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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860. By Julia Floyd Smith. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1973. viii, 249 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. $8.50.)

Professor Smith has undertaken the first thoroughgoing documentation of the slave and plantation economy that powered a sub-tropical Cotton Kingdom in Florida. Toward this objective she presents chapters on slave trading, slave labor, slave welfare, and slavery and the law, followed by profiles of several planters and a chapter on the growing and marketing of cotton. Although the Cotton Kingdom covered only a small fraction of Florida, it was the most populous and the wealthiest part of the state when the Civil War halted this "flourishing economy."

The author has thoroughly backgrounded herself on the extensive literature of slavery and the plantations, from Ulrich Phillips to Kenneth Stampp. However, the writings of these and other masters tend to obtrude on the Florida account, and one feels that material on the South generally, or another southern state, is sometimes offered in place of Florida evidence. Nevertheless, Dr. Smith has brought to light much new valuable material and has made particularly good use of probate records with their mine of detail about plantation management. She also has successfully utilized such well known published sources as the records of El Destino and Chemonie plantations in Jefferson and Leon counties and the writings of Ellen Call Long and Susan Bradford Eppes, although she impeaches both of these eyewitnesses as unreliable.

The book's principal weakness is that there are far too many errors of fact, despite an impressive panoply of superscripts and footnotes. Who would accept Professor Smith's contention that Florida's red hills would produce more cotton per acre than Alabama's Black Belt? And when she compares Florida production, which she said was 1,500 pounds under "favorable conditions," with South Carolina production of 100-300 pounds, the reader is dismayed to note that seed cotton has been compared

with lint cotton (which is one-third as heavy, the seed having been removed). The error is compounded when seed cotton is made to appear to be the same thing as Upland cotton! Even if one accepts her contention that a big increase in the total value of slaves during the decade before the Civil War was an indication that slavery was increasingly profitable, one cannot accept the value of $62,000,000 she places on Florida slaves in 1860. Instead of using tax rolls, Mrs. Smith multiplied the number of slaves, including old people and children, by $1,000.

Historians will find this book useful in studying a neglected period of Florida history. Particularly interesting is an appendix with eight interviews with Florida former slaves by WPA Writers Project personnel in the 1930s.

Florida State University Clifton Paisley

Journey through the old Everglades: The Log of the Minnehaha. Edited by Pat Dodson. Illustrated by Patricia Born. (Tampa: Trend House, 1973. 75 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

The heart of this book is the log of a journey by sailboat from Narcoossee on the upper Kissimmee River to Marco and return by the same route in the winter of 1892-1893. The sailboat journey took four men down the Kissimmee, around the northwest shore of Lake Okeechobee, down the Caloosahatchee, and along the Gulf coast to Marco Island. The title "Old Everglades" is not to be confused with the Everglades drainage basin south of Lake Okeechobee which is inseparably linked to the Kissimmee and the lake. Pat Dodson puts into the introduction and the footnotes his extensive and intimate knowledge of the Kissimmee-Calosahatchee region gained in his researches into the Florida activities of Hamilton Disston whose dredging and draining activities were beginning to transform the region, and without which such a journey would have been impossible. To aid the researcher who wishes more, there is an extensive bibliography of the sources which Mr. Dodson has found useful in his studies of the region. The endsheets, a map, and sixteen drawings by Patricia Born are both imaginative and useful.

The logkeeper was more than a casual observer. The reader gets a glimpse of the beginnings of settlement along the route, each briefly but perceptively described. They found Fort Myers uninteresting; the dock and the hotel at Naples intrigued them because they saw no reason for either. Marco on the other hand was bustling with activity. For readers interested in recapturing a picture of what South Florida was like before it began to be overrun by people and their activities this is a valuable account. There is the realization that the region as we know it today is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Nowhere along the route is there any portent of the great changes to occur there– except to us who look back upon it now. Disston had started the process of straightening and deepening the meandering and confusing channel of the Caloosahatchee by which it was to become more and more a rapid runoff ditch. Wildlife was so abundant that by modern standards it was being thoughtlessly destroyed.

A sailboat was at a disadvantage on the rivers. The necessity to pole the *Minnehaha* much of the way made it an arduous journey relieved only by the chance to hitch onto a steamboat making its way up the rivers on the return. The young men on a holiday were not good sailors or navigators, but they have left an account of a South Florida for which there is growing nostalgia.

Miami, Florida Charlton W. Tebeau

Everglades Country: A Question of Life or Death. By Patricia Lauber. (New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1973. 125 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $6.50.)

Historically, man at best has been a bungler in handling his environment, at worst, a despoiler. The author applies this concept to South Florida. In fascinating detail she portrays the saw grass swamps, the hammocks, the pine-covered limestone ridges, the brackish coastal waters, and the exotic plants, birds, and reptiles which live in this wonderland. Then the villain enters.

But everybody knows about the Everglades. Has not the Everglades National Park, which is double the state of Rhode Island, guaranteed the preservation of this unique region for-

ever? Not so, the author argues. What is happening in South Florida outside the park is threatening the life within the park. Which brings up another underlying theme of this book: no part of the environment can exist as an isolated unit. Already the carefully balanced food chains, "big fish eat little fish," are showing contamination from pesticides and other chemicals. Contamination in fish leads to contamination in fish-eating birds. Chemicals like DDT, for instance, cause bird eggs to have shells so thin that they break during incubation.

