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BOOK REVIEWS

Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida. By Wayne Flynt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. xiv, 359 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, critical essay on authorities, index. \$20.00.)

Sidney Johnston Catts flashed across the Florida political skies like a meteor in the gubernatorial election of 1916. A Baptist preacher, insurance salesman, and political unknown, Catts waged an extraordinary grass-roots campaign that challenged the power and shocked the sensibilities of the state's Democratic hierarchy. After being denied the party nomination in a questionable recount, Catts ran in the general election as an independent and was swept into the governorship on a wave of anti-Catholic sentiment and populist dissatisfaction. His stormy governorship and subsequent campaigns made him a compelling figure in Florida politics for more than a decade. He was Florida's version of the "southern demagogue," the equivalent in some respects of Georgia's Tom Watson, South Carolina's Cole Blease, and Louisiana's Huey Long. And, like many of his southern counterparts, he appealed strongly to the masses-to the "red-necks" and "crackers"-who provided the base for his quixotic insurgency against the political establishment. As a disgusted editor wrote during one of his campaigns, "every county in the state where there are neither good roads, newspapers, telephones nor telegraph, apparently is for Catts, now and forever, once and inseparable, *E. Pluribus Unum*" (ch. 12, at note 44).

Professor Wayne Flynt, whose first book was a biography of Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, another powerful Florida politician, has produced a solid study of Catts's political career. Lacking a substantial body of Catts's personal and official correspondence, Flynt has made good use of collateral manuscript collections, public documents, newspapers, interviews, and unpublished studies. He devotes some attention to Catts's family background, education, and ministerial career in the Alabama black belt. But the heart of his book is its detailed and authoritative treatment of Catts's election, administration, and struggle for vindication in the early 1920s. Flynt also analyzes Catts's unsuccessful cam-

paings in the twenties and briefly describes the former governor's final years before his death in 1936.

Flynt's careful account of the politics and programs of the Catts administration-and of the social and economic circumstances that affected them-represents his major achievement. He is particularly good in dealing with the exigencies of the war years, the bitter conflict between labor and management in 1919 and 1920, and the nature of the red scare in Florida. The author's second notable contribution is his success in explaining the origins and dynamics of the Catts movement and in demonstrating why it was more than an aberration or a political carnival. Flynt contends that Catts entered politics as "a genuine idealist," that "pragmatism and reform" were more important in his administration than critics were willing to concede, and that his governorship resulted in "a remarkable era of social progress." Although this probably exaggerates the positive aspects of Catts's leadership, Flynt is right in portraying the embattled governor as a reformer who, while flawed, improved public administration in such areas as education and the penal system. Flynt may also be correct in suggesting that Catts became a cynical, "professional" politician only after being frustrated by hostile legislators, entrenched interests, and his own uncontrolled emotions. Yet if Catts challenged the whole structure of Florida government, as the author asserts, there is little indication that he had any realistic conception of how to go about making the system more democratic or more responsive to social needs.

The paucity of personal papers at Professor Flynt's disposal may account for his inability to provide a coherent treatment of Catts's inner world in the manner of C. Vann Woodward's *Tom Watson* or T. Harry Williams's *Huey Long*. Nevertheless, his interpretation is generally convincing, and he makes Catts believable, whether in terms of the man's boldness and courage, his understanding of and sympathy for the poor and disadvantaged, or his temperamental outbursts and violent emotionalism. Flynt also throws light on the relationship between Catts's religious evangelism and his interest in social reform. Catts's political appeal is attributed in large part to his "fundamentalist" identification with rural Floridians. He personified, in his style and philosophy, a significant strain of modern reformism, and as Flynt observes, southern politics cannot be fully comprehended without

understanding the so-called demagogues like the enigmatic Catts who "voiced the frustrations of inarticulate white Protestants."

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM

Florida Territory in 1844: The Diary of Master Edward C. Anderson, United States Navy. Edited with a Foreword and Afterword by W. Stanley Hoole. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1977. 105 pp. Illustrations, foreword, afterword, notes, bibliography, index, drawings. \$8.50.)

"Jacksonville . . . is one bed of heavy sand. . . . Miami . . . [will never be] much more than it is for there are but few facilities and no capital either at present or in prospect. . . . Key West has nothing attractive about it. It is a sandy waste with some scrub timber upon it. . . . [Tampa's] Military reserves is a charming spot. . . . [The Navy Yard at Pensacola] has been very much beautified [*sic*] of late years." These observations, and many more from the diary of Master Edward Clifford Anderson, USN, were written during his tour of duty aboard the USS *General Taylor* while she steamed in Florida waters from March through December 1844.

Scion of an old, well established family of Savannah, Edward Anderson was an educated man who moved easily among the military and civil leaders of frontier Florida. He wrote of his acquaintances with brevet Brigadier General William J. Worth, Lieutenant John T. Sprague, Judge William A. Marvin of Key West, and pioneer settler William F. English of Miami. When he met a group of Seminole Indians at Fort Brooke, he was impressed by Sampson their Negro interpreter. He was aboard ship when the abolitionist Jonathan Walker was transported from Key West to Pensacola under double irons. In sum, Anderson's diary is a fascinating account of the Florida territory in 1844.

This monograph is a verbatim presentation of Anderson's diary during this period. Editor Hoole has written a biographical foreword and afterword to acquaint the reader with the life and times of Anderson. These appendages blend in with the diary portion of the book, creating a unified narrative which broadens the original work.

Also, in a task common to all editors, Hoole has provided informational footnotes to the diary so that the reader may understand the text. This is a crucial function of any editor who interprets contemporary writings of the past, especially for local or regional histories where the characters may not be well-known to the readers.

Hoole performed this last duty competently, although his knowledge of military history in Florida was shaky. Using only Francis Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, he incorrectly identified a diary entry-Lieutenant Blake-as Edward D. Blake, 8th Infantry; it was Lt. Jacob Edmund Blake, Corps of Topographical Engineers, who executed several survey missions for General Worth at that time. Hoole was in error on the construction dates for Fort Matanzas (1672-1695 vice 1727-1742) and Fort Dallas (1838 vice 1836). Also, he referred to the navy's West India Squadron haphazardly as either the West Indies or West Indian Squadron. But these are very minor errors.

Anderson's diary is an interesting eyewitness view of Florida just after the Second Seminole War. It was a time of change when many of the important wartime posts had been abandoned by the military, casting their civil population adrift without an economic base. The frontier was being peopled by armed occupants through government grants. It was the closing of the Indian era, the beginning of white penetration of the peninsula, and Edward Anderson was there to see the towns and talk to the settlers. This little book is a welcome addition to the primary source material on the final days of the territory of Florida.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

Proceedings of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, Volume VI, The Cultural Legacy of the Gulf Coast, 1870-1940. Edited by Lucius F. Ellsworth and Linda V. Ellsworth. (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1976. viii, 139 pp. Introduction, notes, illustrations. \$7.95.

A product of the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Confer-

ence in 1976, this collection of papers not only embraces the cultural heritage of the Gulf Coast but also touches on the broader problems of historical preservation: what it is, how it is accomplished, and what its benefits are—in the last case, unarguably, stability. The Gulf Coast setting is viewed in the larger context of such successful preservation enterprises as Nantucket. According to the introduction by the Ellsworths, the Gulf Coast is “little understood.” One wishes they had expanded on this point. Why? Geography? Climate? Timber? Tourism? Sand? Mass communications or the historical lack of them?

The papers in this volume “analyze the function of historical artifacts in present-day society.” Unfortunately, perhaps that function seemed more important in 1976 than it will in 1980. The book belongs in any collection of southern history with pretensions to scope. What makes it especially interesting is the conference participants’ disagreement on the importance of the Gulf Coast legacy to America as a whole. The staunchest Gulf Coast champion is Professor Jessie J. Poesch, who argues that the Gulf Coast has contributed more significantly to national culture than is commonly thought. This reviewer agrees. Example? Jazz.

All the papers are well-written. Ellen Beasley’s “Impressions of Gulf Coast Architecture” should stimulate more such studies which are badly needed. James R. McGovern’s “The Rise of Pensacola” is fascinating. Dr. McGovern was taken to task at the conference by Jerrell H. Shofner, who felt that the piece might more accurately have been titled “Pensacola as Viewed from its Red-Light District.” Perhaps, but are not red-light districts a valuable index? Who can argue their importance? And perhaps the informed student of history is better served by Dr. McGovern’s racy account of Pensacola’s “French Louise” than by Margaret Mitchell’s dreamed-up Belle Watling.

