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New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey. By E. P. Panagopoulos. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966. xii, 207 pp. Prologue, maps, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This book has many faces and will appeal to a wide variety of tastes. It is a sound, well-researched local history of Dr. Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna colony. It is also a biography of the irascible, visionary doctor and a chronicle of the Corsicans, Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans, who followed him to the mangrove swamps and pine barrens of coastal Florida.

Turnbull was the moving spirit behind New Smyrna. After the English occupation of East Florida in 1764, he and an associate, Sir William Duncan, each obtained land grants of 20,000 acres from the crown. In 1766, Turnbull sailed for St. Augustine to assess prospects in Florida. Here he met the new governor, James Grant, who awarded the two proprietors adjoining tracts along the coast seventy-five miles to the south and obtained an appointment for Turnbull as secretary of the East Florida Council. Turnbull optimistically returned to Europe to seek prospective immigrants. In 1767-1768, he traveled to Minorca, Italy, Greece, and Corsica, where his promises of land and a new life persuaded 1,400 people to join him. Assembling in Mahon, Minorca, this mixed group of South Europeans sailed for Florida late in March 1768. The voyage was hard, and by the time the expedition reached St. Augustine late in June, 148 colonists had perished. Life proved equally harsh at New Smyrna (named after the birthplace of Turnbull's wife). When they started clearing the land, the settlers had to face food shortages, mosquitos, the ravages of fever, and abusive overseers. Revolt broke out in August not long after their arrival. Three hundred malcontents seized a ship, looted storehouses, sliced off the ears and nose of one of Turnbull's petty tyrants, and attempted to flee to Havana. With Grant's help, Turnbull quelled the revolt, but this trouble and the death of 450 of the new colonists by the end of December 1768, cast a pall over New Smyrna. There were

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other problems as well. Creditors began hounding Turnbull, even

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though Duncan and another associate, Lord George Grenville, went far beyond their original promises of support. Financial assistance from these two, aid from the crown in the form of head bounties and relief payments, and the production of corn, indigo, and naval stores in the early 1770s kept the colony from going under, but New Smyrna never prospered or grew. Its farmers resented brutal treatment at the hands of the overseers, Indians posed a threat, and Turnbull became involved in colonial politics. In fact, his pretensions on the governorship distracted him sufficiently from the New Smyrna enterprise to become a factor in its failure. The outbreak of the American Revolution combined with Turnbull's personal difficulties with Governor Tonyn to disrupt the settlement even more. By the end of 1777 the few colonists still remaining at New Smyrna migrated north to St. Augustine, leaving Turnbull with a large debt and bitter frustrations over not being able to fulfill his political or colonial ambitions. Staying on in Florida was a mistake. He was continually at odds with Tonyn until finally in 1780, authorities in St. Augustine threw Turnbull into prison for failure to pay certain debts. Upon his release in May 1781, he went into exile in Charleston, where he lived until his death in 1792. In the meantime some of the original New Smyrnans, particularly the followers of the dedicated priest, Pedro Camps, remained in Florida after the Spanish reoccupied the colony in 1784. Professor Panagopoulos has made this book a labor of love.

Like so many who have studied aspects of colonial Florida, he is infatuated with St. Augustine and has come to identify with his central characters - in this case Turnbull and his sturdy South Europeans. In carrying on his research, he has made his own odyssey to archives and libraries in Minorca, Corsica, Livorno, Athens, Paris, Seville, London, St. Augustine, and other places. At times the style of the book is a bit florid, at times the narrative strays from its basic themes and seems diffuse and extraneous, at times the professional historian might wish for less heart-rending compassion and more analysis and interpretation; but Professor Panagopoulos has done much to counter and to add to the earlier work on New Smyrna by Carita Doggett Corse. With attractive endpieces and an interesting series of plates, this book makes a

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significant contribution to local Florida history and establishes another useful guidepost to the colonial epoch.

JOHN J. TEPASKE

Duke University

Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War. By John Bemrose. Edited with an introduction by John K. Mahon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press 1966. vi, 115 pp. Introduction, index. \$5.00.)

John Bemrose, an English teenager, arrived in the United States in 1831, and applied for army service at the Philadelphia recruiting office. Army examiners nearly turned him away because he was only five feet seven and one-quarter inches tall. An army surgeon noted that Bemrose had served time in England as a pharmacist apprentice and told him to "stretch a little." The officer then read off "five feet seven and three-quarters" and assigned the young Englishman to duty as hospital steward.