Then there is the matter of water. And man again. Before man a natural river of grass drained from Lake Okeechobee southward, fanning out, keeping the whole region wet. Today this water is diverted for the use of coastal cities or allowed to pass unused into the sea.

Nature was able to adapt to natural droughts, plant and animal life being preserved around alligator ponds, in crayfish crawls, in the mud and blanket of algae, then springing forth like magic when the rains came again. But man-induced droughts are proving more deadly, coming at more frequent intervals, lasting longer. Moreover, highways serve as dams blocking the natural flow of water. A new threat comes from oil drilling in Big Cypress.

The author considers the straightening of the Kissimmee River as an example of bungling. Now the nutrients washing from cattle ranches and farms move along the river unimpeded and enter Lake Okeechobee, making the lake water so rich that delicate balances are disturbed, wild life dies, and the water supplies headed for the coastal cities are adversely effected. Formerly the Kissimmee meandered through marshes and reeds, laundering itself as it went.

There are some encouraging signs. The present jet port in the Everglades will be abandoned soon. Water conservation areas are now prepared to deliver by canals to the park the life-giving water during a prolonged drouth. Also more and more people are ecologically minded and keeping a better eye out for flagrant exploitation.

Patricia Lauber is a layman's naturalist who writes with remarkable clarity and conviction. She has written forty books for young people. This one is for people of all ages. The spectacular

photographs are by Patricia Caulfield, one of America's more celebrated photographers of nature.

Miami, Florida Thelma Peters

Palmetto Rambler. By Walter R. Hellier. (New York: Vantage Press, 1973. 119 pp. Foreword. $4.50.)

To Walter Hellier of Fort Pierce, life has been a never-ending ramble. The Indian River historian has titled his latest book with the by-line he used in the Fort Pierce *News Tribune* for many lively columns on Florida history. Mr. Hellier tells us that his book is "neither an autobiography nor a history of Florida," but it is something of both. The reminiscences of this born wanderer carry his readers freely over seventy-five years of time and lead them from Minnesota to Florida, with side trips to Montana, the Dakotas, New Orleans, and Nassau. A la Huck Finn, the young Hellier rafts down the Tennessee River with another boy, nicknamed "Lovin'," with whom he shares many adventures. Of particular interest to Florida historians are Hellier's summary of lower East Coast history from 1867, his description of a ride to Key West on the first regular F.E.C. train, and his account of the 1926 hurricane.

Walter Hellier has personally known the whole generation of Indian River pioneers, and participated vigorously with them in the economic development of the area. At one time or another, he has been engineer, bank teller, chief trouble-shooter on the construction of U.S. Highway 1, builder, real estate developer, and oil distributor. Somehow he has also found the time to contribute substantially to the establishment and progress of the historical societies of the Indian River region.

This book reflects the variety and color of Walter Hellier's life. Although an enterprising businessman all his life, Hellier has also indulged an itch to travel and adventure. *Palmetto Rambler* shows both sides of his nature, and discloses glimpses of a warm, gregarious, and pixie personality.

Vero Beach, Florida Eugene Lyon

Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography. Edited by Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant. Translated by Emilio F. Moran (Tallahassee: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, 1973. viii, 121 pp. Preface, illustrations, biblography. $4.30.)

After the Jesuits failed to win over the Southeastern Indians to Catholicism and to simultaneously bring them into the Spanish interest, this same task was laid before the Franciscans. Where the Jesuits failed, the Franciscans succeeded, at least temporarily, and much of their success may be attributed to Frey Francisco Pareja, who arrived in Florida in 1595, and remained there until just before his death in 1628. Working among the Timucuan Indians in northern Florida and southeastern Georgia, Pareja learned their language and wrote a grammar of it. He also wrote a series of bilingual works in Spanish and Timucuan which other missionaries could use in their activities.

Until the publication of this book, edited by Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, Pareja's works have been accessible only to a few specialist scholars. Milanich and Sturtevant have chosen well in selecting a portion of Pareja's confessional for translation and scholarly exegesis. Pareja wrote this bilingual confessional so that a Franciscan missionary who spoke no Timucuan could administer confession in a series of yes-no questions to a Timucuan Indian who spoke no Spanish. The book reproduces fascimile pages from the confessional, presents these same pages in modern Spanish and Timucuan interlinear texts, and gives an extensively annotated English translation of the same. In addition, the editors summarize this information in a brief ethnographic sketch of Timucuan culture.

The book contains not the entire confessional, but, wisely, only those portions which contain questions reflecting Pareja's understanding of Timucuan culture. Example: "During your menses have you made a separate fire?" Readers who are familiar with the social anthropology of the Southeastern Indians will recognize in this question the implication that the Timucuans were like other Southeastern Indians in conceiving of a sharp distinction between men and women and also in using fire as

their primary symbol of purity. These few pages contain rich material for students of Southeastern Indians.

Historians will also find much of interest in the book. How, for example, are we to judge these brash Franciscans who came to enlighten the Timucuans? Frey Luís Gerónimo Oré claimed that by using Pareja's books he was able to teach many Timucuans to read and write in their own language in less than six months, with many of the Indians writing letters to one another in their language. At the same time, Pareja takes obvious pleasure in reporting that as a result of his teachings the younger Timucuans were making fun of the older generation of Timucuans, whose minds had not been changed. The word for this today is ethnocide. But lest we judge Pareja too harshly, the Timucuans did at least have a place in the Spanish scheme of things, if at the price of themselves becoming less Timucuan and more Spanish. The English, on the other hand, regarded the Indians as objects to be exploited, owned, or exterminated, as made plain in James Moore's raid into Florida in 1704. Ethnocide, however deplorable, is not genocide.

