

Southern

MAY/JUNE 2002

PARTISAN

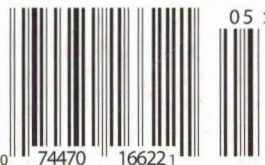
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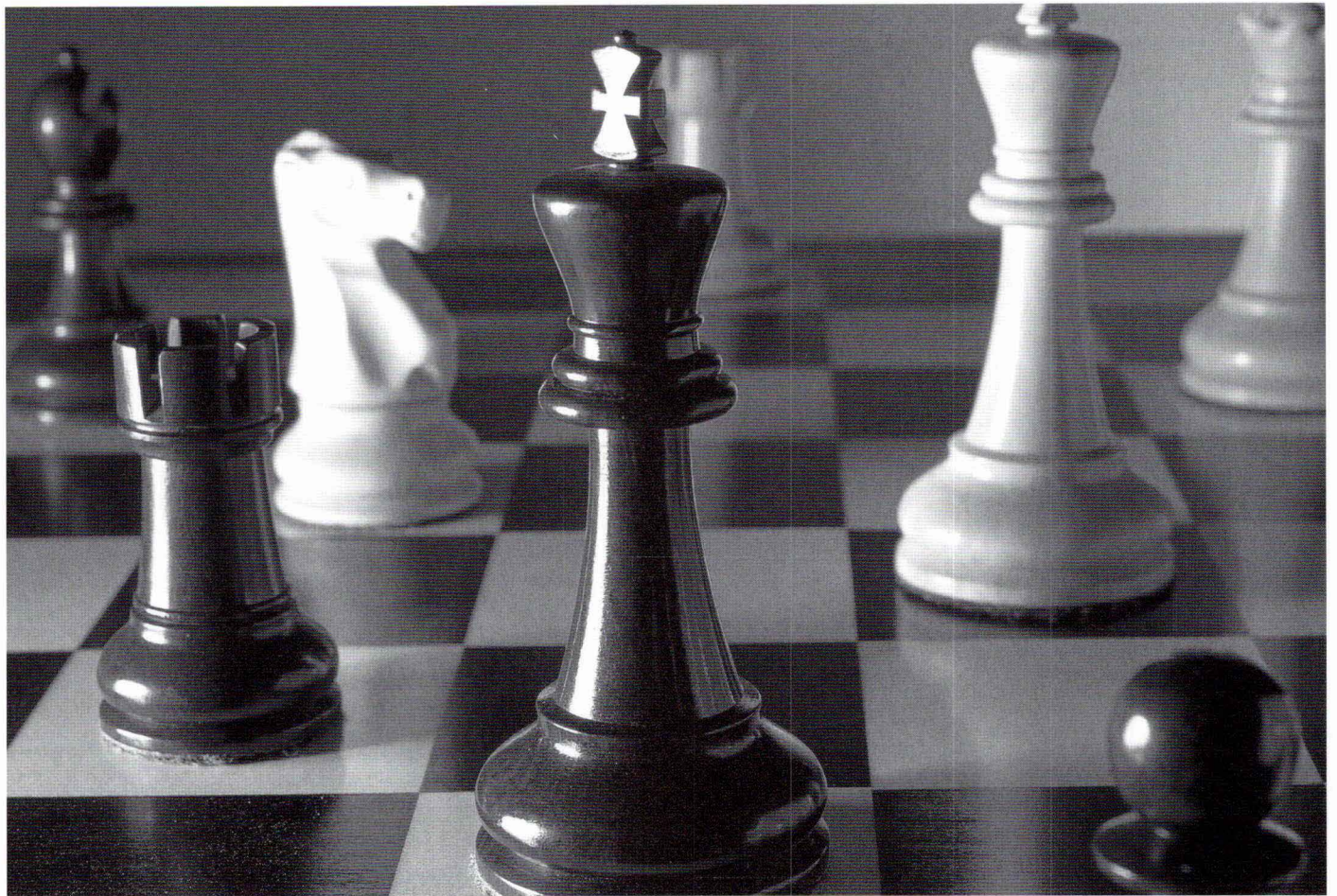
**The Life of
Herman Talmadge**

**Jacob Wrestles With the
Angel of Secession**



May/June 2002 \$6.50





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- Argentinean financial crisis.
- Japanese banking problems.
- Ever-increasing US trade deficit.
- US consumer debt.
- Declining US dollar.
- Middle East crisis.
- Rising oil prices.

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Allen Greenspan

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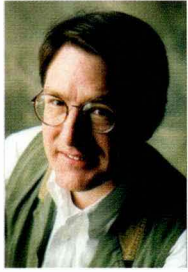
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Dear Reader,

First of all, let me apologize. In the last issue's *Obiter Dicta* section we wrote about a story from Franklin, Tennessee wherein we reported that local officials voted to remove the Confederate monument on the town square and replace it with a monument to Dayna Curry, a local woman who for awhile was a prisoner of the Taliban.

We were wrong; very wrong.

In fact, we got took. This story, far from being legitimate, originally appeared in the parody section—called the *Fabricator*—of a Nashville weekly. We regret publishing this story.

On a happier note, we are glad to welcome Miss Brantley Roper to our staff. Miss Roper has taken over the management of the office as well as directing our circulation department, and we are glad to have her.

We are also glad to introduce a new column for the magazine called *Partisan Gazette*. The *Gazette* will be a section devoted, as needed, to stories about contemporary activities and events in the Southern heritage community. It is our hope that we can put a little better focus on what Southern loyalists are doing to promote the cause.

A special feature of this issue is the symposium on Pat Buchanan's new book, *The Death of the West*. In this way we can give several perspectives to this important work. We hope to do more of these in the future, and we are already planning a symposium on Thomas DiLorenzo's new work on Lincoln.

Something else you'll want to be sure and pay attention to, is Clyde Wilson's piece on the South in the movies. The South is not usually the star of most Hollywood products, but sometimes a few stars shine through. This is the first in a continuing series about what has become the most influential medium of modern Western culture.

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 1922

"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 1852

Publisher:	Charles Hamel
Editor:	Christopher M. Sullivan
Associate Editors:	H.W. Crocker III P.J. Byrnes Tommy M. Stringer
Director of Photography:	R. Michael Givens
Art Director:	Nancy Minard-Bowie
Editorial Assistant:	Tim Manning, Jr.
Copy Editors:	Becky Barbour James K. Turner Neil J. O'Connor
Circulation Manager:	Brantley Roper
Business Manager:	Mrs. Ben Mustian
Assistant to the Editor:	Jana Rogers
Advisors and Contributors:	Patrick J. Buchanan Bryant Burroughs Devereaux D. Cannon, Jr. T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr. William Freehoff Charles Goolsby Paul Gottfried Anthony Harrigan Michael Jordan James E. Kibler Bill Koon Robert McHugh Ted Roberts Stephen Page Smith J.O. Tate William J. Watkins, Jr. Clyde Wilson Mark Winchell

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With a Name Like Teddy...

Gentlemen:

Now hold on there, pardner. In Clyde Wilson's essay on "The Yankee Problem in America" (*Southern Partisan*, January/February 2002), he refers to "the phony cavortings of the Eastern sissy Teddy Roosevelt in the cattle country...." That sounds more like screeching than scholarship, and it's demonstrably untrue. Westerners at the time didn't think TR was a sissy. The West supported TR. And I've got to say that it shows a serious lack of Southern manners to libel TR like this when he (a) had a Southern mother, (b) had Southern uncles who fought for the Confederacy, (c) called Robert E. Lee "without any exception the very greatest of all the great captains that the English-speaking peoples have brought forth," and (d) served with Fighting Joe Wheeler in Cuba.

*H.W. Crocker III
Washington, D.C.*

... What Do You Expect?

Gentlemen:

I was born and reared in the North, but my mother was born in the South. She moved here when she was in her early 20s and met my father and the rest is history. I love the South, always have. I know the cooking, the history, the courage. My question is why did Dr. Clyde Wilson state that Teddy Roosevelt was a sissy in your recent article in the January/February issue?

*Philip Sanders Troyer
Spring Lake, Michigan*

RINOs In NH?

Gentlemen:

Because I am a longtime subscriber of *Southern Partisan* I knew you were not big fans of the six New England states. I'm not a big fan either, at least not of five of them that have been taken over by persons who believe in the philosophy of the Democrat/Green/Socialist Parties and their biggest helpers, the RINOs (Republican In Name Only).

Here are some reasons why *Southern Partisan*, and all Southerners, should like New Hampshire:

- Only New England state to have both (or for that matter, any) senators to vote YES on removing Bill Clinton from office.
- Only New England state to give any votes for president in 1948 (seven) to the living legend, Strom Thurmond.
- Gave all of its vote in the 1980 Republican Vice-Presidential Primary to Jesse Helms.
- No state income tax or sales tax.
- Yearly salary of its 400 state representatives: \$200 a year. Yearly salary of its 24 state senators: \$14,000 a year. (Imagine, all 400 representatives make half the yearly salary of one congressman!)

Compared to the rest of New England perhaps the South could look to the Granite State of New Hampshire for a political and cultural alliance.

Congratulations on publishing bi-monthly. I look forward to when you next freak-out the Washington/Hollywood/Boston/New York establishment.

*Michael Skaggs
Paris, Tennessee*

Clyde Wilson Responds:

Several readers have taken exception to my calling Teddy Roosevelt a sissy in my essay on the Yankee Problem. I have been a teacher too long to be surprised when people focus on a detail rather than the main points, but OK, I overdid it. Teddy was not a sissy. I apologize to all admirers of a rich Republican imperialist who slandered Jefferson Davis. I do think Teddy's Wild West adventures, which are what I specifically referred to, smacked of a rich man playing cowboy.

I agree entirely with Mr. Skaggs about New Hampshire.

An Encouraging Word, Brother

Gentlemen:

After re-reading Clyde Wilson's "The Yankee Problem in America" and your comments on George Will's column, I had to write and offer you and Dr. Wilson a few kind words.

When I find an article that is acutely accurate in its scope, as is Dr. Wilson's, I want to encourage its author, because I know he or she may not be well treated by the general public or the media.

I might add that the history of the Northeast and its influence on American

history in general are properly understood only against a backdrop of the European socialist revolutions of the mid-19th century. New England's early Puritan chapter makes interesting reading, but it's hard to find a Puritan these days. If they are still in the Northeast, they are pitifully quiescent. Otherwise, the Puritan spirit seems to have vanished from New England, except for its authoritarian temperament, as Dr. Wilson noted.

On the second issue, I was saddened by Mr. Will's vitriolic and flawed attack on the South. But his comments bring me to another point. It will be very difficult for conservative values to survive in this country without a culturally strong South. If conservative Republicans expect to win national elections in the future while disparaging the South, they are idiots.

Let me encourage Dr. Wilson to write more such articles. He offers a refreshing counterbalance to the Northeast's popular and long-established fictions. Eventually, thinking people will take notice.

*Thomas Ponder
Pineville, Louisiana*

A Mutual Benefit

Gentlemen:

I have enjoyed the *Southern Partisan* magazine for several years and consider it vital for all Southerners. Come to think of it, all Yankees could benefit from reading it also.

The January-February issue is a masterpiece. The cover is fantastic and so is the article "The Yankee Problem" by Dr. Clyde Wilson. Keep up the good work.

*Glenn Goodson
Griffin, Georgia*

Cause and Affect

Gentlemen:

Tip your hat for me, please, to Ray F. Dively for accurately describing an actual cause of the Sept. 11 attack. Open borders provide opportunities for attackers, but open borders are a price courageous people pay for freedom. The actual cause of the attack is crucial to identify, and open borders are no part of it; they had no part whatsoever in the "cause" that brought the attackers here. We may enjoy peace and tranquility again someday, open borders and all, when our arrogant

Meat for Multiculturalists

The last we heard, Professor Beth A. Conklin of Vanderbilt University was still planning to give her lecture at a Nashville library's luncheon series.

The series is called "Thinking Out of the Lunchbox."

The title of her speech: "Is Eating People Always Wrong? Compassionate Cannibalism."

According to a Vanderbilt alumni publication, Prof. Conklin is a medical and cultural anthropologist who has spent many years studying the Waris—a Brazilian tribe that, until the 1960s, ate their dead "as a way to erase them from existence and help the grieving heal."

We obviously have a lot to learn from other peoples in this great big multicultural world. If you can't get over grandma's death, try eating her. Hey, it works for the Waris.

It Depends on What You're Burning

Over the years, opponents of the Confederate flag have argued that it has no place in the public arena—not flying over the Capitol Dome in South Carolina or on the State House grounds, not incorporated into the design of the Georgia or Mississippi state flags, not even flying alongside other historical flags in front of a city hall.

"If you want to fly the flag," they have always said, "then do it in your own yard."

Well, that's just what Carl and Patricia Miller did in Augusta, Georgia. Angry with the underhanded manner in which the design of the Georgia flag was changed, they posted a sign in their front yard calling for a statewide referendum. Several times the sign was stolen, and several times they replaced it.

Then the Millers started flying the old Georgia flag on a flagpole in their yard.

While they were at work recently, a man drove up to the Millers' house, jumped out, ripped the sign, set the flag on fire, and began taking pictures with a video camera. The fire spread to the yard and burned up about 625 square feet of lawn. Witnesses followed the car, took the tag number, and reported it to authorities. Subsequently, members of the Sheriff's Department arrested Brandon J. Emert, 21, a student at Augusta State College. He was released on a \$3,050 bond.

At this writing, the district attorney's office is wondering whether to take an arson charge to the grand jury or just let it go. You can understand the hesitation, can't you? It isn't as if Emert had burned a cross.

A Lesson in Geography

When Pat Buchanan ran for president in 1996, he strongly supported the imposition of tariffs to protect textile manufacturers in North and South Carolina. Competition from Red China—strengthened by the use of slave labor—was threatening the very survival of this domestic industry. Mills were in danger of closing. Workers would lose their jobs.

As soon as Pat advocated this strategy, the Republican establishment surrounded him and clubbed him to death with free-market rhetoric.

Didn't he believe in Adam Smith and Milton Friedman?

Didn't he realize that globalism was the wave of the future? Didn't he understand that Smoot-Hawley protectionism brought about the Great Depression?

"If industries can't compete, then government shouldn't prop them up," they

Obiter Dicta

said. "After all, if you impose tariffs, then U.S. consumers will suffer. Perhaps folks in non-competitive areas of the economy like textiles should try some other line of work."

Thus did mainstream Republicans tell the Southern textile industry to shape up or ship out, while Red China became our most favored trading partner, despite those niggling little human rights violations.

The result? Mill after textile mill closed. Workers lost their jobs by the thousands. And the Republican leadership justified it all by quoting laissez faire economic theory.

Fast-forward to 2002.

George W. Bush is faced with a similar problem. This time, it is the domestic steel industry—centered in Yankeeland. U.S. steel manufacturers are being eaten alive by the foreign competition. Mills are forced to reduce production. Workers are laid off. The whole industry is in danger of collapsing. Why doesn't somebody do something?

Somebody does.

In early March, Bush responds by announcing that he will impose tariffs of up to 30 percent on foreign steel. This protectionist policy will affect imports from Japan, South Korea, Russia, Ukraine,

Scooby Did

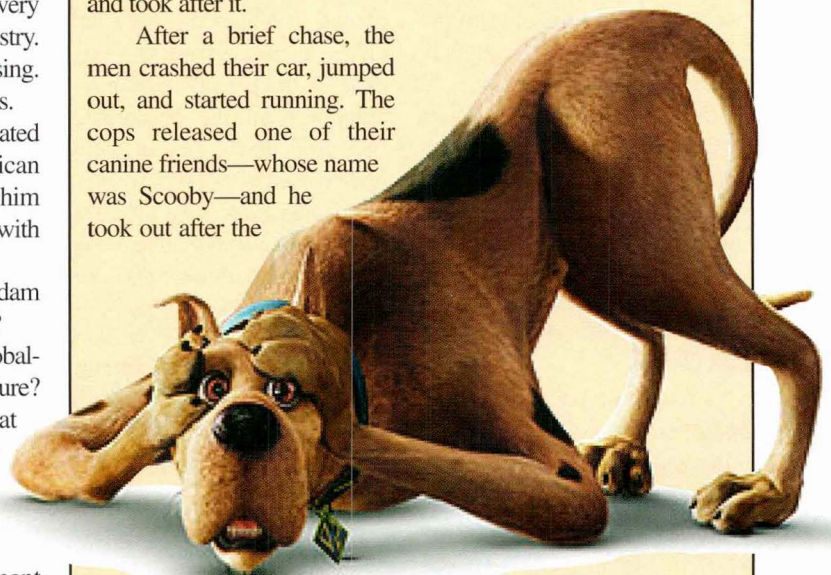
According to authorities in Pinellas County, Florida, three men allegedly walked into a liquor store and stole a pack of cigarettes. A store employee took down the suspects' license number and relayed it to the police, who spotted the vehicle and took after it.

After a brief chase, the men crashed their car, jumped out, and started running. The cops released one of their canine friends—whose name was Scooby—and he took out after the

alleged thieves. He caught one of them and promptly bit off his ... shall we say masculinity.

Doctors at a nearby hospital reattached the severed appendage, but you never know about these things.

Seems like a pretty heavy price to pay for a pack of cigarettes.



Santy Claus and the Flag

In the wake of September 11, South Carolina, like the federal government, has hunkered down, bracing itself for the next terrorist attack. (Along with Wyoming and Knotts Berry Farm, South Carolina is high on the list of terrorist targets.) Under the direction of Gov. Jim Hodges, state officials have spent enormous sums of money on security. Among many other precautions, the following are in place:

- State and local police now surround the State House grounds with orders to check everybody who sets foot on the property.
- State workers have been issued windshield stickers and new picture ID's, which they must display at all times.
- Metal posts have been pounded into the ground to prevent vehicles from driving onto the vast lawn and up the Capitol steps. (There is only one interval in this line of steel pickets—the spot directly in front of the Confederate monument.)

All of these measures are enforced by the S.C. Bureau of Protective Services, whose officers—badges glinting in the sun—efficiently and routinely frisk children and little old ladies with umbrellas. But one can't go overboard with such precautions. Life must go on, and citizens must have access to their government.

Maybe that's why, on a

late spring day, with the temperature soaring into the high 80s, the elite guard didn't notice an inconspicuous figure sitting near the pole on which flapped the Confederate flag.

And why should they have noticed him? He was just another black man, wearing a black Santa Claus suit, cradling an extension ladder. The security squad didn't even notice when Santa Claus walked over to the Confederate monument, leaned the ladder against the flagpole, and started climbing.

However, according to *The State*, Columbia's newspaper, a man and a woman driving by *did* notice.

"We thought he was changing the flag," the woman said later. "And we thought it was kind of strange to see a black man in a Santa Claus suit doing that."

In a sense, he *was* changing the flag. He sprayed a flammable substance on it and set it on fire.

At some point, following this act, the Bureau of Protective Services became suspicious. Maybe it was the black Santa Claus suit, the sight of this man standing on a tall ladder leaning against the flag pole, or the smoke and flames coming from the blackening flag. And maybe one of them realized that ol' Santy was actually Rufus Eddy (aka the Rev. E.X. Slave) who had already been arrested three times for



incidents involving this very same flag pole.

Whatever the reason, they rushed to the scene and surrounded the ladder, demanding that Eddy come down.

"Anybody down there can promise me that this flag will not go back up until my trial?" Santy called down. "Anybody can make that promise? Make that promise and I'll come down."

The elite guard tried to bring him down with pepper spray, but the wind blew it back in the faces of other officers. A spokesman for Protective Services said that three officers had been injured—one with first- and second-degree burns.

Later Sen. John Courson (R-Richland), commenting on the incident, said, "How this

can happen with someone with a ladder out here is beyond me."

Rep. Todd Rutherford (D-Richland), a black legislator, explained the motives of the trespasser.

"I think he's lashing out at what he sees as a symbol of segregation and oppression," he said. "It's simply just an act of civil disobedience."

Indeed, it was simply just that—as opposed to a suicide attack by Usama bin Laden himself. Eventually the Rev. E.X. Slave was hauled off to jail in an ambulance. As this was happening, three black men wearing dreadlocks were taking pictures of what was left of the flag, while State House cops stood nearby, wagging their tails behind them.

Brazil, and—you guessed it—Red China.