The range of topics in the volume is broad. Thomas Clark has presented a vivid picture of land and trees on the Gulf Coast: “This part of the American frontier contained all the elements of drama of the rest of the western country and the westward movement without actually being located in the mainstream of the earlier population advance.” Theodore Rosengarten’s observations on oral history are given in the context of his book *All God’s Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*. He is as aware of the dangers of oral history as he is of its potential contributions.

This is reassuring. He also knows when the technical lie tells the essential truth.

Some of the papers are interesting case studies in the history and how-to of the preservation movement. Others touch on philosophy itself, as when Dr. Poesch rightly distinguishes between history and historicism - the latter having, of course, spawned all too many restorations, in Florida and elsewhere, of the See-How-Fancy-Grandpa-Had-It-And-Doesn't-It-Remind-You-of-Colonial-Williamsburg school. And perhaps the volume's best keynote is provided by none other than Oscar Wilde, as quoted by Dr. Poesch. In 1882 he told America: "let there be no flower in your meadows that does not wreath its tendrils around your pillows, no little leaf in your Titan forests that does not lend its form to design, no curving spray of wild rose or brier that does not live for ever in carven arch or window or marble, no bird in your air that is not given the iridescent wonder of its colour, the exquisite curves of its wings in flight, to make more precious the preciousness of simple adornment."

Nobody may ever have walked down Pensacola's Palafox Street with a transcendental pine bough in his hand during Wilde's lifetime; but Wilde's message has obvious meaning for preservationists and for all who value beauty, tradition, and taste.

Tallahassee, Florida

GLORIA JAHODA

Gold, Galleons and Archaeology: A History of the 1715 Spanish Plate Fleet and the True Story of the Great Florida Treasure Find. By Robert F. Burgess and Carl J. Clausen. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1976. x, 195 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography. \$12.95.)

In 1964, major treasure finds were made in Florida's Indian River area from wrecksites of the combined 1715 Spanish fleets. As one result, Florida evolved policies regulating treasure hunters designed to preserve its shipwreck patrimony. A body of literature has sprung up about these finds, including Kip Wagner's *Pieces of Eight*.

Now, after twelve years, there comes a book on the 1715

shipwrecks written by Robert Burgess, a well-known adventure writer, and Carl J. Clausen, the man who served as Florida's marine archeologist during the modern 1715 salvage. The work includes a fast-paced and excellent account of the hurricane which destroyed the Spanish fleet, the hundreds of survivors it left cast away on a lonely strand, subsequent Spanish salvage, and the raids of Caribbean pirates. This reviewer happens to know that the whole is based upon extensive primary documentation, but except for the appendixes, the archival materials utilized are not cited in footnote or bibliography.

Some corrections are called for. The Spanish navigation system featured more than the New Spain and *Tierra Firme* fleets; guard ships, often integrated with the fleets, at times separate, also sailed. These were variously called the *Armada Real*, the *Armada de Barlovento*, or the *Armada de Guardia*. Crown revenues remitted with the fleets were far more complex than the *quinto* alone; among other funds, they included monies from what the authors term "The Holy Crusade," but which was actually the sale of indulgences. The Florida governor's name was not Corioles, but Corcoles. There were not two "Jennings raids" upon the salvage camps in November 1715 and January 1716, but rather one pirate occupation during January 1716, which was ended by a Spanish expedition from Havana (see A.G.I. *Escribania de Camara* 55-C, *pieza* 3). The authors seem to have confused and duplicated the data.

The reader is skillfully transported from the eighteenth century to modern times by means of a description of our evolving knowledge of the Spanish campsite at Sebastian Beach. This site is now occupied in part by the McLarty State Museum. The archeological work of Higgs and Hale Smith is mentioned, but no credit is given to Homer N. Cato, the amateur archeologist who led Clausen to the main campsite, or to the members of the South Brevard Historical Society, whose members toiled for eight months to develop data turned over to the state.

The efforts of modern salvors Kip Wagner and Mel Fisher and their associates are recounted in a straightforward and an entertaining manner. Burgess and Clausen have not neglected the theme of personal adventure which enlivened *Pieces of Eight*, but have placed it within a broader setting. For the first time, the real story of the finding of the "dragon-whistle necklace" has been

with the Indians of Louisiana as opposed to the mission-presidio system used in New Mexico and elsewhere in the Far Southwest. Later, Spain used the same barter and trade system in the Floridas. Spain lost the struggle for the Indian trade in Spanish Louisiana because British and American traders offered better merchandise, were better organized, had larger capital, fewer paternalistic regulations, and lower taxes. The restrictive Spanish mercantile system and Spanish bureaucracy did not, perhaps could not, adapt sufficiently to the competitive trade conditions.

One slip by Professor Nasatir cannot be overlooked. The founding and location of Galveztown (Map 2 and page 36) needs correction. Founded about 1778 by Anglo-Americans, Galveztown was located some twenty-four miles southeast of Baton Rouge on the Iberville River (Bayou Manchac) opposite the mouth of the Amite River. It should not be confused with Galveston Island, Texas, which received its name from Jose de Evia during his survey of the site in 1785. I have one other reservation about the volume. I would prefer the use of footnotes rather than chapter by chapter bibliographies. It would certainly make the book more useful to specialists in the field.

The study is an excellent survey of the struggle for Spanish Louisiana. Nasatir reinforces with abundant illustrations the argument that the conflict between Spain, England, and the United States was inspired by economic considerations. To deemphasize the economic motivation in the western conflict is to misinterpret what it was all about. Nasatir's emphasis on Upper Louisiana brings to our attention an area often neglected by historians of the Spanish borderlands. It is, as Professor Nasatir so ably recounts, the region in which the Spaniards made their last stand against the Anglo-Americans.

University of West Florida

WILLIAM S. COKER

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume IX, 1824-1825. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976. lxiii, 692 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, symbols, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Calhoun's effectiveness as the administrator of the War Department and its multifarious activities is convincingly demon-

strated in this the ninth volume of his collected papers. Only a few of the approximately 1,600 documents, judiciously selected from a much larger number that have been transcribed or abstracted by the editor and his associates, were personally attended to by the secretary. No need existed for him to do so. The policies and procedures had been so clearly established, as evidenced by the materials contained in earlier volumes, that the subordinate officers in charge of the separate bureaus could decide with authority almost all of the questions from the field.

The period covered, April 1, 1824, to March 3, 1825, was the final year of James Monroe's administration during which little was initiated. It was a year of waiting in which the center of interest was the presidential campaign. Calhoun, himself, was no longer a participant. His effort to gain the presidency had ended in March 1824, when the Pennsylvania convention of the Republican party had unexpectedly nominated Andrew Jackson as its presidential candidate and Calhoun for the vice-presidency.

He accepted this decision with good grace and remained neutral between Jackson and John Quincy Adams throughout the campaign. He assured his supporters that it did not matter which of these two nationalistic candidates won just so long as William H. Crawford and the radical state rights Republicans were defeated, and he remained in the race largely to insure that if Crawford should happen to be elected Calhoun would be in a position to lead the opposition to the radical proposals.

Calhoun took little part in the campaign. If he wrote any letters they have not been preserved, and the principal source for his actions during this momentous year is the jaundiced comments in Adams's diary. This volume of his papers, as a result, contains little of major interest either for the history of the country or for his biography. The next one should be different.

University of Oregon

THOMAS P. GOVAN

mand, and governmental control. Laurens's letters describing personalities and events of the day are descriptive and interesting. Publication of the Laurens Papers is making a substantial contribution to American scholarship.

Georgetown University

RICHARD WALSH

Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770. By John Preston Moore. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xiv, 246 pp. Preface, notes, tables, maps, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

The Seven Years' War abruptly altered imperial relationships in North America when England secured both French Canada and Spanish Florida. At the same time, in still another important transfer of power, the French ceded Louisiana to Spain. That shift from French to Spanish rule is the theme of this book.