The book is marred by an unusually large number of printer's errors. This is unfortunate, but it detracts little from a book which is essential for anthropologists interested in the Southeastern Indians and of interest to historians interested in the Spanish Borderlands.

University of Georgia Charles Hudson

Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America. By James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972. ix, 255 pp. Preface, introduction, appendixes, bibliography, index. $14.50.)

The authors of this study believe that the economic development of the British North American colonies has received relatively little attention by economic historians. They have ventured into the statistical "dark age" from about 1650 to 1775 with the theory and techniques of the "new" school of economic history. They make explicit the theoretical issues and framework. They

acknowledge their debt to older works on colonial economic history, at the same time that they deny any intention of writing a general economic history of the colonial period. The text contains twelve graphs, twenty-six tables, and numerous equations and calculations. Roughly one-third of the book consists of statistical appendixes, followed by a select bibliography and an index.

Professors Shepherd and Walton believe that the development of overseas trade and markets were crucial to colonial economic growth. Three general sources of productivity change are examined, namely, technological change, improved skills and abilities of the labor force, and improvements in the economic organization of society. Historical investigation yields little evidence in support of technological change and improved skills. On the other hand, there is impressive evidence of the impact of reduced risks, improvements in economic organization, and greater regional and international specialization and division of labor.

Rather surprisingly, the authors hang much of their argument on the qualitative evidence that piracy and privateering were serious impediments to trade and shipping, and that these risks were reduced greatly in the eighteenth century. Suppression of piracy and privateering made it possible to reduce armaments and crew size and build ships that carried bulky cargoes at reduced costs. Besides lower freight rates, costs of distribution declined because of lower insurance premiums, improved packaging, and inventory savings. Not only did overseas commodity trade yield added revenue, but also of importance were the "invisible" earnings from freight, insurance, interest, and mercantile profits. The authors, who devote much attention to the colonial balance of payments from 1768 to 1772, say that it is difficult to overemphasize the importance of invisible earnings, especially shipping earnings.

General historians may be skeptical of this attempt to write a statistical history of a pre-statistical age. They may, however, be attracted to the authors' discussion of such topics as piracy and privateering, the slave trade and slavery, and indentured servants and other immigrants. On a colony and regional basis, such as East Florida, Bahama, and Bermuda islands, one may learn of the composition and value of exports and imports.

Specialists in colonial economic history may question some of the authors' findings. The reviewer is not convinced that the triangle trade in rum, slaves, and molasses was as insignificant as the authors contend. Slave trade records are ambiguous since numerous New England ships reached Africa and returned home by indirect routes. There is reason to believe that smuggling and multilateral trade went hand-in-hand in the West Indies, although the authors tend to play down these developments. In the trade between London and the British West Indies it is incorrect to say that the tonnage of vessels did not increase before 1776. The authors say little regarding fluctuations in trade and finance, and their attempt to minimize colonial indebtedness to British merchants may be challenged. Finally, the authors should have been more explicit in assessing the economic effects of British policy on colonial welfare. Professors Shepherd and Walton have broken new ground in extending the insights of the "new" economic history to colonial history. It may be safely predicted that their findings will fuel the "numbers game" for the foreseeable future.

University of Kansas Richard B. Sheridan

Essays on the American Revolution. Edited by Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972. xi, 320 pp. Preface, introduction, index. $12.50.)

In March 1971 the Institute of Early American History and Culture sponsored an extensive symposium concerning the American Revolution. This volume of original essays is an outgrowth of that conference, and it makes a very valuable contribution– for other scholars researching and writing about the Revolution, for those who teach the period, and for students who wish to be abreast of current thinking on the subject. The esssays are of high quality, they are judicious and broad in scope without loss of specific focus, and they are as long as their topics demand. Essays of intermediate length (forty to sixty pages) have posed a publishing problem, being too long for journal articles and too short for books. Here is the ideal format for such essays, and

it is a pleasure to see arguments elaborated to the extent that their inner logic requires.

Bernard Bailyn offers an interpretation of the central themes of the Revolution, refines the meaning and implications of his earlier work on American ideology, suggests comparisons with Europe, discusses the Loyalists, the post-war period, and slavery as an inherent contradiction in the Whig world view. Jack P. Greene analyzes the structural and psychological preconditions of the Revolution in an essay influenced by his reading in political science and social theory. He stresses the growing secular competence of the colonists, the continued weakness of British power in the provinces, the colonies's increasing importance to Britain's economy, discrepancies between theory and fact in imperial relationships, and the critical significance of events occurring between 1748 and 1756 as causal factors. Richard M. Brown provides a chronology and geography of early American protest movements, and a discussion of revolutionary violence in the larger context of American history. John Shy writes very persuasively about the military conflict as a socially dislocating experience, noting that "every major British troop movement in the American Revolution created shock waves of civilian behavior in the surrounding area." His concern with the American response to British strategy leads him to a significant stress upon the war, not as an instrument of policy or as a sequence of military operations, "but as a social process of political education that can be explored and should be analyzed."

