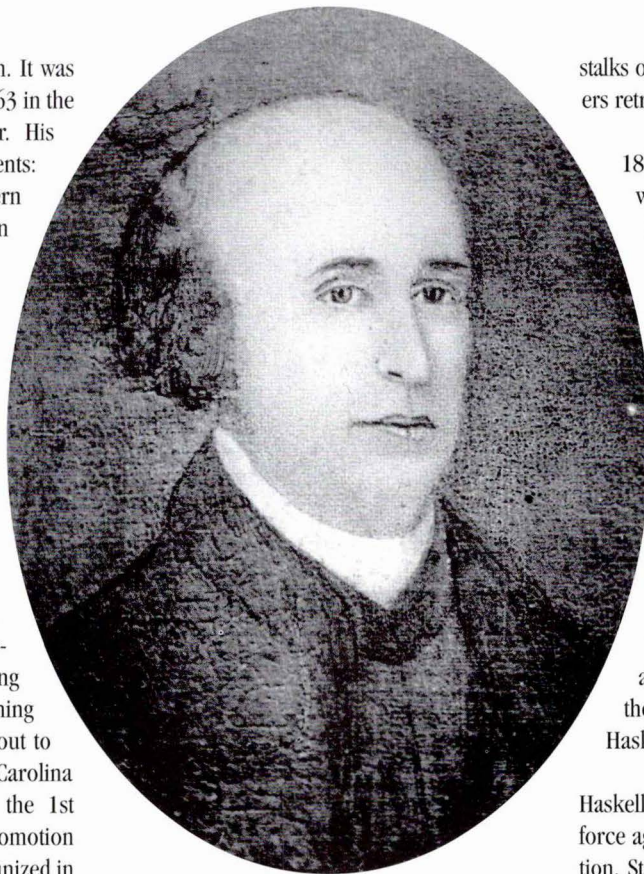
The oldest of the brothers, Langdon Cheves Haskell, inherited his dark skin and hair from the French Huguenots on his mother's side. Brilliant and gifted with a gentle and charming nature, he served in responsible staff positions throughout the war. His high moment came when General Gregg praised Langdon for "conspicuous gallantry" for his actions during the Seven Days battles around Richmond.

Charles Thomson Haskell was the largest physically of the brothers, and possessed an impulsive and energetic spirit. His military education at the Citadel and his engineering work in Mississippi earned him a staff assignment in the defense of Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, a key

fortification in the defense of Charleston. It was there that Charles was killed July 10, 1863 in the Federal assault on Charleston harbor. His brother Alexander wrote to his parents: "Had he been in the Army of Northern Virginia, he would have died early or won a noble record."

Staff positions did not interest William Thomson Haskell, who had inherited the iron will that marked the great-grandfather for whom he was named. As a young boy he oppressed the younger sons, but he changed in 1854 when pneumonia killed his sister Mary and left him nearly dead. Alexander recalled that "he recovered and was a changed boy. All the force of his nature went to overcome evil, and he was to the end the most perfect character I have ever known." After graduating from the University of Virginia, winning awards as a master debater, he was about to enter the law profession when South Carolina seceded. He immediately enlisted in the 1st South Carolina Volunteers and won promotion to captain when the regiment was reorganized in the spring of 1861. He fought in all the Army of Northern Virginia's battles after First Manassas, and was never absent from duty. His quiet religious faith was never obtrusive, but provided the foundation for his bravery and self-possession under enemy fire.

At both Second Manassas and Chancellorsville, William won commendation from his regimental and brigade commanders for "his accustomed coolness and daring" in directing a line of skirmishers. Such combat leadership drew the attention of General Lee who, as the Confederate army crossed the Potomac into Maryland in the summer of 1863, approved the creation of a regiment of selected sharpshooters of which William was to be the colonel. Already applications had been received from five times as many men as would be selected. But as he led his men forward the second day at Gettysburg, boldly striding along the front line of his command in order to encourage his men, William was wounded and died on the field. All the army mourned. His commander's battle report praised him as "educated and accomplished, possessing in a high degree every virtuous quality of the true gentleman and Christian. He was an officer of the most excellent judgment, and a soldier of the coolest and most chivalrous daring." His grieving brothers agreed. John described him simply as "a remarkable man," and Alexander wrote after the war that "I feel now as I have always felt, that he was the only man in that army who could have filled



William Thomson

Stonewall Jackson's place."

Alexander Cheves Haskell did not permit a speech impediment to prevent his achieving a brilliant record as a student at South Carolina College. After receiving a zero grade in his first college recitation, Aleck exercised an iron will in overcoming his stutter. His brilliance and discipline were recognized immediately after he enlisted in the 1st South Carolina, as Colonel Gregg appointed him a staff aide. By June, Aleck was Gregg's chief of staff and promoted to captain. It was the beginning of a close relationship between Gregg and Haskell. Aleck missed the Seven Days and Second Manassas battles due to severe sickness, but he rejoined the army as it splashed across the Potomac into Maryland. He was in direct command of Gregg's brigade as it received the surrender of the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and then he quick-marched his troops to Sharpsburg, drawn by the musketry and artillery fire of the Army of Northern Virginia's desperate stand along the banks of Antietam Creek. Despite hundreds of stragglers left exhausted by the roadside during the eight-hour, seventeen-mile march, the three brigades of Gregg, O'Brien, and Archer smashed into the Union flank just when it appeared that Lee's outnumbered and weary troops would be annihilated. Gregg's brigade shattered the 16th Connecticut and the 4th Rhode Island in the tall

stalks of the Otto cornfield, and the Union attackers retreated.

Two personal losses jolted Aleck in 1862. In June his wife of ten months died while giving birth to their daughter. Then in December at Fredericksburg, Union troops broke through a gap in the Confederate front lines and surprised Gregg's brigade. Before the attackers could be swept back, General Gregg was mortally wounded. On his deathbed, Gregg spoke words of deep affection to Haskell, gave to him his dress sword, and asked his young officer to relay final messages to the general's state and family. The dying general also sent his recommendation to the War Department that Haskell be promoted to brigadier general and given command of the brigade, but the recommendation was rejected due to Haskell's youth.

On the first day at Chancellorsville, Haskell led two regiments in advance of the main force against blistering fire from the Union position. Stonewall Jackson joined him on a rise of ground and commanded him to hold that ground until relieved at 9 p.m. Then the great commander leaned over and whispered into the proud Haskell's ear the sign and countersign for the night: "challenge, Liberty; reply, Independence." The next day Haskell was wounded by shrapnel in the left ankle. As he left the field, he spoke briefly to William, the last time he would see his brother. After recuperating in Richmond for six weeks, Aleck rejoined the army as it returned from Gettysburg.

Now he was intent on combat command rather than staff duty. Many desired him for colonel of an infantry or cavalry regiment, but Lee refused all promotions because he considered Haskell invaluable as a staff officer. Finally in May 1864, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 7th South Carolina Cavalry and donned the spurs he had carried in his knapsack for this much-anticipated promotion. May 1864 was a difficult month for the Confederate cavalry, but Aleck, like all the Haskells, was buoyed by his religious faith. Just prior to his first engagement at Drury's Bluff, he was asked how he could smile before a battle. Aleck replied that "I feel depressed in advance of a battle, but I say my prayers, and then, I suppose it is the stimulus of the fight, I enjoy doing my duty."

In fierce fighting at Cold Harbor later in May, Haskell, with only eight companies, blunted the attack of Custer's brigade. Twenty-one of his twenty-six officers were killed or wounded, and

Haskell and his horse, Queen, were hit with seven rifle balls. At first doctors feared for his recovery, but he returned to duty in ten days. The wound caused him to miss promotion to temporary command of Gregg's old infantry brigade, a position for which Lee recommended him. But at the end of the month he was promoted to colonel and command of the 7th South Carolina. As the Confederate and Union armies settled into siege warfare, Lee's long defense lines ran from the Chickahominy River around Richmond down to Hatcher's Run south of Petersburg, and required constant movement of troops to the point needed. Ordered to advance down Darbytown Road at dawn on October 7, 1864, Haskell boldly charged ahead of his men and confronted a group of Yankees. Quickly firing from the saddle, he shot down two soldiers, but a third fired a rifle ball that entered Haskell's left eye and came out behind the left ear. Although left for dead on the field, his remarkable will and power of recovery returned him to active duty in January 1865. As the Confederacy disintegrated and the army retreated westward, Aleck recalled the experience as "like a dream—moving, fighting, starving," until the end came. At Appomattox, Haskell was appointed by Lee to lead the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia as it surrendered to Grant.

