

(tracing only three generations) and a map are buried in the front matter and easily overlooked. More than a dozen images and photographs appear in the middle of the book, rather than interspersed in the text at the points where their subjects are mentioned. And while there is extensive citation in endnotes, there is no complete bibliography. These are minor nuisances but a disappointment in an otherwise fine work. *Freedom Papers* is a virtuosity of research and historical narrative and an excellent read.

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MADAME LALAURIE: *Mistress of the Haunted House*. By Caroline Morrow Long. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. xii, 258 pp. Preface, definition of terms, introduction, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth \$24.95, ISBN 978-0-8130-3806-3).

Ghost tours of New Orleans are popular among tourists, and one eagerly anticipated site is the "most haunted house in the city," the French Quarter mansion of Madame Delphine Lalaurie. The legend of Madame Lalaurie, wealthy society leader and accused slave torturer, has fascinated and horrified residents of the Crescent City since 1834, when a fire revealed seven "wretched negroes" chained in the slave quarters, horribly mutilated and starving. After Madame Lalaurie fled the city, most residents expressed few doubts of her guilt, and New Orleans storytellers have expanded on the grotesque descriptions of her victims. More recently, descendants have tried to restore her reputation. Carolyn Morrow Long's *Madame Lalaurie, Mistress of the Haunted House* provides a meticulous reconstruction of the events preceding and following the fire. Her goal is to clarify, confirm, or refute aspects of the Lalaurie legend using new information found in archival sources and family documents. Her persuasively argued conclusion that Madame Lalaurie was indeed responsible for torturing and murdering her slaves should satisfy both scholarly and popular readers.

Long takes a prosecutorial perspective on the Lalaurie case, carefully explaining the evidence for Madame Lalaurie's guilt. Although no record of an indictment against Delphine Lalaurie

by a grand jury or criminal court exists, and nor does any journal kept by Madame Lalaurie or letter mentioning the fire or protesting her innocence, the evidence collected by Long is convincing. She has made extensive use of archival sources, especially the sacramental records of the Cathedral of St. Louis, the Notarial Archives, and City Archives in the Louisiana Division of the New Orleans Public Library. In addition, unpublished letters of the Lalaurie family and their contemporaries have been unearthed in collections held by the Missouri History Museum and the Historic New Orleans Collection. More records of the Lalaurie family after they fled New Orleans were found in French Archives.

By diligently tracing the slaves owned by Madame Lalaurie, identifying each by name, age, and occupation (if these are known), Long concludes that between 1816 and 1833 at least twenty slaves, mostly children or young women, belonging to Delphine Lalaurie died. After the fire in 1834, nineteen enslaved men and women belonging to Lalaurie disappeared from all notarial records. Numerous witnesses gave evidence of seeing the mutilated slaves who were taken to the Cabildo immediately after the fire, including Judge Jacques François Canonge. One statement, not published until 1981 and according to Long, "not widely known" came from Armand Saillard, French consul to New Orleans, who reported that he had gone to the Cabildo to see the abused slaves on the day of the fire. In addition, gossipy letters exchanged between Jean Boze, a New Orleans neighbor of the Lalauries, and Henri de Ste-Gême in Paris, also provide persuasive testimony. Long is unique in making use of the Boze-Ste-Gême correspondence located in the Historic New Orleans Collection. These letters report early rumors of Madame Lalaurie's cruelty to her slaves and note that she had twice (in 1829 and 1832) been cleared of a charge of "slave abuse" by, in 1832 at least, paying a "sum of money." Careful mining of the notarial records found a July 22, 1829, memo from lawyer John Randolph Grymes acknowledging a payment of \$500.00 from Madame Lalaurie for "defending the prosecution of the state against her in the Criminal Court." Long argues that this memo supports the accusation of cruelty reported by Jean Boze. Taking all the evidence together, and making allowances for other possible explanations for the fate of the Lalaurie slaves, Long concludes that Madame Lalaurie's guilt is manifest.

As she exposes the exaggerations of the ghost hunters and reveals her reconstruction of the events of 1834, Long often digresses to discuss incidents or elements of Louisiana history, including slave rebellions, yellow fever, the Lafitte brothers, and the difference between the French *Code Noir* and the Spanish *Codigo Negro*. By tracing the Macarty clan from its founders, Jean Jacques and Barthélémy Daniel de Macarty, to the early years of the twentieth century and including family members on both sides of the color line, Long demonstrates the complex racial constructions of nineteenth-century Louisiana.

Madame Lalaurie, Mistress of the Haunted House should be required reading for visitors to New Orleans, especially those planning to take one of the ubiquitous ghost tours. Caroline Long's imaginative reconstruction of the events of 1834 and her forceful argument for Madame Lalaurie's guilt demonstrate that New Orleans history can haunt us without exaggerations or embellishments.

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SHIFTING GROUNDS: *Nationalism & the American South, 1848-1865*. By Paul Quigley. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. xi, 325 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth \$34.95, ISBN 978-0-19-973548-8).

In this valuable study, Paul Quigley examines Confederate citizenship and Confederate nationalism. Quigley describes how "problems of nationalism became more endemic and more urgent between 1848 and 1865." (p. 5) When faced with pressures resulting in secession, white southerners reflected on their affiliation to the old Union or the prospect of a fresh devotion to the new Confederacy, as well as their continuing attachment to their individual home state. Explaining his book's title, Quigley delineates how white Southerners' loyalties and attachments shifted after secession and during a long and demanding war. Whether favoring the Confederacy or the Union, Southerners had to decide where to place their national loyalty. Which nation would they support and why?

Quigley's study reminds readers that the divided nationalisms of America's Civil War years need to be framed in an