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BOOK REVIEWS

Aboriginal Subsistence Technology on the Southeastern Coastal Plain during the Late Prehistoric Period. By Lewis H. Larson. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1980. xii, 260 pp. Foreword, preface, photos, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Too many people have an image of pre-Columbian Indians in the southeast living a hand-to-hand existence, eating everything in sight, barely able to survive. Archeologists seldom have come forward to dispel that illusion so that *Aboriginal Subsistence Technology on the Southeastern Coastal Plain during the Late Prehistoric Period* is a welcome addition to the anthropological literature showing otherwise. What emerges from Lewis Larson's contribution is a discussion of southeastern subsistence patterns which directly reflected human adaptation to a variety of environmental conditions. Instead of uniformity, diversity was the rule; instead of starvation, a variety of finely developed subsistence technologies existed.

This work is a revision of the author's dissertation, originally written in 1969, and used extensively by archeologists working in the coastal plain ever since. The dissertation manuscript had several inconvenient features: poor reproduction and no index being the two that plagued many researchers over the years. Now reissued as the second Ripley P. Bullen Monograph in Anthropology and History, the work is more convenient to use. It has been updated to include recent archeological evidence, incorporating zooarcheological data made available through the work of Elizabeth S. Wing, and it has been indexed. With these changes the work becomes a valuable reference for which there is no convenient substitute. Since the text is also well-written it can be profitably used by non-anthropologists or people unfamiliar with the area being discussed. Larson, and series editor Jerald T. Milanich, did an admirable job of revision.

The author's purpose in the book was to identify the environmental zones of the southeast coastal plain, correlate these zones with resources of the area, and discuss subsistence technologies

used aboriginally in each sector. The temporal focus is the time period immediately preceding European contact and the geographical focus is primarily Georgia and Florida. After defining each sector and discussing resources typical of each, Larson summarizes the major invertebrate, vertebrate, and plant resources. In separate chapters the author reviews archeological evidence for the exploitation of invertebrates, fish, reptiles, mammals, and plants and the ethnohistoric documents about technologies used to obtain and process each as food. In these chapters, Larson synthesizes in a thorough manner information acquired from a number of technical zoological and botanical references which would take the reader much pains-taking labor to duplicate. The archeological data assembled here are likewise not readily available. The use of ethnohistoric sources in conjunction with the zoological data and archeological evidence is one of the strong points of the book. The historical accounts written by Europeans during the first years of contact do much to enlighten the reader about the archeological record and make this a valuable contribution in subsistence studies of interest to anthropologists, historians, and zoologists.

There are several interpretations with which some archeologists might take exception. Some researchers think that the pine barrens sector was not an area unoccupied aboriginally, but simply one unexplored archeologically. The author's interpretation of aboriginal shark utilization is not uniformly agreed upon either. While it is true that sharks are rarely major portions of aboriginal faunal inventories in Georgia, many sites from Georgia do contain a few shark vertebra from animals about two feet in length. Such small sharks could have been caught in nets or weirs. Not everyone agrees that there were no weirs in the Guale area, although there is so far no documentary or archeological evidence of them. Finally, the author's conclusion that oysters were a significant part of the diet is not universally accepted. *The Handbook of the Nutritional Contents of Foods*, prepared by the United States Department of Agriculture, shows substantial caloric difference between 100 grams of venison (126 calories) and 100 grams of raw oysters (sixty-six calories). These points, however, are matters of interpretation which do not interfere with Larson's review of aboriginal subsistence activities on the coastal plain.

As Larson points out, much more archeological work needs to be done before the questions raised by this compilation of data can be answered. Hopefully broader dissemination of this work will encourage efforts on the part of anthropologists and historians systematically to gather data on aboriginal subsistence activities during the late prehistoric and contact periods. Publication of this work brings that goal one step closer.

University of Georgia

ELIZABETH J. REITZ

This So Remote Frontier: The Chattahoochee Country of Alabama and Georgia. By Mark E. Fretwell (Eufaula, AL: Historic Chattahoochee Commission, 1980, xvii, 352 pp. List of maps and illustrations, foreword, introduction, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

Mark Fretwell, who for thirty years made his home near West Point, Georgia, and served as first president of the Chattahoochee Valley Historical Society, provides a sweeping historical account of the Chattahoochee region. Indians, some of whom never saw a white man, Spanish conquistadors and missionaries, French soldiers and traders, Anglo-American frontiersmen, Union and Confederate troops in their blue and grey, Henry Grady exalting his New South, and many others vividly appear on the pages of this book. For the most part the author little concerns himself with the twentieth century.

Fundamental geographical problems, however, bedevil this work. Mr. Fretwell never consistently defines his Chattahoochee country, though apparently he has in mind the Apalachicola River and its tributaries— the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers— and the pertinent Georgia and Alabama hinterland. His justification for including the headwaters of the Alabama River (the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers) is not clear. As the reader jumps from French Fort Toulouse (near Montgomery, Alabama) to St. Augustine, to Port Royal and Charleston in coastal South Carolina, to the West Indies, and elsewhere, he must continually wonder exactly what is meant by this Chattahoochee country. When the author in his introduction refers to the Chattahoochee

River as a boundary "between the young Republic and French, Spanish, and English," the reader is entirely confounded.