In relating his American experiences, Bemrose jumps from his enlistment in 1831 to the Second Seminole War prelude four years later. He depicts service at military posts in Florida, military medical practices including field treatment, councils with Seminole leaders, and describes Dade's Massacre and the Battle of Withlacoochee. Bemrose was fascinated with strong personalities and provided sketches of General Duncan L. Clinch, General Winfield Scott, General Edmund Gaines, and Seminole Agent Wiley Thompson, as well as Indian leaders Micanopy, Osceola, Jumper, and Sam Jones. Bemrose had a rare, simple talent for infusing his writing with feeling. One can almost share the sympathy and humanity he expressed for his suffering comrades wounded in battle or the contempt he held for militia forces mustered to assist the regular army in taming the fierce Seminoles.

The editor of *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, Professor John Mahon who is an authority on the subject, rates Bemrose's account of councils, battles, and general stream of events during 1835-1836 as "decently accurate." He adds that Bemrose's reminiscences "are unique" in one sense because they were written by an enlisted man; "in that era the enlisted soldiers

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were not likely to be articulate. But because Bemrose was far better educated and far more observant than most of them, he opens for us precious glimpses into the life of the common soldier."

Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War is not free of faults. Its most serious flaw is that this volume is derived from a typescript of a typescript, raising such questions as possibility of dilution or alteration of content from the original through the various manuscripts. Dr. Arthur Freeman obtained from a distant Bemrose relative a manuscript "made on a very old and poor machine with a worn-out ribbon." Freeman never saw the Bemrose original manuscript. He brought the typescript to the United States and in 1939 sold it to Robert Charles Stafford. The latter made a copy from his manuscript and presented the copy to the Florida Historical Society, from which Professor Mahon apparently produced the present work. Another flaw, pointed out by the editor, is derived from the fact that Bemrose wrote his account at least thirty years after his service in the Seminole War. He drew heavily on published sources, especially M. M. Cohen's narrative in Notices of Florida and the Campaigns. But to partially check this criticism, Bemrose must have kept a contemporary journal of sorts, for occasionally specific dates with entries appear. Dr. Mahon's interest in the manuscript and the scholarship he applied to it have at least reduced the seriousness of its flaws. His editorial comments, explanatory footnotes, and occasional interpolations strengthen the Bemrose account and provide a continuity which the author failed to accomplish.

John Bemrose was obviously a perceptive observer, interested in the non-military as well as the military, and he provides us with "precious glimpses" into frontier life in the Southeastern United States. He describes primitive Florida plantations, sugar works, including the sugar mill house, and the method of processing cane into molasses. He noted that "all the refuse and dirty juice was taken by troughs to the rum distillery . . . from which this dirty mixture comes out rum." Bemrose scorned slavery and on several occasions expressed his views on that institution. On one plantation where his unit camped during the early Seminole campaigns, he said the buildings used for headquarters were "only one remove from a pig-style," and he described the plantation overseer or "driver" as "a tall muscular Yankee from the north,

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a blacksmith by trade," "who knew how to use the whip as well as the anvil. He was frequently seen . . . cracking his whip, and in many ways indicating his unholy authority" over the slaves. He added that the whites "all soon learn a sad lesson from slavery, viz: to be idle, licentious, and useless."

For many readers the most instructive portion of Reminiscences will not be Bemrose's recollections of military operations and hardships of the army in the Seminole campaigns, but rather his effacement of English pride in characterizing the American. He was impressed with the backwoodsman's ingenuity. "We affect to despise our kith and Kin. John Bull is often depicted with asses ears and really they often become him. The majority of our people are so stupid and willfully green as to the Americans that before many generations are gone by they will allow the young giant to supersede them in education, skill, and all general and useful knowledge. They already excel us in ship building and photography. Why? Because they are more entergetic and open to learn, whereas we are afraid to communicate knowledge (except) only to a privileged few of the upper 10,000. We are stupid in our conservatism, keeping back information from the vulgar whence springs the stamina of intellect that renews a nation."

ARRELL M. GIBSON

University of Oklahoma

The New Land. By Phillip Viereck. (New York: The John Day Company, 1967.) xii, 244 pp. Acknowledgment, preface, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

In this handsome sourcebook, editor-compiler Phillip Viereck purposes to let the men who first saw the "new land" tell about their encounters with it. He confidently expects his narrators to enthrall many a reader who has never before sweated with Champlain through an Indian attack or shivered in the bitter cold at Plymouth. For is not the Age of Exploration comparable, he asks, to our own "rare and glorious Age of Discovery"?