John Cheves Haskell is the most famous of the brothers. Although he lacked military training and experience, John Haskell earned a legendary reputation as an artillery commander. One who served with him called Haskell "a glorious young battalion commander, whose name will be forever associated with the Artillery Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia." Only nineteen years old when the war began, John's intelligence earned brigade and division staff assignments that brought promotion to the rank of major by Christmas 1861. Then at Gaines' Mill on the second day of the Seven Days battles, Haskell's heroic conduct won commendation from five generals. He was dispatched to deliver a warning of a flanking movement by the Union troops on Parsons Farm that had repelled Confederate charges for five hours. After delivering the message, he was asked to rally some troops and join them to John Hood's right flank in a charge against the Federal lines. In what Longstreet called the hottest musketry fight of the war, Haskell led a regiment of Hood's columns

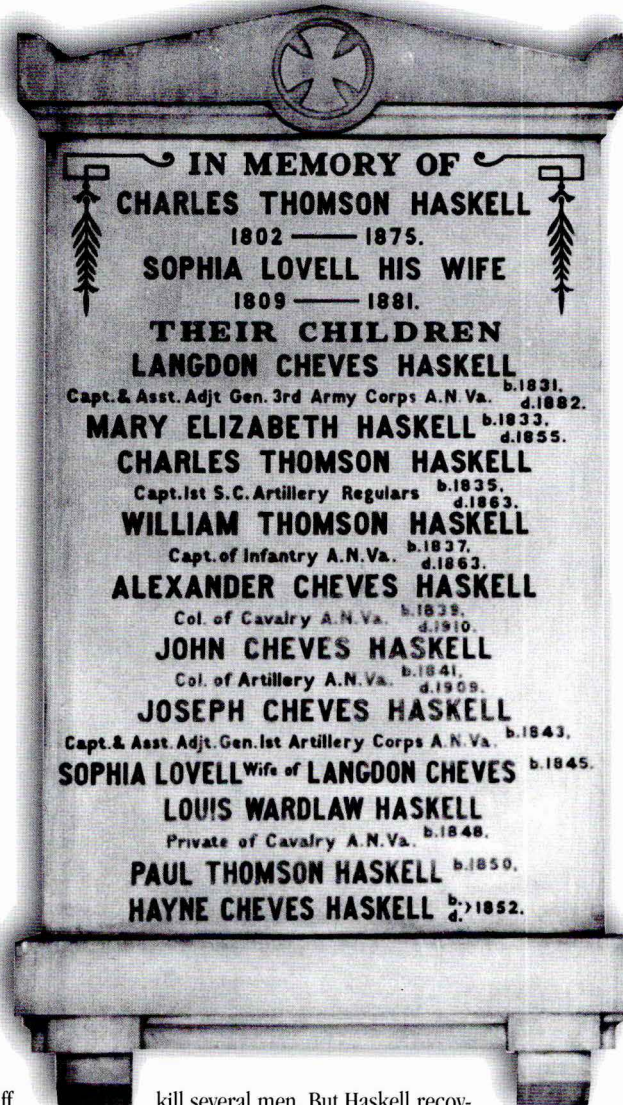
across a ravine swept by enemy artillery. As he planted the colors on the enemy breastworks, a cannon ten feet away fired and tore away his right arm at the shoulder. He coolly retrieved the mangled arm, stuffed it into his uniform coat, and began walking to the rear. General Lee ordered his private ambulance to take Haskell to Richmond, and during the trip a doctor, desiring the brave youth to die easily, gave him enough morphine to

boom in a duel with twenty enemy cannon. After bloody fighting in the Wilderness, in which at one point his battalion fired in three different directions and over half his men were killed or wounded, Haskell was asked by Jeb Stuart to transfer to the cavalry. But Haskell remained with Longstreet's artillery. When he learned at Appomattox of Lee's intention to surrender, Haskell planned to escape and join Confederate forces in North Carolina, but was dissuaded by stern words from Longstreet. General Lee ordered Haskell to coordinate the surrender of the artillery, and then requested that he lead the Confederate guns to the place of surrender.

Joseph Cheves Haskell joined the army when he turned nineteen in 1862. He served on the staff of General Joseph Johnston, commander of the Confederate forces around Richmond, and was at Johnston's side when he was wounded at Seven Pines. Within a short time, Joseph became adjutant in Edward Porter Alexander's artillery battalion, and won commendation for his work at Fredericksburg. As Alexander rose in rank to chief of artillery for the First Corps, Joseph moved with him as adjutant, and ended the war with the rank of captain. Like his brothers, however, combat was in his blood. When at Petersburg on July 30, 1864, Union mines blew a huge crater in the Confederate lines, Haskell immediately galloped two batteries into the breach, then moved two mortars within fifty yards of the crater. His bravery helped repulse the Union attack.

In January 1865 the seventh brother, Lewis, enlisted. He was only seventeen years old. Aleck proudly wrote his mother and father: "Lewis, like his brothers before him, is a soldier before he enters the field. I am sure of his success and his usefulness."

Trinity Episcopal Church has stood since 1860 facing the Abbeville town square, shaded by its magnificent ancient magnolias, with its graceful spire pointing toward heaven. Behind the church, in the now overgrown cemetery, the Haskell family burial plot is surrounded by a low iron fence with a gate in the corner. In one stone sarcophagus lie the mortal remains of Charles and William, two brothers who died a week apart in service to their country and whose bodies arrived home on the same day. Their grieving parents buried them together. The tomb is a symbol of the love and devotion that marked the seven Haskell brothers. ☪



kill several men. But Haskell recovered and returned to duty in December.

For the remainder of his life, whenever he had his photograph taken, he carefully arranged the empty sleeve so that it appeared the arm was still there. He desired no pity for losing an arm in the high cause of the Confederacy.

In April 1863 Haskell received command of an artillery battalion in Longstreet's corps and quickly became renowned for bold, close-in artillery firing. He fought in the Peach Orchard on the second day at Gettysburg, and the next day advanced five guns along the right flank of the great Confederate charge, his guns

# Honor Bestowed

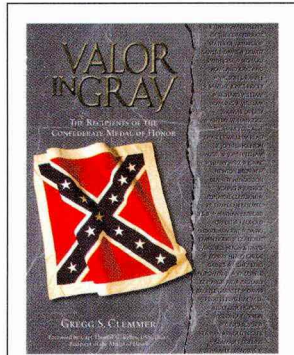
BY RALPH GREEN

Your reviewer did not realize how much this book was needed until he read it. Its continuity gives it an impact greater than that of individual stories.

The Confederate Congress authorized an award of a badge or medal for outstanding gallantry and heroism, with recipients to be chosen by vote of troops after signal victories. Robert E. Lee was one of many who did not care for the idea. It was his opinion that the South had a whole army of brave men and that awarding such medals would honor a few and leave equally deserving men unnoticed. Although some units refused to participate, others eagerly embraced the idea. For instance, after only one battle (Murfreesboro) the Army of Tennessee submitted approximately 20% of the 2,000 eventually nominated. When wartime exigencies prevented the actual preparation of medals, a Roll of Honor was authorized to contain the name of the candidates. After the War the medals appeared a dead issue. With the Confederate government long gone it would seem that honoring the heroes would never take place. However, the Sons of Confederate Veterans, composed of descendants of Confederates, felt an obligation to see that the Confederate Congressional intent was fulfilled. The organization assumed the responsibility for finally issuing Confederate Medals of Honor. Knowing that 2,000 medals would reduce the meaning of the award, the SCV adopted the stringent 1917 requirements for the United States Congressional Medal of Honor and set up a committee to accept and review nominations. An award of the Medal of Honor would be made only after a soldier was nominated with proof to substantiate award of the Medal. Descendants of the 2,000 men on the Roll of Honor would not receive a medal but would be presented a Certificate of Honor. Use of these standards

has resulted in the award of only 42 Medals, all necessarily posthumous.

Gregg Clemmer has investigated, developed, and written the story of each recipient, fleshing out the application and citation with a narrative of the justifying action and picture of the individual. As the reader will see, there is a wide range of justifications for selection as recipients of the Confederate Medal of Honor. While many of the recipients are well known, others are comparatively little known and their inclusion here gives belated recognition to their great service to their country. Over a century after their stories drifted off into the mists of history, the resurrected



**Valor in Gray: The Recipients of the Confederate Medal of Honor**

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illustrations, \$34.95 hard-  
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accounts of these brave heroes will stir your blood. Several were executed when they refused to betray their fellows, or, in the case of Henry Wirz, when he refused to lie and implicate President Davis in Lincoln's death. Fiendish Yankee captors viciously tortured one man to death. A priest was decapitated while giving the last rites on the battlefield. Some were killed holding their flags to give spirit to their regiments. Some single-handedly performed outstanding deeds, defending positions or even capturing enemy positions. A nurse, Juliet Opie Hopkins, tended wounded troops under fire even after she herself was wounded. One young man voluntarily took a deadly bullet to save a friend. Another led an attack on the far northern St. Albans, Vermont. Several crewed the submersible *CSS Hunley* in its attack on the US fleet blockading Charleston. A naval doctor stayed on the sinking *CSS Alabama*, although he could not swim. A general successfully fought hand-to-hand combat to save a wounded infantryman. Private William Guehrs continued servicing his gun, working on his knees after receiving fatal wounds. Generals who could have stayed less exposed gave their lives leading their men

into battle, even staying mounted so their men could more easily see them. Under constant fire Private Christopher Bland raised the Confederate flag over Fort Fisher, then climbed the pole to restore it when it was shot loose. This well-written contribution to Confederate history is rounded out by one appendix describing and picturing other Confederate medals, and another listing the names on the Roll of Honor.