H. James Henderson discusses the structure of politics in the Continental Congress, emphasizing its influence upon subsequent institutional development and a tradition of partisan politics affecting the emergence of the first American party system. William G. McLoughlin supplants Perry Miller's "From the Covenant to the Revival" with an extensive examination of "The Role of Religion in the Revolution: Liberty of Conscience and Cultural Cohesion in the New Nation." His central query is: how did the universal spirit of the rights of man lead to a new national establishment that excluded non-Protestants from full religious equality? He locates his answer in the need for cultural cohesion in the young republic. Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin present an intriguing thesis entitled "Feudalism, Com-

munalism, and the Yeoman Freeholder. The American Revolution Considered as a Social Accident." They see the Revolution as both a catalyst for, as well as a brake upon, social change. Despite their freshness of approach and many superb individual insights, this essay seems uneven and somehow peripheral rather than central to the core experiences of the later eighteenth century. Finally, Edmund S. Morgan gives a highly suggestive reading of "conflict and consensus in the American Revolution" in which he stresses the institution of slavery as the basis for white consensus, the significance of the frontier for keeping Americans in conflict, and the implications of the Revolution for both equality and conservatism in the American experience.

All in all, these are essays of excellent scholarship working at an important level of generalization. One of the book's most stimulating qualities is that the essayists implicitly disagree on a number of important points– such as the extent of social change, the relative restraint of the revolutionaries, the pychological role of slavery, etc.– disagreements which will enhance the book's tendency to generate excitement in the classroom. These disagreements also confirm in my mind the validity of an old Czech aphorism: that nothing is more difficult to predict than the past.

Cornell University Michael Kammen

The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality: Papers Presented at the First Symposium, May 5 and 6, 1972. Library of Congress Symposia on the American Revolution. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1972. vii, 157 pp. Preface, introduction, notes. $3.50.)

Reviews of collections of essays are always difficult because each essay is in essence an independent work. There is a connecting thread in this collection as the title indicates, but the essays still stand alone. A brief review of the contents of each is thus desirable.

Henry Steele Commager began the symposium with an excellent treatment of America and the Enlightenment in which he takes the essence of eighteenth-century thought from Europe and shows how Americans applied it to their own problems of the

Revolutionary era. Caroline Robbins gives a treatment of European republicanism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, important background for anyone who wants to understand American interest in republicanism. Pauline Maier shows that American conscious interest in republicanism came late, really after 1770, and as a result of disillusion with George III and monarchy. Americans then came to realize they had developed republican institutions in the colonial period, so the actual transformation was not so difficult. Jack Greene, the commentator, suggests that Americans became republicans because there was nothing else for them to be once George III had been thrown out.

Finally Mary Beth Norton makes it clear that American loyalists were really English Whigs in the 1689 model and wanted to uphold that revolutionary settlement. They were truly Americans who had the welfare of their country at heart as much as the Whigs. American Whigs were really rebels in that they wanted to modify the 1689 settlement to allow for additional legislatures in the empire besides the Parliament at Westminster.

No brief review can do justice to the essays in such a book, to say nothing of the sometimes excellent commentaries. All the essays treat the development of ideas, usually roughly chronologically. Naturally any reviewer will have favorites; I have two. Henry Steele Commoger has done a marvelous job of bringing together the important ideas of the Enlightenment for Americans of the Revolutionary generation. Mary Beth Norton shows that the loyalists only differed with American Whigs in their approach to America's problems with Britain. This is an outstanding collection of essays and comments that anyone interested in the American Revolution– and who is not just now?– would do well to read and consider. The essays are either summary in the best sense or provocative– frequently both. What more could one ask?

University of Georgia Kenneth Coleman

Code Number 72: Ben Franklin: Patriot or Spy?. By Cecil B. Currey. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972. viii, 331 pp. Preface, appendix, bibliography. $7.95.)

Professor Currey, author of an earlier, discredited book about Franklin, based partially upon fabricated evidence (see *Penn-*

sylvania Magazine of History and Biography, October 1971, p. 526-29), is still trying to cash in on reader interest in scandal about the Founding Fathers. The earlier volume, covering Franklin's activities in England, 1765-1775, purported to show that Franklin engineered the split between Britain and her colonies and sought to profit from it by running guns for the Americans. The present work covers Franklin's years in France as American commissioner, 1776-1785, and suggests that Franklin had treasonous contacts with Britain, apparently to bring about a reconciliation with England, perhaps out of remorse for having caused the Revolution in the first place. I say suggests because the book is such a mixture of fact and fiction, assertion and innuendo, credulity and naivete, that it is difficult to judge just what is and is not being claimed.

A further difficulty is that after insinuating all manner of things about Franklin for 284 pages, Currey finally hedges on his conclusions and leaves the reader to assume that the author probably doesn't believe all this nonsense after all. The more the pity, because Franklin is certainly badly in need of reinterpretation, and may well have been one of the greediest of American public servants in the eighteenth century. Indeed, Currey marshals considerable evidence on Franklin's questionable treatment of certain of his colleagues in France when they attempted exposure of profiteering and charged him with covering up the misdeeds of men such as Silas Deane and Edward Bancroft, who have since been discovered to have been embroiled in overt treasonous activities. Had the author focused simply on profiteering and corruption among American agents abroad during the War of Independence he might have made a contribution to the literature on the American Revolution. But by eschewing careful research for journalistic techniques designed to capture headline interest, and by hinting at Franklin's possible treason, without a single piece of solid evidence to substantiate the charge, he has accomplished little beyond adding another book to the voluminous literature on Franklin, obscuring rather than clarifying the nature of his contributions to the creation of the American nation.