The subject of the book is concisely set forth by its subtitle: Discovery, Exploration, and Early Settlement of Northeastern United States, from Earliest Voyages to 1621, Told in the Words

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of the Explorers Themselves. From the proliferous writings of some two dozen explorers and others concerned with the business of exploration, Mr. Viereck has snipped out meaningful paragraphs and passages having the flavor of the times and strung them together with straightforward editorial connections which line the whole into a sensible narrative. The accounts are embellished by an interesting (if sometimes naive) commentary handily printed in the page margins, and even further with interpretive sketches by Ellen Viereck. The book designer has skillfully combined these and a scattering of maps, some in color, into a visual delight.

The New Land has twenty-three divisions which, except for two selections descriptive of terrain and Indian culture, are a sequential arrangement of the narratives. Verrazano (1524) receives the first major attention; then the other familiar names: Gosnold, Gilbert, Pring, Waymouth, Champlain, Popham, Hudson, Biard, Argall, Hunt, Harlow, Hobson, Block, Smith, Dermer, Bradford. All the selections are from published texts, though editorial revisions of punctuation and orthography have been introduced to ease the reader's task. General provenience of each text is given in the editorial connectives. Specific citations, however, are lacking.

Devotees of Florida history may wonder what in the book is pertinent to their interest. Not much. Even Pedro Menendez considered that for practical purposes thirty-seven degrees north latitude was as far as Florida should go. But these accounts show that whether Southeast or Northeast, first-hand history is exciting to read.

ALBERT MANUCY

Richmond, Virginia

Explorations and Settlements in the Spanish Borderlands: Their Religious Motivations. Papers Read at the Historical Symposium Sponsored by the Mission Nombre de Dios under the Auspices of the St. Augustine Foundation, October 26, 1966, St. Augustine, Florida. (St. Augustine: Mission Nombre de Dios, 1967. vii, 63 pp. Preface.)

Before the fall of the Hispanic empire in America, the socalled Spanish Borderlands served the viceroyalty of New Spain in the struggle against foreign intrusion. By the eighteenth century these defensive realms extended 3,000 miles across the continent from Florida to California. Even after the emergence of an independent Mexico, the southwestern borderlands were still significantly extant. Mexico continued to claim the former Spanish Borderlands until the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo terminated the Mexican War in 1848. Spanish civilization therefore survived for 300 years in the vast hinterlands north and northwest of the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the viceroyalty of New Spain.

Borderlands communities became more than defensive stations to deter foreign imperialism. Franciscan and Jesuit mission-villages protected the Indians of the peripheral territories as well as the crown of Spain. With the advent of missionary activities, the indigenous peoples of the borderlands experienced the food-producing revolution, religious conversion, and Spanish civilization. Too frequently, these aspects of Hispanic colonization have been forgotten as integral components of the conquest of America. Spain seized the Indies for gold, glory, and for God. In service to God the Catholic missions served the Indian populations of the New World.

The essays included in Explorations and Settlements in the Spanish Borderlands therefore appropriately examine religious motivation as an important force in the conquest. All five of the essays in this work are uniformly informative, interpretive, and important to borderlands historiography. Lewis Hanke's interpretive essay, based upon such well known works as The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America and Bartolome de Las Casas, evaluates religious and philanthropic processes in the Spanish colonization. It is Professor Hanke's opinion that religious themes were especially significant in the conquest because of the wars of religious attrition in Europe. For the Spanish clergy, the New World could become a Catholic haven far away from the Protestant wars and heresy. In such an atmosphere a critical figure like Las Casas chided his society for mistreating the Indians of America. Las Casas, the anthropologist, historian, and polemicist, advised his compatriots to proselytize the indigenous people as gente de razon.