The cession of Louisiana to Spain took almost seven years. On November 2, 1762, the French gave up this colony to Spain in the Treaty of Fountainebleau, but Charles III delayed taking possession. Initially, the king and his ministers encountered difficulty in procuring an occupation force from their beaten and exhausted forces in the Indies. Moreover, they saw clearly that Louisiana would, like Spanish Florida in the early eighteenth century, become a drain on the exchequer; procrastination meant saving these new expenses. Thus, for two years Spanish authorities did nothing, giving the French residents some hope that Louisiana might be receded to France. In 1765, however, Charles III and the Marques de Grimaldi, principal architect of Spain's Louisiana policy, finally appointed a new governor, Antonio de Ulloa. For the recalcitrant Ulloa it took another year to find a meager body of troops to accompany him, and he did not reach New Orleans until March 1766. Once in Louisiana he did not take formal possession of the colony for Spain but established tentative joint rule with the French governor, Charles Aubry, and the French Superior Council.

Ulloa, it turned out, was a terrible choice for the governorship. Although one of the most brilliant Spanish intellectuals of his time - a Spanish Benjamin Franklin - he was poor at administration and detested it; his tenure at the mer-

cury mine of Huancavelica proved that. He was also shy and antisocial, preferring to work at his books rather than to deal openly and personally with administrative problems. When he did act, he did so arbitrarily, insensitive to the French constituency. In the end, his personal failings, the failure of the Spanish crown to provide him with sufficient troops, and economic problems caused by restrictive Spanish trade policies resulted in a conspiracy, more against the beleaguered Ulloa than against Spain.

Led by the merchant community and a few French bureaucrats, and supported initially by Governor Aubry, a group of French residents ultimately demanded Ulloa's ouster and elimination of the onerous Spanish restrictions. Without soldiers to enforce his will, Ulloa was helpless and in despair departed the colony, leaving the French conspirators, as it turned out, to flounder hopelessly for a new identity and economic support. The forced removal of Ulloa, however, finally spurred Charles III to act decisively. He appointed General Alexander O'Reilly as the new governor to put Louisiana under Spanish rule and provided him with the men and arms to do so. In late July 1769, when O'Reilly finally reached New Orleans, the French conspirators capitulated without a fight. The major figures in the cabal were executed, imprisoned, or had property confiscated as O'Reilly acted firmly to establish Spanish domination over Louisiana once and for all.

Moore tells this story well. Using a wide variety of sources from archival repositories in Spain, England, France, Mexico, and the United States, he has provided a rich, balanced picture of the major events and the primary participants in the seven-year saga to give Spain possession of Louisiana. He demonstrates clearly that indecision, timidity, and ambivalence characterized not only the Spaniards (under Antonio de Ulloa at least) but also the French rebels. My only qualification is whether there was really a "revolt" in Louisiana. In the end the conspirators found no broad base of support in the colony and gave in easily to the Spaniards once Charles III decided to fill the power vacuum. Like the Fronde 100 years earlier in France, the French conspiracy in Louisiana really came to nothing.

Duke University

JOHN J. TEPASKE

The American Revolution, A Continuing Commitment, Papers presented at the fifth symposium, May 6 and 7, 1976. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1976. viii, 88 pp. Introduction, opening remarks, notes. \$4.50.)

The six papers included in this volume are intended to be in the nature of a stocktaking rather than about the Revolution itself. But such a general purpose has encouraged such variety of subject and point of view that some editorial attempt to bring together ideas common to all these papers would have given more coherence to the collection.

Two of the papers, contrary to the subtitle, are not concerned with any "continuing commitment" to the Revolution but to how we must alter the traditional ideals of America to cope with a future where interdependence is our greatest need. Margaret Mead in her "Style of American Womanhood" describes the traditional American woman that we continue to be proud of—the kind of woman who settled the first colonies and the later frontiers, who had her independent domain of work that went well beyond the mere raising of children, and who had a certainty of her capacity to manage her domain and that of her husband if necessary. The traditional division of woman's labor from that of man's has given rise to the expectancy that each individual, man, woman, or child will stand alone, independent and capable. Yet in future society, where activities are not distinctively male or female and where people's relationships to each other are more critical than independence from one another, Miss Mead questions that we can continue this historic style in which everyone is looking for his own place to stand.

Harlan Cleveland of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, in "America's Not-So-Manifest Destiny," extends the question to the future need for interdependency between Americans and other peoples of the world. He insists that individual Americans must learn to feel individual responsibility for the collective outcome of interdependent action, and the first thing to be jettisoned toward this goal is ideology, by which presumably he means the ideal of individual freedom and independence.

Both of these papers which advocate an alteration or denial of traditional ideals and attitudes to accommodate the needs of interdependence imply that continuing our commitment to some

of the ideals of the Revolution is undesirable for the future needs of society.

Paul A. Freund, the Carl M. Loeb Professor of Law at Harvard University, also recognizes the growing interdependence in society but suggests a far less disturbing solution. Freedom for one tends to reduce freedom for another, yet equality deadens spontaneity and enterprise. He suggests that we embrace the ideal of "fraternity," which he defines as the basic respect for individuals, their commonness and their uniqueness, to protect our freedom and equality and give added quality to our lives. Although "fraternity" has never been one of the explicit ideals in America as it has in France, it is not an alien concept. By embracing it we can temper the inherent problems in freedom and equality and continue to hold these ideals even in an interdependent society.

All of the papers in this collection are of high quality and make us look forward to the sixth and final symposium in 1978 which will mark the bicentennial of the French alliance.

Agnes Scott College

GERALDINE M. MERONEY

Struggle for the American Mediterranean: United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean, 1776-1904. By Lester D. Langley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976. 226 pp. Preface, map, epilogue, bibliographical essay, notes, index. \$10.00.)

This latest study by Professor Langley focuses on the rivalry between the United States and several European nations in the Gulf-Caribbean region from the American Revolution until the establishment of a protectorate system over the Dominican Republic in 1905.

Most of the diverse stories of this competition have been drawn from secondary sources and are therefore familiar ones; Langley's contribution has been to pull them together and give them geographic focus while sketching in the historical background to each. Thus the acquisition of Louisiana, the Floridas, and Texas, the clash with England over Central America and Cuba, the French intervention in Mexico, America's New Mani-

BOOK REVIEWS

213

fest Destiny, the war with Spain, and the tortured tale of the Monroe Doctrine are all presented under one handy cover.

However familiar the stories, readers will certainly find some of the motives ascribed to the various actors in this chronicle intriguing. For example, the Anglo-American confrontation over Cuba and Central America stemmed not so much, Langley claims, from territorial as from commercial ambitions. In fact the parties concerned so craved stability in the Gulf-Caribbean region that they frequently could not bring themselves to credit rivals with the same sentiment. The result was that mutual suspicions often triggered grave mutual misunderstandings.

Again during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it was United States concern for stability-not territorial or even commercial designs-which explains its Gulf-Caribbean expansionist policy. Expansion, according to Langley, was a response to the disruptive influence of Caribbean nationalism. Thus nationalist movements in Nicaragua, Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama served as the catalysts which precipitated those decisive confrontations with Europe which left the United States the sole imperial power in the region.

Only Langley's first chapter entitled "The Southward Drive to the Gulf" deals at length with Florida, and the details are those most Florida readers will be acquainted with. Jefferson directed the bulk of his acquisitive energy toward Louisiana rather than the Floridas because the French were regarded as more menacing than the Spanish. Monroe, however, by supporting the Mathews movement (although he later disavowed Mathews) and by sending troops to Amelia Island to clear out the smugglers haven created by Gregor McGregor in Fernandina, began the application of pressure on Madrid to yield Florida which Jackson increased by entering the Spanish domain in the same year. This, coupled with the added pressure of population and United States circumspection vis-a-vis Spain's revolting colonies, ultimately resulted in the Adams-Onis treaty-a treaty which brought the United States to the northern shores of the New World Mediterranean and signalled the beginning of a long term Caribbean power play.

The study is a bit harsh on and unsympathetic to Spain, occasionally fails to provide insights into the dynamics of American policy, is relatively kind to McKinley, and is scantily indexed.

Aside from these objections it is a well done volume made even more useful by a fine bibliographical essay.

Bowling Green State University

KENNETH F. KIPLE

Borderland in Retreat: From Spanish Louisiana to the Far Southwest. By Abraham P. Nasatir. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976. viii, 175 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, bibliographical notes, index. \$12.00.)