The title *Code Number* 72 derives from a mystery no deeper than the fact that British officials sometimes used code numbers

when referring to American leaders and assigned "72" to Franklin. The fact that number "206" was assigned to Washington is withheld from the reader. Revealing a rare bit of wisdom, Currey apparently decided that a book bearing the title *Code Number 206* would not sell.

Library of Congress Paul H. Smith

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume VI, 1821-1822. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972. xviii, 826 pp. Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. $17.95.)

The establishment of territorial government in Florida was the subject of much of Calhoun's correspondence during the year (April 1, 1821, to March 31, 1822) included in this volume of his papers. If all the letters and reports from and about Florida had been printed in full another volume would have been required, and the editor, for this reason, has resorted to paraphrased summaries and listings for all but those he considers most significant. He has included enough, however, to indicate the complexity of the situation, particularly in regard to the Indians and Negroes, but no one seemed to expect the prolonged wars that turned out to be needed before these determined opponents of American rule could be subdued.

One result from Calhoun's involvement with Florida was a firm offer of support for his presidential candidacy by Andrew Jackson, the territorial governor. They were brought together by their common antagonism to Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford and to the parsimonius measures in regard to the army that Congress had adopted at his recommendation. On May 22, 1821, Jackson assured Calhoun that "no man wishes you better than I do, or can have your future wellfare *[sic]* more at heart than I have, as I believe your political wellfare *[sic]* to be intimately connected with the wellfare *[sic]* of our country."

Calhoun was at the high point of his nationalist phase, and a little later wrote Charles Tait of Alabama, "I fear that an attempt is making extensive to form a party systematickly *[sic]* against the powers of the General Government." He was seeking

to assuage the fears the Missouri Compromise had aroused in Tait, and told him, when it became apparent that the purpose animating the opponents of the admission of Missouri was abolition of slavery, "the question became highly dangerous and all sober statesmen became anxious for the compromise which happily for the country was effected, as I hope, and sincerely believe, forever." But Calhoun was not totally convinced by his own assertions, and in a prophetic passage he stated that if ever the South should become certain that abolition was the aim of the North, "we would be no longer one nation. . . . Thus virtually seperated *[sic]* we ought to prepare for an actual seperation *[sic]."*

Blacks, in his opinion, had no rights that white men or their government had to respect, and the war department, by his explicit order, decided that "persons of colour" who had served in the army during the War of 1812 were not entitled to the "territorial gratuity" for veterans on the grounds that they had been fraudulently enlisted as "citizens of the United States." Paradoxically he had a different attitude towards Indians, and throughout this year of enforced reduction of expenditures, he continued his vigilant efforts to protect the tribes from incursions by the whites and to improve their schools. He also enthusiastically commented on the success attending the revolutionary movements in Europe and Latin America and rejoiced at what he thought was the spread of freedom and constitutional government for whites.

Comments on such matters as these occupy only a small amount of space in this massive volume. Calhoun's central occupation during this year was the reduction and reorganization of the army made necessary by reduced appropriations. Here too, as in his earlier years as secretary of war, he demonstrated his capacity as an intelligent, careful, and concerned administrator, a talent, as it was to turn out, that subsequently he would never be able to use because the Missouri Compromise did not fulfill his hopes.

University of Oregon Thomas P. Govan

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 4, Secretary of State, 1825. Edited by James F. Hopkins and Mary W. M. Hargreaves.

(Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1972. xii, 991 pp. Preface, index. $20.00.)

Eighteen hundred and twenty-five was an eventful– and fateful– year in the political career of Henry Clay. That March he became secretary of state in the cabinet of President John Quincy Adams, whose election in the House of Representatives he had materially aided by his influence as speaker. In retrospect it appears that his decision to enter the cabinet was a political error, for it was represented by the Kentuckian's enemies as proof that there had been a "corrupt bargain" between Clay and Adams to deny Andrew Jackson the presidency. Clay was none too happy in his new office, which he soon discovered was "not a bed of roses, but one that requires me to work 12 or 14 hours per day." Besides, as he wrote a friend in April, "I know my *forte* is the H. of R." To add to his woes, two daughters died that summer. Because of his personal affliction, he allowed his private correspondence "to get much in arrear."

Be that as it may, the editors of *The Papers of Henry Clay* have not suffered from lack of Clay letters for the year 1825. On the contrary, his tenure as secretary of state poses new problems for them resulting from a plethora of official and political correspondence. Originally contemplating a ten-volume series, the editors now plan twelve volumes, with the two additional ones to cover the years Clay served in Adams's cabinet. They have also found it necessary to summarize many letters under the categories "Miscellaneous Letters," "Applications, Recommendations," "Instructions and Dispatches," and "Diplomatic Notes." If they had not resorted to such a space-saving practice, perhaps two volumes instead of one would have been devoted to this single year.

Of greatest interest to students of Florida history are the summarizations of several letters dealing with the dispensation of patronage in the territory. Diplomatic historians will be particularly interested in the correspondence relating to the acceptance by the Adams administration of the invitation to the Panama Congress. Political historians will welcome the correspondence between Clay and his political allies in Kentucky, notably Amos Kendall and Francis P. Blair, who had not yet defected to the Jackson ranks. Blair incidentally seriously con-

sidered that fall a removal to Florida "as a position where I might probably better my condition & where the climate promises advantages to a pulmonary constitution."