Michael V. Gannon's account of "The Conquistadores of Florida" relates how a ubiquitous religiosity seemed to pervade the

sixteenth-century attempts to colonize La Florida. In "The Missions of Florida," Matthew Connolly summarizes the incredible story of the Franciscan struggle to build a missionary system. By the middle of the seventeenth century, intrepid friars of the Order of St. Francis had invaded the inland swamps and established forty-four mission-villages for thousands of uncivilized Florida Indians. "The 'Middle' Borderlands" or Trans-Mississippi Borderlands are studied by John Francis Bannon, S. J. In the Southwest, the missions, according to Father Bannon, became multi-purpose entities providing economic, military, and pious services. Maynard Geiger's incisive essay, "The Spaniards In California," concludes and culminates the arguments advocating that the Spanish colonization included serious concern for the native peoples of the Indies. In California and elsewhere in Spanish America, Indian life was altered by Iberian civilization. The changes both helped and hurt the Indians. But Spain, unlike other colonial states, integrated the indigenous people into its civilization and society.

ROBERT L. GOLD

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Southern Illinois University

The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783. By Jack M. Sosin. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967. xvi, 241 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

For a work in a cooperative series (the sixth of the "Histories of the American Frontier" to appear), *The Revolutionary Frontier* is a remarkably successful book. The period covered is sufficiently well defined to preserve an element of unity, yet the author's broad experience enables him to develop his subject comprehensively. An "imperial" historian by instinct, Sosin has nevertheless read widely in the manuscript collections and secondary studies bearing on the early American frontier, and demonstrates a refreshing interest in matters that bestow a larger significance upon the frontier experience. He writes easily, occasionally with verve, and, abandoning an earlier semi-polemical style, has achieved a fine overall balance distinctly his own.

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Concerned not with the revolutionary frontier, but with several separate frontier areas, Sosin carefully avoids lumping together diverse regions with unique problems. Thus rapid expansion on the southern frontier after 1763, stimulated by liberal land policies, organized promotional campaigns, and occasional subsidies, is contrasted with northern expansion plagued by provincial rivalry, boundary disputes, frontier wars, and restrictive imperial policies. And while the well known activities of the northern land companies are predictably repeated, the less frequently studied movements into East and West Florida receive deserved attention. Viewed as "an extension of the settlement of the coastal region south of the Savannah River by wealthy planters from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia," migration to the eastern shore of the St. Johns River is treated as a movement distinct from that which took settlers to the lands surrounding Pensacola and Mobile, up the Alabama, and to the Natchez country. And the disheartening experience of the Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans at the ill-fated New Smyrna settlement is recounted to symbolize the failure of officials to build up East Florida during its brief development under British rule.

After examining the historical and geographical setting and the complex dynamics of western expansion, Sosin turns in chapter five to "The Struggle with the Indian Tribes" before the War for Independence, and to "Political Allegiances during the Revolution" in chapter six. Two chapters on the war-perhaps the least successful in the book, betraying an apparent lack of enthusiasm for the subject-and a succinct chapter on "The West in the Diplomacy of the Revolution" precede a brief analysis of "State and Congressional Land Policy." Chapters eleven and twelve on "Government and Law" and "The Economy and Society" in the back country bring 192 tightly packed pages to a conclusion.

Overall, *The Revolutionary Frontier* will probably disturb frontier buffs, for it assaults nearly every tenet of Turnerian gospel. Sosin argues convincingly from research in frontier county court minutes, for example, that there was a "surprising degree" of governmental regulation over this society traditionally thought to be almost free of restraint, (p. 170). Wherever frontiersmen were prosperous, they favored slavery "as much as the coastal planters," (p. 175). And no political "leveling tendency" can be associated with frontier expansion. "Whatever may have been the

case on later frontiers-settled when a more democratic trend was affecting the political structure of the nation as a whole-between 1763-1783 the back-country gentry retained their grip on local government. Their power was not often challenged," (p. 171). Finally, "no typical 'frontiersman' or common frontier characteristics or traits emerged from the experiences of the early stages of settlement," (p. 181).

What was the influence of the frontier during the Revolutionary era? "it preserved and extended, rather than altered, the traditional values and structure of American society." For Sosin, then, the relatively complex culture of the advancing American settlers was not sharply modified by the "primitive environment," which was instead ultimately shaped to their needs.

PAUL H. SMITH

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University of Florida

With the Bark On: Popular Humor of the Old South. Compiled and edited with introduction and notes by John Q. Anderson. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. xi, 337 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, index. \$7.50.)

Professor John Q. Anderson has selected an almost virgin land for cultivation in this annotated collection of some seventy frontier sketches drawn principally from little known and anonymous contributors to William T. Porter's *Spirit of the Times*, published in New York but popular with male readers in the old southwestern states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. The title of Porter's newspaper reflects the focus of many of the sketches by correspondents in the Old Southwest. Though popular with readers in the 1840s and 1850s because they were entertaining, the sketches portray the boisterous "flush times" of the old southern frontier. This was, indeed, a rough, crude time when nature and man on the frontier had "the bark on."