To borrow heavily from Professor Nasatir's own comments about his study, *Borderland in Retreat* is a series of essays which summarizes more than fifty years of research on Spanish Louisiana. A synthesis of his life's work, it is a history of the competition for that large, often ill-defined area west of the Mississippi River called Louisiana. Spanish Louisiana had six frontiers, each dependent upon time and point of reference or emphasis. Two chapters deal with the frontier along the Mississippi River: the Spanish-British conflict and Spanish-American relations during and after the American Revolution. Other chapters are devoted to the Upper Mississippi frontier, the Missouri frontier, the Louisiana-Texas frontier, and finally, the last frontier of Spanish Louisiana, the area north of Santa Fe. For those who draw the curtain on Spanish-French Louisiana with the purchase of that territory in 1803 by the United States, it might be well to point out that the boundaries of that vast domain were not resolved until the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 whereby Florida was acquired.

During and since his days at Berkeley, Professor Nasatir has specialized in what he prefers to call "Spanish Louisiana" and "Spanish Illinois." The latter is the area of Upper Louisiana north of the Arkansas and west of the Mississippi rivers. His use of the term "Illinois" for the area west of the Mississippi is not new. Among others, Pedro de Rivera referred to the same area as "Sinalois," a corruption of "Illinois," in his report on the presidio of San Miguel de Panzacola in 1744.

Professor Nasatir's study chronicles the rivalry for Louisiana between Spain and Great Britain, and later between Spain and the United States. Spain adopted France's trade-barter system

with the Indians of Louisiana as opposed to the mission-presidio system used in New Mexico and elsewhere in the Far Southwest. Later, Spain used the same barter and trade system in the Floridas. Spain lost the struggle for the Indian trade in Spanish Louisiana because British and American traders offered better merchandise, were better organized, had larger capital, fewer paternalistic regulations, and lower taxes. The restrictive Spanish mercantile system and Spanish bureaucracy did not, perhaps could not, adapt sufficiently to the competitive trade conditions.

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strated in this the ninth volume of his collected papers. Only a few of the approximately 1,600 documents, judiciously selected from a much larger number that have been transcribed or abstracted by the editor and his associates, were personally attended to by the secretary. No need existed for him to do so. The policies and procedures had been so clearly established, as evidenced by the materials contained in earlier volumes, that the subordinate officers in charge of the separate bureaus could decide with authority almost all of the questions from the field.

The period covered, April 1, 1824, to March 3, 1825, was the final year of James Monroe's administration during which little was initiated. It was a year of waiting in which the center of interest was the presidential campaign. Calhoun, himself, was no longer a participant. His effort to gain the presidency had ended in March 1824, when the Pennsylvania convention of the Republican party had unexpectedly nominated Andrew Jackson as its presidential candidate and Calhoun for the vice-presidency.

He accepted this decision with good grace and remained neutral between Jackson and John Quincy Adams throughout the campaign. He assured his supporters that it did not matter which of these two nationalistic candidates won just so long as William H. Crawford and the radical state rights Republicans were defeated, and he remained in the race largely to insure that if Crawford should happen to be elected Calhoun would be in a position to lead the opposition to the radical proposals.

Calhoun took little part in the campaign. If he wrote any letters they have not been preserved, and the principal source for his actions during this momentous year is the jaundiced comments in Adams's diary. This volume of his papers, as a result, contains little of major interest either for the history of the country or for his biography. The next one should be different.

University of Oregon

THOMAS P. GOVAN

Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820-1860: A Quantitative History. By Claudia Dale Goldin. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976. xvi, 168 pp. Preface, introduction, figures, tables, epilogue, appendix, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

This monograph began as a research paper, was expanded into a dissertation, and parts of it were published in *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, 1975). Goldin's primary purpose was to employ quantitative methodology to explain the decline in urban slavery. The first four of six chapters contain her interpretation of the literature examining urban slavery, chapter five presents her econometric model, and the last chapter contains her conclusions.

Goldin's oversimplified and slightly distorted summation of urban slavery literature led her to conclude that previous writers considered slavery incompatible with urban conditions. Launching her attack on this straw man she complained that neither the proposition that urban factors "pushed" slavery from the cities, nor that rural factors "pulled" slaves from the cities provided a precise economic mechanism to explain fully the changes within urban slavery. She posited a third view: "because of a highly elastic demand for their services, urban slaves would have been sold from the cities . . . even if the demand for their services had been increasing at a rate *greater* than that for rural areas" (p. 9). Elasticity of demand was defined as measuring "the responsiveness of changes in quantity demanded to changes in price" (p. 9, n).

Using the econometric technique of ordinary least squares regression analysis, and data collected from census records of ten cities between 1820 and 1860, Goldin found the elasticity of demand for rural areas to be .05, while that for the cities was considerably higher at .86 (pp. 104-5). She concluded from these findings that the low rural elasticity "indicates that there were few substitutes for slave labor in agriculture." The higher urban demand elasticity "suggests that there were more and closer substitutes for slaves in urban activities" (p. 125). Urban white workers replaced part of the slave labor force, especially in the border state cities. She supported a "pull" interpretation with the conclusion that "exogenous forces" of slave price changes which

were "determined far more by rural than urban factors . . . explain to a large degree the urban slave oscillation" (p. 115). The relationships between demand, price, and quantity, rather than inimical conditions peculiar to urban areas, explain the observed decline in the number of urban slaves. While reaching these conclusions, Goldin cautiously maintained that changing slave population in the cities exhibited certain characteristics: older slaves, especially women, remained in the cities; a large population of older females also explains the smaller number of young slaves: skilled slaves were retained in the urban areas, while the unskilled males were absorbed by rural demands.

Humanistic historians will not be satisfied with Goldin's presentation for she used only data that could be quantified, and emphatically stated that because the changes in urban slave labor could be rationalized from her model "one need not look to changing social and political factors in the cities" (p. 115). She relies too heavily on the findings presented by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman in *Time on the Cross*, and often lacks perspective as illustrated by her statement that "for reasons which are not yet entirely clear, free labor could not be mobilized for large-scale gang labor on farms at a wage rate competitive with the shadow price on slaves" (p. 105). In chapter five, Goldin presented her model for two levels of readers: one for those uninitiated in the mysteries of the cliometricians, and a second for the initiated. The first, though slightly patronizing, was well done, but was it necessary to present the second and more detailed explanation?

Even with its shortcomings, Goldin's study of urban slavery between 1820 and 1860 adds a new dimension and presents information that is otherwise lacking.

The University of Mississippi

HARRY P. OWENS

Slaves and Freedmen in Civil War Louisiana. By C. Peter Ripley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976. xii, 237 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, an essay on sources, bibliography, index. \$10.95.)

Black Legislators in Louisiana During Reconstruction. By Charles Vincent. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press,

1976. xv, 262 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

On an early spring day in 1865, a large group of blacks gathered at Economy Hall in New Orleans to hear a speech by Captain James H. Ingraham, a Mississippi-born black man, a former company commander in the Louisiana Corps d'Afrique, and a Union hero of the Port Hudson campaign. Ingraham delivered a bitter attack on the wartime Federal labor policy which was forcing thousands of Louisiana freedmen to put in long hours of plantation work with very scant compensation. The plantation labor system was "disguised slavery," Ingraham charged, and it had led to undisguised brutality and exploitation of black workers throughout rural areas of the state. "The defenders of such a system are not the friends we intend to have," he continued. "No system of gradual elevation is needed to make us men" (Vincent, pp. 35-36).

Ingraham's demand for an end to exploitation and for a recognition of black manhood went to the heart of the tragedy of black Reconstruction in Louisiana and throughout the South. No matter what Ingraham thought of the Federal officials and the policies they administered, he and the millions of other blacks living in the former Confederate states had no one else to whom they could turn in their efforts to obtain justice and economic independence. And yet, as these two excellent books make clear, those officials and their black social and economic policies failed time after time to meet the most elementary standards of fairness and equality, despite overwhelming evidence that blacks and their political leaders were willing to be moderate in their demands and responsible in exercising their newly-acquired citizenship.