In writing this book, Clemmer's guiding principle was to recognize the merits of individuals rather than glorify combat. He called on a recipient of the US Congressional Medal of Honor to write the foreword and that foreword reinforces that principle. These stories pay tribute to courage and self-sacrifice for a cause and to the devotion of men to their fellows. They also point up the terrific waste of humanity brought about by war. The histories of these heroes should be widely disseminated so that the values by which they lived could serve as ideals for today. They also demonstrate why Southerners must stand up for the heritage these people so strongly defended. ☛



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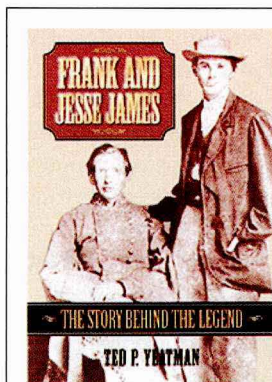


# Buzzards Gotta Eat, Same As Worms

BY H.A. SCOTT TRASK

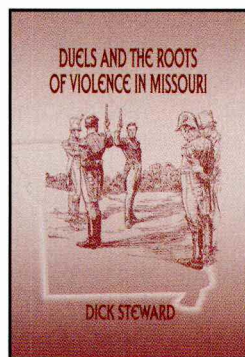
James and his younger brother Jesse are arguably the most famous outlaws in American history. Even while they were still alive, newspaper writers and dime store novelists had transformed them into legends. Depending on the author, they were either dastardly villains who symbolized the barbarism and lawlessness of the frontier, or they were dashing highwaymen who robbed the robber barons and defended a rural way of life against the encroachments of industrialism, political corruption, and centralized tyranny. Since 1928, Hollywood has made at least 28 films that are either wholly or in part about the Jameses. While some of them are quite good from an artistic point of view, all have taken liberties with the truth in retelling parts of their story. Printed works about the Jameses have been little better. With the exception of William A. Settle's *Jesse James Was His Name* (1966), few scholarly and reliable studies have appeared. Into this void, Ted Yeatman has written an exhaustively researched and thorough biography, *Frank and Jesse James: The Story Behind the Legend*.

The adult life of the James brothers can be divided into three periods. The first was their service in the pro-Confederate Missouri forces who were fighting the military occupation of their state by Northern Unionists. Like most of the families living in western and central Missouri, the Jameses were Southerners and considered themselves as such. The presence of Northern troops on their soil was enough to drive them to arms. Like many Missourians, they fought most of the war without ever leaving their own state. Frank's service record must rank as among the most varied and exciting of any man. He enlisted in the Missouri State Guard in the spring of 1861 and fought bravely both at the Battle of Wilson's Creek in southwest Missouri that summer and the Battle of Lexington in westcentral Missouri that fall. In the spring of 1863, he joined William Quantrill's guerrilla command in western Missouri, and in August he joined 450 other partisans in Quantrill's famous raid on Lawrence, Kansas. In the spring of 1864, Jesse, who



## *Frank and Jesse James: The Story Behind the Legend*

by Ted P. Yeatman,  
Nashville, Tennessee:  
Cumberland House,  
453 pages, \$26.95



## *Duels and the Roots of Violence in Missouri*

by Dick Steward,  
Columbia: University of  
Missouri Press,  
242 pages, \$29.95.

was only 16 at the time, joined the guerrillas fighting under Bill Anderson ("Bloody Bill"). Both he and Frank were with Anderson when the latter descended in force on Centralia, Missouri in late September 1864. Anderson's men executed 24 Northern soldiers they found on a train which had the ill luck of passing through town that day. Soon thereafter, Anderson's men (including Frank and Jesse) literally annihilated a detachment of 150 Federal cavalry sent to capture them (only 25 Federals escaped death at their hands). That winter, after Anderson's death in battle, Quantrill, Frank James, and 45 other guerrillas rode east into Kentucky. Their exact purpose is still unknown, but Quantrill's men soon joined up with Kentucky guerrillas and began skirmishing with Federal troops. Quantrill was killed that spring, and Frank, along with 15 other Missourians, finally surrendered to Federal authorities in late July 1865. Jesse had surrendered earlier (21 May) in the town of Lexington. His surrender was more than just emotionally painful, for as he was riding into town with some others he was shot in the chest by a Wisconsin Federal. He almost died, and it took him almost two years to fully recover; he took the bullet to his grave.

The second period of the James brothers' colorful history is the best known—their postwar career as daring outlaws who robbed

banks, passenger trains, and stagecoaches. Why did they take up outlawry? There appear to have been three reasons: an inability or unwillingness to adjust to the drudgery and boredom of peacetime life; anger and bitterness at the result of the war; and the age-old desire to make a living without really working. As time went on, this last factor appears to have assumed more importance relative to the others, especially with Jesse. Where the second factor seemed to have played a role was in their choice of targets for robbery. For example, throughout their career, they targeted banks in Missouri and Kentucky whose customers were known to be unionists. They deliberately chose to rob the Bank of Huntington (in West Virginia)

because its owner was Connecticut Yankee and railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington. The trains they robbed were all Northern owned, and when robbing train or stagecoach passengers, they would often spare Confederate veterans. Thus, the popular belief that in their career of robbery they were simply carrying on the war by other means is not without some foundation. However, their Robin Hood image is clearly unjustified. They robbed to support themselves and their families, not to support widows, orphans, or poor farmers. At the same time, there can be no question that the Jameses went about their business with a certain style and dash, a ribald sense of humor, and unflinching courtesy. For example, while they were robbing a bank in Corydon, Iowa, most of the townspeople were gathered in the yard of a Methodist church hearing a local politician talk about bringing a railroad line through the town. After the robbery was completed, Frank James calmly rode up to the crowd and informed the orator that the bank had just been robbed. He was dismissed as a heckler with a bad sense of humor. However, the crowd soon learned the truth and how they had been put upon. Twice they were not amused.

Yeatman, as a good historian, does not neglect to place the James brothers in the historical context of their times. As he points out, they never rode alone. Former guerrillas

frequently joined them in their banditry. Within a few years after the war, the core membership of what was to become known as the James-Younger gang emerged. In addition to the James brothers, it was made up of the three Younger brothers (Cole, Jim, and Bob) and Ed and Clell Miller. Like Frank, Cole Younger was a former member of Quantrill's command and had taken part in the Lawrence raid. The Jameses and Youngers really were heroes to many of the citizens of their state. In the eyes of many, if they were thieves, at least they were honest thieves, unlike the thieving hypocrites who were holding high office in the land. In addition, they had influential friends in high places. Former Confederate general Joe Shelby offered them safe haven on numerous occasions. The famous journalist John Newman Edwards, himself a former Confederate adjutant, romanticized their exploits and defended their outlawry in the pages of the St. Louis and Kansas City papers. After Frank had finally surrendered to the authorities in 1884, the newly elected governor, former Confederate general John Sappington Marmaduke, promised to protect him from possible attempts by Northern states to extradite him.

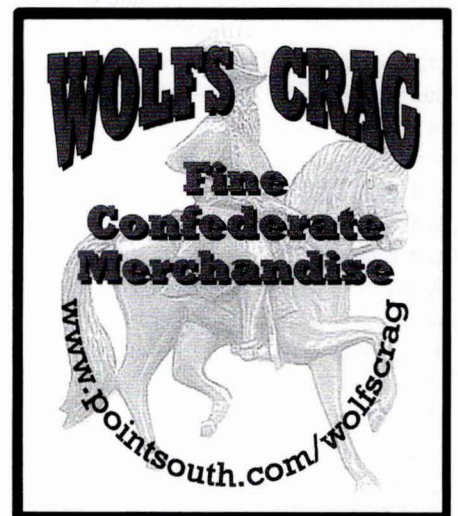
The third period of the Jameses' adult lives is the one that is least known, but it is far from uninteresting. It began in the aftermath of the disaster at Northfield, Minnesota, in early September 1876, where their attempted robbery of the First National Bank not only failed but turned into a bloody shootout with the men of the town. Two gang members, including Clell Miller, were left dead in the street. A pursuing posse captured the Youngers, but the James brothers evaded their pursuers and made it back to Missouri. Contrary to the impression created by two recent films, the Pinkerton Detective Agency did *not* alert the people of Northfield about the possibility of an impending visit by the Missouri outlaws. In fact, Yeatman's account makes it clear that the Pinkerton's effort to capture them was a total failure; their every move was frustrated by the Jameses' vigilance or by sympathetic local citizens who warned them of Pinkerton activities. However, with most of their gang either dead or in a Minnesota prison, and a large bounty on their heads, the Jameses decided to retire

from the outlaw business. They moved to Nashville, Tennessee where they took up farming under the aliases Dave Howard (Jesse) and Ben Woodson (Frank). They lived and worked in and around Nashville until 1881. Frank seemed to adjust to their new lives better than Jesse. Frank worked hard and formed friendships with upstanding local citizens, including several lawmen, while Jesse gambled, raced horses, and gradually lapsed back into banditry. His exploits included a train robbery in Missouri (1879) and the robbery of an Army Corps of Engineers payroll in Muscle Shoals, Alabama (1881). The capture of a member of Jesse's new gang compromised the Jameses' Nashville cover, and the two moved with their families back to Missouri. Frank joined Jesse in two more train robberies before he decided that enough was enough. Deciding to put as much distance as possible between him and Jesse, he moved to Baltimore, Maryland. Jesse soon met his end when two members of his gang (Charlie and Bob Ford) shot him in the back in his own home in Liberty, Missouri. The Fords were paid \$10,000 by Governor Crittenden of Missouri for the cowardly deed. While a Democrat, the governor had served as an officer in the Union army and was therefore no Confederate sympathizer. Frank soon turned himself in, but his popularity among the citizens and his influential friends in the press and government were so great that he never was convicted of a single crime nor served a single day in jail. He lived the rest of his life a free man and a respected citizen of Missouri.