Facets of frontier life which are vividly brought to view in these sketches are grouped under the following headings: "The [Mississippi] River," "The Backcountry," "Varmints and Hunters," "Fun and Frolic," "The Professions," "Jokes and Jokers," "Masculine Amusements," and "Politicians, Actors, Yokels in the City."

Except for the familiar "Quarter Race in Kentucky" and "The Harp of a Thousand Strings," most of the pieces had not been reprinted until this collection. In these narratives rough and ready "half-horse, half-alligator" keelboatmen rub shoulders with preachers, embarrassingly fond of drinking and horse racing; politicians who developed for the first time devices of political persuasion still practiced in countries where the vote of the unlettered man is courted; citizen-soldiers who as young boys learned to shoot squirrels and bears and who followed General Jackson to the Indian wars and to the Battle of New Orleans; hunters who made legends of their encounters with bears and panthers; frontier promoters whose grandiose claims make present-day subdivision developers seem like masters of understatement; and suitors who use techniques to win their beloveds that not even Hugh Hefner has dreamed of in his Playboy Philosophy.

The sketches reflect a time when the backwoodsman drank intemperately, gambled wildly, and soldiered dangerously; a time when most frontiersmen were indifferent to religion but respected the preacher, especially if he loved John Barleycorn and horses; a time when even minor disputes were settled in eye-gouging, nose-biting, ear-chewing fights; a time when story-telling was a favorite amusement-and a high art-and a man could start a story with a small germ of truth and weave a tale of such incredibility that would rival Beowulf's exploits. The sketches bring to life a period when man's inventiveness and energy had not been sapped by mechanical entertainments, when the hoax, the tall tale, and the practical joke challenged a man's wits and cunning. They display an era when the frontiersman could watch and appreciate a Shakespearean play and a cockfight the same day and see nothing incongruous in it; when frontier preachers took their instruction from God, not theological schools, and knew "within a fraction, how much brimstone and cordwood" would be used in "the great fire that ever burns in the bottomless pit." Conspicuous by his almost total absence is the Negro, who was to assume a central focus in later southern humor.

The southern frontiersman's love for rhetoric is seen in the elaborate yarns replete with such monstrous words as "ramatugenous," "homogification," "oncontankerest," and "discomboborate." Since many of the sketches were written by educated observers, there is often a striking contrast between the style and vo-

cabulary of the "frame" and the vernacular story which it encloses. The backwoods dialect is, nevertheless, surprisingly easy to read and is much superior to the phonetic spelling affected by the "literary comedians" popular after the Civil War.

Professor Anderson's general introduction and the introductions which preface each category of sketches demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the traditions of American humor and its literature. The notes are illuminating, without being pedantic. The drawings by Mary Alice Bahler display appropriate vignettes from the life so vigorously portrayed in the word sketches. The editor has not only performed a valuable historical and literary service by making these sketches available to a larger audience; he has put together a highly entertaining collection of stories. His book deserves a place on the shelf of American studies alongside such seminal works as Walter Blair's *Native American Humor* and Franklin J. Meine's *Tall Tales of the Southwest*.

WADE H. HALL

Kentucky Southern College

When The Eagle Screamed: The Romantic Horizon In American Diplomacy, 1800-1860. By William H. Goetzmann. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966, xvii, 138 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, maps, epologue, index, \$4.95.)

Professor Goetzmann has given us a brisk, no-nonsense account of a stirring theme: the territorial growth of the United States . . . one in a series of eight books on American diplomatic history ("America In Crisis") issued by the University of Texas.

This short book has three estimable virtues: (1) it deals competently with a mighty topic; (2) it is written clearly, readably and simply; and (3) it is brief. Lest anyone think this is faint praise, let the reviewers state that in their opinion, it is not. Too much scholarly writing is unnecessarily hard going for the reader . . . and there is a need for short, clear books on important themes. (Lack of time presses heavily upon everyone.) Dr. Goetzmann states his own ground rules for the book: "Most of the facts upon which this book is based are already well known and can be checked in the standard works . . . my primary purpose is interpretation."