C. Peter Ripley's solid monograph on slaves and freedmen in wartime Louisiana convincingly demonstrates the importance of that state in the evolution of Federal policy toward black Southerners. The Union effort to restore the plantation economy in Federally-occupied areas, a move launched in 1862 under the direction of the army's Bureau of Negro Labor, forced blacks to work under strict discipline at minimal wages and led, as Captain Ingraham correctly charged in 1865, to widespread suffering among black agricultural laborers and their families. "Increasingly, Federal regulations governing the labor force resembled a

throwback to the slave codes and a preview of the black codes," Ripley notes (p. 58), and when the Freedmen's Bureau entered Louisiana in 1865 it simply took over the policies and duties which the Bureau of Negro Labor had been carrying out for the past three years. Officials of the Federal and the Unionist state governments made no effort to provide ways by which blacks could acquire land and agricultural capital, a refusal Ripley quite properly labels "the greatest failure of Reconstruction" since it deprived blacks of the economic means which might have enabled them to protect their political and personal rights (p. 195). In the opinion of this reviewer, Ripley is also correct when he calls wartime Louisiana the true "Rehearsal for Reconstruction" in the South (p. 3). His final summary outlines the sad dimensions of that rehearsal (p. 201): "Of the issues critical to the freedmen-freedom and family security, land and economic security, suffrage and equality before the law, education and social justice-only in emancipation and education did Federal actions even approximate black aspirations."

Charles Vincent's first-rate study of Louisiana's black political leadership in the postwar era carries the drama of Reconstruction forward to 1877, but the story remains largely unchanged. Black demands during the constitutional convention of 1867 "were not of a revolutionary character," Vincent observes, and they "envisaged no radical change in the structure of Louisiana's economic life or government" (p. 65). These convention demands centered around universal suffrage, free public education, and expanded state charitable programs. Negro delegates to the convention, like their successors in subsequent sessions of the Louisiana legislature, were for the most part native-born Louisianians with good educations, military service, business experience, property ownership, and wartime political activity behind them. A number were of African-French parentage and had been members of the elite free Negro population in antebellum Louisiana. Many of the black convention delegates went on to seats in the state legislature, where they added issues to their agenda like a basic civil rights law, guarantees that planters would actually pay the wages of their workers, and a state program to help blacks acquire agricultural land.

The land program, the key to black economic, social, and political independence in the state, never materialized. With

whites in a clear majority in every session of the Reconstruction house and senate and chairing most of the important legislative committees, major land reform had no more chance in postwar Louisiana than it had had during the war. Vincent admits black participation in some of the graft and corruption that plagued Louisiana politics then, as it does now, but his assessment of the performance of the state's black Reconstruction leaders balances this factor against the other obstacles they encountered in trying to enact their program (pp. 224-25): "If they failed to achieve all their goals, and they did fail on many fronts, it was not always because of their ineptitude or ignorance. They failed essentially because they could not surmount the opposition of white racism and the somewhat costly extravagance accompanying many legislative acts." In this listing, white racism would seem to deserve added emphasis. Both of these fine volumes point toward this disillusioning but historically accurate conclusion. During fifteen years of military and civilian Reconstruction in Louisiana, Federal officials, successive Republican state governments, and the vast majority of white Louisianians largely ignored the simple but eloquent plea of a black petition drafted at New Orleans in 1863 (Vincent, p. 20): "We are men, treat us as such."

University of Missouri-Columbia

CHARLES B. DEW

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 5, 1899-1900. Edited by Louis R. Harlan, Raymond W. Smock, and Barbara S. Kraft. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976. xxviii, 747 pp. Introduction, chronology, symbols and abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

This volume of Booker T. Washington Papers covers the period from January 1, 1899, to Christmas eve 1900. They reflect the emergence of the national black figure of Booker T. Washington in much clearer focus. Tuskegee by 1900 seemed to be fading somewhat into the background. This was a vital period in the history of American Negroes, and especially for those who lived in the South. Washington and his co-laborers realized that whatever genuine progress was made in the field of racial advancement had to be made in the southern region. Nevertheless the

problems of advancing the race's social, economic, and political causes had to be made throughout the nation, and with political understanding, tact, some manipulations, and a great deal of carefully nurtured support. A good example was the drive in behalf of the Crumpacker Bill.

Basically Washington was guided in this modern drive for Negro advancement by his fundamental philosophy of raising his race's economic and intellectual standards through processes of education which included social and moral responsibilities. Maybe, because of this, his hand never showed clearly in an aggressive way in the various activities which went on about him. In only one movement did he assert a positive leadership and that was in attempts to organize a National Negro Business League in which the Negro could exert an influence on American life comparable to that exercised by the national business leadership itself.

The issues of the period around the turn of the century fell into three or four categories. There was ever the matter of political participation in the American democratic process. Possibly more urgent at the moment was the checking of the brutal crime of lynching. The South was in a disgraceful moment of fiendish human butchery. There had just occurred one of the most horrible of all lynchings, that of Sam Hose in Palmetto, Georgia. This incident horrified people everywhere, and the southern press was filled with accounts of it. There were also unusually strong regional editorial protests against the Hose crime in particular and the crime of lynching in general.

The Court had ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, but Washington and his supporters struggled against this form of Jim Crowism, and evidence of this shows up in the papers. In these years the southern states were revising their Reconstruction constitutions and this fact had significant bearing on the southern Negro's political future. The notation pertaining to the revision of the Louisiana constitution is contained in *The Future of the American Negro*, and reflects a realization of the importance of the issue. Finally there was the matter of public schooling for blacks and the betterment of their general plight in southern society.

This volume contains letters from a surprisingly large list of correspondents, and the editors say they have either abstracted or left out others. Those from Timothy Thomas Fortune and Em-

mett Jay Scott are among the most revealing. Certainly those of Fortune are important because he was in many respects the guiding spirit if not the alter ego in Washington's national moves for racial advancement. He was more open in his approaches to issues of the times.

In the perspectives of the present moment there are at least two surprising notes from Washington to Charles G. Harris, Tuskegee professor. Washington asked Harris to give consideration to the singing of more plantation songs, specifically *My Old Kentucky Home* and *Suwanee River*. He wanted the choir enlarged and the chapel singing enlivened.

On February 7, 1900, Lord James Bryce addressed a reply to a letter from Washington which was printed in the *Washington Colored American*. Though brief in content, Bryce sanctioned Washington's economic, social, and moral views of building slowly from the ground up. These conformed with the content of an earlier conversation Washington had with Bryce.

Reproduced in this volume is the *Future of the American Negro*, published originally by Small, Maynard & Company in 1899. As in earlier volumes there are included speeches and essays. There are some fascinating glimpses of affairs in Tuskegee, especially relating to disciplinary and staff problems. These papers are well edited, judiciously selected, and are historically significant. The inner doubts, frustrations, and ambitions of racial leaders in this era are often revealed. There are also reflected many subtleties of racial leadership in the face of what could be accomplished practically in an American society caught up in the flux of social uncertainties and bitter partisan political pressures.

The central figure, Booker T. Washington, comes into full view as the transformed national Negro leader who emerged from the famous Atlanta experiences of compromise and eloquent spokesman. He began to take on more and more the coloration of the national reform movement, and, paradoxically, of the American business community.

The name of Raymond W. Smock appears on this title page as editor. This volume was largely assembled by Mr. Smock as a doctoral dissertation, and a creditable piece of work it is.

Eastern Kentucky University

THOMAS D. CLARK

The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945. By Jack Bass and Walter DeVries. (New York: Basic Books, 1976. xi, 527 pages. Appendices, maps, tables, bibliographic essay, index. \$15.95.)

For those who desire encyclopedic, accurate information written with verve about the monumental changes in southern life in the past generation, this is the volume to study and keep close at hand. As is normal with journalists and political scientists the two authors begin from the solid base of V. O. Key's *Southern Politics*, defining the region as the eleven Confederate states, and including the results of more than 350 lengthy interviews and about 100 pages of maps and graphs of demographic and voting patterns.