Dick Steward's *Duels and the Roots of Violence in Missouri* is a fine book on the history of dueling in the state from about 1800 through the postbellum era. Although Steward clearly disapproves of dueling and quite ridiculously cites it as one of the causes of the violence of modern America, yet he fairly describes the ethical and political defense of dueling advanced by its proponents during the nineteenth century. One of their arguments was that dueling supported both civility and honesty in public discourse. A gentleman would think twice before maligning, defaming, or insulting an opponent if the former could expect to face the latter on the dueling ground. A refusal to accept a challenge could brand

one as a coward and ruin one's political and legal prospects or career. Steward's book offers a nice balance between discussions of the sociology and rationale for dueling on the one hand, and gripping accounts of the state's most famous duels on the other.

Steward understands that dueling was not only a Southern tradition but also an aristocratic and pre-modern institution in which members of the ruling class were expected to defend their honour, integrity, and bravery in a personal way. Modern America with its litigiousness, anonymity, and bureaucracy is obviously not the kind of society in which dueling can have a place. Dueling was a way of affirming or legitimating one's membership among the class of gentleman. The latter was the class from which political leaders were drawn, even in Jeffersonian Missouri. As Missouri's class structure was quite fluid, with room for talented newcomers, dueling became a method of climbing into the ranks of the elite, provided of course that one had certain other qualifications as well (i.e., a law degree) and that one had an established gentleman willing to serve as one's second. In addition, the public viewed dueling as a test of the fitness of members of the elite to rule. A man who had not the courage to accept a challenge nor to challenge someone who had maligned him was viewed as untrustworthy, cowardly, and weak-willed, not the qualities one would want in a political leader who was expected to defend the rights and interests of his constituents and his country. One wonders if dueling did not



serve a useful purpose here, for there is no question that cowardice, disingenuousness, and even servility have become common traits among politicians today, especially among Republicans. On the other hand, dueling also could be a sordid vehicle for eliminating a potential rival or gratifying a base spirit of envy or revenge. The best arguments against dueling are Christian ones, but Steward omits them from his study, although he does point out that evangelicals preached against the institution. As time went on, politicians felt constrained to pass laws against the code, but before the 1880s they were hardly ever enforced. Public opinion and elite custom were simply more powerful than the law.

As Steward points out, it will not do to romanticize dueling, for it often became a mere mask for murder. The famous 1817 duel between Thomas Hart Benton and Charles Lucas is a case in point. Benton was determined to vindicate his honour, but he also wanted to eliminate a political competitor who was a leader in the opposing faction. Upon his arrival in the city in 1815, Benton had allied himself with the established French Creole families of the city, while the aristocratic Lucas became a leader of the newly arriving Anglo-American gentry. Thus, the duel was as much about power politics as it was about the code of gentlemen. In addition, base personal jealousies were an issue, Benton felt inferior to the aristocratic and well-born Lucas, while the latter clearly demonstrated that Benton's feeling was deserved. While Benton was a self-made man who had been thrown out of the University of North Carolina for cheating, Lucas by birth, breeding, and classical education was an American aristocrat, a Jeffersonian in politics but a Federalist by nature. Their first duel took place on "Bloody Island," an uninhabited island in the Mississippi River just north of the city, which as its name indicates became a common dueling ground. On the first fire, both men were wounded, Lucas seriously. That should have ended the matter, for both men had demonstrated their courage and self-discipline. However, Benton announced that he was not "satisfied" and demanded either a second shot or another "appointment." Benton's demand violated the sacred canons of the code, for as the challenged party he was to give rather than to

receive "satisfaction." In other words, it was up to Lucas to say whether he had been satisfied. For the second duel, Benton demanded that there be a mere ten-foot distance between the two men when firing and that both men would raise their pistols to fire at the same time. Clearly he was seeking to kill Lucas, or be killed in the attempt. On the signal to fire, Benton was quicker and shot his opponent in his vital organs. Lucas died in a few minutes. Rather than suffer any repercussions from the affair, Benton enhanced his political career and eventually became both a U.S. senator and the most powerful politician in the state.

Steward's book confirms three things about antebellum Missouri that academics usually get wrong. One is that social hierarchy and deference were coexistent with both the frontier and with Jeffersonian politics. Second, one's class standing was determined not so much by birth or wealth, although these played a role, but by leadership qualities and the possession of martial virtues. The people were willing to be deferential but only if the object of their deference was considered worthy. Few politicians today, if any, could meet this test. Third, Missouri was a Southern state in politics, culture, and population. Yankees who moved there were viewed with suspicion and distrust until they demonstrated their adherence to Southern cultural norms, including the code duello. Vermont-born and Dartmouth-educated Abiel Leonard's legal gifts were worth little until he demonstrated his manhood and courage by challenging and shooting a local planter.

What finally brought the end of the duel in Missouri? The rising tide of modernization and industrialization undoubtedly played a role, as did the growing numbers of non-Southern settlers. However, what appeared to be the biggest contributing factor was the bloodbath of the War Between the States. Having demonstrated their courage and honour on the field of battle, men no longer felt they had to prove it on the field of the duello. Second, soon after the war, there was an understandable revulsion against the further shedding of blood. Even the Jameses and Youngers rarely shot anyone. Postbellum violence had advanced with the frontier, or retreated to the factory yard, but it was disappearing in Missouri. ❖

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## South by Southwest

BY S. PHILIP S. SUGGS

### A REVIEW OF

*The Old Southwest, 1795–1830:*

*Frontiers in Conflict* by Thomas D. Clark and John D.W. Guice, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 335 pages, \$24.95.

Ask almost any educated American to describe the Old Southwest and you are likely to hear of Texas cattle drives, the gunfight at the OK corral, the trackless deserts of Arizona and New Mexico, the Rio Grande, Apache warriors and perhaps even John Wayne and Louis L'Amour. What you will, no doubt, not hear mentioned are the extensive pine barrens of Mississippi and Alabama filled with vast herds of cattle, the West Florida Republic, the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, the Pearl River, the Red Stick Creeks, Mike Fink or William Gilmore Simms. Prior to the Mexican War of 1846–1848, however, these were the names, places and events Americans associated with the Southwest. This was because for that generation of Americans present-day southwest Georgia, Alabama, western Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana constituted the southwestern frontier of the new republic.

In *The Old Southwest, 1795–1830*, Thomas D. Clark and John D.W. Guice provide a much needed synthesis and reinterpretation of this important, yet overlooked period in Southern history. Among the central themes of *The Old Southwest* are the place of the region in the history of the American frontier experience, its complex political and military history, and the character of the Anglo-Southern settlers who established the states of Alabama and Mississippi. Rejecting the old question of whether the Old Southwest was “more West than South or more South than West,” the authors argue that what Everett Dick called “The Dixie Frontier” was no less Southern because it was frontier and no less frontier because it was Southern. It was, nonetheless, different from other frontier regions in American history. As the authors state, “complex as the other frontiers of the United States might have been, none was so multi-layered, multifarious, and marked by conflict as the Old Southwest. Its heritage of international and sectional rivalries matched in complexity the physiographical features of

the region.” This complexity was produced by the region being a large border between competing European powers, the new American republic and the powerful Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw and Cherokee Indian nations.

One of the most interesting features of the book is its discussion of the importance of cattle-raising in the Old Southwest and its significance for later Southern and Western history. The origins of large-scale cattle ranching in North America are to be found in the Gulf Coastal Plain which supplied beef to the port cities of New Orleans, Pensacola, and Mobile, and from there the world. This is important for Southern history, since Clark and Guice argue that the Old Southwest merged seamlessly into the Old South. Southern plantations could have easily been termed ranches, based upon the agricultural statistics cited by the authors. This facet of antebellum Southern agriculture has been overshadowed by the emergence of the Cotton Kingdom, but cattle were always an essential part of the antebellum Southern economy. It was not merely an economic reality of the antebellum South however. Supporting the work of Grady McWhiney and Forrest McDonald, the authors attribute the presence of cattle-raising to the environment and to Scotch-Irish (or Celtic) herdsman who influenced the development of the Southern character. It was many of these same Celtic herdsman who later moved west to Texas and established the western Cattle Kingdom in the late nineteenth century.

No serious student of Southern history should be ignorant of the Southern frontier experience. Thomas D. Clark and John D.W. Guice's *The Old Southwest, 1795–1830* is a good place to begin rediscovering the first Southwest.