You must understand that this isn't really a violation of free-trade economic theory—which Republicans wholeheartedly endorse. Our free-trade partners, Mexico and Canada, will be exempt from paying the tariff, as

will "developing nations" such as Argentina, Thailand, and Turkey. And be advised that the Bush Administration isn't really manipulating the market. This tariff will be "limited"—a short-term measure to give the ailing U.S. steel industry time to restructure and modernize.

So steel tariffs aren't the same thing as textile tariffs. Buchanan was a protectionist. Bush is a free-market man.

And what is the chief difference between the two?

It's all a matter of geography, folks—a matter of geography.

God and the Red Cross

In politically correct California, the local chapter of the American Red Cross told the Orange County High School of the Arts' chorus that the words "God" and "prayer" were too controversial to include in a

scheduled Red Cross event.

The seventh and eighth graders planned to sing "America the Beautiful," "Prayer of the Children," and "God Bless the U.S.A." Rather than submit to this censorship, the chorus withdrew from the event.

The national headquarters of the Red Cross issued a statement supporting its local chapter, denying that the ban had anything to do with lack of patriotism.

The dispute centers only on our sensitivity to religious diversity and a preference for a music program that would be inclusive and not offend different populations participating in this event.

Rachel Long, Orange County spokeswoman for the organization, put it this way:

We wanted songs representative of all races, all creeds. We are not a religious organization.

We have to be neutral and impartial in all situations.

O.K., but what specific creed do these songs profess, Rachel? And if they do profess a creed, what excuse do you have for omitting them from your program? After all, you said yourself that you wanted "songs representative of all races, all creeds."

And while we're asking questions of the Red Cross, is it true that the organization granted Islamic branches the right to call themselves the "Red Star and Crescent" (or some such thing) and then denied the Israeli branches the right to call themselves the Red Star [of David]? If so much, what does that say about the organization's "sensitivity to religious diversity"?

Finally, how long can the Red Cross remain the "Red Cross"? Doesn't its very name "offend different populations"? Surely with their commitment to diversity, they will have to change it to something more neutral.

What about the Red Chicken?

Most Favored Religion

According to an item in the *Washington Times*, the Saudi Arabian Embassy has been mailing copies of the Koran and videos promoting Islam to U.S. high schools. Allen Minter, writing to "Inside the Beltway," wondered why the ACLU and Americans United for the Separation of Church and State hadn't protested.

"Why is it all right," he asked, "to teach the Moslem faith but not the Christian faith?"

Imagine what would happen if Jerry Falwell sent copies of the Bible to U.S. high schools, with a video promoting Christianity. Would it be the lead story on CBS Evening News or just the feature after the first commercial break? What would Tom Bwokaw and Peter Priss have to say? How many outraged editorials and op-ed pieces would the *New York Times* publish?

This incident proves a point we have made many times: The attacks on "religion" by people like Norman Lear and Barry Lynn are really attacks on Christianity by closet bigots. Obliterate the memory of Jesus and such people would padlock the front door and go fishing.

The Coming Plutocracy

In Texas, Tony Sanchez defeated former Attorney General Dan Morales for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Both of Hispanic origin, Sanchez and Morales conducted one of their campaign debates in Spanish—a practice that will spread like a sexually transmitted disease if the Bush Administration continues to reward illegal immigrants with citizenship.

But the abandonment of

English wasn't the only significant aspect of this campaign. Sanchez, a multi-millionaire banker, bought the election.

Morales had served two terms as attorney general, thereby

gaining statewide name ID—a hard thing to do in sprawling Texas. But Sanchez spent more than \$20 million of his own money and easily whipped the under-financed Morales.

Farley's Final Resting Place

Capt. William Downs Farley, CSA, was a scout for J.E.B. Stuart, and died on June 9, 1863, after a Union cannonball took off his right leg. The night before, perhaps because of a premonition, he gave his new blue overcoat to a Culpeper woman, and told her, "If anything befalls me, wrap me in this and send me to my mother." She lived in Laurens, South Carolina.

Instead, he was buried in Culpeper's Fairview Cemetery.

In April, more than 138 years later, his body was returned to Laurens, South Carolina for reburial. His remains were turned over to the South Carolina Sons of Confederate Veterans, who participated in a memorial service at the Virginia gravesite.

This final disposition of Farley's remains came about as the result of a 17-year effort by Ed Gentry, a Culpeper lawyer and historian of the War.

In his eulogy at the cere-

mony, Gentry explained why he worked so long for this outcome:

To all those and all of us, I would ask you to reflect on the personal meaning and importance of that simple word "home." It is there that the seeds of love are sown, that the branches of the family tree grow tallest and the roots of our lives grow deepest.

It is the memories of home that light our path during our darkest hours, that bring the greatest peace at the time of greatest turmoil, and it is the memories of home that keep us warmest in the winter of our lives.

After the Culpeper service ended, South Carolina pallbearers draped the blue and white South Carolina state flag over the casket, which was then borne by a horse-drawn caisson to a waiting vehicle for the long, last trip home to Laurens, South Carolina.



This isn't the first time a Texas gubernatorial candidate has bought his party's nomination. Multi-millionaire Clayton Williams bought the GOP nomination a few years ago, then proved to be such a colossal jackass that he lost to a highly beatable Democrat.

Sanchez is smarter than Williams—and richer. Worth \$600 million, he has vowed to spend whatever it takes in the general election. This is a trend all over the country—rich men buying elections. And the practice will increase with the implementation of John McCain's sinister campaign-reform legislation, which will cripple political parties in their efforts to raise money for under-financed candidates.

Prediction: the 2008 presidential election will pit Bill Gates against Ross Perot, with Gates the winner. Why Gates? Because he has more billions than Perot.

Rights of the Dead

In Culpeper, Virginia authorities are raising questions about the rights of the dead as they make new regulations governing graves.

In November, the Town Council adopted prohibitions against fences, brick borders, decorative rocks, statues, wood chips, glass containers, benches, lights, plantings, and breakable items of any kind.

At the December Council meeting, some folks complained that the ownership of that property, however small, entitled them to put whatever they chose on the graves. In particular they mentioned flags and statues. The Council referred the matter to the Public Works Committee, which held hearings in January.

Meanwhile town staff members modified the rules to allow statues and flags—but with restrictions:

Only American flags will

be allowed and are to be no larger than three inches by five inches and must be affixed or adjacent to the stone on an appropriately sized pole sufficient to support the flag.

Director of Public Works Bob Thornhill asked: "When you say an American flag, does that mean a Confederate flag? Someone has been putting one out there for a long time."

"There should not be any other flag out there other than the American flag," replied committee member Bob Ryan. "A Confederate flag is not an American flag. It is of the past."

What about graves that already have Confederate flags flying over them? Can you make an ex post facto law to remove them? There are plenty of people who will argue that they can fly whatever flag they want to fly over great-great-granddaddy's grave—which was bought and paid for more than a century ago.

The whole mess is likely to end up in court.

We hope so.

Be Prepared

The Associated Press reports that the Carrier Corporation—manufacturer of heaters and air conditioners—has withdrawn its support from the Boy Scouts of America because the organization continues to prohibit homosexuals from being scout leaders.

A few years ago, the *Washington Times* ran a series of articles documenting 416 cases of scoutmasters molesting scouts. The cases occurred over a 19-year period—an average of 21 per year; and they represent only a fraction of actual molestations, since most cases go unreported. This one study reported that at least 1,151 boys had been sexually abused by scoutmasters during the two decades. The Boy Scouts of America have paid

millions of dollars to settle law suits brought by the heart-broken families of victims.

Carrier doesn't have to support the Boy Scouts or any other group. Indeed, there are sound arguments against the use of stockholders' money to support a CEO's favorite charities. However, Carrier supported the organization last year and has withdrawn its support this year because of the ban on homosexual scoutmasters. In other words, they have decided to enter this controversy on the side of homosexual activists. So be it.

If you want to register your protest, here is the address of Carrier's CEO:

President Geraud Darnis
Carrier World Headquarters
One Carrier Place
Farmington, CT 06034-4015
geraud.darnis@carrier.utc.com
Telephone: (860) 674-3006
Fax: (860) 674-3139

Victory in Virginia

Three years ago, the Sons of Confederate Veterans applied to display its logo on specialty license plates in Virginia. Only 350 signatures were necessary for their petition. They mustered up thousands in record time.

Just when the Virginia General Assembly was ready to sign into law a bill allowing the plates, Republican Attorney General Mark Earley retreated faster than a cat in a dog yard. He held press conferences all over the state announcing that he had become a lifetime member of the NAACP, that

Virginia should "stand united in diversity," and that the Confederate emblem would only bring division.

At the acceptance ceremony for his nomination as the Republican candidate for Governor in 2001, Earley gathered a few minorities, each of whom gave endorsements in their native tongue: Chinese, Mexican, African, Philippino, etc. Earley then reaffirmed his dedication to stop Virginia from having a Confederate History and Heritage Month.

Trembling with fear, the General Assembly decided they would allow the SCV to have a license plate, but it could not display their logo, which includes the battle flag.

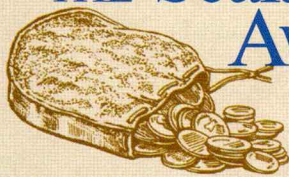
Virginia's Southern heritage groups organized like never before. A band of diehards waving Confederate flags trailed Earley's campaign into every corner of the state. At countless festivals, rallies and public gatherings, members of the SCV and HPA handed out over 150,000 stickers bearing the battle flag.

Earley lost the election in a landslide. Even his Democratic opposition acknowledged that "Those people [with the stickers] are incredible. They're everywhere."

The Rutherford Institute took the case into the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. After years of battle, the feds threw out a bone. This April, U.S. District Judge Jackson L. Kiser ruled in favor of Confederate



THE Scalawag Award



Every two months we face the same problem: Choosing the biggest scalawag in the region. This time, after we narrowed it down to three contenders, the debate got so ugly that one editor threw a ham sandwich at another.

Three staff members wanted to give the award to Georgia historian Lee Kennett, a retired U. of Ga. professor, who recently published a book depicting William Tecumseh Sherman as a latter-day St. Francis of Assisi. We received an account from a friend in North Carolina who said Kennett told a Charlotte audience he had been approached by a Northern publisher to write a biography promoting “a positive image” of Sherman. According to our source, Kennett admitted he took the publisher’s advance with the understanding that his account would be written to Yankee specifications. Which it certainly was.

Two staff members said that Kennett’s scalawaggery paled in comparison to that of Professor David Goldfield, UNC-Charlotte, who has written a book about the South’s

“mythologized history”—a romanticizing of the past designed to cover up the failure of Southern men to win the War. Goldfield claims that blacks became the scapegoat in this new Southern mythology—hence Southern racism. Goldfield’s advocates pointed out that while Kennett merely said Southerners fabricated atrocity stories involving Sherman, Goldfield said we lied about everything.

In the end, a cooler head prevailed. One



of our senior editors pointed out that Kennett and Goldfield caused minimal damage to the cause.

“Nobody reads books by college professors,” he reminded us. “Our scalawag needs to be somebody in the public arena—one of our politically correct politicians. These are the guys that are gutting our society.”

He then proposed Clemson (S.C.) Mayor Larry Abernathy, who has declared war on a banner flying over a highway

marker in the city because it *looks like* a Confederate flag.

“It’s similar enough to be a symbol of divisiveness,” he declaimed. “I am very chagrined that it flies at our front door and pledge that I will do whatever I can to see it come down.”

So what does this flag look like? It features a Palmetto tree and crescent moon and a blue cross with white stars on a field of red. It looks about as much like a Confederate flag as the Union Jack.

Yet Abernathy, posturing like Horatio at the bridge, vows to bring up the matter at the next council meeting. However, this strategy poses problems. Charlie Condon, South Carolina Attorney General, has ruled that non-profit heritage groups have some legal rights in maintaining monuments. And the marker and flag are on state property, not city property.

Cyril Busbee, an administrator with the S.C. Department of Transportation, has given the state’s view—at least for now: “Since it’s not causing a traffic hazard, we’re not taking it down.”

Nonetheless, Abernathy is demagoguing the issue for all it’s worth—poking a stick in the cooling ashes of racial strife to see if he can start up the fire again.

When we took the final vote, it was five votes for Abernathy, two votes for Kennett, and two votes for Goldfield. ☼

license plates.

Newly elected Democrat Governor Mark Warner said, “The Confederate flag ... is offensive to many ... [but] the Court’s opinion must be respected as the law of the land.” Leading Democrats in the State legislature agreed.

What were the Republicans afraid of?

A Rare Apology

Recently, John Street, the black mayor of Philadelphia, apologized for a remark he made while addressing an NAACP conference in his city.

Well, he didn’t apologize himself. A spokesman, Frank Keel, said it for him.

“He meant no offense to anyone,” said Keel, “and if any offense was taken, he said, ‘I’m

sorry. I apologize.’”

What exactly did Street tell the NAACP?

He said, “Let me tell you. The brothers and sisters are running the city. Oh, yes. Running it! Don’t let nobody fool you; we are in charge of the City of Brotherly Love. We are in charge! We are in charge!”

White City Councilman James Kenney objected, calling Street’s statement “a general divisive, nasty message to the people who live in the city and the people who live around the city.” He went on to say, “[T]here are a lot of good people running this city, not all African American. Some of them are from other communities.”

We’re not sure Mayor Street should have apologized.

After all, what he said was absolutely true. Blacks do run Philadelphia. Even Councilman Kenney’s choice of words indicates a consent to Street’s basic proposition: “*Some* of them are from other communities.” [emphasis added]

Curiously, the local media were blitzed by outraged callers, who denounced the mayor’s unscripted speech. One host of a talk show described the reaction as “this unbelievable undercurrent of anger and shock.”

Street’s spokesman reminded reporters of Street’s audience. “People need to understand that this man is extremely passionate. He takes on an evangelical fervor at times, especially when talking to his base.”

Right! He was talking to the NAACP, an organization

more and more committed to prolonged racial conflict. Why not bring the delegates to their feet with some high decibel gloating over black control of Philadelphia? Speeches like this are being made all over the country, particularly at meetings of black racist organizations and on college campuses. No use complaining about them.

When somebody asked him how he would like it if a white mayor said the same thing, Street interrupted to say, “They are running the world.”

If we, unhappily, lived in Philadelphia, we might take offense at such remarks. But we live down here, and we don’t care what happens up there. Besides, you can’t fault a guy for telling the truth. ☼

CSA TODAY



Alabama

The largest St. Patrick's Day parade in the nation is in New York City—or so sponsors claim. The smallest St. Patrick's Day parade has been held every year since 1993 in Enterprise, Alabama and, for the past four years, has consisted of Patrick Donahue.



A retired military man, Donahue—dressed in green, of course—carries the green, white and orange national flag of Ireland and dances a jig down College Street. No bands. No pom-pom girls. No mug of green beer. Just Donahue. But he is enough to attract the media: This year the Dothan TV station filmed the jig, and Bobby Matthews of the *Dothan Eagle* wrote a front-page story on the event.



When asked for a comment, Donahue said of the parade, "It's great and it's growing. It's the only one-man parade in the world, and I'll keep doing it as long as they'll let me."

Three cheers for Donahue. Let's hope the politically correct crowd leaves him alone.

Of course, if he had wanted to carry the Confederate flag down College Street, he wouldn't have gotten a permit. The Confederate Memorial Day parade in most Southern towns is even smaller than Donahue's—no marchers, no flag.

We can't help remembering the last lines of "Galway Bay," which are eerily appropriate for our own time and place, though they were written about the British occupation of Ireland, where, at one time, it was illegal to wear the color green:

Oh the strangers came and tried to
teach us their ways
And scorned us just for bein' what we
are.
But they might as well be chasin'
after moonbeams
Or light a penny candle from a star.

Arkansas

What we have known all along is now official: After spending over \$70 million, the Republicans in the office of the independent counsel are too cowardly to prosecute Bill and Hillary Clinton for the illegal activities surrounding the Whitewater scheme and the Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association scams.

Their partners, James and Susan McDougal, were convicted of fraud and conspiracy charges. All in all, 14 people—including Gov. Jim Guy Tucker and Associate Attorney General Webster Hubbell—either pled guilty or were convicted of crooked dealings, most of them in cahoots with the Clintons.

Neither Kenneth Starr nor successor Robert W. Ray rose to the task of confronting Bill and Hillary, though ample evidence existed to take the matter to the grand jury and let its members decide who was indictable and for what. Ray's final report concluded: "Insufficient evidence exists to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that either Governor or Mrs. Clinton knowingly participated in the criminal financial transactions used by McDougal to benefit Whitewater."

Nonsense. There was plenty of evidence to throw at the Clintons. For starters, Hillary—while acting as the attorney of record for Madison Guaranty—wrote an illegal option agreement that allowed Madison to deceive bank examiners and pay Seth Ward, Hubbell's father-in-law, \$300,000 for acting as a "straw buyer" in a scam called "Castle Grande."

These crooked maneuvers were too complicated for ordinary folks to comprehend, and the media remained hostile throughout to the Whitewater investigation; so the Republicans turned tail and ran from

a messy confrontation.

In order to placate more aggressive Republicans, the Ray report did say that "some of the statements given by both the President and the first lady during official investigations were inaccurate."

So why not indict them for perjury?

The Republicans simply don't have the backbone to exercise power when they acquire it. When the Democrats went after Richard Nixon, they came away with his scalp. (In fact, Republicans joined in the scalping.) When the Republicans went after Bill Clinton, they didn't even bring along their tomahawks and—to a man—Democrats in the Senate defended their leader. (In fact, Republicans joined in the defense.)

If you want to know why our country is in such bad shape, examine the record of counsellors Starr and Ray.

Florida

In White Springs, more than 500 people gathered to raise a Confederate flag on I-75. The flag is located on private property, donated for the purpose; and it flies over a granite monument donated by the state division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

John Adams, Florida SCV commander, said the flag would replace one that Governor Jeb Bush had taken down after it had flown on the Capitol grounds for 22 years.

"There's no hate or hurt intended toward anyone," Adams said. "This is an act of honor."

Rep. Frederica Wilson (D-Miami), a black legislator, was furious.

"It may be private property, but it's in the public," she said, somewhat

cryptically. “That’s advertising hatred. It’s advertising that Florida is a state that is sympathetic to hate.”

The response of Glenel Bowden, president of the Columbia County chapter of the NAACP, was more intelligent.

“While it may offend some folks and I don’t like it,” he said, “I would defend anyone’s right to display a Confederate flag on their personal property.”

By the way, this isn’t a little bitty flag. It is visible for a mile. In fact, the group has applied to Guinness Book of Records to be recognized as the “World’s Largest Confederate Flag on Public Display.”

Georgia

A couple of illegal aliens were sentenced to jail in Columbia County recently—both named Hernandez (no kin). Juan was convicted of driving without a license. Rene was convicted of three counts of domestic violence, including battery and cruelty to children.

Judge Pickett, presiding over the Columbia County Superior Court, sentenced Rene to 12 months in jail. He also ordered that the defendant be deported if he were found to be in the U.S. illegally. Sure enough, he was. The sheriff’s office informed the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service that Rene had an invalid green card at the time of his arrest.

The INS thumbed its nose at the judge, refusing to deport Hernandez, even though he was an illegal alien and headed to jail. The agency also refused to deport Juan.

Captain Morris of the sheriff’s office said his department has arrested at least 15 illegals over the past year. None, to his knowledge, have been deported.

Columbia County Sheriff Whittle spoke for all of us when he said, “My question is, what is the purpose of INS?”

Kentucky

Every student of the War remem-

bers Lee’s prolonged defense of Richmond in his native Virginia, but few people remember the Battle of Richmond in Kentucky. In fact, the Civil War Preservation Trust recently named Richmond, Ky. as one of the nation’s ten most endangered battlefields.

There isn’t much left of the original battlefield, which is covered with pavement and highly predictable houses. But, now that spring has arrived, there are a few hopeful signs in addition to the robins and pear blossoms.

- Preservationists have bought a 62-acre farm, where you can still see the contours of the breastworks. They intend to turn the property into a battlefield park.

- In January, Madison Fiscal Court applied for \$750,000 in federal transportation funds to make improvements designed to preserve the battlefield.

- The federal government may give the county a two-story antebellum house, to be used as a museum.

Madison County Historical Society treasurer Charles Hay is encouraged.

“Something should have been done a generation ago,” he said, “but there was never a feeling of urgency.”

Now there is—but almost too late. An all-too-familiar story in our beleaguered region.