Aside from a detailed and authoritative examination of the state of each state, this worthy volume almost overwhelms the reader with the recent impact of organized labor, black politics, Republicanism, women and minorities, reapportionment, and the (mainly federal) judiciary. Trends in the politics of transition include everything from changes in campaign financing to shifts in southern power in Congress. The causes of the suppression of grievances of the poor, as expressed by Key (the one-party system, disfranchisement, exclusion of blacks, malapportionment of state legislatures), all shaped by the tragic, mythic past, have been rapidly disappearing, along with perhaps the historical identity of the South itself. This is the "story of the greatest change in American politics," largely imposed from the outside, and encompassing a social revolution, the failure of a southern strategy, and enormous migrations of people in developing economies. Such change has encouraged the abandonment of the family farm, the sense of place, and Anglo-Saxon fundamentalism. Blacks are no longer objects but have become participants.

The knowledgeable reader can probably guess the states described under such headings as: "the progressive myth," "government in the sunshine," "the politics of consensus," "genuine two-party politics," "out of the past," "still the politics of economics," as well as the simplistic "legacy of the Longs," "out of the Byrd cage," and "the Wallace freeze." One of the great mistakes of crusaders anxious to revolutionize the South has been the assump-

tion that the region has ever been a unit in anything except past adherence to white supremacy.

Except for support from mountainous areas, Republicanism has come on strongly as the party of racial and economic conservatism and is not doing well. The old combination of southern Democrats and northern Republicans has lapsed as Democrats from the South approach national norms; for instance, two thirds of the Dixie Democrats in 1975 favored the extension of the Voting Rights Act. The federal crusade for integration ended with Nixon. The new governors are moderate, not liberal. Southern per capita income has increased from seventy-three per cent (of the national) in 1950 to eighty-eight per cent in 1974. Though massive unionization is yet to come, trends favor growth of organized labor and its influence in politics (in spite of a deficient press).

There is no space here for a review of the balkanized divisions of the South. Suffice it to say that the investigators come away from their extensive research and writing with a cautious optimism. The constant since World War II has been *change*, in economics, society, and politics. Demagogues have disappeared. The region has moved fast in the direction of political modernization and moderation. Opposition to civil rights no longer holds Southerners in Congress together. A major obstruction to social legislation is gone. The ferment regarding women rises. There are still, of course, lingering problems of poverty, residual racial attitudes, unequal standards of justice, regressive tax structures, and insufficient political participation. But the total record of the past generation in the South surpasses anything since the days of the Founding Fathers, and Bass and DeVries have delineated that story superbly.

University of South Florida

JAMES W. SILVER

The Southeastern Indians. By Charles Hudson. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976. xiii, 573 pp. Preface; orthographic note, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$23.50.)

As a comprehensive, scholarly work, Hudson's social history of

the southeastern aboriginal peoples is excellent. As the story of the origins, way of life, and demise of the native peoples of the Southeast United States, Hudson's volume is monumental. For the first time scholars and lay readers alike have a readable, excellently footnoted synthesis of archeological, ethnological, and historical materials relating to the southeastern native peoples. *The Southeastern Indians* will be the standard reference for students, librarians, museologists, social scientists, and all other interested persons for many years to come.

Following an introductory chapter which examines the peoples of the Southeast, their environment, languages, and physical anthropology, the author relates the culture history of the area from Paleo-Indian times (at least 11,500 years ago) until the early historic period. This overview, based on archeological evidence, incorporates many new ideas and data from the last decade that have not been widely dispersed beyond the level of the specialist. Many readers will be surprised to learn of an "Eastern Agricultural Complex" based on cultivation of indigenous plants -sunflower, chenopodium, sumpweed, and others-which appeared in the Southeast and Midwest as early as 2600 B.C. and was present before maize, the bottle gourd, and squash diffused into the region from elsewhere in the New World.

Hudson also presents concise and informative summaries of little-known, but important southeastern culture history phenomena such as the Poverty Point culture (1300 B.C. to 200 B.C.), an anomalous culture centered in Louisiana but reaching even into Florida, and the Gulf tradition (A.D. 500 to the historic period), a way of life widespread in the Southeast and best represented by the Florida Weeden Island culture. Readers will appreciate these summaries for the clarity of the information they contain.

The archeological chapter also presents an interpretive synthesis of the Mississippian cultural tradition characterized by the most complex New World societies north of Mexico. After about A.D. 1000, Mississippian peoples in the Southeast, including northern Florida, occupied large towns with fortifications, plazas, and extensive civic and ceremonial buildings, many built on earthen platforms. One such town, Moundville in Alabama, contains twenty building platforms and covers 300 acres. Most Americans have little knowledge of these complex developments.

Concluding the chapter is a description of early European explorations in the Southeast. The account of the de Soto entrada is, in this reviewer's opinion, the best interpretive description available.

Following the introductory chapters Hudson skillfully weaves together studies of Southeast Indian belief systems, social organization, subsistence, ceremonies, and art, music, and recreation. These data cover the period following the prehistoric Mississippian cultures and prior to widespread European colonization. Rather than focusing on different groups, such as the Creeks, Choctaw, Cherokee, etc., the chapters integrate information from various sources to form a cogent synthesis of the Southeastern Indians as a single group of related peoples.

By presenting the belief system chapter first, the author enables us to understand how the aborigines viewed themselves, their society, and the world around them. Ceremonies, residence patterns, "supersitions," and other traits viewed by whites as quaint or irrational become parts of an integrated, functional, and rational whole when interpreted through the Indians' belief system. This chapter also ties in archeologically-recovered objects and design motifs with myths collected from the Indians during post-contact times. The result is fascinating and extraordinarily informative. Anyone who wishes to understand almost any aspect of southeastern Indian culture will find it pertinent reading.

Similarly, Hudson's discussion of social organization will bring meaning to anthropologists, historians, and others who, for example, wish to study the socio-political framework operative behind settlement patterning or to discover how various social and political groups might be represented at a treaty-signing. The brief discussion of Natchez Indian social organization, the most misunderstood topic in southeastern Indian studies, is clarified in the context of Hudson's discussion and will cause many teachers to revise class notes.

The remainder of the book is similarly filled with a myriad of information on various aspects of Indian culture interspersed with tidbits and facts intended to increase our understanding of the aboriginal way of life as compared to our own. For instance, Hudson cites James Mooney's study of Cherokee herbs which showed twenty-five per cent were used in the same manner as modern medicine. Another fifteen per cent had uncertain medical

benefits, and sixty per cent had no known curative properties. The author contrasts these statistics with a recent United States Food and Drug Administration study of 2,000 patent medicines available in drug stores which showed that thirty-nine per cent were effective medicines and only twenty per cent actually fulfilled their advertised claims.

Hudson notes that Southeast Indian culture was the result of at least eleven millenia of cultural evolution. When the Europeans arrived, the aborigines were living in harmony with their natural environment; they had evolved very successful adjustments to their world. Today, as we mine the last of our fossil fuels from the earth and die at alarming rates from cancers and heart disease, one can only feel that perhaps Charles Hudson and the Southeast Indian have a lot more knowledge than they have been given credit for.

The concluding chapter examines the fate of the Southeast Indians as a result of European settlement. Hudson documents the history of the Indians during the colonial period, Indian removal, and the period from removal until the present day. As he points out, if we wish to understand the Old South and what it is today, we must understand the history of Indian-white relations and the role of the Indians in the shaping of our present culture.

The price of *The Southeastern Indians*, \$23.50, is not out of line with today's prices. And for the quality of the book, it is almost a bargain. Not only is the volume well-written and informative, but it is beautifully produced, more than amply illustrated, and it is well-bound. I read my copy through twice, mostly by various swimming pools, by the ocean, and on several plane trips; the book held up admirably.

In the past, there have been few popularly-written but factually truthful studies of the southeastern Indians. It is almost as though our guilt about the fate of these people has caused us to try and forget. I believe that this volume will serve as a milestone, stimulating more long-needed publications. Hudson has done a great service, both to his readers and to the southeastern Indians.

University of Florida

JERALD T. MILANICH

American Folklife. Edited by Don Yoder. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976. viii, 304 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, illustrations, tables, graphs, notes on the contributors, index. \$16.95.)

This is a collection of twelve scholarly essays, some newly-written, others reprinted. The purpose of the volume is to introduce the folklife studies approach to American readers. In his introductory essay editor Don Yoder describes folklife studies as a "holistic approach that analyzes traditional cultural elements in a complex society," an outgrowth of the European discipline of regional ethnology. As Yoder points out, there is little consensus about definitions, but folklife studies in the United States have generally dealt with a broader spectrum of culture than folklore studies, which have focused principally on the spoken and musical dimensions of traditional culture. Folklife studies include these areas but also encompass custom and material culture.