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When The Eagle Screamed begins by tracing the territorial growth of the United States through the careers of Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams. It sketches the details of the Louisiana Purchase, the younger Adams' complicated negotiations with Spain to acquire Florida, the annexation of Texas, the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute with Britain, the acquisition of California and other territory following the Mexican War, the Gadsden Purchase, American adventures in the Caribbean and Central America, and in the Far East. Dr. Goetzmann has a talent for the readable, slightly acid phrase. (He describes the Treaty of Tientsin, for example, as "opening the way for a horde of missionaries and civilizers" in China.) It is a stirring and dramatic story, nicely told. The author has mercifully kept footnotes and other digressions to a minimum.

The American machinations involved in ending the Mexican War and wresting an empire from Mexico are particularly well described. This is the most neglected and whitewashed period in American history; regrettably, American intrigue in Mexico is usually squeamishly and rather apologetically passed over quickly by writers and teachers. This is nonsense, in the opinion of the reviewers . . . a throwback to the judging of the acts of one generation by the supposedly more enlightened standards of another. The squeamish to the contrary, James K. Polk ought to be a hero to every American, and his secretary of state, James Buchanan, was one of the ablest, and deserves to be remembered creditably, despite his miserable performance as president. Dr. Goetzmann tells well the intriguing story of Nicholas Trist, the all-but-forgotten chief clerk of the state department, who, despite his recall, defied the President and made the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which added 589,189 square miles of territory to the American flag.

When The Eagle Screamed hews to its subject well, and if you have not been over this particular ground recently, it is well worth the reading. No book is perfect and this is not. In the opinion of the reviewers, the author is far too dogmatic in far too many places about historical interpretation. He does not hesitate to characterize as "blunders" (a favorite word he uses with distressing frequency throughout) or as masterpieces of statecraft acts which do not deserve any such black and white label. Dr. Goetz-

mann is a man of strong opinions. In one passage, (fortunately short) he attempts to prove, in strong terms, other historians wrong and himself right, about matters which, are by their nature, slippery. This savors of academic pettiness, and the reviewers, as general readers, could not care less. We'd rather, in fact, that the facts as the author sees them, be stated, and the reader allowed to form his own opinion. Elsewhere, the author unabashedly turns from historian to military strategist, and second guesses the victorious General Taylor in the Mexican War, who he condemns in harsh terms.

Those who write history, should, in the opinion of the reviewers, be a bit more humble. Researching from documents, reports, diaries, newspaper accounts (often biased) is quite a different matter from being confronted with a real-life situation. In our opinion, at least, the truth is not quite so easy to grasp by the tail. The same event can be seen by a hundred different observers in a hundred different ways. Still, When The Eagle Screamed has flair, covers epochal events readably, and is worth anybody's time.

DEANE AND DAVID HELLER

Key West, Florida

The Reconstruction of the Nation. By Rembert W. Patrick. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. xi, 324 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

A by-product of our mid-twentieth century civil rights movement has been the tremendously increased interest in the histories of the post bellum South and the American Negro. Reassessments of the Reconstruction period have come by the score. Some, casting new light on the era, have provided us with new perspectives; others, in a zeal to negate objectionable interpretations of the past, have sometimes lacked balance. Professor Patrick's history of Reconstruction definitely falls into the first category. The only thing not completely convincing about this book is the title. While the author deals thoughtfully, albeit briefly, with developments elsewhere in the Nation, his overwhelming concern is with the South. As he puts it: "The South provides an almost irresistible theme for the Reconstruction era."

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The book's structure follows traditional lines. Beginning with a comprehensive overview of the "prostrate" South, Professor Patrick takes the reader through a carefully analyzed and often brilliant account of the politics of presidential and congressional Reconstruction and the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. Next follows a trenchant chapter on the South during congressional Reconstruction - one not likely to win hosannas from those who still revere the "Lost Cause" - and another on the Grant administration. After giving due attention to foreign affairs and social and economic developments, Professor Patrick returns to the main theme with a lucid narrative of the disputed election of 1876. He concludes quite appropriately with a discussion of the Redeemers and their shackling of the South with the fetters of white supremacy.