Louisiana

Gambling and public corruption have always gone hand in hand in Louisiana, as readers of the *Southern Partisan* well know. (Governor Edmund Edwards is the prime example.) However, you don’t have to be the top dog in the state to be seduced. The temptations are just as great in sleepy little town halls.

Recently the folks in Haynesville discovered that their account is more than \$400,000 short—stolen over a period of many years. Former town clerk Marilyn Bush admitted that she took about \$70,000 in 1999—but that’s all. The audit reported that, “[a]ccording to Ms. Bush, she used this money to gamble.”

As for the rest of the missing funds—over \$330,000—she is not admitting anything. However auditor Dan Kyle says she started filching money as early as 1991 and that a total of \$432,250 was collected by the town but never deposited to its bank account.

Mickey Mayfield, Mayor of Haynesville, says the town will seek complete restitution, but you can bet that the money has long since disappeared into the pocket of the mob, which usually ends up running gambling wherever it occurs, legal or illegal.

Maryland

“Maryland! My Maryland!” will remain the state song—at least for now. The lyrics call Lincoln a tyrant and refer to the invaders as “Northern scum”—a lot more militant than “Carry Me Back to Old Virginny,” “My Old Kentucky Home,” and “Old Folks at Home.” A Senate panel killed the bill to replace the current song with a piece of rhymed treacle written in 1894 by a schoolteacher.

As one Senator put it, “I do believe we need to change the song, but this might not be the one.”

Here is the next proposed alternative.

Maryland Beautiful

Maryland beautiful—sunny,
not drab.

Maryland spacious and roomy.
Home of the Orioles. Home of
the crab.

Home of Kweisi [Kwah-EE-see]
Mfume.

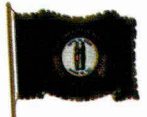
Maryland people are always P.C.—
In speech and in thought and in
manner.

They never speak highly of
Robert E. Lee,

Nor fly the Confederate banner.

Mississippi

In Poplarville, folks are complaining about a Confederate flag on a grave in the city cemetery. In 1999, Michael Joseph Palmisano, a biker, was killed in a motorcycle crash. His widow, Rebecca, put the flag on his



grave, apparently following a long-standing custom among bikers.

Alderman Sonny Knight, acting on the complaints of four white people, personally removed the flag. The widow subsequently returned the flag to its place over the grave and filed a lawsuit against Knight, charging him with petty larceny and malicious mischief.

In the aftermath of the suit, Knight said, "The city clerk was with me. We were pretty much told to do what we did." (He didn't say by whom. Boss Hogg?)

Local resident Ellen Hodnett sided with the widow.

"In this situation, that guy was a Southern biker," she said. "That was his colors. It's not a racial thing. It's how they present themselves."

Thus far the local black leadership has not become involved, but wait until Jesse Jackson reads the story. He'll show up with two or three reporters, his latest mistress, and five network cameramen.

Missouri

Competing interests are fighting the state for the limited number of dollars Missourians—mostly in lower income brackets—throw away on various gambling activities.

The state runs a lottery that is not raising sufficient funds in these hard times. As a consequence, the Missouri Lottery Commission announced plans to start a new state-sponsored game called Quick-Draw Keno.

The riverboat casino industry and the Missouri Amusement Machine Operators Association were outraged. This game would compete with what they were doing. So they proposed an alternative approach—legalize videopoker, the most addictive gambling snare ever devised.

According to Tom Cobb, a spokesman for the machine operators, an earlier study showed that the state's share of videopoker could reach \$130 million a year. The new lottery game is designed to bring in only \$20.8 million. So it's win-win, right?

As Cobb put it, "Let Missouri small business share in the expansion

of that industry."

It's an appeal that brings tears to your eyes: the vision of government and small business, holding hands, walking down lovers lane, \$100 bills stuffed in their pockets. Just don't focus on the thousands of lives videopoker wrecks wherever it is permitted.

Come to think of it, don't even think about the number of children who go hungry because their parents buy huge piles of lottery tickets every week.

North Carolina

Our folks in North Carolina are still maintaining their vigil at Mission-St. Joseph Hospital to protest the barring of construction workers who wore Confederate flags on their helmets or lunchboxes. One of the protesters, H.K. Edgerton, was attacked by three black teenagers, one of whom punched Edgerton in the jaw because he was carrying a sign that read HERITAGE NOT HATE. Two of the youths fled, but the 15-year-old assailant was detained by hospital security until the police arrived. Spread-eagle on the ground, the boy cried and wet his pants.

Edgerton, who felt sorry for him, refused to press charges. However, he agreed that the boy should either be ordered to join the vigil or to perform some other community service.

As you may recall from an earlier discussion of problems in Asheville, H.K. Edgerton is himself black.

Oklahoma

We are interested in the history and well-being of American Indians because a large proportion of those who fought in the War joined the Confederate side, having suffered greatly at the hands of a powerful and ruthless federal government.

So we were pleased to learn that a new painting—by artist Mike Larsen—is now hanging in the Oklahoma Senate chamber. The canvas depicts the 1834 meeting of the Creek Indians after they were forced to leave Alabama and move to Oklahoma.

At the end of the journey, they convened under an oak tree to plan for the future. At that meeting, they named their new home "Tulsey," a form of the Creek word Tullahassee, which meant "old town."

That tree—the Creek Council Treaty Oak Tree—is still standing near downtown Tulsa. When it goes, the painting will survive to memorialize the people to whom it gave shade in a painful moment of their history.

South Carolina

As we go to press, Attorney General Charlie Condon has filed a civil suit asking a South Carolina court to rule that the NAACP is violating state and federal law in using Interstate rest stops to promote an economic boycott of South Carolina. The boycott was instituted by the organization to punish the State for flying the Confederate flag on the State House grounds, despite the fact that the legislature removed it from the Capitol dome.

The boycott was subsequently challenged by the European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO), a group headed by David Duke. EURO demonstrated and showed up at the same rest stops and urged motorists to spend money in South Carolina. As a consequence, the State ordered 20 law enforcement officers to patrol each rest stop to maintain peace and order.

In filing his suit, Condon cited regulations that defined the specific uses of rest areas and excluded a number of activities, including "civic gatherings."

Governor Jim Hodges, said through an aide that the NAACP was simply exercising its First Amendment rights on public property.

In a press conference, Condon replied, "That position is clearly absurd. Would the governor allow demonstrators to march down the center of interstate highways, placing their lives at risk? Would he



allow them to march through the Governor's mansion at any time of their choosing? That, too, is a publicly owned property."

Meanwhile, black business leaders are complaining that the boycott will disproportionately affect them. In truth, it won't hurt anybody, except maybe the incumbent governor.

Tennessee

One more Confederate memorial is in need of funds: the home of Sam Davis, known as "the Boy Hero of the Confederacy."

Davis's name was once known to every good Southerner. In 1863, at the age of 21 (hardly a boy), he was captured by Union forces, who offered to spare his life in exchange for identifying the source of information on troop movements. While standing on the gallows, he refused and was summarily hanged. Because of his courageous stand, his name spread throughout the region; and, in subsequent years, millions of Southern school children shed tears while reading or hearing his story.

In fact, so famous did he become that, in 1927, the State of Tennessee bought his home in Smyrna and three years later opened it to the general public.

The Sam Davis Memorial Association hopes to raise \$1 million to be used for a new visitors' center, education center, and museum. In addition, the group plans to move the log cabin where Sam was born to the grounds of the house

where he grew up. The Association has already received pledges of \$560,000 from the Davis family and local supporters—but they could use your help as well.

Texas

In 1986, the six flags that had flown over Texas throughout its history—including the you-know-what flag—were placed in the Navarro County courthouse as evidence of the state's long and varied history.

In 1995, someone stole the you-know-what flag. However, members of the J.L. Halbert Camp #359 of the SCV replaced it.

Then, in 2000, someone stole the French, Spanish, and you-know-what flags.

At that point, District Judge John Jackson—rewarding the thieves for their daring act—issued an order banning the display of all flags except the Texas and U.S. flags.

In response, the Southern Legal Resource Center (SLRC) has recently initiated a *quo warranto* proceeding. Judge Jackson himself describes this legal maneuver:

Basically, they're asking the Commissioner's Court to file a lawsuit against me for the purpose of withdrawing a previous order I entered in connection with this particular issue. I'm not in a position to comment, but I believe in the legal system.

Kirk Lyons of the SLRC explained his action:

Our research tells us that this is the

proper way to have the judge's order overturned. I sent copies to the county commissioners asking them to support the district attorney in this, and I gave them 30 days to get this done or get back with us and let us know they'll be willing to do the right thing.

We await the outcome of this move with hope, though we have little faith that any elected official, given current pressures, is likely "to do the right thing."

Virginia

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* is very unhappy with J.A. Barton Campbell, the new director of the Museum of the Confederacy. It seems that in early March a Confederate flag appeared outside the museum's front door; and Janet Caggiano, *Times-Dispatch* staff writer, wrote that "[s]ome fear it is a sign that the non-profit organization is about to take a very pro-Southern approach to Civil War history."

She quoted a former employee ("It's a blatant symbol ... and racially charged.") and the former director ("I don't think it's an effective way to educate people about battle flags. These are relics and icons from the killing fields themselves ... they never really flew on public buildings."):

She also quoted William C. Davis, director of programs at the Virginia Center for Civil War Studies at Virginia Tech: "It seems to signal a shift to the right."

She also quotes a few words of support, most of them at the tail end of the article, where you put things you don't want people to read.

Caggiano's article all but calls for Campbell's lynching. Her cloak of journalistic objectivity is so transparent, it shows every part of her anatomy. If the *Times-Dispatch* is taking this politically correct attitude so early in Campbell's tenure, you can bet he'll be under attack from here on.

Hang in there, brother. ☛



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Pat Buchanan's recent book *The Death of the West* has caused quite a stir. Buchanan's thesis is that Western Civilization is on its last legs and that, barring heroic efforts on the part of the Anglo-Celtic peoples, the West as we have known it for the last few centuries will soon disappear—or at least be transformed into something completely different.

In an effort to understand this important work, *Southern Partisan* has asked three commentators to present their opinions: Tommy Stringer is an Associate Editor and frequent contributor to these pages, Joe Scotchie is a long-time contributor to *SP*, and David Freddoso is an editor for the conservative publication *Human Events*.

The sea-changes predicted in Buchanan's book may or may not come to fruition, but the issues he raises in *Death of the West* are going to become more and more important to future generations of Southerners.

Western

DOOM

Barren Fruits of the Cultural Revolution

BY DAVID FREDDOSO

An entire generation of academics, inspired by the Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci, has subscribed to the idea that Socialism can and still should be brought about, but by means other than the violence preached by Karl Marx. This is impossible, though, as long as the workingman—the purported beneficiary of Marxist revolution—rejects materialist ideology.

The obstacle for the modern Socialist is the West—a culture rooted in centuries of Christian belief and philosophy. This culture, Gramsci argued, must be gradually undermined by a progressive “cultural vanguard,” which quietly seizes control of every major cultural institution—especially academia and the media—and begins a slow process of popular indoctrination.

Gramsci's followers, Buchanan writes in *The Death of the West*, have indeed set to work in the Western world, passing off their secular religion as a purely rational way of understanding the world, rather than what it really is—a faith of no faith, requiring complete and unquestioned assent. This new religion teaches that material prosperity is the only good, tolerance of deviancy the only virtue, and that men are mere receptors of physical pleasure and pain.

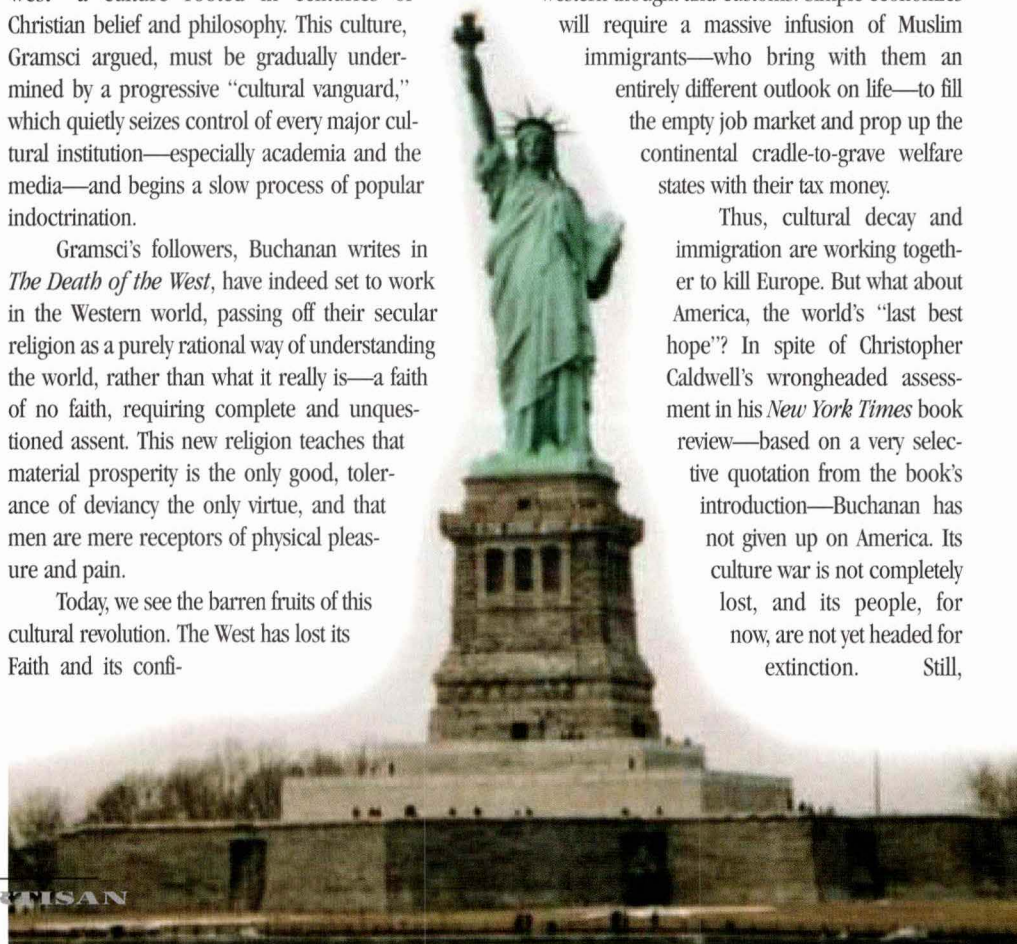
Today, we see the barren fruits of this cultural revolution. The West has lost its Faith and its confi-

dence in its own traditions, and consequently its reason to go on living. Societal suicide is the logical result.

Nowhere is this more evident than in Europe, whose culture is already beyond help and whose population, demographic statistics show, is in its final throes. Europe has reached prosperity, followed by decadence, and succumbed to materialist ideology. The continent is subsequently aborting and “birth-controlling” itself out of existence, since a materialist has no use for the sacrifices involved in raising children.

As Europeans die out, so will the continent's western thought and customs. Simple economics will require a massive infusion of Muslim immigrants—who bring with them an entirely different outlook on life—to fill the empty job market and prop up the continental cradle-to-grave welfare states with their tax money.

Thus, cultural decay and immigration are working together to kill Europe. But what about America, the world's “last best hope”? In spite of Christopher Caldwell's wrongheaded assessment in his *New York Times* book review—based on a very selective quotation from the book's introduction—Buchanan has not given up on America. Its culture war is not completely lost, and its people, for now, are not yet headed for extinction. Still,



Civilization

IMMIGRATED

Buchanan warns that it is well on its way to happening here, too.

But where does immigration come in? America's immigration problem is different from Europe's, because our immigrants are Westerners, even if they are not white. Massive immigration may pose other threats to the United States, but Buchanan fails, in my opinion, to connect it to the cultural disease that is killing the West.

He argues that unassimilated Latin immigrants, entering in record numbers, will harm American culture, and that a moratorium on immigration will help to solve the problem. The real problem, though, is not immigration, but American culture and education, which have been overrun by the cultural vanguard. Even if they all assimilate into what today passes for "our culture"—Coca-Cola, Hollywood, "Friends," and vacuous notions of "freedom" and "democracy" that have no true philosophical underpinnings—how can immigrants ever be expected to inherit any appreciation for our true American heritage? A moratorium—or even a permanent cessation of immigration—will do nothing to save us from what we are already becoming on our own.

There are compelling reasons for restricting immigration, but I argue that immigration to the United States has little to do with the death of the West. Buchanan himself cites surveys showing that America's native sons are as woefully ignorant of our nation's basic history as the poorest campesino in the Mexican heartland. And as for the Christian religion out of which our culture grew—and which Buchanan passionately defends—one would be hard-pressed to argue that Americans are more devoted to it than our neighbors to the south.

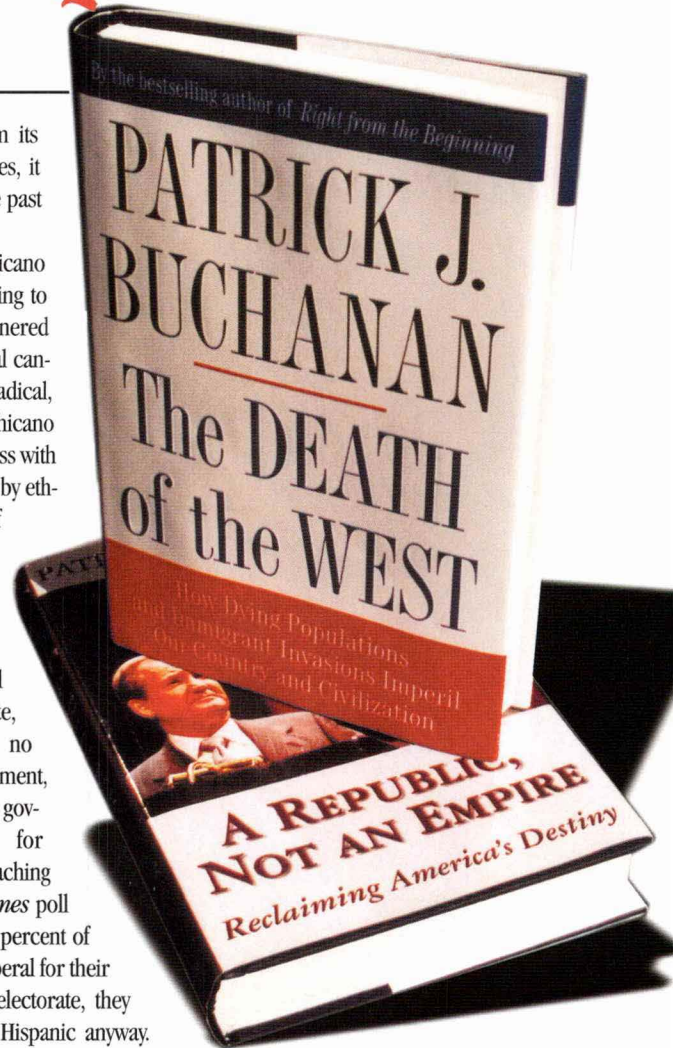
If Latin immigration itself poses a threat to American culture, it is the threat of ethnic separatism in the name of "multiculturalism." Buchanan raises this issue in the form of the so-called "MeChA" or Chicano movement, an attempt of Vietnam-era radicals to create a permanently radicalized Hispanic underclass in the United States. This movement, though—which, among other things, calls for a return of the Western states to Mexico—is Buchanan's straw man. MeChA failed to take root

among Hispanics, and aside from its last vestiges on university campuses, it is properly referred to today in the past tense.

Buchanan argues that the Chicano movement is still influential, pointing to the number of Hispanic votes garnered by failed 2001 Los Angeles mayoral candidate Antonio Villaraigosa—a radical, race-baiting product of the same Chicano movement. But Villaraigosa's success with Hispanic voters is better explained by ethnic voting than any radicalization of Hispanics. The citywide Hispanic electorate did give the radical Villaraigosa 80 percent of its vote, but it gave the same percentage to the successful Hispanic L.A. City Attorney candidate, Rocky Delgado—who has had no connection to the Chicano movement, and is known for his criticism of government entitlement programs for "[g]iving the fish as opposed to teaching people how to fish." In an *L.A. Times* poll two weeks before the election, 50 percent of Hispanics found Villaraigosa too liberal for their own tastes, but as an immature electorate, they were willing to vote for a fellow Hispanic anyway. This can and will change.