Volume IV of *The Papers of Henry Clay* maintains the same high standards of the earlier ones in this valuable series. Since this is the first volume to be published since 1963, it is reassuring to learn that Volume 5, which will cover the year 1826, is due to be published in the near future.

University of Houston Edwin A. Miles

The Role of the Yankee in the Old South. By Fletcher M. Green. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972. x, 150 pp. Foreword, preface, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Throughout the profession Professor Fletcher M. Green is acknowledged to be the unrivalled teacher of southern historians, for more than a hundred of them learned their craft and often received their inspiration in seminars he conducted at the University of North Carolina over a period of four decades. During these years Professor Green used unremitting research to enrich his seminars. He seldom published the results of his investigations, but what came from his pen was of uniformly high quality. His *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States,* for example, opened up a new field of study which many of his students have subsequently explored.

After his retirement from teaching, Professor Green began to turn some of his mountain of notes into books, the most recent of which is *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South.* In this small volume that grew out of a series of lectures delivered at Mercer University, Professor Green refutes the common misconception that immigrants from the North made virtually no contribution to the development of the Old South. Presenting biographical sketches to prove his point, Green maintains that more than a quarter of a million Yankees, as persons of northern birth were called in the antebellum period, settled in the South before the Civil War, bringing badly needed skills and habits of industry into the slave states. According to Green, most of these northern

newcomers adjusted quickly to the southern way of life, often becoming slaveowners and defenders of the institution of slavery.

Green also discovered that historians were mistaken who maintained that Southerners were hostile to Northerners who settled in their midst. Instead, Northerners who accepted southern customs not only gained ready admittance into southern society but also were often accorded places of leadership. In every southern state Northerners were elected to high political office, and in many cases were active in the secession movement. Northerners also made important contributions to progress in education, the fine arts, journalism, agricultural science, and manufacturing. Perhaps, their impact was most significant in the latter category, for most southern mechanics and artisans were taught their skills by northern immigrants. Indeed, Northerners were so important in the operations of the southern railroads that southern companies were unable to maintain their rolling stock properly after northern trainmen were driven out of the South in the hysteria that followed the John Brown raid.

By presenting brief biographies of northern-born politicians, judges, lawyers, teachers, journalists, writers of literature, religious leaders, industrialists, mechanics, and scientific agriculturists, Professor Green has provided graduate students with a host of topics for research. He also has demonstrated that the Old South is still far from exhausted as a field of historical research.

Florida State University John Hebron Moore

Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860. By Sam Bowers Hilliard. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972. xi, 296 pp. Tables, maps, notes, index. $10.00.)

Southern self-sufficiency in food production and supply is the major theme of this study. Professor Hilliard has examined census records, government reports, and contemporary literature to justify his conclusion that the Old South was largely self-sufficient in food production. This conclusion upsets the traditional concept of the Old South's dependence upon the Old Northwest

for its food supply. Pork was the chosen meat of Southerners and most of it was produced in the South. Kentucky and Tennessee, with an enormous surplus amount, met the demand of inter-regional deficit areas. Since pork was preferred to beef, the beef trade was a minor one, though cattle were numerous throughout the South. The southern meat diet was not, however, a monotony of "hogmeat" since a variety of other meats such as fish, fowl, sheep, and woods animals were consumed regularly.

Corn was the basic cereal and, along with pork, constituted the regular diet for freemen and slaves; corn was also the feed for animals. By the 1850s, oats were replacing corn as a grazing and grain crop for animals. Sweet potato production was high in the coastal areas and often replaced corn in the slave diet, as did cracked rice along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. Another food crop was cowpeas. Like corn, this crop supplied food for man and animal. Late in the antebellum era, a southern wheat belt developed in the hill country of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee, though Southerners produced and consumed relatively low amounts of this cereal.

A variety of fruits and vegetables were grown in the South, but the supply was limited, thus not extended to the slave population. Peaches were an exception. Peach orchards were numerous, and owners allowed slaves to eat the fruit because of its food value. With a few exceptions, vegetables for slaves consisted of cabbage and turnip greens, both of which were rich in vitamins; more often than not, these came from the slave's own vegetable patch which he was encouraged to keep. A lack of yellow vegetables and citrus fruits in the slave diet resulted in deficiency diseases among the slave population.

The value of the book lies chiefly in its analytical content taken from original source material. It covers the subject thoroughly to show the variable character of food supply and makes known the neglected subject of urban areas as consumers in the economy of the Old South. More than this, it presents a fresh interpretation that, despite some exceptions, the Old South was largely feeding itself. Several omissions have been detected. No mention is made of Apalachicola, Florida, as the most important port along the Gulf coast east of Mobile. No mention is made of cotton production, slave population, and

food supply in Florida. Only the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee are shown on any of the maps, while references are often made to Kentucky and other border states in reference to food production and supply.

Georgia Southern College Julia F. Smith

First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction. By Peter Kolchin. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972. xxi, 215 pp. Introduction, tables, maps, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

Professor Kolchin's book, the outgrowth of a dissertation directed by David Donald at The Johns Hopkins University, is a useful and welcome addition to black history. The author's basic point is that during Reconstruction blacks in Alabama became (in every aspect of their lives– labor, education, religion, family and social activities, and politics) increasingly independent and militant. Basing his argument on solid research in primary documents but without ignoring recent scholarship, Professor Kolchin argues convincingly that Alabama Negroes, and by implication those in the rest of the South, had not been converted into subservient Samboes by the institution of slavery. He thus takes issue with the slavery thesis of Professor Stanley Elkins. The author correctly sees the profound importance of Reconstruction in terms of adjustment and reaction to the fundamental fact of the end of slavery.