Claude Bowers termed the Reconstruction period "the tragic era." Professor Patrick agrees that it was but differs with Bowers as to wherein the tragedy lies. It was not, he says, in the "trampling" of white Southerners by vindictive Northerners and aggressive Negroes. Nor did it lie with the poverty of Southern whites. Instead "the Negro was the tragic figure of the Reconstruction era." While the Civil War preserved the Union and resulted in the emancipation of some 4,000,000 Negroes, Reconstruction failed to achieve for them equality and true assimilation into American society. The Negro's very pigmentation "limited his means of livelihood and denied him first class citizenship, the lawful and extra-legal acts of white people restricted or denied the freedman economic opportunity, political activity and social equality." But Reconstruction involved another tragedy, namely the baleful effects of the doctrine of white supremacy. "Even the poorest [white] comforted himself with racial superiority over Negroes, but his prejudice retarded the South and the methods he used to degrade Negroes rebounded on him."

Professor Patrick compassionately comes to grips with white Southerners of the period. As heirs to seldom questioned beliefs, their position was understandable. They took for granted that the Negro was biologically and mentally inferior, that he had criminal tendencies, and that he was incapable of exercising the ballot or holding public office. But in all these attitudes, he says, they were enormously wrong and unable to make "the superhuman efforts required to face reality."

Indeed, in the days, months, and even years following the war only a relatively few white Southerners comprehended the enormity of the Confederacy's defeat or were sensitive to northern opinion. The latter may have been hypocritical at times but it was nonetheless real. For example, whatever the putative need for the Black Codes, they infuriated Northerners who saw in them an effort to retain slavery in a scarcely disguised form. Professor Patrick takes issue with those who have maintained that some sort of a coercive system was necessary to get the new freedmen to work. On the contrary, he argues, from the very beginning of their emancipation, most Negroes sought work at fair wages. Those white Southerners who dealt equitably with them rarely had the problem of obtaining labor.

While taking note of the folderol of the carpetbagger-scalawag-Negro dominated state governments during congressional Reconstruction - hardly more corrupt than some found elsewhere in the nation at the time and less so than many of the Redeemer regimes - Professor Patrick also enumerates their solid achievements in the face of sullen opposition. Government services in the Southern states were literally dragged into the nineteenth century. Products of the Reconstruction legislatures were state-supported public education, asylums, hospitals, prisons, libraries, and internal improvements. "New laws offered physical and economic protection to women, children and laborers. In the Old South the sweet, demure, clinging-vine woman had protected herself by her wits and her sex; legislation in many states during the Reconstruction era gave her legal protection from grasping husbands, recognized the rights of mothers to have their children in case of divorce, and protected the children from unscrupulous or sadistic parents."

In most studies of Reconstruction, Florida receives relatively little attention, but not in this one. Repeatedly Professor Patrick, who for many years taught in the history department of the University of Florida, buttresses his analysis with data taken from the Florida scene. And the Sunshine State doesn't always fare particularly well. As a case in point, a report of an 1865 state legislative committee, preluding enactment of an excessively harsh Black Code and, according to Professor Patrick, "ridiculous for its pompous bigotry," describes slavery as a "benign institution and the

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happiest and best system ever devised for a laboring class." When other southern states toned down their Black Codes in response to northern criticism, only Floridians he observes, "remained bigoted, vindictive, and shortsighted."

Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and the few existent vestal virgins of the Daughters of the Confederacy undoubtedly will not take kindly to this powerful and eminently readable book. But neither they nor anybody else will be able to challenge the sound scholarship on which it is based. It is the best history of Reconstruction yet to be written.

HOWARD H. QUINT

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Before and After, or the Relations of the Races at the South. By Isaac DuBose Seabrook. Edited with an introduction by John Hammond Moore. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. 157 pp. Introduction, index. \$5.50.)

While the Tillman forces were preparing to segregate the races by law in South Carolina in the mid-nineties, Isaac DuBose Seabrook, a well-educated, aristocratic Charlestonian of modest means, wrote a thoughtful, dispassionate manuscript on racial relations from slavery times to 1895. The manuscript was recently discovered by Professor John Hammond Moore who recognized it as a useful addition to the protest literature of that troubled time.

Seabrook's impartial and often contradictory observations were not optimistic and he warned that the racial problem was soluble only if the two races were not segregated. His premises will antagonize some readers of the 1960s. In Darwinian fashion, he argued that Negroes constituted a docile, inferior race with a proclivity to slavery and that they could be uplifted to a "higher civilization" only by associating with southern white people over a long period of time. Consequently, legal segregation would be detrimental to both races, the South, and the nation, since it would deprive Negroes of the beneficent influence of this "higher race." He seemed to agree with Booker T. Washington that Ne-

groes should concentrate on economic improvement rather than political activity. Arguing that they were not yet prepared for political life, he thought the pursuit of property would develop a sense of civic responsibility. He condemned both political parties for using and abusing Negroes.