Still, this takes away nothing from the validity of Buchanan's overall point. Even if it is dead as a political force, the Chicano movement, like all the other multicultural nonsense being pushed in our nation's governmental and educational institutions, represents a very real and ongoing attempt by the cultural elite to teach Americans to hate America.

If the New World is to be saved from the fate of the Old World, the vanguard's teachings of cultural pessimism must be countered with a rebirth of American culture. In the wake of the September 11 attacks—which surely have taught us all that there is such a thing as right and wrong—perhaps we will finally have the moral momentum to succeed where Europe has failed. ☺



THE DEATH OF THE WEST:

How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization

by Patrick J. Buchanan, New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2002, 308 pages, \$29.95.

**Andrew Lytle
once predicted
the day was
coming when
the masses
would cry out
and ask:
What can
I do to be
saved?**

The Shock of Recognition

BY JOE SCOTCHIE

He is not the first person to address the apocalyptic subject, but it takes someone of Pat Buchanan's stature to illuminate the obvious: Western civilization is disappearing, dying under two related phenomena: low birth rates and massive, non-Western immigration. The numbers say it all.

The Death of the West is typical Buchanan: learned, witty, angry, provocative. On nearly every page, rhetorical bombs explode. The book will shock. And shock, as the theologian Paul Tillich correctly noted, is the beginning of wisdom. Readers can breezily dismiss Buchanan's arguments or they can come to sobering realizations. Unless current trends are decisively reversed, then the time of America, at least as a cultural entity, has come and gone.

Unlike previous volumes, Buchanan doesn't dwell much on economic factors. It is also different in that it holds no certain optimism for cultural renewal. The collapse of the West is about more than mere policy. It points to a spiritual crisis. Western man, especially European man, has no faith. Church attendance in European nations is abysmal. In Northern European cities, over half of all babies are not even baptized. Liberals like Vaclav Havel happily admit that Europeans are trying to fashion a godless culture, an "atheistic civilization." It won't work. Anti-Christian Europeans live only for themselves. Their birth rates are well below

the replacement level. Meanwhile, their Third World neighbors, many of them immigrants living in Europe, are having babies and raising families. Some are Muslim immigrants. There's the trouble. In recent years, European cities have seen more than their share of rioting between immigrant and native populations.

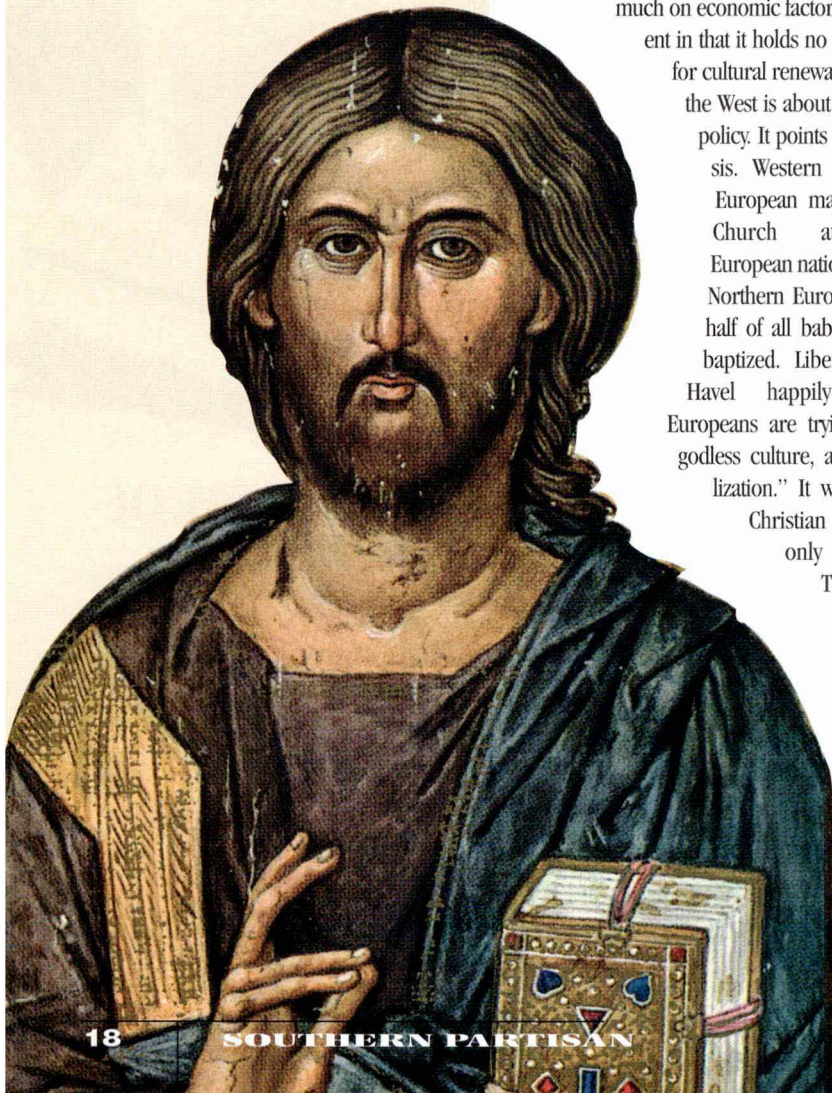
Decades of rapid moral decline have brought us to this end game. Buchanan lists a number of Marxist intellectuals—Antonio Gramsci and Georg Lukacs—to name just two un-notables. When Marxism failed to capture the working classes, its followers tried other options. Namely, they would grab the cultural institutions of Europe and America, and tear down the West's Christian foundation. Back in the 1930s, Lukacs, for instance, introduced a curriculum to Hungarian schoolchildren, one promoting "free love ... the outdatedness of monogamy, and the irrelevance of religion." It was, no doubt, the wave of the future. The historian Jacques Barzun, meanwhile, singles out World War I as causing the debauchery of the 1920s. That party picked up again in the 1960s, interrupted only by the Depression 1930s, another world war, and the Cold War 1950s.

Either way, the rot set in. Abortion and birth control measures, along with the cult of immediate gratification, have liberated Western man (and woman) from the responsibilities of adulthood. Couples, married or not, can now satisfy their animal desires without worrying about having children. Who wants kids anyway? Raising them is costly and burdensome. It involves the kind of sacrifices the professional classes don't want to make. Consider this enlightened comment from the 20-something friend of an English journalist, repeated in the book.

"If I had a kid," said Jane, an advertising executive, "I wouldn't be able to do half the things I take for granted. Every Saturday at 10:30 a.m., when we are still in bed, my husband and I look at each other and just say, 'Thank God we weren't up at 5 a.m. caring for a brat.' We have such a great time just the two of us; who knows if it would work if we introduced another person into the equation?"

As always, the state has played its evil role in the unfolding tragedy. In America, Buchanan points to the courts, which, for the past 60 years, have been engaged in an aggressive campaign to de-Christianize America. A simple prayer at a high school football game in rural Texas sends the black-robed tyrants to the ramparts. Government schools

(Continued on Page 20)



So you say you want a Devolution?

BY TOMMY M. STRINGER

Buchanan acts as mortician in *Death of the West* and delivers the bad news so convincingly that we are tempted to don our Sunday best and head to the wake. Though he hints at the possibility of a resurrection and calls on us to perform miracles in his final chapter, we can tell that he has already signed the death certificate. He doubts that we can raise our civilization's rotting corpse from the grave of political correctness, moral corruption, and mass immigration. Maybe we should just enjoy being the richest people in the history of the world, let the dead bury the dead, forget our children, and let the future be damned. Such is the temptation of despair. But being Southerners, we have faced destruction before, though not destruction of this magnitude. We know that the past can never be recaptured. The best that we can hope for is to apply our old beliefs to new situations.

Our new situation is called the Age of Separatism. An excellent discussion of this subject can be found in the last chapter of Jacques Barzun's *From Dawn to Decadence*. European nation-states, those artificial political units created by 500 years of warfare, are crumbling and will not survive. Internal ethnic and cultural conflicts combined with the economic efficiency of the European Union guarantee their extinction. Italy, Spain, Germany, and Turkey all have separatist movements in various stages of rebellion. The Balkans continue to simmer under the watchful eyes of UN troops. Great Britain is dissolving and we cannot predict if the old kingdoms of England and Scotland will survive.

In the English-speaking world, the idea of Separatism is called Devolution. Buchanan briefly discusses the effects of Devolution in Great Britain in his final chapter. Over there, Devolution resulted in the transfer of power from the English parliament to those in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Over here, Buchanan defines Devolution exclusively in terms of who controls public education: local school boards or the federal government. Nowhere in his discussion of Devolution does Buchanan mention the transfer of power back to the States. For Buchanan, this is a glaring omission and suggests that the States are not any more relevant than the federal government. Power will eventually devolve from both.

Devolution in Great Britain resulted from ethnic pressure. Since the Scots still occupy Scotland and have outlasted the British Empire, it is logical that they would demand control of their futures. Being a mobile people, Americans are not grouped by ethnic origin but by ideology and economic interest. Our groups are generally defined as liberal or conservative with many subsets of each group. We find liberals and conservatives in every state, city and town throughout the continent. The South is the notable exception because we have a greater concentration of both conservatives and ethnic groups (if Blacks can be considered ethnic). Being the exception, we have a greater chance of controlling Devolution as a region than the rest of the country.

What will drive Devolution in this country? There are two catalysts. Buchanan calls on conservatives to secede culturally by controlling the media that we use to form opinions about politics, society, and morality. We have that capability because of alternative media sources. Unlike our parents, we do not have to rely on Dan Rather or his two clones on the other networks for our news. While the local cinema is featuring *Moulin Rouge*, we can buy the DVD of *Ob Brother*. When mainstream Protestantism pushes the gay agenda, we can send our money to a conservative denomination. Access to information that reinforces our cultural beliefs is the first catalyst behind our Devolution.

The second catalyst will be economic interest. As long as the South shares the same economic goals, we will have a greater chance of remaining a unified region. If we look at the voting patterns from the last presidential election, we know that the South remains culturally conservative. Unfortunately, we are not as unified economically: as recent heritage battles show. Too many out-of-region corporations and financial

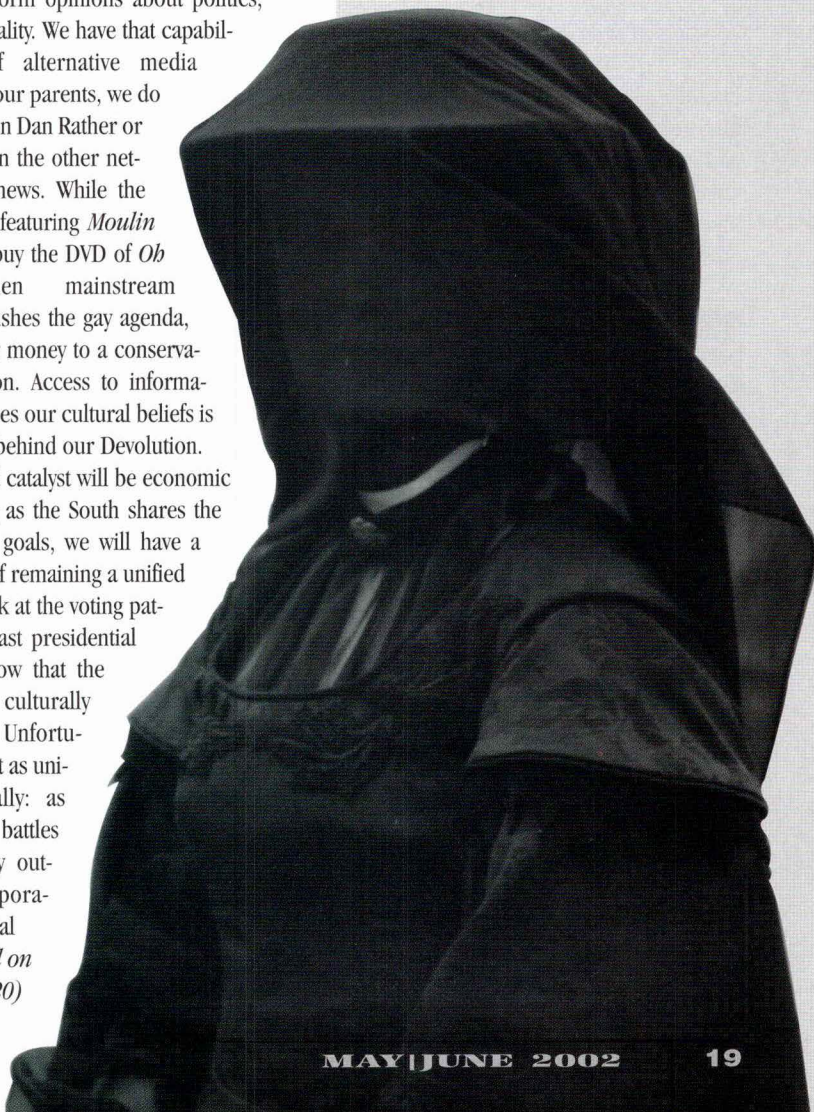
(Continued on Page 20)

"... Britain isn't cool you know, / it's really not that great.

It's not a proper country, / it doesn't even have a patron saint.

It's just an economic union / that's passed its sell-by date ..."

—Billy Bragg
Take Down the Union Jack



The Shock of Recognition

(Continued from Page 18)

(as libertarians correctly call them) remain in a rampage, dedicated to exterminating the American past. Christopher Columbus, George Washington, Paul Revere, Samuel Adams, and of course, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, are just a few of the heroes targeted. For the past two decades, changing demographics have been used as the rationale for the assault on the old America.

That leads us to the immigration question. In centuries past, various popes would call crusades to repel Turkish invasions of Europe. Such crusades weren't mandatory, but Europe had enough men of faith to beat back the Mussulmans. Today, of course, the Pope commands no armies, while the secular governments in Europe and America have, for decades now, left their borders woefully undefended. Late as it is, European politicians are getting nervous about the prospect of a multicultural society. In fact, Europe may not be "multi-

cultural" at all, but a place where Muslim extremists seek to impose Islamic law on the secular population. Such attempts have already been made in France and Denmark. Europeans may or may not stem the immigration invasion. But if the birth dearth continues, it won't matter. Only a revival—a Christian revival—can save the continent. Again, it all comes down to faith. People of faith want—and usually receive—bountiful families.

Andrew Lytle once predicted the day was coming when the masses would cry out and ask: What can I do to be saved? On a practical level, there must be a strict immigration cutoff, complemented by peaceful deportation of foreign aliens. But don't count on it happening. On the final pages of *Alien Nation*, Peter Brimelow declared that for increasingly desperate Americans, secession might be the reaction to our own suicidal immigration policies. Such may also be the case in Canada and Europe. In the book's inspiring final chapter, Buchanan takes up the same subject.

Brimelow was talking about political secession. Buchanan only goes so far as to encourage cultural secession. He notes that for millions of Americans—the Amish, Orthodox Jews, Mormons, homeschoolers, those who start Christian academies or patronize parochial schools—this is already the case. Considering the junk that flows from Hollywood, Manhattan and Washington, cultural secession is simply a matter of common sense. For traditional Christians, there is no other way.

The Death of the West is a gloomy book, the kind that leads to grim speculation. Can Western civilization survive a multicultural America? In my view, yes. Can Western civilization survive a largely Islamic Europe? Obviously not. Can global Christianity survive the loss of Europe? That might be contingent on the spunk of Christians in South America, Africa, Asia, and even a rejuvenated Southland. The future belongs to the brave, as this stunning, courageous book so brilliantly reminds us. ✪

Devolution

(Continued from Page 19)

institutions now control our chambers of commerce and dictate positions on our history, religion and education. We must pressure our local governments to force these corporations to keep their minds on business and away from cultural issues.

The South has a unique opportunity to use

Devolution as a positive force, but it will require each of us doing the right thing in the books that we read, the movies that we see, the products that we buy, the churches that we attend and the politicians that we vote for. We must remember that Western Civilization, influenced by Christianity, developed the notion of individual responsibility. The responsibility of the individual to do the right thing is called honor. Honor still survives in the South and so does Western Civilization. ✪



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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. 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

A PRIMER ON SECESSION

BY HUGH WILLIAMSON

The verb “secede” is derived from the Latin “secedere,” meaning any act of withdrawal. Originally introduced in the seventeenth century as a concept of political theory, secession assumed the existence of the modern state, as well as the possibility of dismemberment of the state. In an American context, it has been misunderstood as simply the withdrawal by the Southern states from the Federal Union following the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in November of 1860.

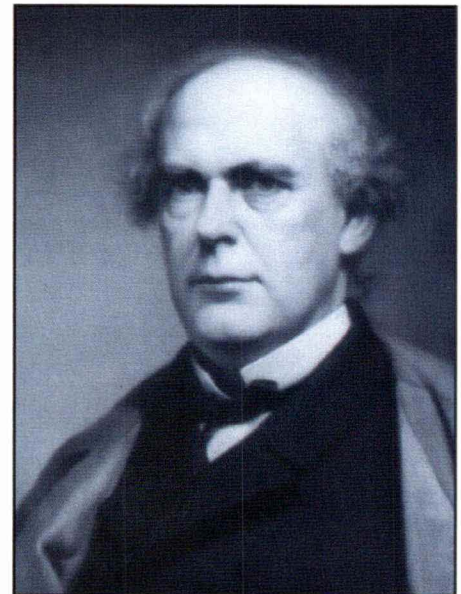
The structure of the political system, the original intentions of some framers of the constitution, and the citizenry’s prevailing understanding of the political order during the early years of American life encouraged a diversity of opinions regarding the fundamental nature of the union. Concerns arose in many quarters during the Constitutional Convention and ratification process, especially among the Antifederalists who feared that an overbearing national government would assume the authority of the states. Article Two of the Articles of Confederation had contained explicit provisions for protecting states, initiating a system whereby “each state retains its sovereignty.” Various early state constitutions included provisions outlining the primacy of states in the confederal arrangement, often at the expense of a unified political order. The most popular form of amendment requested during the state ratification conventions and proposed to the First Congress concerned a reserved powers clause.

The defenders of the Constitution argued such a provision was unnecessary. James Madison suggested in *Federalist 39* that each state was “a sovereign body” only “bound by its voluntary act” of ratification. Other Federalists, including James Wilson, Alexander Hamilton, and John Marshall at the Virginia ratifying convention, held that such a proposal was already present in the Constitution and that the new government

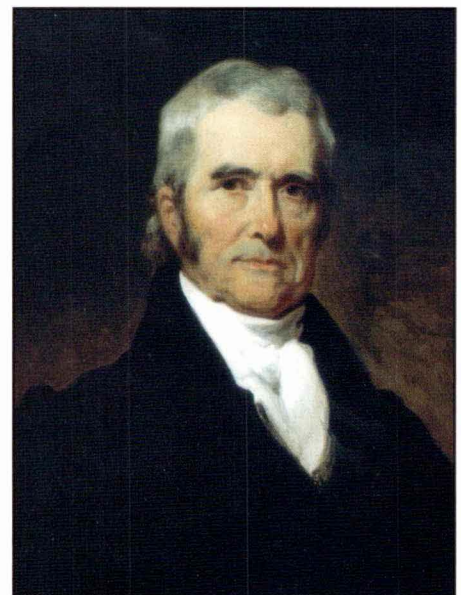
would only have the powers delegated to it. Opposition to and suspicion of the proposed Constitution on the grounds that it would infringe upon the privileged status of the states was widespread.

On the other hand, the advocates of state authority viewed the states as the repository of reserved power, and many believed that states were invested with an equal, and perhaps superior capacity to judge infractions against the federal government. The most significant assurances to this effect came in the Virginia ratifying convention from George Nicholas and Edmund Randolph. As the spokesmen for the committee that reported the instrument of ratification, they noted that the Constitution would only have the powers “expressly” delegated to it. If Federalists disagreed with the stress on state authority, they generally viewed a reserved power clause as innocuous, and Madison included such a provision among the amendments he introduced in 1789.