This broad range of inquiry brings folklife studies across the boundaries of other disciplines. These shared interests are reflected in the essays of anthropologist Ward H. Goodenough, cultural geographer Fred B. Kniffen, architectural historian James Marston Fitch, and cinematographer Leslie P. Greenhill. Their essays complement Yoder's by introducing and defining specialized topics in folklife studies along with descriptions of appropriate methods of research for each. Kniffen's "American Cultural Geography and Folklife" is particularly useful in this respect.

The area of scholarship which this book ably introduces can be of value to the historian. Most folklife studies have a historical dimension and document topics not easily studied through conventional historical research methods. The firmly regional and cultural dimensions of the approach also contribute to an emphasis upon neglected aspects of history. For example, James L. Evans approaches the topic of his essay, "Ethnic Tensions in the Lower Rio Grande Valley," by first describing the ethnological setting of the region and then interpreting the historical documents in terms of this perspective. David J. Winslow's "Tollgate Lore from Upstate New York" works outward from an architectural feature common to the region's nineteenth-century landscape, showing how the tollgate was the focus of social and economic patterns which remained in the traditions of the region

long after the old turnpikes had vanished. Other articles offer similar perspectives on such diverse topics as Louisiana folk boats, coil basketry in South Carolina, Indiana log houses, German-American New Year customs in the South, and Yoruba ritual in Trinidad.

In these days of hastily-prepared anthologies, this volume is an outstanding example of careful editing. Each article has, in addition to the usual footnotes, a bibliography. There are numerous illustrations-photos, drawings, maps, and charts. In terms of form, it is nicely organized, with ample margins, good paper, and sturdy binding. In terms of content for the social historian, it is an excellent introduction to a useful new historical perspective.

Memorial University of Newfoundland NEIL V. ROSENBERG

BOOK NOTES

Riverside Remembered by George Hallam is a collection of photographs of one of the most historic and interesting residential suburbs in Jacksonville. The narrative was written by Professor Hallam of Jacksonville University. Riverside had its beginnings when land was purchased there by John Murray Forbes, an affluent New Englander whose ties to Florida dated to the British period. After the great fire of 1901 a building boom developed in Jacksonville, and Riverside became the area where many of the well-to-do and socially prominent families built their homes. Henry J. Klutho designed some of these houses along Riverside Avenue and Park Street, and later in the Avondale section. The house that Klutho did for the Upchurch family on St. Johns Avenue was outstanding. Addison Mizner designed the First Riverside Baptist Church, and it remains as one of his great architectural triumphs. Roy Benjamin designed the Riverside Theatre, and William Williamson of Michigan did the W. W. Cummer residence. But the architect who left the greatest imprint on the area was Mellon C. Greeley; he designed many of the important structures in the area. There is no other section of Jacksonville which has the

charm and beauty of the Riverside-Avondale area, and major efforts are being made to preserve as many of the remaining homes and buildings as possible. *Riverside Remembered* may be ordered from Riverside-Avondale Preservation, 2624 Riverside Avenue, Jacksonville, Florida 32204. It sells for \$8.98.

Voices From the Countryside is described in the foreword as a "window upon rural life in Florida about the turn of the last century." Guy Miles, the author-editor, conducted a series of taped interviews in Alachua County over a period of time, and this book contains excerpts from those conversations. He was talking to his friends and neighbors about a variety of things relating to their work and to their families, the everyday activities out of which have emerged meaningful traditions and folkways. There is information about tobacco barns, stump pillars, grits mills, John Deere tractors, grinding cane, serenading newlyweds, and making moonshine. Of special interest is the interview with Louis Nieland, the noted forester. The photographs are by Terry Sherman, a native Floridian, who now lives in the area where Mr. Miles conducted his interviews. *Voices* is published by Banyan Books of Miami, and it sells for \$6.95.

Edwin D. Browning, Sr., the best known authority on the history of Madison County, Florida, has completed the history of the two oldest Baptist churches in the area. The First Baptist Church was organized in 1835 by a group of missionary Baptists. It was originally called Hickstown Baptist Church and was named for an Indian, Tuckose Emathala, who the early settlers called John Hicks. The church was renamed Madison Baptist Church in the 1850s, and it received its present description in 1922. Concord Baptist was established in 1841 as a missionary church, and included among its thirteen charter members were six blacks. Until 1871 blacks and whites held membership in the same church, but the blacks then withdrew to form their own congregation. Mr. Browning is also the author of *The History of the Middle Florida Baptist Association, 1900-1976*, *First Baptist Church, Madison, Florida* and *History of Concord Baptist Church, 1841-1976* each sell for \$3.00. They may be ordered from Mrs. Marjorie Woodard, Box 724, Madison, 32340.

They All Called It Tropical, by Charles M. Brookfield and Oliver Griswold, was first published in 1949, and has long been out-of-print. It has recently been republished by the Historical Association of Southern Florida. In Mr. Brookfield's new epilogue, he notes that most of the historic sites of the Everglades, Cape Sable, and the Keys are now protected and are being preserved in the Everglades National Park, as state parks, or as national monuments. The book sells for \$1.95, and is available from Banyan Books, Box 431160, Miami, 33143.

The Creek Indians and Their Florida Lands is the published report compiled by James F. Doster of the University of Alabama. The documents that were presented in the Indian claims case against the United States government are also included. These two volumes are part of the American Indian Ethnohistory Series printed by Garland Publishing, Inc., 545 Madison Avenue, New York. All of the material contained in Professor Doster's reports is reliable and is supported by his careful research and the citation of sources. The exhibits which accompany the report were filed with the Indian Claims Commission under Docket 280, and the originals are in the National Archives, Washington. The volumes sell for \$28 each.

Koreshan Unity Settlement, 1894-1977 is a restoration study report made for the Department of Natural Resources, Florida Division of Recreation and Parks, by G. M. Herbert and I. S. K. Reeves, V. Much of the historical data in this published report has come from the basic research data done by Elliott J. Mackle, Jr., and Howard D. Fine for their master's theses. The Koreshan Unity was a utopian community founded by Cyrus Read Teed in Estero, Florida (near Fort Myers), in 1894. There were a number of buildings erected to provide housing, dining, and working facilities for the men and women who planned to live there. Most of the structures have been demolished, either removed or destroyed during the last eighty years, but some of the more important have survived. Hedwig Michel, president of the Unity, has been instrumental in having much of the property given to the state, and a park was opened there in 1967. The settlement has also been declared a National Historic Site. Many historical photographs are included in the report.

which was published by Architects Design Group of Florida, Inc., Winter Park, 32789.

The facsimile edition of Captain Philip Pittman's *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, edited by Robert Rea, was published by the University Presses of Florida in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series. Another handsome facsimile of this volume has now been published by Memphis State University Press with an introduction and notes by John Francis McDermott. The Pittman book, first published in London in 1770, is exceedingly rare. For his introduction and notes, Mr. McDermott utilized work that he had done in the archives in Paris. He also examined important collections in the United States and Canada. Lieutenant Pittman, 15th Regiment, based his report on his five years of service in West Florida and the Mississippi Valley. It was one of the first such accounts to be published in English, and according to McDermott, it was "the best in any language to that date." The Pittman facsimile volume, which includes all of the original maps, sells for \$20.

East Pasco's Heritage by Eleanor Dunson is a Bicentennial contribution of the First Baptist Church of Dade City. There is a brief history of Florida and the Tampa Bay area, but most of the book consists of sketches of churches, historical events, and the educational and cultural institutions of the area. There are several family memoirs, and the histories of several communities are included. The book sells for \$7.00, and it may be ordered from the First Baptist Church, 417 West Church Avenue, Dade City, Florida 33525.