Much as Hinton R. Helper had done earlier, Seabrook criticized slavery because it had created an aristocratic class which was obliged to use its political dominance to enforce the institution despite its harm to yeoman farmers and workers. Because of it, labor was held in low esteem and free labor could not compete with slaves. The problem of white and Negro competition for jobs in the post-Civil War South continued as a major source of racial antipathy. Negro willingness to work for low wages enraged white workers unable to subsist on their earnings. At the same time Seabrook could agree with U. B. Phillips that slavery was a system in which benevolent owners cared for the backward slaves much as parents do children. This relationship also continued after the Civil War and for Seabrook was the best hope of the future. He condemned the white Republicans of the Reconstruction era in typical southern fashion, but specifically denied that Negroes were responsible for the debacle. It followed that Negro political participation would not threaten a return to Reconstruction days as some Democrats were claiming. But Seabrook also argued that Reconstruction was not a failure. The legal changes wrought at that time constituted a long step from slavery to the eventual, but still distant, arrival of Negroes at a level of ability which could permit full citizenship. Seabrook concluded that Negroes could ultimately become responsible citizens only if they were given equal opportunities with whites to develop their abilities and if they were allowed to remain in daily contact with white citizens.

Thoughtfully written in 1895 by an interested and informed observer with no personal interest to promote, the book emphasizes a southern dilemma. Seabrook believed that Negroes were inferior and was not certain that they could be improved, yet he was certain that the effort had to be made and that it could only be accomplished in an integrated society. Professor Moore's editorial work is competent and his introductory essay, important in its own right, places Seabrook's writings in historical context. *Before*

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and After should be interesting to all who are concerned with the complex problems of southern history.

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Hunting in the Old South: Original Narratives of the Hunters. Edited by Clarence Gohdes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. xviii, 176 pp. Introduction, illustrations. \$7.50.)

The stories selected for publication in *Hunting in the Old South* will be enjoyed particularly by the outdoorsman, but the armchair sportsman will also find them delightful reading and exceedingly interesting. These original narratives and descriptions of hunting in the antebellum South occurred at the time when the South included a vast region of coastal and river swamp, as well as an extensive mountainous area, and was the chief wintering ground for migratory wildfowl. The events also took place at a period when the supply of game seemed unlimited and when little or no thought was given to conservation.

In all there are twenty stories written by journalists, naturalists, and sportsmen, selected and edited by Clarence Gohdes, professor of American literature at Duke University. They serve to illustrate a variety of methods involved in bagging game from wildfowl to deer and bear. The reader is sure to feel that he, himself, is on the turkey hunt in Texas, or is pitting wolves, possum-hunting in Alabama, or duck hunting in Florida. In reading experiences of a naturalist "Ibis Shooting in Louisiana," the uninitiated will learn, for its questionable practical value, that an alligator will not attack a man if he remains upright. Other hints on self-preservation, some of value even today, also are offered. There are accounts of "Spearing a Wild Boar," and such unusual hunting methods as "Woodcock Fire-Hunting," "Hawking in Fairfax, Virginia," or "Wild Cattle Hunting on Green Island." Several stories describe bear hunting, with suspense, thrills, and humor. One account of bear shooting is narrated by Davy Crockett, who admits to killing 105 bears in less than a year, a figure that may be classed among the "humorous exaggerations" credited to Crockett. There are thrills galore on almost every page. There is a good lesson

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in marksmanship, and to be sure that no one affected by the life of a hunter is overlooked, the editor has included in the volume an account of "Miseries of a Sportsman's Wife."

Editor Gohdes explains that the selection of tales to be included in his book was made with the purpose of illustrating the variety of methods of the field sports of the South of more than a century ago through more or less authentic narratives of experiences as seen by the hunters themselves. In this he has been quite successful, for he has balanced the stories of life in the out-of-doors to give at least a sample of all sports of the times. At the same time he has maintained the old style of writing, or story telling, that fits the period and has not tampered with it editorially. Appropriate illustrations throughout add to the interest and quality of the volume. The stories will be thoroughly enjoyed for the action reported and for the descriptions of the various forms of hunting. They will be equally appreciated as a character study of many of the hunters, themselves.

JAMES C. CRAIG

Jacksonville, Florida