In the First Congress, Elbridge Gerry, a founder and Antifederalist elected to the House of Representatives, introduced a proposal reminiscent of the Articles, leaving to the states all powers “not expressly delegated” to the federal government. Gerry’s proposal was defeated, in part due to concerns about the similarity between the language of his amendment and the Articles. Others who took a states’ rights or strict constructionist

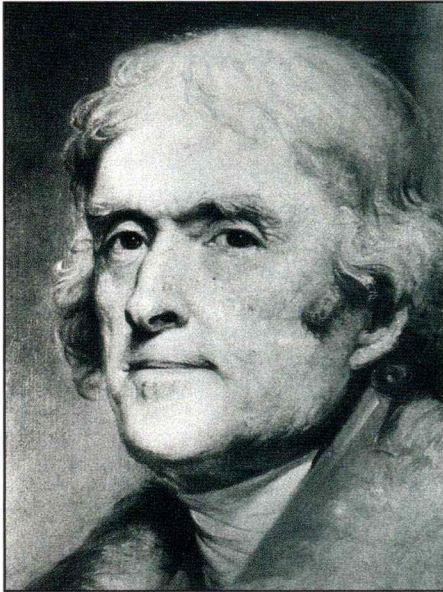


Salmon P. Chase

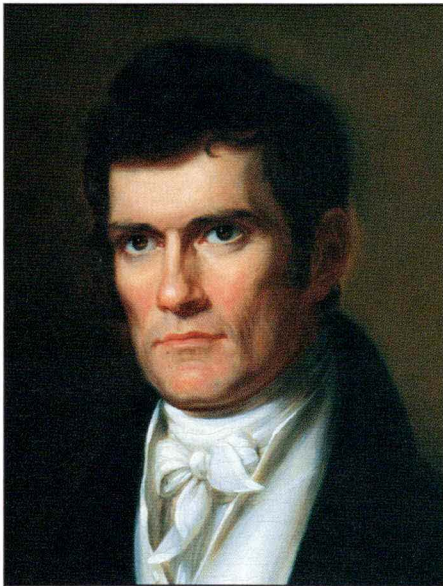


John Marshall

view of the Constitution, including Thomas Jefferson, persisted in defending state power. Before ratification of the Tenth Amendment, Jefferson advised President Washington that incorporating a national bank was unconstitutional. Jefferson would later compose the



Thomas Jefferson



John C. Calhoun

Kentucky Resolutions, which defended the states as the sovereign building blocks of the American nation and noted that the states retained a means of protection when threatened. To describe the process of state action Jefferson supplied a new term, nullification, to note the immediacy and severity of the “remedy” necessary to prohibit the federal government from absorbing state authority.

Defenders of the federal government, sometimes described as nationalists or loose constructionists, argued that the Congress must assume more power if the needs of the country were to be met. Most prominent among the advocates of increased federal authority was Alexander Hamilton. For

Hamilton, the explicit protection of state prerogatives was unnecessary as the political order already protected states. The Constitution, according to the nationalists, also contained provisions for the exercise of federal power, including the “necessary and proper” and “supremacy” clauses.

The Supreme Court addressed the controversy in its *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) decision. The High Court upheld the constitutionality of a national bank, even though such an institution was not specified in the Constitution. In dismissing a strict delineation of state and federal authority, the Court under the leadership of John Marshall extended the powers of Congress at the expense of the states. On the other hand, the Marshall Court affirmed the excepted notion that police powers belonged exclusively to the states. Under Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney (1836-1854), the Court assumed more of a strict constructionist posture.

The emerging defense of state authority ultimately was an interpretation of the American political experience, with an emphasis upon the original dispersion of authority, sovereignty, and restraint within the Constitution of 1787. According to the understanding offered by Calhoun and Hayne among others, the original system was predicated upon reserving the states’ sphere of authority, while delegating sufficient authority for particular and limited responsibility to the general government. For Calhoun, this original diffusion, buttressed by a prudent mode of popular rule, was the primary achievement of American politics. A necessary corollary to his understanding of the regime’s historical evolution was the need to perpetuate the original vision of the Union for posterity’s sake: “The Union: Next to our liberty, the most dear; may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states and distributing equally the benefit and the burden of Union,” urged Calhoun. If, as Calhoun suggested, America had “departed” from its “original character and structure,” a recovery of the older design was necessary.

For the defenders of states’ rights and secession, the Declaration of Independence initiated the legitimate delineation of state and federal authority and a properly constituted mode of popular rule through first articulating the primary nature of the union. According to this view that was shared by Southerners and most Americans, the Declaration illuminated and explained the

foundations of the American republic as also resting upon a political compact. In contradistinction to a social compact, a political compact did not unite individuals or governments. Instead, such an agreement formed a republic with the same equality of rights among the States composing the Union, as among the citizens composing the States themselves. The Declaration encouraged a political compact that had developed with “time and experience” into a model of political and social stability. The Declaration preserved the locus of authority within each individual state, and allowed for secession when government “becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.” For many Americans, the Declaration expressed the foundation for popular rule and a territorial republic that came to fruition in the Constitution. While the Declaration appropriately described the status of “Free and Independent States” as intrinsic to the republic, the document also confirmed the conceptional thesis of secessionist political theory: the states “ordained” or created the republic.

If the Declaration supplied the prologue to the original design for the republic, it was the Articles of Confederation that incorporated this insight into the fundamental law of the regime. For Southerners, the provisions and language of the Articles served as an authentic precursor to the American Constitution. The Constitution of 1787 was incomprehensible without first assimilating the defense of states’ rights contained in the Articles. The Articles extended and revised the Declaration’s ennobling of diffused authority and the delineation of state autonomy, while establishing popular rule based upon the deliberative, decentralized, community-centered participation of the citizenry. As in the case of the Declaration, the Articles perpetuated the original design for the territorial division of the country, into independent and sovereign States, on which the secessionist argument would later rest.

By strengthening the foundations laid by the Articles, the Constitution provided the final and most profound manifestation of the secessionist worldview’s defense of popular rule and the diffusion of political authority. While the Declaration and Articles contributed to this evolving discernment, the Constitution presented the definitive maturation from a confederacy to a federal government, resting upon the authentic organic and delineatory manifestations of the states,

although the citizenry retained final and complete political authority. Such a Constitution, in Calhoun's view, was most appropriately identified as a concurrent constitution because it served primarily as an exemplification of the states' role in preserving the regime. The Constitution also provided a careful "enumeration" and "specification" of power consigned to the general government. In other words, by forming a concurrent foundation for the political order it was argued that in times of crisis the states should exert their concurrent prerogative and repossess certain delegated power from the federal government if needed and in accord with the Constitution—especially in situations where the federal government had usurped power from the states. Through the adoption of the Constitution, the American people accepted a "joint supplemental government" that retained the states as the primary voice of the people.

In situations where the general government and the states were in conflict, each possessed a "mutual negative" on the other's actions, according to the secessionist argument. Defenders of secession often cited the record of the Virginia ratifying convention and the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution as primary evidence of the doctrine. The Virginia convention provided, along with its New York counterpart, the most erudite and complete commentary on the interpretation of the fundamental law besides the records of the Constitutional Convention itself. In situations of disputed authority, the states possessed the right of self-protection, with secession serving as the ultimate manifestation of such a response.

Struggles over the basis of the union arose after the ratification of the Constitution, including Jefferson's and Madison's responses to President John Adams and the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. Defenders of state and national supremacy often changed positions depending on their political needs. In an effort to reduce the hardships incurred by the War of 1812, some New Englanders held a convention in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1814, as New England states were threatening secession. The first debate over secession in America took place in New England, not in the South.

The ensuing crises over Missouri statehood (1819-1820) and nullification (1832-1833) would increase secessionist tensions, but these problems would be resolved by compromise. The problem of slavery, com-

pounded by the rise of abolitionism, would intensify the conflict. After Southerners were able to defeat the Wilmot Proviso, the Compromise of 1850 made resolution of the slavery problem more problematic. In 1854, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, attempting to garner support from Southern congressmen for his legislation that would organize the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, reopened the issue of extending slavery into new areas. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act unified resistance to slavery in the North, and by 1854 the Republican Party was dominant in the region. The election of James Buchanan to the presidency in 1856 and the constitutionally sound, but unpopular ruling of the Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott* case in 1857, widened the sectional divide.

Lincoln's election in 1860 galvanized Southern attitudes in favor of secession. In Lincoln, the South correctly feared its established way of life and fundamental rights would be threatened. The success of a minority political party, the Republicans, in electing a president was a source of some disdain as well. Agitated by the advocates of secession, and the failure of other efforts to ameliorate the tension, South Carolina withdrew from the Union, followed in quick succession by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. After the incident at Fort Sumter in April 1861, and Lincoln's call for troops, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina adopted secession ordinances and eventually joined the Confederacy.

The remainder of the story, including the

War for Southern Independence, is much more familiar. Unfortunately, the fable of secession's demise as an authentic element in the American political and constitutional tradition is still preached with great vigor. The related and prevailing notion that the Supreme Court's *Texas v. White* decision (1869), and its defense of the "perpetuity and indissolubility of the Union" closed the debate over secession, distracts the country from the enduring importance of the concept. In the decision itself, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase conceded that the citizenry maintained a right of revolution and that the role of the people in exercising their constitutional right should not be diminished.

As we ponder the necessity of revitalizing the role of states, and especially their interposing and amending power so implicit in the Constitution, we could only augment authentic popular rule by allowing for a greater diffusion of authority. The critics of secession have argued that restricting the ability of the general government to act might in some fashion undermine the structure of the American regime. In actuality, the advocates of secession in America have historically sought the opposite effect. Their purpose has been to preserve the original balance of authority and the fortification of a political system against the obstacles it faces. The vindication of a Southern defense of diffused authority can be witnessed in the negative effects of the centralization of political power in America and the world throughout the last century. ☛

Hugh Williamson is a Methodist minister.

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Movie Time Down South

BY CLYDE WILSON

Like it or not, cinema is the art form of our age. Why is easy to explain. Man is a creature who grasps the world primarily through stories. Life is not a logical proposition—it is a drama. Stories have always taught us more effectively than arguments, which is why the Son made parables.

Our ancestors learned the world and history, what it means to be human, primarily from the Bible. For the educated this was supplemented by the rich treasury of Roman literature, which stressed patriotism and self-discipline. In the later 19th and the early part of the 20th century, these guides to life were replaced primarily by the novel.

Some time probably before the middle of the last century, people began to take much of their view of the world and models of behavior from the movies.

For three quarters of a century the movies have been a major determinant of our mental construction of reality. But there may well be reason to suspect that the age of the cinema is over. The generation educated by the Deweyite, multicultural public schools and MTV may not have sufficient attention span to follow the story in a good film. Much

good cinema is still being produced but the most popular seem to be fantasies with a lot of weird special effects, explosions, death, and destruction.

Out of a century's rich heritage of film there is a great deal that pertains to the South and Southerners. Southerners, despite claims to the contrary, have always been a distinct people with a distinct story to tell—distinct experiences, attitudes and faults. Much of this material contains the same nasty propagandistic hate and misrepresentation of the South that we are all familiar with from “news” and “entertainment” television, as well as public discourse. A book could be written on this subject and I will make some comments on egregious examples as we go along.

But there is a lot of really good material as well. How could there not be, given the quality of the people and the history under

consideration. I want to catalog some of what is worth watching, since the VCR is apparently a universal and eternal family fixture.

There are two things that need to be noted that often mar otherwise good films: vulgarity and what I call the Tacky Factor. In the recent few decades, obscene language has become an inescapable feature of even otherwise good films. Southern country people use colorful and earthy and sometimes blasphemous language. They are not characterized by the hysterical, compulsive foul-mouthedness that is typical of urbanites, though in recent films they are made to seem so. Modern foulmouthedness is a product of a lack of any real native language. English has become merely an imperial *lingua franca* rather than a cultural inheritance for a great part of the American populace. Southerners have a more profound relationship with the language, which is why we produce great writers. The pervasive obscenity in today's films will prevent them from ever becoming classics unless Western civilization disappears entirely.

The Tacky Factor. Even in good films, at least some Southern characters are portrayed as ignorant, simple-minded, foolish, stock characters of buffoonery. It would seem as if all Northerners think of themselves as Tom Cruise or Meryl Streep with sharp minds and strong characters, who are almost always superior human beings to Southern hayseeds. It seems Northerners never look around where they are for all the bad characters they would see if they did.

Of course, Southerners are also disproportionately portrayed as violent and unchivalric characters, though such portrayals are nearer the opposite of the truth than reality. It is hard to find a Southern mass or serial killer in real life. They are almost all Northerners, though often committing their crimes in the South.

But for Hollywood, of course, the South is merely the darkest, most fearful part of the terrible flyover country inhabited by real Americans.

The religiously New South *Oxford American* recently devoted a whole issue to Southern movies. They got in some good licks against Yankee prejudices and misrepresentations but then turned right around and labelled as “best” many of the most bigoted anti-Southern films. With these warnings in mind, I suggest films, all of which are or have been available on video, that have some redeeming qualities in their portrayal of the South and Southerners. I am going to omit some of the most obvious titles that will occur to anyone unless I have something to say about them. (DVD is beyond my ken.)

Let's start with films that the whole family can watch without discomfort. As future occasions arise I will discuss other categories: recent mature-viewer Southern films; portrayal of Southerners in U.S. WWII and other war movies; films about The War; Southern “Westerns”; New Orleans movies; and The Worst Southern Movies.

There ain't nothing wrong with the old favorites *The Birth of a Nation* and *Gone with the Wind*, both of which portray, with truth, experiences of Southern people. *Birth* is still the natal masterpiece of American cinema, produced by D.W. Griffith, son of a Confederate soldier. The film's only flaw, shared by many other war era films, is a saccharine portrayal of Lincoln. In Griffith's time it was good tactics for Southerners to hold up Lincoln to Northerners as a “moderate.” Thank Heavens those days have passed.

Gone With The Wind, is now officially labeled as painting too romantic and favorable a view of the Old South and slavery. The story does have some romantic elements, but its picture of Southern society is pretty

realistic, especially on the hardships of Reconstruction, and it is still a rollicking good story. *GWTW* is not an all-time worldwide major hit for nothing!

I expected the worst from *Scarlett*, the much-ballyhooed sequel to *GWTW*. Actually it is not too bad, though not suitable for family viewing and a bit more melodramatic than *GWTW*. As in *GWTW*, all the main characters are played by British actors and actresses and they generally do a good job with the accents. Hollywood's treatment of Southern speech is a book in itself, but they seem to think, perhaps rightly, that Southern accents are better done by Brits than by Yankees or Southerners who have learned to talk like Yankees. Like Cate Blanchett in the recent *The Gift* (not recommended). Or even Australians, like the great Aussie actor Jack Thompson recently in *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*,

also not recommended. (Stewart Granger did a good Southern accent in the Western *The Last Hunt*. Many other examples can be found.)

The General (1927). Buster Keaton created one of the classic American silent films, which is also highly entertaining and gives a fair picture of Southerners during The War.

Judge Priest (1934). The great Will Rogers, immensely popular in his time, stars in a story of love and justice in a postwar Southern town. Rogers, in another example of the Northern penchant for expropriating anything Southern that it wants, is often referred to as "a Midwestern humorist." Actually, he was the son of an officer in the Confederate Cherokee regiment. Who ever heard of a humorist from Michigan or Iowa? Rogers often gently lampooned Yankees, and *Judge Priest* presents Southerners well.

Colonel Effingham's Raid (1945). Charles Coburn fights the forces of "progress" to save his town's Southern heritage, in the process showing that during WWII, Southern heritage was considered a very positive part of American patriotism!

The Song of the South (1946). One-time immensely popular Disney take on Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus stories. The film has been suppressed as unPC by the reconstructed Disney conglomerate. You see, Uncle Remus was a wise, kind, and honorable man, and therefore not a good role model for today.

I'd Climb the Highest Mountain (1951). William Lundigan and Susan Hayward as a young Methodist minister and wife in rural Georgia. Based on the real-life memoirs of Corra Harris that were once very popular.

Goodbye, My Lady (1956). A boy and his dog and the requirements of honor in rural Mississippi. Though not a Southerner, Walter Brennan gives a good rendition of it. A line from the movie: "I ain't never been 'round no Yankees, thank the Lord. We had a tourist once. He was a Yankee. Got bit by a snake. Snake died."

Proud Rebel (1958). Ex-Confederate Allan Ladd battles "Reconstruction" to find a cure for his traumatized son, with the help of Olivia de Havilland.

Drums in the Deep South (1951). A good adventure story that also portrays some of the evils inflicted on Southerners by the invaders.

Shirley Temple's *The Littlest Rebel* and *The Little Colonel*, both 1935. *The Littlest Rebel* unfortunately contains another one of those kindly Lincoln fabrications.

Intruder in the Dust (1949). An old lady and two boys, one white, one black, take extreme measures to save a black man from an unjust murder charge. One of the best renderings of Faulkner's works into film. Much

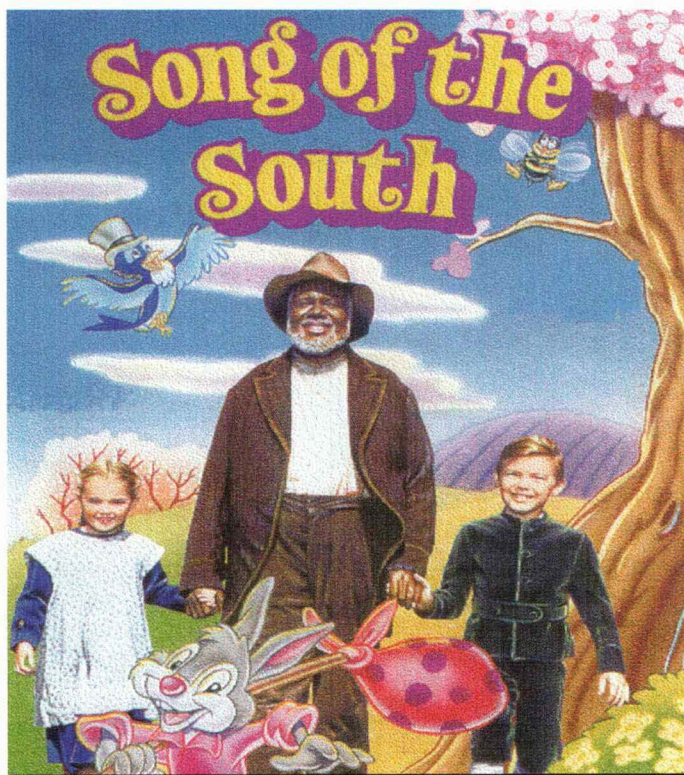
superior, both book and movie, to the greatly over-rated *To Kill a Mockingbird* which has a similar theme. Other good treatments of Faulkner on the screen: *Tomorrow* (1972) with Robert Duvall, a moving story of love and hardship; *Old Man* (aka *William Faulkner's Old Man*, 1997), danger, courage, and honor among humble Southerners during a Mississippi River flood. The latter two include scenes of childbirth. Another good Faulkner film is *The Reivers*, though it cannot be classed as a family movie. Although it contains great moral teaching, much of it takes place in and around a Memphis brothel. Avoid like the plague any allegedly Faulkner-derived movies that star Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward.

Jezebel (1939). Bette Davis in a magnificent portrayal of love and sacrifice in old New Orleans.

Here are three movies about Southern families that embody traditional teachings and values. *The River* (1984), Mel Gibson and Sissy Spacek(!) as a Tennessee family trying to save their homestead from "progress"; *Stars Fell on Henrietta* (1995), a struggling Oklahoma family finds oil; *The Trip to Bountiful* (1986), Geraldine Page as a city-bound senior citizen who wants to return to her country East Texas roots.

We probably have to include the better-known *Steel Magnolias* as acceptable in this category, too. There are other good stories of Southern families among recent movies, surprisingly, but not suitable for family viewing.

There is not space here for a full treatment of War between the States movies, but it is worth noting that several have been produced in recent years that are reasonably fair to our side, including *Gettysburg*, *Pharaoh's Army*, *The Hunley*, and *Ride With the Devil*. Space also does not allow a look into Southerners in Western movies. This is a very large topic, for all true Westerns are really Southerns. ☺



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Herman Talmadge

And The New South

BY MARK ROYDEN WINCHELL

When Herman Talmadge died at his home in Hampton, Georgia, on March 21, 2002 it seemed to many that an era in Southern politics was officially over. Herman began his career working for his father, the legendary populist Gene Talmadge, who once boasted that he had not gotten votes in any county where the street-cars ran. At the end of his own thirty-five-year career in public life, Herman had gone from being a relic of the Old South to an architect of the new. During his six years as Governor of Georgia (1949-55), he brought his state into the modern era economically, while fighting to maintain the racial policies that had made his region an anathema to parts of the nation that had not shared the unique history of the South. He began his twenty-four years in the U.S. Senate (1957-81) in the shadow of his esteemed colleague Richard Russell before enjoying his own obligatory fifteen minutes of fame as a member of the Senate Watergate Committee. (After being grilled by Talmadge, John Ehrlichman judged him to be the most effective interrogator on the panel.) Finally, a messy public divorce, treatment for alcoholism, and a financial scandal in his office brought Herman into such public disrepute that the people of his state rejected his bid for a fifth term in the Senate in 1980. Although he was not without flaw, Herman Talmadge was largely a victim of his own success.