Pioneering in the Panhandle by William James Wells describes many of the historic events that have occurred in West Florida, and tells of the families who have been associated with these events in south Santa Rosa County during the past century. A native Floridian, Mr. Wells has been a teacher and principal since 1917. He now lives in Gulf Breeze. Besides federal census and local records, he conducted personal interviews and checked everything from family bibles to cemetery records to secure historical information. He provides data on several area

families-Axelson, Harvell, Brooks, Duncan, Broxson, Nelson, Tolbert, Condon, Well, and many others. He also includes information on lumbering and turpentine, transportation, post offices and postmasters, education, and several of the early Bay area churches. The book contains historic photographs and an index. It sells for \$5.95, plus postage. Order from the Pensacola Historical Museum, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

The Hispanic Presence in Florida: Yesterday and Today, 1513-1976 is a collection of essays edited by Jose Agustin Balseiro, who points out the close relationship that Florida has always had with the Hispanic World, particularly Puerto Rico and Cuba. This political, cultural, and educational relationship begun in 1513 continues to the present. Vicente Murga, R. S. Boggs, William M. Straight, Charles W. Arnade, Carlos Ripoll, Rosa M. Abella, and Antonio Jorge have contributed the essays. It was published by E. A. Seemann Publishing, Inc., Box K, Miami, 33156. The price of the hardcover edition is \$8.95; paperback, \$5.95.

Uniforms and Weapons in Colonial Florida, 1513-1821 is by Frank Suddeth, Jr., of St. Augustine. The dress of the Spanish soldiers who came into Florida was not consistent. Ponce de Leon's followers could not have been recognized as soldiers except by their personal armaments. They wore helmets shaped like a bowl, and chain mail shirts with reinforcing pieces of iron plate to protect the chest, back, and thighs. These Spaniards who first came to the Caribbean and Florida were likely the most heavily armoured group ever to arrive in the New World. The officers carried round metal shields, while other personnel wore shields made of leather shaped like an apple. Mr. Suddeth's pamphlet contains valuable information and a number of color illustrations. It sells for \$1.50 and can be ordered through the British Shop, St. Augustine, Florida 32084. Mr. Suddeth has also designed and printed a series of color postal cards which depict Spanish officers at the Castillo de San Marcos.

Everglades National Park is a children's book written by Ruth Radlauer. The photographs, all in color, are by Rolf

Zillmer. Animals, reptiles, insects, birds, and vegetation native to the Glades area are the subjects covered in this attractive book. It is an Elk Grove Book, published by Children's Press of Chicago. The price is \$3.95.

Stranahan's People was compiled and published by the students of Stranahan High School of Fort Lauderdale, under the supervision of Boyd Ogle and Wally Korb. All of the oral history interviews were taped, edited, and transcribed by members of the class. They delve into many aspects of Broward County history. There are also many historical photographs and an attractive book cover. The price is \$4.50, including mailing. Order from Mr. Ogle, Stranahan High School, 1500 S.W. 5th Place, Fort Lauderdale, 33313.

Florida Indians: Noble Redmen of the South, by Edith Ridenour Lawson, was written mainly for children, but it has information for anyone interested in the Seminole. Mrs. Lawson, who lives in Dunedin, is planning a continuing series of books about Florida. The story of Florida's Indians began thousands of years ago when they survived as hunters and fishers. Later they adapted to an agricultural economy, and by the sixteenth century, corn and other vegetable crops provided a major source of food for the Indians-Timucua, Ais, Apalachee, Tequesta, Calusa-that were then living in Florida. The coming of the Spanish led to the decline of these peoples; they were replaced by migrating Indians who became the Seminole. The illustrations are by Mike M. Skeggs. Published by Valkyrie Press, 2135 1st Avenue South, St. Petersburg, 33712, *Florida Indians* sells for \$4.95.

From \$2,512.00 to a Billion Plus, by August Burghard, is the intriguing story of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Broward County. Organized in 1933, First Federal was a child of the Depression. It took brave souls indeed to get it organized so quickly after the collapse of the Florida Boom in 1926 and the stock market collapse of 1929. Only one bank in Broward County survived the debacle. A lending institution was vital to Fort Lauderdale and the area so that people could borrow money to buy and build homes. Mr. Burghard, the best

known chronicler of Broward's history, has assembled a collection of pictures and has interwoven them with an interesting narrative. His book is a contribution to community history. It was published by Wade-Brook House, Box 11072, Fort Lauderdale, 33339.

Indians on the Savannah River presents a brief history of the various Indian groups who were living in what is now the southeastern part of the United States, including parts of northeast Florida, at the time of European contact. These include the Shawnees, Yamassees, Apalachees, Apalachicolas, Chickasaws, Catawbias, Cherokees, Yamacraws, and Yuchis. There is historical material in this pamphlet also on the Upper and Lower Creeks. Dickson Hollingsworth is the author, and the booklet was published by Pond Press, Box 10, Sylvania, Georgia. The price is \$3.50.

Bibliographical Guide to the History of Indian-White Relations in the United States by Francis Paul Prucha was published for the Center for the History of the American Indian, Newberry Library, Chicago. It lists major guides, other reference works, books, articles, and published works relating to many aspects of Indian affairs. The bibliography is classified according to subject. There are references to the Indians of the South and Southeast, including Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, Lumbees, and Seminoles. Articles on the Florida Seminoles which have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, *Florida Anthropologist*, and *Tequesta* are listed. A detailed index adds to the value of this work. Published by the University of Chicago Press, the paperback edition sells for \$6.95.

The Forgotten Government: County Commissioners as Policy Makers by Vincent L. Marando and Robert D. Thomas is based upon a survey of 253 Florida and Georgia commissioners. Each filled out a questionnaire responding to public problems: regulations, public utilities services, social and remedial services, economic development, and governmental-administrative measures. Florida's rapid growth has caused the counties to change both their structures and philosophies, and this study attempts to show the impact that county commissioners are having

on those issues. Published by the University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, the book sells for \$8.50.

Lord of the Land by Dana L. Thomas is the history of some of the great fortunes that have been made in America from real estate. A chapter on Florida has been included, with the title, "Florida, A Scandal in the Sunshine: 'You Can Go Nuts on the Land.'" Robert McCormick of the Harvester fortune was one of the earliest speculators to become enamored of Florida. He bought land and built a winter home on Lake Worth. But it was Henry M. Flagler, John D. Rockefeller's partner in Standard Oil, who developed this area into one of the world's best known resorts, Palm Beach. Other celebrities who speculated in Florida real estate during the 1920s were George Merrick of Coral Gables; D. P. Davis of Davis Island, Tampa; Carl Fisher, sometimes called the Father of Miami Beach; and the Stockton family of Jacksonville. Speculation, which began soon after World War I by a handful of very wealthy men, became a national epidemic by 1925 when almost everyone was convinced that they could get rich simply by buying property in Florida. In fact, all you needed was a down payment as a "binder." Newspapers and magazines wrote about the people who were becoming overnight millionaires, and everyone wanted to jump on the land-deals bandwagon. Even William Jennings Bryan, former Secretary of State and perennial presidential candidate, began touting Miami lots. Then, even quicker than it began, the boom was over, and Florida land became for a time virtually worthless. But it was not the end. Things began to revive, even in the Depression years of the 1930s, and the post-World War II period saw a resurgence of enthusiasm for Florida real estate. Grove acreage in central Florida was especially appealing both to affluent Americans and foreigners, and the opening of Disney World added fuel to the fire. There seems to be no slackening of interest in Florida land. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, *Lord of the Land* sells for \$9.95.

Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy was compiled by John L. Wakelyn, with Frank E. Vandiver serving as advisory editor. In the introductory chapters, the author shows that most of the great men of the antebellum South did not play a leader-

ship role in either the secession movement or the Confederacy. Most of those who were secession leaders became prominent during the 1850s, and many lacked the political experience needed to sustain a major war effort. Wakelyn also found that the men who were the Confederacy's political and military leaders were powerless after 1865. Thus the new South was deprived of the experience that these men had gained during the years of conflict. Several Floridians appear in the biographical section, including James Patton Anderson, James B. Dawkins, J. J. Finley, Evander MacIvor Law, William Wing Loring, Stephen R. Mallory, John M. Martin, Augustus E. Maxwell, John Milton, Edward A. Perry, and Edmund Kirby Smith. *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* was published by Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut; it sells for \$29.95.

Historic Glimpses of St. Simons Island, 1736-1924 was published by the Coastal Georgia Historical Society, Box 1151, St. Simons Island, Georgia 31522. It is a collection of pictures with narrative describing an area whose history has had a major impact on northeast Florida. The book sells for \$2.50.