## Horse Sense

BY RALPH GREEN

### A REVIEW OF

*Clashes of Cavalry: The Civil War Careers of George Armstrong Custer and Jeb Stuart* by Thom Hatch, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 304 pages, 15 maps, 4 b/w photos, \$26.95.

Two young cavalry officers, natural born leaders who were idolized by their men, shared many traits and took part in many of the same battle actions. One was the swash-buckling Southern legend, James Ewell

Brown Stuart. The other was the flamboyant Northern boy general, George Armstrong Custer. Thom Hatch found much in common in the two. He reviews the early life of each of the two men as a background for their personal development and careers, and then gets into describing their military actions.

Each man received an appointment to West Point through the actions of others. Stuart received his through the generosity of his father's victorious opponent in a race for Congress. The father of a girl with whom Custer was romantically involved pulled strings to get an appointment for Custer so that Custer would get out of town. Custer finished at the bottom of his class. Stuart was 13th out of 46. Both did well in horsemanship. Stuart went into the U.S. Cavalry upon graduation, and after duty in the West won promotion to the rank of Captain. He resigned his U.S. commission to serve the Confederacy as a lieutenant colonel. His daring service soon led to his first star and shortly after to the rank of major general. By audacious action, Custer earned the admiration of Major General Alfred Pleasanton, whom he served as an aide de camp. Pleasanton looked on Custer almost as a surrogate son.

When Pleasanton was authorized by Lincoln to appoint or replace any officer deemed necessary, he promptly promoted the 23-year-old Captain Custer to the rank of Brigadier General. Stuart's raids and heroics in battle made him an idol of the Southern populace. Custer's exploits had the same reaction in the North. From their first encounter at Brandy Station, in the largest cavalry battle of the war, Stuart and Custer met often on the field of battle, with the last clash being at Yellow Tavern, where the gallant Stuart received a fatal wound. Custer continued to thrive on war and was in the thick of battle right up to Appomattox Court House.

Both Stuart and Custer were brave, capable, confident leaders. Both were quick to seize upon and exploit any weakness or error of an opponent. They differed in style. Custer was more impetuous; Stuart was more deliberative. To show how much the two men had in common, the author concludes the book with a two-page biography that could be the story of either man. This is a fresh and unusual treatment of two outstanding men. You may make your own choice as to who was the better general. There's a lot of action, a lot of detail. It's good history and good reading. ★

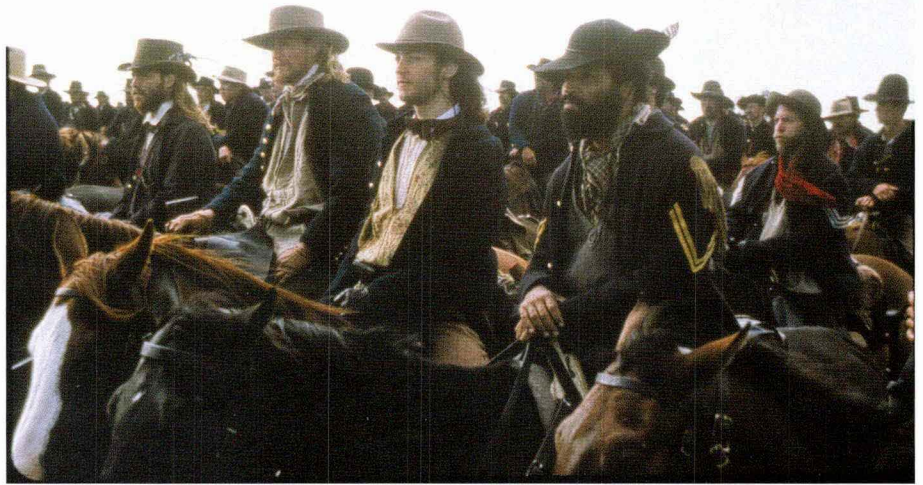
# The Devil's Due

BY RONALD F. MAXWELL

## A REVIEW OF

*Ride With the Devil*, directed by Ang Lee, Universal Pictures, rated R, 2 hours 18 minutes, 1999; based on the novel *Woe to Live On*, by Daniel Woodrell (New York: Holt, 1987). Available on VHS and DVD.

**B**y the time of the firing on Fort Sumter in 1861, which marks the beginning of the American Civil War, a gruesome prologue was already long underway in Missouri and Kansas. May 24, 1856 was the night that John Brown's self-named Army of the Lord hacked, shot, and stabbed a grisly human swath along Pottawatomie Creek. What followed in this territory west of the Mississippi and continued nearly unabated until even after the collapse of the Confederacy in 1865 were events and atrocities most uninformed Americans would more readily associate with Kosovo than with the good ol' USA. It is in this uncertain and dangerous world that *Ride With the Devil* is set. The film takes an unflinching look at the brutality from both sides and refreshingly refrains from sweeping moral judgments. Free of pandering to clichéd expectations and the constraints of a politically correct point



(Left to right) Jonathan Brandeis, Simon Baker, Tobey Maguire and Jeffrey Wright portray Confederate guerrillas in the Ang Lee film *Ride with the Devil*.

through their eyes the unpredictable violence, the vulnerability of civilians, the total war of guerrilla armies. But at its heart, amid all this mayhem and death, friendship, loyalty and generosity survive—as even does a sense of humor. And, without giving away the ending, there is metamorphosis and resurrection.

This is classic filmmaking with a sure and steady hand. No razzle-dazzle here, no self-conscious use of the camera, no tricks. It's that rare Hollywood event, a story of substance told with genuine artistry. The first thing the filmmakers got

ways. *Ride With the Devil* captures the authenticity of the character in time and place, and therefore tells a story we are willing to believe.

Considering what gets “green-lighted” these days, it's nothing short of a miracle that this film got made, and made with an outstanding cast of newcomers at that. The Sesech partisans are Tobey McGuire as Jake Roedel, Skeet Ulrich as Jack Bull Chiles, Simon Baker as George Clyde and Jeffrey Wright as Daniel Holt. Holt is Clyde's former slave, fighting with his former master, which will startle audiences, most of whom were never told that some blacks fought for the Confederacy. Those who may want to delve further into this subject will want to read *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia* by Afro-American University of Virginia scholar Ervin L. Jordan, Jr. Sometimes the movies really do reflect the mystery and contradictions of human existence. Sometimes friendship and personal loyalty trumps ideology and politics. Sometimes it doesn't. *Ride With the Devil* is not only first class entertainment. It's a liberating experience. ★

*The film takes an unflinching look at the brutality from both sides and refreshingly refrains from sweeping moral judgments.*

of view (such as, the Confederates defended the institution of slavery, therefore any atrocity committed by Yankees is justifiable, and even heroism on the part of rebels is despicable), the film can explore deeper, more complex themes.

*Ride With the Devil* explores a tragic subject without being a tragedy. We follow a small group of Sesech partisans across seasons and battles, witnessing

right was the jargon. These characters talk as if they couldn't be from anywhere else but mid-19th century America. Nearly all Hollywood historical films get the sets and costumes right, and this film is no exception, but rarely do they capture the moral universe, the defining idiosyncrasies of people who lived in their own particular times. Human life is universal, but it is always expressed in individual

Ron Maxwell has directed many films including *Gettysburg* and the soon-to-be released *Gods and Generals*.

MINORITY VIEW

Stifling Black Students

Racial preferences, quotas and affirmative action in university admission practices have lost political and, increasingly, legal support.

As a result, states such as California,



BY WALTER WILLIAMS

Texas and Florida have implemented a substitute practice called “percentage plans” as a means for determining who will be admitted to their flagship universities. In Texas, students in the top 10 percent of their high school class, based on grade point averages (GPA) alone—not SAT scores—are guaranteed admission. In California, it’s soon to be 12.5 percent, and Florida it’s 20 percent. The percentage plan applies to all high schools, whether it’s a school where a student with an A average might achieve a 1300 or 1400 score on the SAT, or a school where A students might not be able to achieve an 800 or 900 SAT score.

Let’s ignore the inequities and resources misallocation that arises from the possibility that a B student at one school who might achieve a SAT score of

1100 is denied admission while his A-average counterpart at another school can’t score 900 is admitted. Instead, let’s ask whether the policy serves the best interests of black students.

From the evidence that I see, civil-rights leaders, white liberals and college administrators seem to be more concerned with black student enrollment rates and the heck with whether they graduate. Black students are simply tools to keep government agencies, black politicians and civil-rights organizations off their backs or to make them feel good.

You say, “What’s the evidence, Williams?” Nationally, only 35 percent of black freshmen, compared to 60 percent of white freshmen, graduate; moreover, those who do graduate have grade point averages

considerably lower than their white peers. I might add that the white graduation rate is nothing to write home about.