Clearly written and logically organized, the book reads well, and the author has a skillful command of language and use of quotes. The chapters are strong on interpretation and explore new areas of interest– in fact, the "traditional" chapter on politics is the weakest. The writer's objectivity is, for the most part, admirable, although his style tends at times to be surgical, and he does not seem always to know the geographical dimensions of Alabama's Black Belt (a failing easily forgiven since this reviewer, a native Alabamian– which Kolchin decidedly is not– has never been sure what counties should be considered in the Black Belt domain). There are inevitable errors such as referring to Bladon

Springs as Blandon Springs (p. 172), but they are mercifully few. The author's persistent habit of citing dates as 30 May 1867 (p. 113) is only mildly irritating, but much more so is the placement of footnotes at the end of chapters, an arrangement over which he had no control. The index is no more than adequate. Otherwise the type is readable and typographical errors rare.

The objections cited above are minor, especially when compared to the book's contribution. As the result of Professor Kolchin's sound research, we know much more about blacks and their lives in Alabama during a dramatic and critical period.

Florida State University William Warren Rogers

Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Story of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism. By M. Thomas Bailey. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1972. 225 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, bibliography, index. $11.50.)

During the second decade of our century, students of Professor William A. Dunning at Columbia University published a series of monographs detailing the Reconstruction history of the states constituting the Confederacy. None of his students, however, undertook a study of reconstruction in the Indian Territory, and this task was left to Annie H. Abel of Goucher College. The Dunning studies, along with Miss Abel's, were highly regarded and required reading in southern history seminars through the 1950s. Since then many conclusions reached by these scholars have been challenged by a new breed of historians, and we have seen a number of new publications focusing on this phase of southern history. Dr. Bailey's book falls into this category.

To enable her readers to understand Reconstruction in the Indian Territory, Dr. Bailey provides a brief but adequate account of the removal of the Five Civilized Nations to Indian Territory; internal conflicts over removal dividing the nations; and adjustments necessary to insure economic and social progress in a new and frequently hostile environment. Old antagonisms surfaced with the coming of the Civil War. While the great majority of the Choctaws and Chickasaws supported the alliance

their leaders made with the Confederacy, the Seminoles, Creeks, and Cherokees were divided in their sentiments, with a majority probably opposing the Confederate alliance.

Dr. Bailey writes of the war years which destroyed the economy of the region to an extent unheard of in states east of the Mississippi and pitted Indian against Indian. Union victory found those who had supported the North treated in the same fashion as those who had willingly embraced the southern cause. At the Fort Smith Conference and in the ensuing peace treaties, the United States took advantage of the situation to wring concessions from the nations and pave the way for economic exploitation of the region by the whites. All nations lost land, and provisions were made for construction of railroads across the Indian Territory.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws, although they remained loyal allies of the South to the end, fared better under Reconstruction than the other nations. This was done, Dr. Bailey points out, because they presented a united front, while government agents exploited the divisions which racked the other nations. Realizing great differences in the application and effect of Reconstruction in each nation, Dr. Bailey approaches each individually. She critically examines the problems confronting the nations: agricultural and boundary adjustments, tribal relations, reestablishment of social agencies, railroad construction, the freedmen, etc.

Dr. Bailey has presented a well-balanced account of an important and tragic era in our history. Her style is good and is calculated to hold the reader's interest. The organization of chapters focusing on the Reconstruction years indicates that undue reliance has been placed on the annual reports found in the Congressional Series, rather than on manuscript files of the National Archives and the Oklahoma Historical Society. This could be unwise, as the published reports are at best summaries, and the manuscript materials frequently contain data critical of the power structure, along with vital information explaining why decisions were made. Some readers will question the inclusion of a "summary" at the end of each chapter as repetitious. Since this is a source book and was written as a dissertation, the footnotes should have been included.

Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* interested in the

Civil War and Reconstruction era will want to read the book, as will those who want to know how the Seminoles and other southern Indians adjusted to a new life style in the Trans-Mississippi. To understand many aspects of today's demands by AIM, a knowledge of this era and its effect on the Five Civilized Nations is important. Dr. Bailey's book bridges this gap.

National Park Service Edwin C. Bearss
Washington, D.C.

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 3, 1858-1860. Edited by LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972. xlii, 753 pp. Introduction, chronology, illustrations, appendixes, index. $20.09.)

When we read "in the morning papers of the outrages that are committed night after night, what a commentary it is upon the city of Washington," the senator expostulated. Men are "shot down here every night." But conditions are no better in other cities, such as Baltimore, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and New York. Men are "shot down" or "garoted *[sic]* or robbed in those cities as well as here." The year was 1858, not 1974. Then, as now, there was concern about crime in the streets. There was also concern about the federal budget, and Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was speaking against a Congressional appropriation for the Washington police and in favor of letting the national capital, like other cities, take care of its own law-enforcement problems.

The third volume of the Johnson papers, like its predecessors, offers many such side lights on the history of his times. But this volume, too, is most interesting for the insights it gives into the principles and prejudices of the President-to-be.