Herman's career as a public official began almost by accident in January of

1947. He had barely returned from service in World War II and resumed the practice of law when his father, who had been out of office for four years, decided to make another run for Governor of Georgia. Although Gene won the Democratic primary in the spring of 1946, the campaign wrecked his health to the point that his closest advisors were uncertain that he would live to take office in January. (Because there was virtually no Republican Party in Georgia at the time, Gene's name would be the only one on the general election ballot in November.) When he did indeed die on December 21, 1946, the state was plunged into a constitutional crisis that has long since left the pages of history to enter the realm of myth.

The Georgia constitution was unclear on the matter of succession. For the first time in history, the state had elected a lieu-

tenant governor, but he had not yet taken office. More to the point, he was an anti-Talmadge man. (The governor and lieutenant governor were elected separately.) As various factions were coming up with ingenious theories about how the crisis should be resolved, the Talmadge camp contended that the state legislature (which was controlled by Talmadge partisans and fellow travelers) should have the final say. When the legislature counted the general election ballots, it would officially declare that "no person"—at least no *living* person—had gotten a majority of votes. At that point, the constitution provided that the legislature would elect a governor from the two persons who had gotten the highest number of votes. With this interpretation in mind and fearing that his father might not survive, Herman had passed the word among the

Talmadge people to write in his name in sufficient numbers to assure that he would be one of the two finalists.

For their part, the anti-Talmadge forces argued strenuously that the legislature had no authority to elect a governor and proceeded to circle their wagons around the lieutenant governor-elect, M.E. Thompson. Although Herman's people might have been rowdy as hell, Thompson's crowd was not exactly playing by Roberts Rules of Order. In an effort to hold down the Talmadge vote should the matter ever come before the legislature, Thompson's men were serving drinks with knockout drops to some of the legislators. Herman quickly enlisted the aid of public health doctors, and eventually his support-



Herman Talmadge being sworn in as Governor of Georgia.

ers were being revived to consciousness all over the Capitol lawn.

When Herman came in third in the initial tabulation of write-in votes from the general election, the legislative committee counting the votes discovered an additional fifty-eight Talmadge ballots that had been placed in the wrong envelope. (This was enough to push Herman into second place and assure his election by the legislature.) Upon examining those newly discovered votes, George Goodwin of *The Atlanta Journal* later observed that “they rose from the dead in Telfair County, marched in alphabetical order to the polls, cast their votes for Herman Talmadge, and went back to their last repose.” (Although Herman could have gotten as many legitimate votes as he wished in this neck of the woods, his campaign workers had apparently decided to take an embarrassing shortcut.) So, the legislature proceeded to “elect” Herman Talmadge as governor. He took the oath of office at 2:00 a.m. on January 15, 1947, and gave an impromptu inaugural address to a nationwide radio audience.

Having failed to elect one of their own people as governor, the anti-Talmadge forces decided that the incumbent governor, Ellis Arnall, would simply hang onto the office a bit longer. With the National Guard loyal to Herman and the state militia loyal to Arnall, there seemed to be the real possibility of bloodshed. Soon after his inaugural remarks, a legislative committee was formed to escort Herman to the governor’s office. When they discovered that Arnall had bolted the door, some of Herman’s supporters simply battered it down. Although Herman did not have Arnall physically removed from the governor’s office, he did have the locks changed on the doors and began carrying a .38 Smith and Wesson. As Herman tried to govern the state, M.E. Thompson went to court to get him thrown out of office. After more than two months of chaos, the Georgia Supreme Court (a majority of whom had been appointed by anti-Talmadge governors) finally decided that Thompson should serve as acting governor until 1948. So, Herman packed his bags and moved his family out of the governor’s mansion, determined to be a candidate in the 1948 election. The people of Georgia, he declared, would be his “court of last resort.”

For more than three decades, this court of last resort kept returning Herman Talmadge to office. By 1980, however, he

seemed vulnerable. When an aide billed the government for fraudulent expenses in Herman’s Senate office, the Senate voted to “denounce” Herman for his lack of oversight. Many people in Georgia and elsewhere were convinced that he was guilty of a good deal more than sloppy bookkeeping. His former wife had testified before the Senate Ethics Committee that Herman regularly kept a stash of \$100 bills in an old overcoat in his hall closet. Although there was no independent confirmation of this charge and Herman was never indicted for wrongdoing, his enemies believed the worst. When he got ready to run for a fifth term, politicians who would not have dreamed of challenging him even six years earlier were lining up to replace him in the Senate. The most formidable of these was Lieutenant Governor Zell Miller.

In challenging Herman in the initial primary, Miller had painted himself into a corner. Mobilizing the liberal vote (with the help of prominent Atlanta blacks), he had been able to force a run-off with Herman. If he hoped to win the run-off, however, he would have to move to the middle and risk appearing opportunistic. (One of his opponents in the first primary had already dubbed him “Zig Zag Zell.”) In their four televised debates, Herman managed to put his less experienced opponent on the defensive—demonstrating that the price tag for all the new programs Zell endorsed would come to more than seven hundred dollars for every man, woman, and child in the United States. When Georgia Democrats went to the polls on August 26, 1980, 58.5 percent of them voted to return Herman Talmadge to the Senate. Although winning the Democratic Primary was no longer tantamount to winning election in Georgia, it was hard to see where the Republican candidate, Mack Mattingly, could put together a winning coalition.

What Herman underestimated was the power of a hostile press. During the week, *The Atlanta Constitution* came out in the



Herman Talmadge contemplates Nixon's fate during the Watergate hearings.

morning and *The Journal* in the afternoon. Then, the two papers ran combined editions on Saturday and Sunday. That meant that each week, there were a dozen opportunities to tell the people of cosmopolitan Atlanta that their senior senator was a scoundrel. (Was it merely a coincidence that the principal owner of both Atlanta papers was Anne Cox Chambers, a close friend of Herman’s embittered former wife?) In fact, when *The Constitution* ran out of current dirt, it began running an editorial feature called “Lest We Forget,” which rattled every skeleton—real or imagined—in the Talmadge closet. All that the people who were newly arrived in Georgia knew about Herman Talmadge was what they read in the newspapers. And what they read was not good.

In retrospect, it is clear that both Herman and his supporters were far too complacent about the general election. Had he agreed to debate Mattingly, the difference in their qualifications would have been apparent. (After all, the debates against Miller had determined the Democratic run-off.) Instead, Herman adhered to the conventional notion that a well-known incumbent doesn’t give his challenger free expo-

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THE WAR CRIMES TRIAL OF DAVIS & LEE

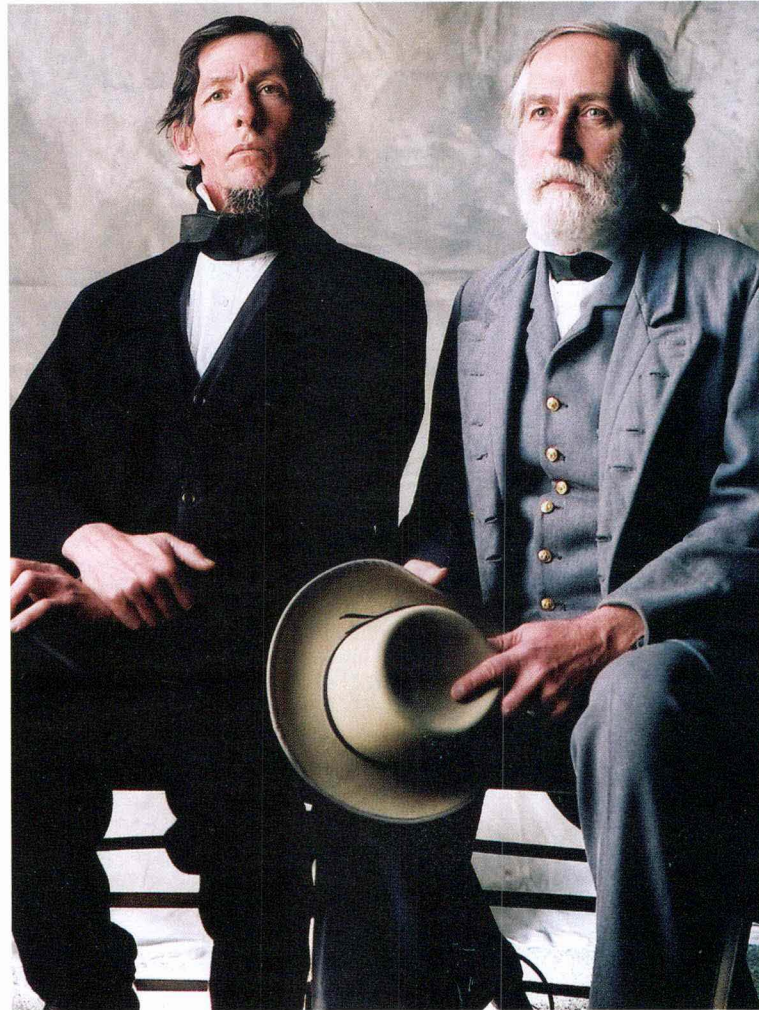
BY TIM MANNING, JR.

Lynchburg, Virginia, March 1 and 2—Liberty University hosted a special Civil War Seminar which presented the debates surrounding the legality of secession in the form of a mock trial of the Confederacy's most prominent leaders: General Robert E. Lee and President Jefferson Davis. Attendees played the role of the jury. Local jurists were cast as Chief Justice of the United States (presiding judge), Attorney General of the United States (prosecuting attorney), and defense counsel. Also appearing as an expert witness was President Abraham Lincoln.

The trial began with opening remarks from the attorneys whereupon Lincoln was called to the stand to testify. His argument hinged strongly on the assertion that the Union was permanent and insoluble, but first he denied that his actions had precipitated the war as South Carolina began the secession process before he was inaugurated.

As to the argument that secession was an inherent legal right expressed in the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln countered that the Declaration was a long list of grievances, and that furthermore, the colonists had exhausted all other forms of appeal. In the case of the South, Lincoln argued, the Confederates had exhausted none of the appeals available to them, but had seceded on no greater provocation than his election as president, which he insisted was legitimate.

Lincoln also made use of the illustration of marriage, making the point that a



Jim Bazo, portraying Confederate President Jefferson Davis and Al Stone, portraying General Robert E. Lee.

matrimonial union could not be unilaterally dissolved at the whim of one of the parties, but in fact, a legal dissolution could not occur until certain matters regarding the disposition of common assets and debts had been agreed upon in a court-ordered divorce. Else, the president declared, was nothing less than “free love.”

On Saturday morning, court reconvened for the testimonies of the accused: Davis and Lee.

President Davis eloquently defended the South's “appeal to arms” as her last

President Davis eloquently defended the South's “appeal to arms” as her last resort. He referred to his and Senator Toombs's willingness to accept Senator Crittenden's proposition as a final settlement to prevent war, but Lincoln had refused to meet with Southern ambassadors time and again. With an open palm to the heavens, President Davis made an impassioned appeal to Providence and all present for a perpetual union of the South: “Unum Perpetua!”

resort. He referred to his and Senator Toombs's willingness to accept Senator Crittenden's proposition as a final settlement to prevent war, but Lincoln had refused to meet with Southern ambassadors time and again. With an open palm to the heavens, President Davis made an impassioned appeal to Providence and all present for a perpetual union of the South: “Unum Perpetua!”

General Lee was called to the bar. He referred to precedence set by Presidents Washington and Jefferson denouncing
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AN ENGLISH VIEW

BY RALPH GREEN

Following the ill-advised seizure of the British ship *Trent* by the US Navy, there was a potential for war between the United States and the United Kingdom. Garnet Wolseley, a young Lieutenant Colonel in the British army, was sent to Canada to help prepare for that war, even as the North conducted war against the Confederacy. Always a student of military affairs, Wolseley saw the Confederate struggle as one for country and liberty. In Canada he followed closely the war between the Confederacy and the Union but was unable to secure reliable information from the newspapers. After a US/British war was averted, the young officer was determined to satisfy his curiosity about Confederate plans and operations. He secured leave and made his way through the North to visit the Confederacy. A literate and discerning writer, he wrote a detailed, informative and entertaining account of his trip. This report, the first essay in this book, was published in early 1863 in an article as "A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters."

He was a little fearful that he might be taken captive and thrown into Federal prison, but made his way determinedly to the South. He described the countryside as well as the difficulties he met as he traveled. He told of the terror of inhabitants due to Northern tyranny and illegal arrests. He pointed out the difference between how an American traveled (sans luggage) and how an Englishman traveled (with bulky portmanteau). One surprise was finding that innkeepers expected travelers to share beds.

Reaching Fredericksburg, Virginia, he was able to take a train to Richmond. During the short trip, he had to stand, as the cars were filled with sick and wounded soldiers. He never forgot the suffering he saw on that train. Although no hotel rooms were available in Richmond, he found a small apartment up four flights of stairs. He was much impressed by the beauty of the city, although he did not fail to note many shortcomings. He met with

Confederate Secretary of War Randolph and secured passes to go wherever he liked.

Before leaving Richmond, he visited many of the local battlefields. He noted the large number of Yankee regimental colors that had been captured, and commented on the folly of Northerners rushing into a war with the avowed object to bring into subjection those in every way superior to themselves. He headed for Staunton on his way to meet Robert E. Lee, and considered the scenery through which he passed to be among the finest he had ever seen. In Staunton, he secured transportation in an ambulance heading to Lee's camp, about six miles from Winchester. From his first sight of Lee, Wolseley was awed by the man. He regarded Lee as one of the only two true heroes he ever knew. (The other was British general Charles Gordon.) That impression of Lee stayed with Wolseley through the years, as is evident in the second essay contained here, an 1887 sketch titled simply "General Lee."

In his presentation of the principles involved in the American Civil War, Wolseley accepted the right of secession. In portraying Lee, he first provided a background on Lee's family and then went on to describe the man as a Confederate general dwelling more on the staff and organizational problems than on battles. His admiration for Lee is clear and unhidden.

By 1887, Wolseley had become Adjutant General of the British Army. He had accrued a great deal of military experience around the world. His service to his country had been rewarded by promotion to the peerage, first as a baron, then as a viscount. The *North American Review* asked him to draw on his experience and critique the recently published *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. The result was the balance of his writings contained in this book, a series of seven

essays entitled *An English View of the Civil War*.

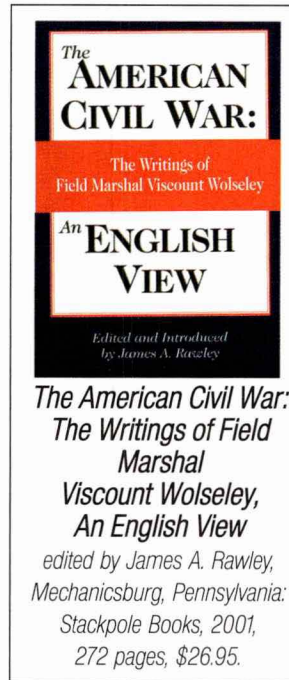
He first looked at Jefferson Davis, the War in the West, First Manassas, and the rise of Union General George McClellan. He recognized Davis's dedication and determination but considered his choice as President to be an unfortunate one. He pointed out the weaknesses of the military organizations, including the lack of capable chiefs of staff. He deemed McClellan's career to be essentially a result of public opinion. This was not a condemnation, as he admired McClellan.

Next, he appraised the need for cooperation between the army and the navy, a need not fully recognized by the U.S. He blamed Lincoln and Stanton for not giving McClellan the reinforcements required for a river-route assault on Richmond. He applauded McClellan's organizational ability as well as his strategic capabilities. His admiration for McClellan did not blind him to the general's vanity nor to his lack of understanding of the operation of a popular government in wartime.

Wolseley went on to consider the same campaigns again, this time from the Confederate viewpoint. The Shenandoah campaign received an expert military assessment of Jackson's tactics and military principles. In considering Lee's first invasion of the North, Wolseley credited the South with victory at Antietam, without noting that the results of that battle cost the South in terms of foreign support and influenced issuance of Lincoln's so-called "emancipation" proclamation.

Moving on to the eastern operations of 1863, Wolseley deemed Lee's failure to compel Burnside's surrender at Fredericksburg to be inexplicable. He admired the fighting qualities of Longstreet but faulted him for his inability to subordinate himself to Lee. After commenting on Gettysburg, Wolseley

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Jacob Wrestles With The Angel Of Secession

BY TED ROBERTS

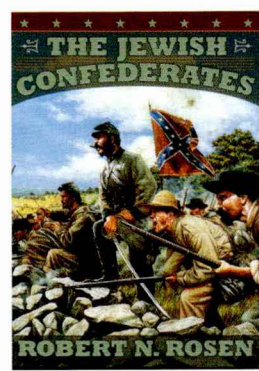
The pervasive theme of Robert N. Rosen's *The Jewish Confederates* is the faith and fervor that the Children of Israel brought to the Confederate cause. Rosen tells a tale that might be a clinical case study in a sociology classroom, if you ignore the blood, sweat, and tears. A maligned minority breaks out of their old-world geographical prison and flees to a new world where reason and freedom—though flawed with human imperfection—reign supreme.

Rosen tells the tale of Jewish allegiance to their New Jerusalem with a cast of historical characters ranging from Judah Philip Benjamin, Senator from Louisiana, to Lieutenant Albert Luria, who died in the peninsular campaign with a Shema (Hear O Israel, the Lord is God, the Lord is one) on his lips; as thousands of Jews before and after him have done.

Rebel yells were not the style of the Jewish Confederates, but even the rabbis on the home front loudly pronounced their Southern allegiance. Rabbi Simon Tuska of Memphis denounced "rabid abolitionists." The rabbi even introduced patriotic services into the Sabbath Liturgy. He called up congregants in uniform to recite the blessings over the Torah—the Five Books of Moses. They, in turn, received the priestly benediction from Numbers. "May the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace."

Rosen has it right: what immigrant, Jew or Gentile, wouldn't fight for this new homeland? Jews, who watched wide-eyed with horror as their kinfolk fell to the pogroms of Eastern and Central Europe, smiled with delight to bask in the sunshine of a land ruled by Constitution, not King.

Kids like me, in Memphis,



The Jewish Confederates

by Robert N. Rosen,
Columbia: University of South
Carolina Press, 2000, 517
pages, \$39.95.

Tennessee, grew up with this assumption. Every time my Polish, Austrian, Russian, or Lithuanian (depending on whose army last overwhelmed his village) grandfather had a second glass of slivovitz, he told us kids grisly tales of the old country. Tales of drunk cavalymen galloping through the potato field where he and his family were digging up supper. Sabres swinging, they grabbed women and kids for ransom.

We Southern Jews were a mini-culture within

a regional subculture of the national Judeo-Christian culture. My neighborhood playmates had grandfathers from Jackson, Tennessee or Tupelo, Mississippi or maybe even as far as Atlanta. Mine, to my embarrassment, was from Poland (or Austria or Russia or Lithuania). Even 12-year-olds like us, who only read comic books and the sports pages of the *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, knew we were different.

We were also dimly aware that the 19th Century South was not an aristocracy peopled by slaves and plutocrats. We knew that even back in those misty days of a Cotton Camelot there were carpenters, accountants, poets, and plumbers. *Gone With The Wind* was a swell movie, but like most cinematic histories then and now, truth took a back seat to plot and prejudice.

We knew that behind the cinematic water oaks, festooned with mossy necklaces, there were plain old pines and elms and sycamores. And behind Tara and its high church Christians we knew there were folks of our faith who closed their stores on Saturday instead of Sunday and mounted a Star of David on their sanctuaries instead of a cross.

Even outside the big cities of the South, there were Greenbergs, Cohens, and Silvers who ran the dry goods, hardware, and grocery stores on the town

squares of hamlets from Mississippi down to Louisiana. The curious visitor, today, can raise his eyes from the street level and see their names chiseled in stone over the facades that front on the Square. Southern Jews mainly were merchants.