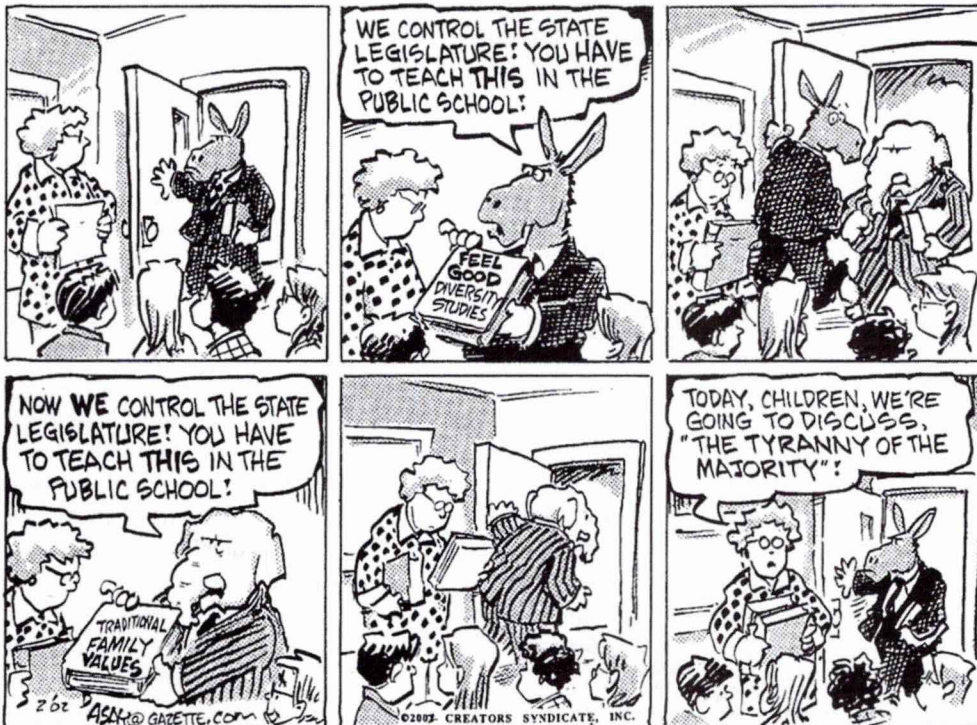
University of San Diego law professor Gail Heriot sheds a bit of light on this issue in her article “The Politics of Admissions in California” in the Fall 2001 issue of *Academic Questions*. California’s Proposition 209 ended racial admissions quotas. As a result, minority student admissions at UC Berkeley, California’s flagship university, fell.

What went unnoticed in all the hand-wringing was that at less prestigious, but respectable, California universities minority enrollment posted impressive gains. Black students were simply being admitted to universities where their academic credentials were more in line with their fellow students. For example, at UC San Diego, in the year before Proposition 209’s implementation, only one black freshman had a GPA of 3.5 or better—a single black honor student in a class of 3,268—in contrast to 20 percent of white students with a 3.5 GPA.

Was this because there were no black students capable of doing honors work at UC San Diego? Certainly not. Those who might have been on the honors list at UC San Diego had been recruited, and became failures, at California’s flagship universities: Berkeley, and UCLA. Proposition 209 has changed UC San Diego; no longer are black honor students a rarity. In 1998, a full 20 percent of black freshman could boast of a 3.5 GPA.

Black students, and for that matter any student, will perform better, have greater graduation chances—not to mention greater pride and self-worth—by attending a university where his skills are closer to those of his peers. It’s somewhat analogous to putting a young, inexperienced boxer in the ring with Lennox Lewis. That boxer might have the potential to be a world champion, but he’s going to have his brains beaten and his career ended before he learns how to even bob and weave.

You say, “But what about diversity and multiculturalism at the nation’s elite universities?” In my book, that’s their problem. ♣





BY JOSEPH SOBRAN

## In Search of Lincoln

Lincoln's birthday brings two new books celebrating the "Great Emancipator." William Lee Miller gives us *Lincoln's Virtues: An Ethical Biography* (Knopf); Ronald C. White Jr. confines himself to a

narrower topic, *Lincoln's Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural* (Simon & Schuster). Both are intelligent, sensitive studies, though they also gloss over Lincoln's flaws and fallacies.

At a time of raging jingoism, it's hard even for a skeptic of the Lincoln myth to avoid admiration for a man who never called his opponents or even his worst enemies "evil." Far from demonizing them, Lincoln tried to understand those he disagreed with.

Of the Southern people he said, "They are just what we would be in their situation." In his First Inaugural he made a generous appeal: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies." In his Second Inaugural he gave the language one of its most enduring expressions of magnanimity: "With malice toward none, with charity for all." You can accuse Lincoln of many things, but he never stooped to demagogic appeals to hatred. Even if he was hypocritical, at least his hypocrisy maintained a very high tone.

Miller wants to portray Lincoln not as a saint, but as a practical politician who managed to develop morally and ethically within the constraints of his role. He admits that Lincoln came rather late to the slavery issue, but he argues that Lincoln's hatred of slavery—in principle, at least—was consistent from his early years.

In order to uphold this thesis, Miller has to ignore some troubling details, including the most striking anomaly in the record of the Great Emancipator: the Matson case. In 1847 Lincoln the lawyer tried unsuccessfully to help a Kentuckian named Robert Matson recover his runaway slaves.

True, on one occasion (contrary to what I erroneously wrote in a recent column) Lincoln had also represented a slave girl. But his and his admirers' attempts to represent him as a lifelong foe of slavery are disingenuous.

Lincoln could not only see both sides of an issue; he could also take both sides. This makes him oddly hard to pin down—as he was even in his own time—and puts the inner man beyond the grasp of history and biography. It also makes it possible for his admirers to claim him for their side, if they belittle the evidence that he was on the other side.

Miller wants to make Lincoln an ally of Martin Luther King, so he minimizes the importance of Lincoln's pet solution to the dual problem of race and slavery: promoting the removal of "free colored persons" to "their native land," Africa (or at least some tropical clime, as long as it was outside the United States). It never sank in with him that Negroes who had lived all their lives in America would regard \*this\* as their "native land."

Ronald White, a professor of American religious history, examines Lincoln's Second Inaugural as a document of Lincoln's religious views. He is marvelously sensitive to Lincoln's rhetorical subtlety, and every student of Lincoln will profit by reading his book.

But religion is another subject on which Lincoln eludes definition. As a young man he wrote a treatise attacking Christianity (a friend, hoping to protect his career, burned it), and he was known in Illinois as an infidel, opposed by most of the local clergy. White thinks he was later converted to a sincere belief in the Bible; yet the evidence for this is very ambiguous, and even Lincoln's widow admitted that he was "not a technical Christian," which probably means he never accepted the central Christian doctrines. If he had, surely she would have said so in his defense, especially after his death, when not only his detractors but some of his friends were insisting that he had remained basically irreligious.

Lincoln's eloquence reached its height in the Second Inaugural, but his First Inaugural exposed his thinking at more length. Both Miller and White accept his arguments against secession at face value, apparently without having read Jefferson Davis's careful refutations.

Taken whole, Lincoln the man remains a tantalizing enigma. Even his friends often didn't know what he really thought and believed. It doesn't help that most of his admirers still don't want to know. ★



SOUTHLINE

Massachusetts Is A Strange State

I know that there are good people in Massachusetts. I have several friends from that state. But the good people still there ought to move to the United States, where they will not be deprived of their rights.



BY CHARLEY REESE

Poor Thomas Junta, recently convicted of involuntary manslaughter, got a raw deal from start to finish. He should never have been charged. He should have never gone to trial. If there is any case of self-defense, it was his. But a hysterical press in love with clichés and cheap alliterations (“the rink rage case”), coupled with Massachusetts law, has wrecked his life. He could get up to 20 years in prison.

There are three elements necessary to prove self-defense. You must not have initiated the confrontation. You must retreat if you can. Once you’ve neutralized the force being used against you, you must stop. All of these are just common sense based on common law. You can’t pick a fight and then claim self-defense after you have killed somebody. If you can avoid the danger, you should, and once the danger has passed, you have to stop. You can’t, for example, shoot a burglar and then, after he’s down, pump more bullets into him.

Junta stopped by the hockey rink to pick up his son. He saw some older kids fighting some younger ones and, like a responsible father, walked out onto the ice and told the kids to break it up. That’s when Michael Costin, 40, another father, skated up and, in an argumentative manner, said fighting was what hockey was about. Junta curtly disagreed, but after an exchange of a few words, Junta retreated back to the other end of the rink.

When his son went into the dressing room. Junta followed, and there Costin again initiated a confrontation. This time they tussled. Costin pulled a chain from Junta’s neck and tried to kick him with his ice skates. Junta finally shoved him against the wall and, again, retreated—going outside to his truck.

After several minutes, he started back in to find out what was holding up his son, and Costin, apparently on his way outside to continue the confrontation, tried to sucker

punch him as he came back into the rink. The two fell to the floor and for about five seconds exchanged punches. When Costin raised his hand in front of his face, Junta stopped hitting him, retrieved his son and started to go home.

Much was made of the fact that Junta weighs 270 pounds and Costin 160 pounds. In wrestling, that would make a difference, but 160 pounds is, by boxing standards, a middleweight. I don’t know about you, but I wouldn’t want to be hit by Marvin Hagler or a Sugar Ray Leonard. These guys were swapping punches. The fight was over in about five seconds, during which Junta said he threw two or three punches. When Costin raised his hand in front of his face, Junta stopped.