During the period 1858-1860, as in earlier years, Johnson advocated strict construction as well as government thrift. He saw himself as a plebeian, one who had "wrestled with poverty, the gaunt and haggard monster," and who continued to identify himself with the (white) poor. He called for a homestead law to "build up the middle class" and prevent the evils of a "miserable city rabble" on the one hand and a "pampered, bloated, corrupted aristocracy" on the other. He welcomed immigration and

denounced the Know Nothing movement. Meanwhile he gave voice to a Negrophobia that was rather extreme even for his time and place, threatening that unless abolitionism were checked the nonslaveholders would unite with slaveholders "in subjugating the Africans, and if resistance be made, in extirpating the negro race." He revealed a gnawing presidential ambition despite his disclaimer: "The Presidency! I would rather be an honest man, an honest representative, than be President of the United States forty times."

The editing of the *Papers* continues to be impeccable, with careful identification of persons mentioned and with full explantion of topical allusions. Historians interested in the man or his times will look forward to each of the forthcoming volumes of the projected ten-volume series.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro Richard N. Current

Religion and the Solid South. Edited by Samuel S. Hill. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972. 208 pp. Preface, introduction, notes. $2.95.)

In January 1969 a symposium on "The Bible Belt in Continuity and Change" was held at Duke University. From the papers presented, five form the subject matter of this volume, edited by Samuel S. Hill of the University of Florida. Professor Hill set the direction in his introduction and climaxed the whole with a provocative charter for southern theology. The chapters, written by professional academics, provide rich investigations of religious phenomena and of the American South. All contributors recognized the South's peculiar religious life, its domination by Evangelical Protestantism, and its "deliberate disengagement from seculiar matters." Concisely, southern churches were traditionally conservative in character.

Dr. Hill presents the South as a land of two cultures—regionality and religiosity. If and when a decline occurs in regional self-consciousness, he expects a similar moderation in religious orthodoxy to be perceptible. Religion has long been a symbol of cultural status and likewise a means of preserving a society dominated by whites. This society held the black in an

inferior stratum and brooked no criticism of the sustaining churches. With the recent emergence of the Negro as "black power," the term Solid South loses significance and accuracy. Nevertheless, "a self-conscious and publicly identifiable culture" remains, and in these respects the word "solid" is used in this book.

Edgar T. Thompson reviews the facets of plantation life, emphasizing the planter as the spokesman for a white church. He considers the large slave membership as a core for "an invisible institution" which was easily shifted to independent organizations with freedmen. A new South based on urban rather than rural life is the present challenge for both laymen and clergymen.

In proper sequence, Anne Firor Scott traces the role of women in their familial sphere, branching out into a social gospel. Church work was the essential first step in the emancipation of southern women from the accepted conservative image of themselves. Easily the female zeal spread to reforms in education, prison, labor, politics, and social habits of men– namely, prohibition.

Charles Hudson, a cultural anthropologist, examines the essential ingredients in the fundamentalism of southern Protestant churches. The fundamentalist in simplification may explain the events in life in terms of supernatural justice, fate, and salvation. Basically such a belief-system is full of contradictions, but "blessings" erase the differences in a society with economic levels, and "salvation" brings a person from the fringe of society and enables him to be an accountable part. Needing to show the spread in an agrarian economy and its accompanying extension of churches, Edwin S. Gaustad uses nineteen maps. The trends and patterns in religious demography suggest further investigations.

Proceeding from these aspects, Professor Hill approaches a new charter for southern theology. Evangelical Protestantism by design and practice has created a guilt complex and a concommitant desire for a personal salvation. Congregations are composed of "saved" members who, satisfied in their personal security, have disregard for the social ills around them. What such churches need is a "concentration on growth, one's own and

others', toward abundant and responsible living." If this becomes the program, the churches can yet lead the way "to a more nearly realized kingdom of God on earth."

This book is not one to lay aside; it presents inherent weaknesses in institutions, and challenges every Southerner to examine rationally his heritage, to correct his faults, and to expiate his defects.

Atlanta, Georgia Walter B. Posey

The Folk of Southern Fiction. By Merrill Maguire Skaggs. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972. xii, 282 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $11.00.)

This is in every respect an important book. The literary tradition it presents and analyzes has seldom been recognized as a part of the southern heritage, as the author reminds us. In print, at least, her assertion is true, though in this reviewer's experience southern (and American) writers have long talked about yeomen below the Mason-Dixon Line and about the myth that the South was inhabited by Ashley Wilkes, Jeeter Lester, George Washington Carver, and Demonstrators.

Who are the Plain Folk? Graciously Mrs. Skaggs acknowledges her terminological debt to Frank Owsley's *Plain Folk of the Old South*. They are "the vast majority of people somewhere between aristocracy and trash," and the widely held assumption that not until the twentieth century did writers on the South deal with them is the central assumption this book not only disputes but eloquently disproves. The study was a doctoral dissertation at Duke University, but it is free of technical jargon and obvious labor pains. It also deserves national rather than regional attention. Southern literature is different from other American fiction in the ways the South is different from other parts of America, but as John Dewey once remarked (the remark is cited by Mrs. Skaggs) "we are discovering that the locality is the only universal." William Faulkner wrote not only about Yoknapatawpha County but about man.

After the Civil War the southern writer was anxious to justify his region to the rest of the United States. To do so he built on