All this we vaguely knew. But not until I read Robert Rosen did I give thought to the attitudes of these Israelites—descendants of slaves—to this razor-sharp issue that split the young union in two: a Solomonic decision gone wrong. All we understood was that a century later, the freedom trains that invaded the South brought Jews among other evangelists of freedom—anti-segregationists who marched and a few that died for a cause the cotton aristocracy would have found flawed, at best. But was this bloodiest of all family feuds fought over slavery or states' rights? Who knows?. Julius Yaretzky, a Polish immigrant who found a safe haven in Mississippi, tells us in a letter to his son: "The war between the states was for principles of states' rights. We were thoroughly imbued with the idea." Others agreed. Who knows? It depends on your heart and which historians you select.

Rosen tells of the warm comfort that immigrant Jews found in Dixie. They thrived like fig trees in this land of milk and honey. And if somebody occasionally called them a "dirty Jew," well, that was a laugh compared to serving a 25-year stint in the Czar's army, which was a common fate for Jewish boys. Greenhorn immigrants of all stripes, along with their first and second generation American offspring, reveled in the New Jerusalem. No nobility to grab your sons and daughters, virtually free land, protection of the law. What's not to like? And besides the abstract conveniences of freedom, nobody starved. Fruit hung from the trees, fish teemed in the river, and the woods were full of game, to paraphrase the glowing reports that reached Europe.

No, the sidewalks were not pure gold—contrary to the spiel of the ship commission agents—but there were sidewalks instead of sewerage and a Jew

could walk right down the middle, like everybody else.

These newfound rights bred passionate patriotism to their new community and their community wasn't the United States of America, but Charleston, South Carolina or Greenville, Mississippi. And guess how the Northern Jews felt about the issue of secession? Remarkably like their Christian next-door neighbors. Naturally.

The author quotes from the consecration of a Charleston synagogue, Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim (Congregation Holy House of God). Rabbi Gustavus Poznanski told his congregation that "This synagogue is our temple, this city our Jerusalem, this happy land our Palestine." We will defend it with our lives, he stated.

Rabbi Simon Tuska of Memphis proclaimed that "The Jews of Memphis are ready, in common with their Christian brethren, to sacrifice their property and their lives in defense of southern rights." Rosen reminds us that "the Talmud taught the Jews that the law of the land is the law, and slavery was the law of the land."

Robert Rosen tells us the story of Jewish soldiers—from Pvt. Leon Fischel, who enlisted at Memphis, to Pvt. Gustavus Poznanski, Jr., son of the rabbi cited above. He died, says Rosen, "in defense of the Confederacy, just as his father stated from the pulpit of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim."

The Jewish Confederates is a wide-ranging compendium of Jewish involvement in the Civil War. Well written, it describes the Jewish Johnnie Reb, carrying a 12-pound muzzle loader; officers like Major Adolph Proskaver; and political leaders such as Senators Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana and David Yulee of Florida.

Vignettes, pictures, and diary excerpts crowd its pages, speaking louder and more poignantly of the times and customs than pages of dry historical narrative.

A young girl speaks of her soldier suitor, Lt. Albert Luria, "now he expects to go to Manassas junction, where he has longed to be ever since he left it. Why?—because it is the most dangerous place.... He is now among all his friends that are

left from that large battle.... If his precious life could be insured I would be sorry that he had not an opportunity to distinguish himself again; but everything happens for the best."

Emma Mordecai writes in her diary: "Gusta brought me the sad news of the death of Isaac Levy, a fine young soldier killed in the trenches near Petersburg. He and his brother Ezekiel Levy have observed their religion faithfully, ever since they have been in the army, never even eating forbidden food." She calls him "a soldier of the Lord and a soldier of the South."

Sadly, little remains to remind us of Jewish devotion to the Confederate cause. But it must be admitted that the same could be said about the Confederacy; or the Spanish-American War or the Smoot-Hawley Tariff or the Origins of World War I or any historical event springing from yesterday's passions. Our causes ebb and flow with the TV headlines. We are not a nation with a great memory. I'm afraid that a random questioning of a hundred Southern Jews wouldn't turn up ten who could identify Judah P. Benjamin. That's why Rosen's book is important.

There's not much stone and mortar (except on cemetery headstones) to bring back to mind the lives and times of these Jewish Confederates. But the synagogue of Rabbi Gustavus Poznanski, Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, still stands in Charleston. "Facing east, toward Jerusalem," says Robert Rosen.

Fire Martial

BY BRION McCLANAHAN

Few history books published in recent years are on topics worthy of much consideration. With the growing trend of historians to write "sexy" histories on race, class, gender, slave hair styles, time or sound in the Old South, and the like, William C. Davis's newest work on Robert Barnwell Rhett

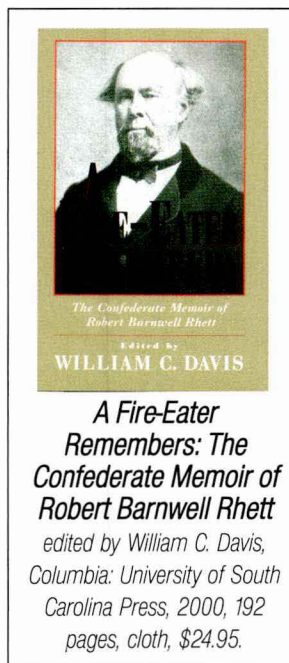
offers a refreshing return to the golden years of good old fashioned political history. After years as the editor of the *Civil War Times Illustrated* and the author of nearly fifty books on the War period, including an award winning biography of Jefferson Davis, his editorship gives Rhett a new voice in modern historiography. It has been sixty-nine years since Laura White published the only complete biography of Rhett. In that time, Rhett has been demonized, vilified, and misunderstood, while the editor's own work on President Davis contributed to this melee. Though Davis appears to be objective on the surface, his obvious bias toward Jefferson Davis and condescending introduction taint what should be an important addition to the ongoing resurrection of post-bellum memoirs.

Following the War, numerous Southerners offered their versions of the cause. Albert Taylor Bledsoe's *Is Davis A Traitor?*, Richard Taylor's *Destruction and Reconstruction*, Robert L. Dabney's *A Defence of Virginia*, Alexander H. Stephens's *War Between the States*, and Davis's own *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* are but a few of the myriad War recollections.

Rhett's memoir, however, is different. Since he was one of the first to advocate Southern secession, his positions on the Confederate government, its Constitution, the causes of the War, and its aftermath are important in understanding both

Southern and United States history. As early as 1827, Rhett called for Southern secession, and while others wanted to quell what became the Nullification Controversy, Rhett worked to arm the citizenry of South Carolina in order to defend the state against Andrew Jackson's threatened invasion. This was a man who was wild, passionate, prophetic, untamed, and remarkably admirable. Yet, William C. Davis does not view him this way.

Davis calls Rhett "contentious, opinionated, intolerant, and self-righteous," and does not refrain from agreeing with those who



called him a “crank.” Davis refuses to describe Rhett as one-dimensional, but his evaluation leaves a bitter taste. Rhett’s stand for “Free Government” was dogmatic to Davis, and perhaps because Davis does not understand nor appreciate the principles to which Rhett adhered, he views the man who stood unwaveringly against Federal power with suspicion. “As a thorough believer in an oligarchy of wealth and intellect ruling the country—as it ruled his South Carolina—he completely distrusted the idea of majority rule in a democracy, without seeming to grasp that

the alternative must be federal impotence, if not national disintegration.” In fact, Rhett championed the rights of a minority against mob rule, a position most of the Founding Fathers supported, and he trusted the citizenry of the Southern states enough to place the mantle of secession at their feet by advocating state conventions to settle the question and adopt the new Confederate Constitution.

Davis also appears “surprised” that a man of such “fallible” character could be a “tender and romantic husband,” as if intensity in public life translates to a cold and heartless

private realm. But Davis’s most glaring deficiencies are not his analysis of the man’s character, but his discussion of Rhett’s interpretation of the War and secession.

Davis has been guilty in previous works of placing slavery at the heart of the War for Southern Independence. While no serious historian could deny that slavery occupied a place in the conflict, those who diminish secession and the War to a crusade for preservation of human bondage miss the complexity of the issues surrounding it. To Davis, Rhett “assiduously attempts to sanitize the historical

SIDELIGHTS & LIGHTERSIDES

Compiled by Ralph Green

RED ALERT

Returning from a raid on Union troops at Belle Plain, Virginia, Lt. Alfred Glascock and other Mosby’s Rangers were pursued by a regiment of Union cavalry. Approaching a railroad spur near Fredericksburg, they found Yankee infantry barring their escape route. Acting quickly, Glascock waved his men on at a gallop, shouting “Mosby is after us! Get out of the way!” Mistaking the Rangers for Union cavalry, the Yankees scurried for cover as the Rangers raced to safety over the unguarded road.

CAMP FORD

In 1862 a training camp for Confederate recruits was established about four miles northeast of Tyler, Texas. Named after John S. “Rip” Ford, Camp Ford became a military prison in 1863. It held the largest concentration of Union prisoners west of the Mississippi, up to 4,000 at one time. The Camp had a mortality rate of less than 5%, one of the lowest rates of all prisons during the war. Prisoners were allowed to ease their boredom by engaging in commercial enterprises and sold their products to guards or

to civilians of the area. Some baked cakes, cookies, and pies. One published *The Old Flag*, a newspaper. Others utilized crude machinery to produce goods including axe handles, baskets, caps and hats, brooms, candles, chairs, eating utensils, chessmen, pails, pipes, and soap. The prison operated until May 1865, when remaining prisoners were escorted to Shreveport by the 15th Texas Cavalry. The stockade was destroyed after the War by members of the 10th Illinois Cavalry who had been imprisoned there.

NO PROBLEM

The battle had been difficult, fought over terrible terrain in a freezing rain. The Southerners had advanced through a swollen river and climbed a vertical embankment to attack the foe. Later an officer asked a hill-country farm lad in his company how difficult he had found the battlefield. The young man replied that at home he had crossed rougher country than that to get to the barn!

HOOD’S TEXAS BRIGADE

Private J.S.W. Cooke, Co. B, 4th Texas, was the only non-volunteer member of Hood’s

Texas Brigade. He was conscripted June 6, 1862, at Culpeper Court House, Virginia.

Private Rube Blalock, Co. D, 1st Texas, was the only member of the Brigade to die from a bayonet thrust. He was slain at Spotsylvania Court House, on May 10, 1864.

Captured September 17, 1862, at Antietam, Lt. J.M. Alexander, Co. K, 5th Texas, escaped and rejoined his company. Captured at Gettysburg on July 2, 1863, he escaped and rejoined his company. On October 8, 1864, he was captured at Darbytown Road. Once more he escaped and rejoined his company, this time staying with it until his parole at Appomattox.

Only 348 rifles were surrendered to the Federals at Appomattox by the 602 survivors of the Brigade. Many of the troops smashed their guns against trees rather than give them up.

In the first half of 1863 the versatile foot soldiers of the Brigade fought against gunboats and engaged in the first trench warfare in American history. One regiment, the Third Arkansas, was briefly mounted as a cavalry unit.

ON SECOND THOUGHT

Union soldiers, camped on Cemetery Hill, near Moorefield, West Virginia, were surrounded by members of Hanse McNeill’s Rangers. When a six-foot Georgian called on a Federal officer to surrender, the Ranger was shocked to hear, “I am an officer and will only surrender to an officer.” The Southerner had his own ideas on the subject however. Raising his gun he barked, “We’ll see! At this moment we are on equality, sir, officer or no officer.” Without further remark the Federal submitted.

NOT A FAILURE

Following their defeat of Union forces at the Battle of Monocacy on June 9, 1864, the troops of Jubal Early had carried the War to the gates of Washington, D.C. For two days, on June 11-12, Early and his men probed and tested the fortifications that encased that city. Early always knew he could not really capture the city. After calling off the attack, he evaluated the results: “we haven’t taken Washington, but we’ve scared Abe Lincoln like h\$#@” ★

record in some degree, especially in trying to diminish or eliminate slavery as a cause of secession and the war." Here, Davis ignores much of the post-bellum literature that would refute his assertion. Throughout his memoir, Rhett refers to the cultural and economic divide that separated North from South. Rhett calls the Whig and later Republican party the parties of "consolidation," and he blasts both for levying excessive taxation on the American public. His discussion of the Confederate Constitution, moreover, is highlighted by what he thought were the main departures from the Federal document, namely free trade, destruction of federally funded internal improvements, and the removal of the threat of consolidated government by the implementation of a fixed six-year, one-term role for the President of the Confederacy. In Rhett's mind, the Democratic party was "demoralized" during the 1850s mainly over the issue of internal improvements. Slavery permeates his work, but only as a surface issue, a position consistent with other post-bellum memoirs.

The most important contributions of the memoir are Rhett's thoughts on President Davis. Next to Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis has been the most studied Confederate leader. Both contemporaries and later historians have scrutinized his mistakes and victories, and Rhett was Davis's main critic and antagonist. His political organ, *The Charleston Mercury*, gave Davis a lashing whenever the opportunity presented itself, and Rhett was always quick to discredit the President. Possibly because of his desire to be President, but more than likely because of his dislike for Davis's policies and beliefs, Rhett lobbied hard against Davis. He did not forget Davis's adherence to the Union in the 1850s, nor did he believe Davis was a true champion of "Free Government." After all, Davis had advocated using Federal money to build a railroad to the Pacific as Secretary of War during the Franklin Pierce administration. He further could not understand Davis's loyalty to certain Confederate generals, his cabinet selections, nor his bungling of foreign recognition and aid, and the hoarding of cotton, a resource so vital to the Confederate cause. But even with reservations, Rhett, in fact, supported Davis for President during the creation of the new government, and he pitied his downfall.

Of course, with any personal memoir, the reader must take into account the probability of a certain amount of self-aggrandizement on the part of the author. Davis's critical eye toward Rhett may help complete the story of the Carolina Fire Eater, and he plans to use this book as a springboard to a much overdue biography. Additionally, Davis helped to correct some chronological errors in White's work, and since the memoir had never been published before, its mere appearance will help vindicate Rhett if the reader uses his own judgment. What the publication of this lost memoir has given to the South and to the world is a work dedicated to the preservation of the Southern cause. William C. Davis believes Rhett desired the ruin of the Confederacy, and because of some personal squabbling, there may be some merit to this position. But to the end, Rhett believed in Southern independence, and was an eternal optimist. In a stirring conclusion to his memoir, Rhett issues a call to the sons and daughters of the South. They may again, one day, take heed:

With a territory greater than that of France, Germany, and Great Britain combined; —with a climate and soil whose surpassing variety and fertility, grandly rises from the exhaustless water of the Gulf-stream; —with a population as brave and free as ever fought for liberty; —the People of the Southern States cannot fail to lift themselves up—one of the greatest Peoples who have ever controlled and blessed its destinies.

My task is done. The laboring
heart is still;
No longer burning with the
sacred fire
To tell how fell my country; how
her will
Baffled and prone, may yet arise
tho' higher,
Her course the altar, not the
Funeral pyre.
Where nations yet may knell, and
tyrants pale,
When Freedom's trumpet tones
again inspire,
Calling from mountain to answer
ing vale,
Stand forth! In life or death & my
course shall never fail. ☪

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The Women's War

BY BYRON SNAPP

A REVIEW OF

The Women's War in the South: Recollections of the American Civil War.

edited by Charles G. Waugh and Martin H. Greenberg, Nashville, Tennessee: Cumberland House, 1999, 448 pages, \$16.95.

There is hardly a better way to grasp historical events than by reading eyewitness accounts. Waugh and Greenberg provide their readers with an excellent opportunity to better understand an often overlooked point of view and locale of the War. In these 17 recollections and 11 reflections, the editors take us beyond the trenches and encampments and into the homes and heart of the women. These accounts evidence the involvement of women in numerous ways—as nurses, spies, soldiers, and managers of small and large acreage in the absence of their soldier spouses.

Reading these selections, the reader is gripped by the suffering, servanthood, support, and spirit of these women. Their writing evidences their loneliness, their plight, and very often their passion for the Southern cause of independence. This passion is particularly pictured in those women who, disguised as men, enlisted as soldiers or secluded themselves as spies in Northern venues. The plights of other women is seen in their lost fortunes, lonely marriages, or changed lifestyles that the War years brought.

This volume is enhanced by various selections that are included. Readers are treated to a lengthy article on the famed Varina Davis, as well as the nondescript Appalachian wife, Mary Bell. Readers are able to tread through war-torn Arkansas as they read the account of several women who lost their way traveling from Fayetteville to Washington, Ark.

The War is seen through the eyes of a Southern female who spends time in Pennsylvania, as well as a female Northerner who travels to a number of Southern cities during the conflict. We read of those who served the wounded and dying in hospitals and the self-serving who were too busy to serve the cause.

This volume is a delight to read also because of the various accounts. Included

are letter, personal recollections, and biographical accounts.

This valuable book is enriched by a very helpful index of many people and places mentioned in the volume.

Impudent Presidents

BY MYLES KANTOR

A REVIEW OF

Reassessing the Presidency: The Rise of the Executive State and the Decline of Freedom.

edited by John V. Denson, Auburn, Alabama: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 791 pages, \$35.00.

In this time of war, the recent publication of *Reassessing the Presidency: The Rise of the Executive State and the Decline of Freedom* is auspicious. Based on a conference sponsored by the Ludwig von Mises Institute in 1998, this watershed treatise is revisionist in the best sense of the word.

Contributors to *Reassessing the Presidency* include historians, philosophers, and economists. This analytical diversity yields an eclectic product. To name just three of the twenty-three essays: "President Andrew Johnson: Tribune of States' Rights," "Supreme Court as Accomplice: Judicial Backing for a Despotic Presidency," and "The Use and Abuse of Antitrust from Cleveland to Clinton: Causes and Consequences."

The leitmotif of *Reassessing the Presidency* is that a monarchic America is antithetical to the American founding. In 1776, the American colonies seceded from a king's transatlantic hegemony through the Declaration of Independence. The executive branch subsequently established by the Constitution denied to the president the king's powers such as declaring war and raising armies. This reactionary vigilance soon waned, however, and before long the presidency exhibited the imperial traits abhorred by the founders. In the modern age, the president has been a unilateral war-maker, social engineer, and de facto legislator. As transcendent as he is transgressive, enumerated powers are no impediment to his ambitions.

Unsurprisingly, war has been the chief facilitator of executive aggrandizement. Consolidation is a creature of crisis, and nothing fosters crisis like war. The current

War against Terror is no exception to this trend. Of course, it should be remembered that the War against Terror is not whimsical. The mass murder perpetrated by proxies of totalitarianism on September 11 was egregious belligerence, and the offensive federal expansion thereafter does not change this.

Reassessing the Presidency continues the Ludwig von Mises Institute's promotion of vital scholarship, responsible for previous books such as *Secession, State, and Liberty* and *The Costs of War*. Anyone who values American freedom and superb scholarship should own this book. ★



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MINORITY VIEW



BY WALTER WILLIAMS

Do we want Democracy?

What's so good about democracy—generally understood as having trust in the general will of a democratic people, as expressed by a vote of the majority, to make all important decisions? If a majority of our

535 congressmen votes for one measure or another, is that all right with you?

You say: "What's the story, Williams? Is there a better method of making important decisions?" I say yes, but let's first decide whether we'd really like majority rule as a criterion for making important decisions.

Suppose you're making the important decision to marry. Would you like the decision about whom you marry to be made through a democratic procedure where what the majority of Americans think determines whom you marry? How about using the democratic process to decide what we have for Thanksgiving dinner? Majority rule determines whether everyone has turkey, or ham, or duck, or capon. Once the vote is taken and, say, turkey wins, everyone is obliged to serve turkey.

You say, "C'mon Williams, when people say they're for democracy, they don't mean private decisions!" You're probably right. Indeed, if democratic procedures were applied to those private areas of our lives, we'd see it as nothing less than tyranny. That's one important problem with democracy: It creates an aura of moral legitimacy for acts that would otherwise be considered tyranny.

That's precisely why our Founders thought a Bill of Rights was a crucial protection. Thomas Jefferson said, "The majority, oppressing an individual, is guilty of a crime, abuses its strength, and by acting on the law of the strongest breaks up the foundations of society." So we should ask what life decisions should and should not be made through the political process.