Turns out Costin was not “beaten to death.” He was unlucky. Either through his own struggles or one of Junta’s short punches, he twisted his neck and ruptured an artery. That’s what killed him.

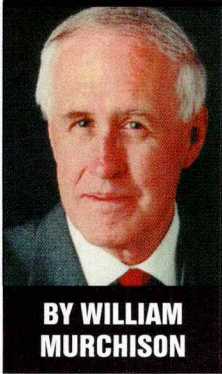
It also turns out, though the jury was not allowed to know this, that Costin had a police record with a number of arrests—assault, assault and battery, assault on a police officer, violation of a restraining order his wife had taken out. In other words, 160 pounds or not, he was a bad-tempered man. If the jury had known this, the prosecution’s confrontation would have fallen on its face. The only rage at that rink was Costin’s.

I saw one of the jurors interviewed, and he seemed definitely to be no penetrating intellect. According to him, the jury spent a lot of time trying to figure out the judge’s charge. Nor were they allowed to know that involuntary manslaughter carries the same sentence as voluntary manslaughter. Jurors should not waste time trying to figure out a judge’s explanation of the law. They should weigh the evidence and arrive at their own independent judgment. Even if a defendant’s acts meet the criteria for conviction, jurors have the right to acquit if they think either the law is unjust or the prosecution flawed. Of course, judges and lawyers try to convince jurors otherwise, but if a jury cannot exercise independent judgment, there’s no point.

The purpose of the right to trial by our peers is to protect us from abuses by the state, from bad laws and from overzealous policemen or prosecutors. In Thomas Junta’s case, the jury failed in its duty. ❄







BY WILLIAM MURCHISON

## The Price of Success

With some people, no matter what you do, you never get ahead. Take our, um, allies and assorted overseas friends, who have lately been beating a sturdy tattoo on the American noggin.

It's not that we didn't just extinguish an evil regime in Afghanistan; or that we refuse to export investment capital and make need-ed loans. The problem, seemingly, is that we're too powerful and too prosperous.

Thus, Europeans of the distinctly leftist variety—the main sort now exercising power in Europe—take fright that President Bush has identified an “axis of evil” that must be broken sooner or later for the whole world's good, and with never (apparently) a side glance at the woes and grievances of the Palestinians. Thus, at the World Economic Forum in New York City, the United States drew raps for insufficient attention to other people's afflictions—for instance, poverty and hunger.

Now, this is the sort of thing you get used to in international dealings when your

country is the world's most powerful, the cynosure of jealous eyes. Foreign critics tend to vent jealousy and spite. In the face of which the delicious advice of one of Britain's empire builders comes to mind: “Never apologize. Never explain. Get it done and let them howl.” That's how you conduct a foreign policy. Nobody since the Victorians has been quite up to the task.

The current world split is not properly along us-vs.-them lines; it concerns statism vs. capitalism and democracy. Statism, when it comes to prosperity, is a bust. The state drags down, rather than lifts up, working people; but to statist, the ideology of the state is what counts, thus making it appropriate to blast the capitalists.

Americans shouldn't get the impression their country has committed any offense

other than success. The successful, as statist see them, are heartless and—you can see it coming on in discussions of the Enron fiasco—crooked. The left doesn't love success; it loves victimhood. You can never do enough, it seems, for victims.

No wonder Israel regularly gets it in the neck from these folk. Israel is a remarkable success. The Palestinian regime of Yasser Arafat clings to victimhood; thus it is an egregious failure. It really is worse than that. All other Arab regimes in the immediate vicinity are failures to one degree or another—moderate Jordan, with a succession of sensible kings, being the most presentable of the lot.

Current European and Arab wisdom is that until the Palestinian Problem is successfully addressed, the Islamic world will never find peace. Alas, the Palestinian Problem is self-created. Israel is democratic, a boast no Arab nation can make. Israel—despite a residual commitment to the socialist ideal—generally supports the profit motive and lavishly approves of hard work. Arab economies are run from the top, with maximum benefit accruing to those who sit at the top (e.g., the House of Saud).

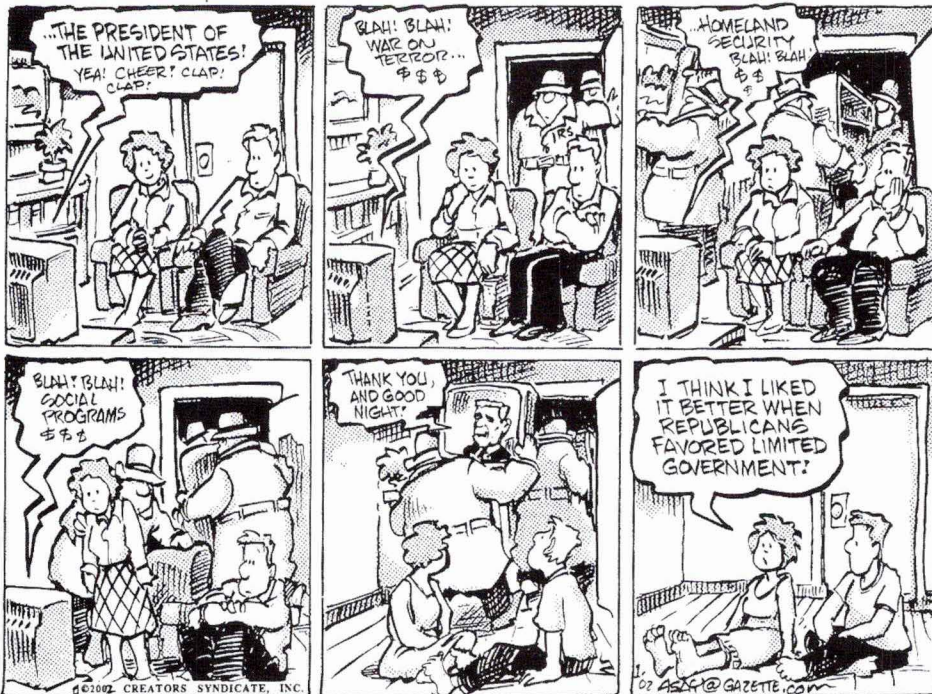
What the United States is supposed to do about all this is unclear, which isn't too surprising. The jealous will normally bash the successful with any club that comes to hand.

The envy of the outside world—the logical consequence of achievement in its varied forms—may be destined to warp U.S.-everybody else relations to a degree. It is as though the world would like us better if we had 250,000 troops bogged down outside Kandahar, unable to move.

What's sorrowful is watching prominent Americans smile understandingly as the foreigners rant; e.g., Bill Gates, commending antiglobalist demonstrators for “raising the question of ‘Is the richer world giving back enough?’”; and Hillary Rodham Clinton answering his question with, “We've not done our fair share.”

What would that fair share amount to? Best not to ask. Fair-share demands have more to do with expressing resentment than with actually wringing measurable benefits out of the United States.

Call it the price of American success. There are worse ways to live—e.g., under the heavy, fat thumb of Yasser Arafat. ☛



# A Contemporary Parable

BY P.J. BYRNES

When candidate George W. Bush outlined his proposal to fund “faith-based organizations” with federal tax dollars, religious conservatives danced in the streets (except, of course, those who opposed dancing). Religion would now occupy a more prominent place in public life—and grants would abound for all of God’s children.

Predictably, the ACLU and Barry Lynn and mainline Christian clergy objected, saying this was the first step toward the establishment of a cruel and repressive theocracy. This time, however, they made little headway.

However, congressional advocates for the Bush initiative immediately agreed that faith-based organizations receiving tax dollars shouldn’t be allowed to proselytize. So they wrote legislation that forbade federally funded religious organizations from requiring the homeless and hungry and ragged to attend worship services. House them. Feed them. Clothe them. But don’t you dare mention Jesus while you’re doing it.

The Salvation Army had always conducted a brief service in connection with its charitable activities. After all, it is a church. But if the organization accepted federal funds, it could no longer ask people to sit still for a brief Christian message.

So how does that square with what candidate Bush said about funding faith-based organizations?

Many of these organizations share something else in common: A belief in the transforming power of faith. A belief that no one is finally a failure or a victim because everyone is the child of a loving and merciful God—a God who counts our tears and lifts

our heads. The goal of these faith-based groups is not just to provide services, it is to change lives. And lives are changed. Addicts become examples. Reckless men become loving fathers. Prisoners become spiritual leaders—sometimes more mature and inspiring than many of us can ever hope to be.

If you are a “faith-based organization” and accept federal tax dollars to do your work, better not talk about a loving and merciful God who changes lives. In fact, a cynic would say that, in this new partnership, the federal government has thus far wrought more changes than God.

Take the Salvation Army, which in the past has received municipal funds to take care of the homeless. Several years ago, the organization was told by officials in both New York City and San Francisco to change its Bible-based stance on sodomy, hire homosexuals, and extend benefits to their domestic partners—otherwise, the organization’s contracts with the cities would be cancelled. In both cities, the Salvation Army willingly sacrificed millions of dollars annually to maintain the integrity of its religious convictions.

Recently—after George W. Bush had upped the ante with his proposal to fund faith-based welfare—the Army’s governing board suddenly voted to allow the four regional Corporations the option of granting benefits to the domestic partners of homosexual employees. The Army’s Western Corporation, which includes 13 states, promptly announced its intention to do just that.

As Colonel Phillip D. Needham, Chief Secretary of the Western Corporation explained it, the new policy was “made on the basis of strong ethical and moral reasoning,” that it was necessary because of “the dramatic change in family structure in recent years.” Major Bruce Bailey of Wisconsin/Upper Michigan Division was a little less philosophical, a little more to the point. He told the Associated Press that refusing to give domestic partner benefits would mean a loss of government grants.

These events constitute a parable of what happens when people and organizations take federal money—no matter how worthy the cause. George W. Bush surely offered this legislation with the best of intentions. However, the unintended consequences of government money are always the same: If you accept it,

you have to alter your way of life—and ultimately your way of thinking. Money corrupts. Federal money corrupts absolutely.

In 1997, when San Francisco passed a law requiring non-profit groups doing business with the city to offer domestic partner benefits, the Salvation Army stood its ground and lost a \$3.5 million contract. Four years later—with the Bush Administration hoping to hand out billions to faith-based organizations—the Army decided to grant those very benefits.

Had the Bush people plotted to undermine the faith of the most orthodox Christians, they could not have devised a more effective strategy. And they did it with no more than the smell of money, just as a rat is lured into a trap by no more than the smell of cheese. (Just before the rat sinks its teeth into the bait, its neck is broken by the bar.)

After the Salvation Army changed its official mind about homosexuality, many private contributors withdrew their support, expressing their outrage. Within a few days, the Army reversed itself and returned to its biblical stance. But not before it had revealed something about itself that shocked its admirers. Many will never completely trust the organization again.

Is it possible that this sorry sequence of events will prompt Republicans to re-examine such programs as federally funded vouchers? Could the plight of the Salvation Army serve as a warning to a party already compromised by its selective advocacy of big government and its flirtation with the gay rights movement?

Probably not.

The alliance between Christian evangelicals and the Republican Party—entered into with the best of motives on both sides—has proven to be unholy. Instead of Christians baptizing the Republican Party, the GOP has converted God-fearing people to its economic gospel—21st-century mercantilism, justified by a phony free-market rhetoric.

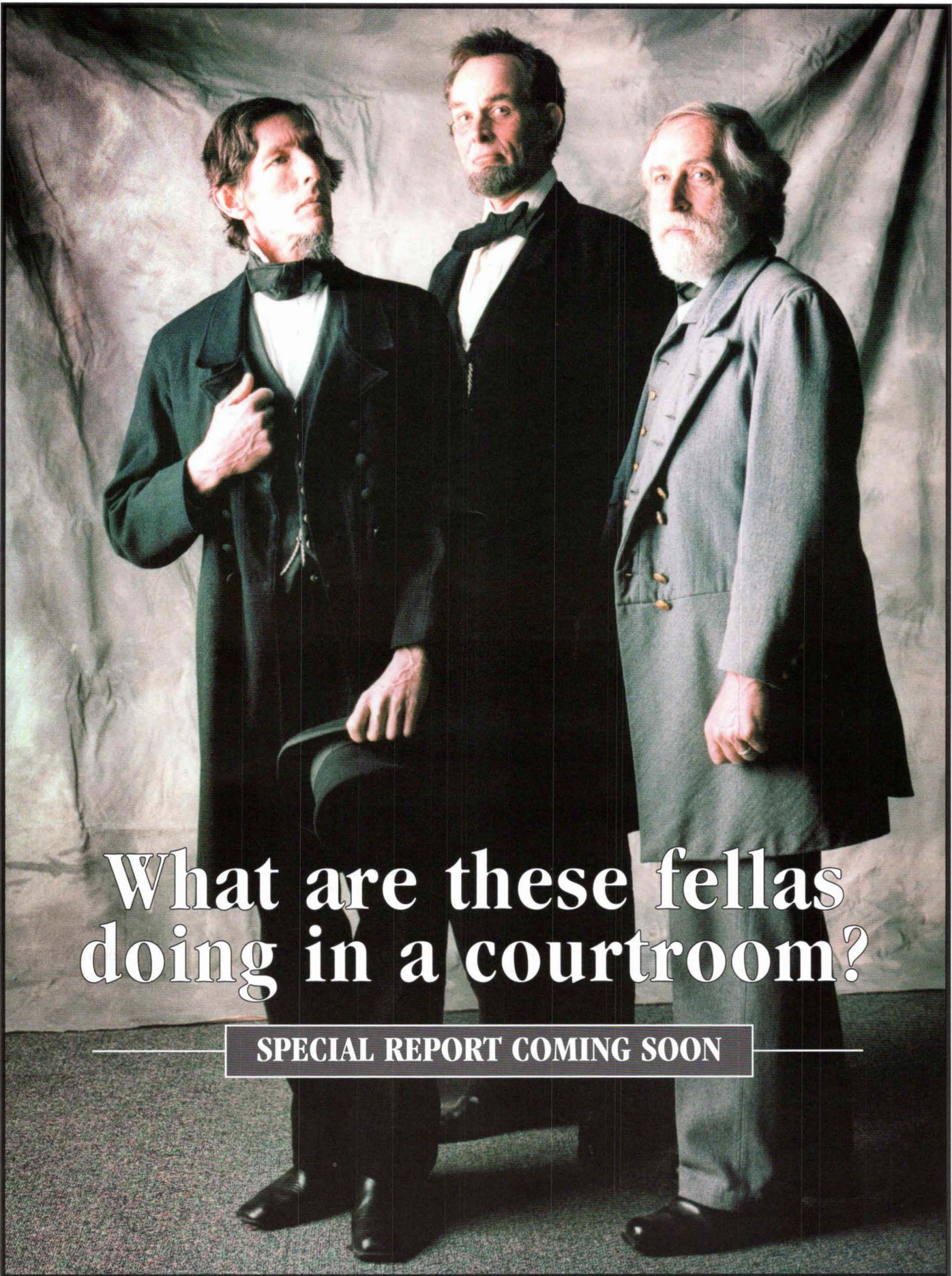
Just as the welfare programs of the Great Society created a permanently dependent underclass, so did the Faith-Based Initiative of the Bush Administration—for a few days anyway—create a dependent Salvation Army, one that no longer had the courage or independence to profess its historical faith. F.A. Hayek once warned that the road to serfdom is paved with government programs. So, apparently, is the road to hell. ☘

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A photograph of three men in 19th-century attire standing in a courtroom setting. The man on the left is wearing a dark suit and a bow tie, holding a top hat. The man in the center is wearing a dark suit and a bow tie. The man on the right is wearing a grey suit and a white beard. They are standing in front of a draped background.

What are these fellas  
doing in a courtroom?

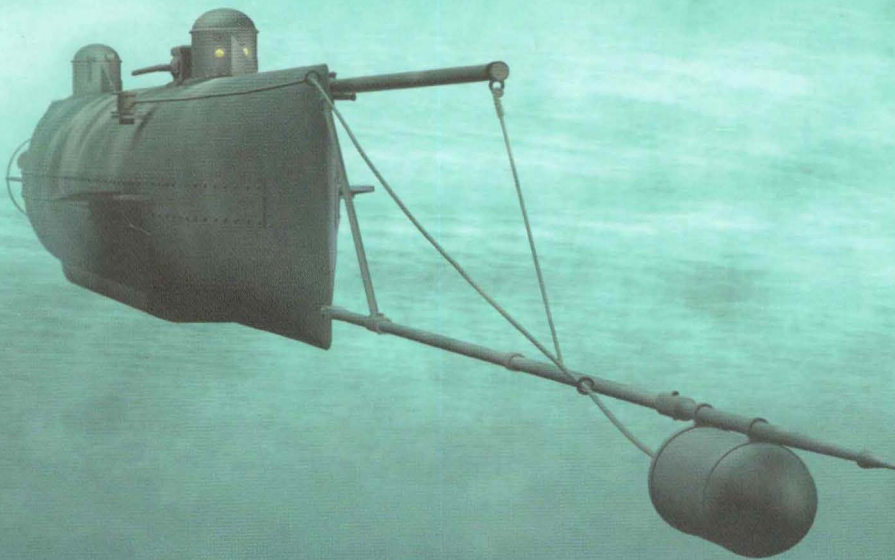
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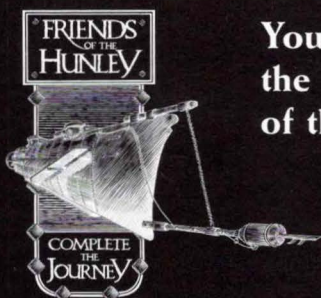
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On February 17, 1864, the Confederate submarine, H.L. Hunley, attacked and sank the U.S.S. *Houstatonic* four miles off Sullivan's Island in the Atlantic Ocean, becoming the first modern submarine to sink a ship.

The Hunley signaled to shore that she had completed the attack and was on the way home, but instead, she disappeared in the dark with her brave crew of nine. History recorded this mission as a valiant exercise of duty and the Hunley as a pioneer in technological innovation.

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