Should a democratic process determine how much I put aside out of my weekly earnings for food? What about housing? What about for my daughter's education? You say, "Williams, that's your business and none other." Then I ask why it isn't also my business how much of my weekly earnings is set aside for retirement. In our country, how much is set aside for retirement is, as Jefferson might put it, criminally determined by Congress through Social Security laws.

Democracy was viewed with disgust by most of the nation's founders. Alexander Hamilton said: "We are now forming a Republican form of government. Real liberty is not found in the extremes of democracy, but in moderate governments. If we

incline too much to democracy, we shall soon shoot into a monarchy, or some other form of dictatorship."

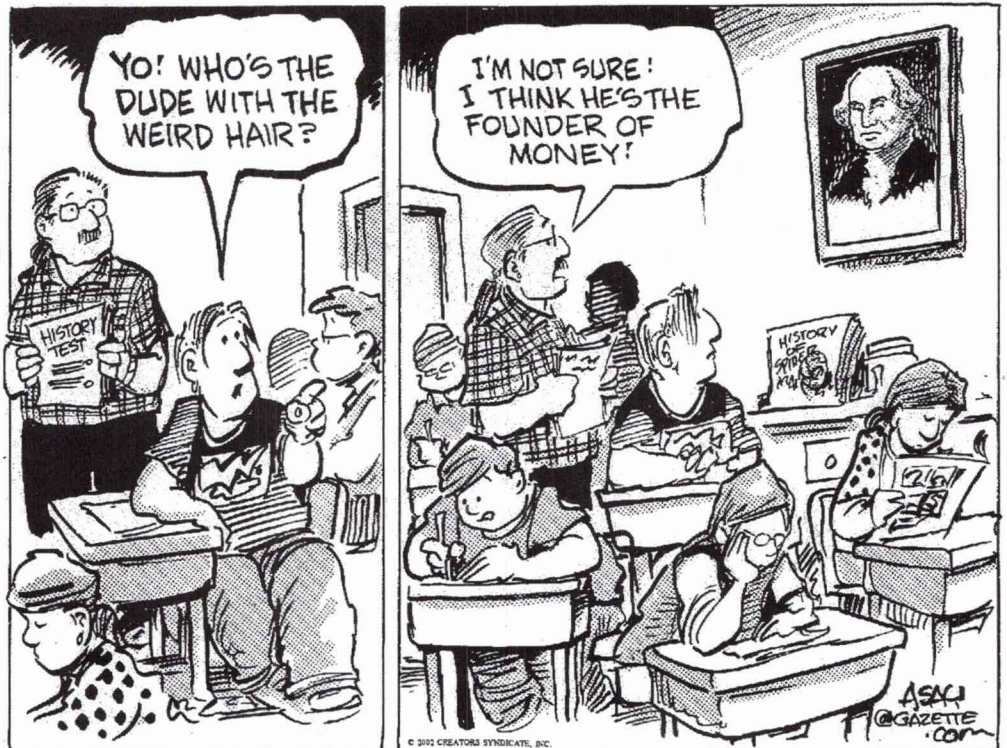
In Federalist Paper 10, arguing for a constitutional republic, James Madison said, "... democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths."

John Adams said: "Remember, democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide."

U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall said, "Between a balanced republic and a democracy, the difference is like that between order and chaos."

The observation about democracy that I like best was that of H.L. Mencken: "Democracy is a form of worship. It is the worship of jackals by jackasses."

When the Founders thought of democracy, they saw democracy in the political sphere—a sphere strictly limited by the Constitution's well-defined and enumerated powers given the federal government. Substituting democratic decision-making for what should be private decision-making is nothing less than tyranny dressed up. ❖



THE SOBRAN VIEW



BY JOSEPH SOBRAN

Can this war be won?

Why does everyone seem to assume the United States is winning—or can ever win—the amorphous “war on terrorism”? Shortly after the 9/11 attacks we seemed to realize that we were in a new period of

warfare, unlike conventional wars between states. Even President Bush warned that we might never know when this war is over.

In conventional terms, the war is going well for the United States. It’s inflicting enormous damage on Afghanistan while suffering few casualties. There have been no successful terrorist operations within the United States since the war began. (Never mind that the enemy forces seem to have escaped.)

We have already forgotten last fall’s tremendous anxiety over possible chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons within our borders. We are beginning to feel victorious and omnipotent again, if not quite as invulnerable as we once felt. In truth, this war appeals chiefly to our nostalgia for World War II: it offers the satisfaction of bombing suspected enemy strongholds without suffering reciprocal bombing at home. It makes us feel that the good old days of American power are back.

But Bush had it right the first time. We will never know whether our enemies have been decisively weakened. If Osama bin Laden were to resurface and surrender, he couldn’t guarantee that his fellow fanatics would throw in the towel too. Some of them surely would not.

If—tomorrow, next year, ten years from now—someone who hates America should get hold of a second-hand Russian nuclear device and smuggle it into Manhattan, blowing it up with conventional explosives, the ensuing panic, even if there were fewer deaths than on September 11, could paralyze economic life in this country.

The principle of terrorism is simple. All social life depends on our implicit trust that strangers won’t harm us without a reason. Terrorism is violence calculated to

destroy that trust. Anyone, even a lone individual, can do that. It’s absurd even to speak of a “war on terrorism.”

So the Bush administration is pretending that this is really in essence a conventional—i.e., winnable—war, a war against an identifiable enemy, and is targeting regimes it thinks it can defeat with conventional forces, with an occasional hint that it may resort to nuclear weapons. It also tries to shore up American morale by repeating that the enemy is “evil,” rather than, say, “cussed” or “ornery.”

But since we can never know whether the war has been won, we can only know that it’s making us more enemies. The Roman Empire made a vicious war on early Christianity, which didn’t even fight back, yet the martyrs won so many converts that the Empire itself eventually became Christian. The Israelis have been fighting terrorism for decades, yet they now face more and worse terrorism than ever before. You can neither deter nor punish those who are willing to die in order to hurt you.

It may already be too late, but we should ask ourselves why we are hated with such extreme bitterness. To ask this question is not necessarily to “blame America.” It is merely to try to understand the enemy’s motive, as a good chess player tries to understand his opponent’s moves—not to seek defeat, but to avoid it.

If you can never know whether you have won a war on terrorism, can you ever know if you have lost? The U.S. Government can never really lose, because its resources are inexhaustible. It can tax us and prune away our freedoms while claiming it does these things to protect us. And since we are much easier targets than the supposed enemy, the “war on terrorism”

amounts to a war on the victims of terrorism.

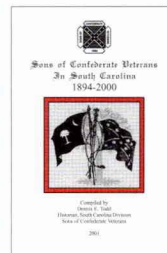
In Randolph Bourne’s famous aphorism, “War is the health of the state.” Our government doesn’t mind if its war actually hurts us more than it hurts the nominal enemy. Yet I don’t doubt that Bush sincerely believes he is waging this war for our sake.

Only time will tell whether our government has bitten off more than it can chew. And time may take a long time to tell us. In the end we may learn that the war has only aggravated the problem it set out to eliminate.

If Bush’s aim were to save American lives, rather than to preserve American empire, he might take these steps: call off the war, close U.S. military bases abroad, bring American military personnel home, and ask for an end to U.S. support for foreign regimes, particularly Israel.

For additional safety, he might also announce his conversion to Islam. That would be no more improbable than the other steps, would it? ☛

SOUTH CAROLINA DIVISION
SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS
HISTORY BOOK



This book, 160 pages (9"x6") with a few pictures and images, tells the story of the South Carolina Division Sons of Confederate Veterans throughout the years and shows that the division has lived up to its charge of seeing that the true history of the South is

presented to future generations. It lists all South Carolina Division Sons of Confederate Veterans Camps with a brief history of most of today’s active camps. The funeral of the last Confederate widow in SC, the awarding of six Confederate medals of honor, SC’s Confederate Unknown Soldier and the [South Carolina Division Sons of Confederate Veterans involvement with the HL Hunley Submarine](#) are only a few of the special events or interests described. [And, yes, the Sons of Confederate Veterans involvement in the Confederate Battle Flag Fight in SC is included.](#) Numerous other historical facts are listed. It was published by the SC Division Sons of Confederate Veterans, 2001.

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Herman Talmadge

(Continued from Page 27)

sure. What he failed to appreciate was the extent to which press coverage had made his being well known into a liability. Moreover, he spent so much time trying to convince his loyalists that he might actually lose the general election to a Republican that he failed to campaign nearly enough in the Atlanta area.

Recalling the day of the election, Herman writes:

On Tuesday, November 4, I cast my vote in Henry County, then headed north to Atlanta to wait for the returns to come in. Going up the Jonesboro road, I could see how the fast food places and the shopping plazas were creeping into an area that was once totally rural. White collar folks who worked in the city were moving farther and farther into the surrounding area. Where once I could see only pickup trucks or a second-hand jalopy on cinder blocks, there were now more and more Volvos and BMWs. Designer jeans had replaced bib overalls, and it wasn't just poor farm kids who went several months without a haircut. Just a few miles onto I-75 North, there's the Hartsfield International Airport—the second busiest in the nation—complete

with moving sidewalks and robot voices that tell passengers to steer clear of the subway doors. (How many of the millions of people who pass through there each year even know who Bill Hartsfield was?) Then, not too long after 75 merges with I-85, you have the Fulton County Stadium—home of

the Braves. Like the nation itself, that team moved from the Northeast (Boston) to the Midwest (Milwaukee) to what used to be called the South. It's called the Sunbelt now, and Atlanta is its capital.

On election night, it was evident that Ronald Reagan would be the next president and that, for the first time in nearly three decades, the Republicans would control the Senate. That meant that Herman's Agriculture Committee chairmanship would be gone. But at least his seat seemed safe. When he went to bed, he was leading Mattingly by 100,000 votes and had been declared the winner by two of the three major television networks.

Still, the lead was not insurmountable. Computer breakdowns in Cobb and DeKalb Counties, two large and populous areas to the north and east of Atlanta, left a large number of votes in doubt. When they were finally counted, Mack Mattingly carried the metropolitan Atlanta area by 150,000 votes and became the first Republican senator from Georgia since Reconstruction. The Talmadge political dynasty, which had begun when old Gene was elected state Agriculture Commissioner fifty-four years earlier, had finally come to an end. ❖

Mark Royden Winchell is the author of Talmadge: A Political Legacy, a Politician's Life (written in collaboration with Herman E. Talmadge), Where No Flag Flies: Donald Davidson and the Southern Resistance, and other books.

English View

(Continued from Page 29)

appraised western operations. This is perhaps the weakest portion of his writings, as he was not really familiar with American geography. He considered Union General Halleck and Confederate General Braxton Bragg to be unqualified for their positions, but had kind words for US Grant and William T. Sherman.

Next, Wolseley returned to the east, where he again concluded that the army and navy must cooperate and support each other, citing the Charleston operations as proving that naval gunfire alone was not reliable. In reviewing the action at Charleston, he portrayed Pierre G.T. Beauregard as a skillful and able general. In his analysis of the final months of the war, Wolseley faulted Jefferson Davis for replacing Joe Johnston with John Bell Hood. He attributed many Southern problems to the fact that Lee, unlike U.S. Grant, was head of an army, not commander-in-chief of all armies. Wolseley ended his writings by stating he was proud to be from the race that gave birth to those who fought on both sides, saying "Who can say which to admire the more—the Southern pluck and daring, or the stern, sober determination which eventually led the North to victory?" Even those who think they know the answer to that question should enjoy this book. ❖

DAVIS & LEE

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"consolidation and centralization of power, as tending to the subversion of State Governments, and to despotism." He referred to "New England's fierce hatred of the South" and the Hartford secession convention of 1814.

After cross-examination by the prosecution, General Lee made extensive use of Rawle's View of the Constitution. The textbook used at West Point to teach him, and his enemies, vindicated the South's constitutional position on nullification and secession.

General Lee concluded, "The South has ever contended only for the suprema-

cy of the constitution." And that he hoped one day, "the exclusive right of each [state] to regulate its internal affairs may again be at hand."

The three principals in the case—Lee, Davis, and Lincoln—were portrayed by actors who all bore striking resemblances to their characters. But the similarities were not limited to the physical appearance as each of the men had extensive studies of the habits, characteristics, accents, and beliefs of the men they portrayed.

In the end the defendants were acquitted by a 156–24 majority.

The debate was along the Socratic method, with the attorneys presenting questions and the actors formulating their answers. The answers were unscripted and

demanding a significant intellectual commitment from all the participants.

The seminar is an annual event organized by Drs. Kenny Rowlette and Cline Hall, in which L.U. students receive one credit hour. President Davis was portrayed by Jim Bazo of upper Ontario (Canada), General Lee by Al Stone of West Virginia, and Abraham Lincoln by Fritz Klein of Illinois.

Mr. Bazo brought a caravan of supporters from his rural hometown of Heathcote. He mentioned that several small Canadian newspapers were awaiting his report of the outcome. Dressed in full period attire, leaving the parking lot in his Volkswagen, he exclaimed, "I would've walked all the way from Canada for that verdict!" ❖

Yet Another Non-Crime

BY P.J. BYRNES

Everyone remembers Jasper, Texas; that's the place where James Byrd, Jr., a 49-year-old black man, accepted a ride from three white men, who overpowered him, chained his legs, and dragged him for three miles until he was dead. Then his mutilated body was deposited in front of a black cemetery.

At that point, the world converged on Jasper.

Byrd's death, the criminal investigation, the arrest of the suspects, the trial, and the sentencing were page-one stories in newspapers throughout the country, and on network broadcasts for night after night after night.

Black activists poured into town. After Byrd's funeral, black militants, carrying shotguns, marched through the streets of Jasper. Their leader, Khalid Muhammad, said, "We are here to say that violence and racism and hatred of the white man in America is just as American as apple and cherry pie."

Indeed, every black leader—from Jesse Jackson to Al Sharpton to Kweisi Mfume—used the occasion to denounce racism. And a good many whites joined in. Small wonder. The crime was one of the most brutal in recent memory.

Fast-forward to January of this year. We're back in Jasper, this time with a man named Ken Tillery. On the night of the 19th, four men offered Tillery a ride to nearby Pineland. He accepted, agreeing to the condition that he pay \$5 for gas. However, as they were driving along in the truck, the price escalated—first to \$25, then to \$50. At that point, Tillery knew he was in trouble; when they got to the gas station, he jumped out of the truck and ran for his life. The men caught him, beat him, and the driver ran over him, dragging him to death under the truck.

Three of the four have been charged with capital murder.

Haven't heard about this one, have you? Few media outlets carried the story. No front-page stories in the nation's major newspapers. No network coverage. No con-

vergence of national political figures on Jasper or Pineland.

Why not?

Could it be because Tillery was white, and the four men who gave him a ride were black? (Of course, we all know that racism is exclusively a white attitude.)

The first Associated Press dispatch we located quotes Sheriff Tom Maddox of Sabine County as saying: "It's too early in the investigation to tell whether it was racially motivated, but it's still very much under investigation." (The murder occurred in Sabine County—his jurisdiction.)

However, an AP story, filed later the very same day, begins with this lead sentence: "Authorities said Monday they did not

Could it be because Tillery was white, and the four men who gave him a ride were black? (Of course, we all know that racism is exclusively a white attitude.)

believe race was a factor in the slaying of a white hitchhiker allegedly run over by a black man who wanted him to pay gas money." What authorities? The anonymous writer quotes Jasper County Sheriff Billy Rowles, who said "race or revenge do not appear to be behind the killing."

In a third story filed four days later, "authorities" had settled on their story: "They believe Little had offered to give Tillery a ride home from Jasper and an alleged drug house when a dispute arose over gas money."

Despite this comforting version—which includes the information that the victim was allegedly a doper—we can't resist the temptation to raise a few questions.

1. Except for the Good Lord Himself, how can anyone presume to say he had explored all the dark, dank caves of these four psyches—and that nowhere could he find even one drop of racism?

2. Why did these for-certain-non-racist joy riders continually escalate the price of gas to the point where their passenger could no longer pay it? Clearly some form of intimidation was in progress almost from the

start of the ride. Did race play no part in the growing hostility of the four? Authorities now say the argument over money led to the killing, but why did the blacks jack up the price of a 20-mile ride to \$50 unless they were spoiling for a fight?

3. Would they have treated one of the "brothers" this way—and isn't that relevant to the question of whether or not this murder was motivated by racism?

4. After being subjected to a media circus following the James Byrd murder, didn't Sheriff Billy Rowles of Jasper have a vested interest in denying any hint of racism?

And why was the AP quoting Rowles anyway? The murder occurred in Sabine County—as the AP clearly knew, having already interviewed Sheriff Tom Maddox. (When *we* called Rowles, we were immediately referred to Sabine County.)

5. Tillery's father apparently accepted the official word that race was not a motive in the killing. ("Personally, I just think it was a case of him not having any money or drugs.") So how would a black family have reacted? How would Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton and Kweisi Mfume have reacted?

We know how they *did* react in the case of James Byrd, Jr. So why don't white people rise up and march through the streets with shotguns? And why don't the leaders of white organizations demand a media circus of their own in the wake of this brutal killing?

Clearly, whites as a whole don't feel the same degree of racial animosity that blacks feel. They don't take every black-on-white crime personally. They no longer rush into the streets as they once did, rope in hand. Even the Southern sheriff—in contrast to the Hollywood stereotype—plays down the racial implications of a killing like this, though such nuances were surely, inevitably present.

It is time for the nation to recognize and affirm this contrast in attitudes—and to acknowledge that blacks rather than whites are more likely to harbor racial animosities and to act on them. Only when we quit trying to cover up black racism and deal with it honestly and openly will we resolve the tensions that still divide us as a nation. ✪



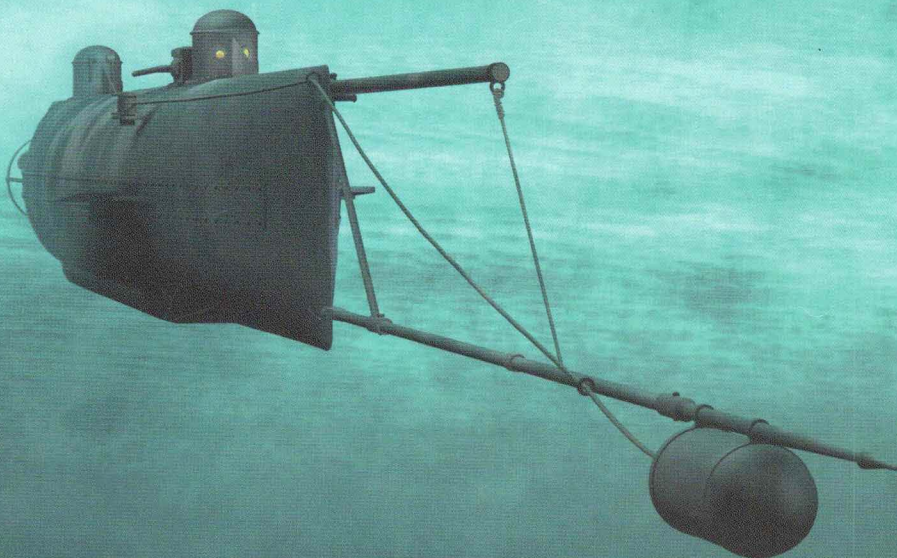
A group of Neosho High School students guard the pavement painting of a Confederate flag Thursday morning, May 9, 2002, on "Senior Hill" on the campus in Neosho, Missouri. Shown, from left, are freshman Jessica Kidd; eighth-grader Crystal Robinson; sophomore Jason Moon; sophomore Jameson Elder; and freshman Karanda Ruark. A group of students and their parents continued their vigil for a third-straight day Thursday in a protest over the district's request that the image be painted over. (AP Photo/The Joplin Globe, T. Rob Brown)

COME VISIT THE HUNLEY

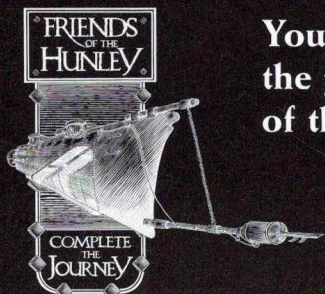
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PAINTING BY CONRAD WISE CHAPMAN,
COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM OF THE CONFEDERACY

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.

Surrounded over time in mystery, the Hunley was raised on August 8, 2000, 136 years after her triumph and tragedy. She was brought to the Warren Lasch Conservation Center, a technological workplace designed to seek out and record the facts of the H.L. Hunley's journey into history.

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