Nevertheless, history rather than the author must be blamed for part of this confusion, because more often than not the Apalachicola River system sustained no political and economic cohesiveness. There were exceptions. Before white contact Indians of the Mississippian cultural tradition lived up and down the river. In the seventeenth century Spain established numerous missions in the province of Apalachee and a few farther west near the juncture of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. While these missions flourished, the Apalachee port of St. Marks served as a port for the entire hinterland under Spanish influence. The author describes how Indians from the Chattahoochee River came to San Luis in Apalachee and how soldiers from there built a blockhouse at Apalachicola sixteen miles below Columbus. After the destruction of the missions in 1704, it was not until the expansion of the cotton kingdom in the black belt of the Old South that the Chattahoochee-Flint River system again enjoyed an economic unity. Steamboats, piled high with cotton bales, ploughed their way down to the Gulf, making Apalachicola the third most important port on the Gulf of Mexico, surpassed only by New Orleans and Mobile.

From DeSoto's day until western removal in Andrew Jackson's time, Indians played an important role. The strengths of this book are the author's utilization of archeological and ethnological sources, his appreciation of native culture, and his portrayal of the natives as they encountered Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and ultimately Americans. The author's intimate knowledge of local history is apparent whether he is describing abandoned Indian villages, the site of the Spanish blockhouse at Apalachicola, or deserted steamboat landings on the Chattahoochee. Early in the nineteenth century the Chattahoochee country was thinly populated as the Indians were being removed and the whites had not arrived in full force. Mr. Fretwell's account of how the old Indian village of Standing Peachtree on the upper Chattahoochee evolved from a trading site and frontier military post into a rail junction and ultimately into the metropolis of Atlanta is fascinating.

The author has made extensive use of secondary material and occasionally draws on primary sources with effect. In many res-

spects, however, his book is frustrating because too often a scholarly, perceptive synthesis is followed by a factual error, failure to use the best secondary source, or a questionable interpretation. Nevertheless Mr. Fretwell has publicized the neglected development of this region, and the reader is in his debt for acquiring a greater appreciation and feel for the rich history of this remote frontier.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Prehistoric Architecture in the Eastern United States. By William N. Morgan. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1980. xxxix, 197 pp. Preface, methodology, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

A casual glance through *Prehistoric Architecture* could leave the impression that it is simply another pretty coffee table book; the layout and production are that good. But once your guests pick up this volume and begin to read it, you will not be able to get them out of your living room until they are finished. William Morgan, the Jacksonville architect who has received many awards for his designs, including the Florida State Museum, has done it again. *Prehistoric Architecture* is a winner which breaks new ground and brings new perspectives to both architects and students of American Indians.

A twenty-five page introduction orients the reader and provides a crash course in architectural concepts and how they can be applied to the earthen mounds (and shell, in some cases) of the eastern United States aborigines. It is fascinating reading. The bulk of the book is a descriptive catalogue of eighty-two aboriginal earthwork sites. These entries are divided into three time periods, earliest to most recent (2,200-1,000 B.C., 500 B.C.-A.D. 200, and A.D. 800-1,500). The middle period contains three Florida entries, and the most recent, the period of greatest mound-building activity, contains a section on Florida with nine sites described.

For each entry, Morgan includes a brief description of the site, well referenced so that readers have the opportunity to learn more about each site. Also included for each entry is an archi-

tectural rendering, all drawn to the same scale and oriented in the same manner (except in a few cases where it was not feasible to do so), allowing comparisons between sites. Morgan also has included a section similarly describing and illustrating non-aboriginal sites, including Stonehenge, Acropolis, the White House, and a number of others. This adds valuable comparisons for the Indian sites which preceded. *Prehistoric Architecture* concludes with an observations section which summarizes the patterns Morgan has derived from his data.

The vast majority of the sites, including the Florida examples, have never been described or figured in popular publications. Florida readers will be amazed to learn about the architectural complexity of Big Tonys Mound near Clewiston or Big Mound City near Indiantown. Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of the volume is that it makes people aware that such sites exist in Florida and that they are worthy of preservation. William Morgan is to be commended for his excellent look at past architecture and his efforts in bringing some of those past accomplishments to help solve our present-day architectural and environmental problems.

Florida State Museum
Gainesville, Florida

JERALD T. MILANICH

The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Caribbean, 1535-1585: Precedent, Patrimonialism, and Royal Parsimony. By Paul E. Hoffman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xiv, 312 pp. Preface, illustrations, tables, maps, appendices, glossary, a note on the citation of archival sources, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Clearly the historiography of the Caribbean area in the sixteenth century has concentrated on the role of the English, French, and Portuguese interlopers in their successful challenge to Spanish domination of the region. Historians have placed emphasis upon the activities of corsairs; discussions of Spanish defense policies were included only to complement the activities of these foreigners.

This study by Paul Hoffman represents an important step

towards filling this gaping hole in the historiography of Latin America, namely the Spanish as subject rather than object in the Caribbean region in the post-conquest sixteenth century.

Hoffman skillfully analyzes the evolution of royal defense policy from haphazard and disjointed reactions to corsair attacks in the 1530s and 1540s, to a more well-defined, coordinated program by the end of the century. In accomplishing this end he utilized a wide variety of primary economic data from the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla and the Archivo General de Simancas, including official correspondence and treasury records of the Casa de Contratación and nineteen other treasuries in the Indies. Seeking to present the scholarly reader with a clear picture of patterns of change over "time, space and topical categories," Hoffman examined the complex interrelationships between geographical, technological, political, financial, and international factors that determined Spanish defense policy.

Following a clear historiographical discussion justifying the need for his work, Hoffman offers a statistical analysis of corsair activity and royal defense spending. The succeeding chapters were organized according to four distinct chronological periods in which Hoffman perceived marked changes in the crown's policy. In each of these discussions he analyzes the impact of shifts in international politics, advances in military and navigational technology, problems of royal finances, and shifts in the pattern of corsairs' attacks on royal defense policy. He traces the evolution of the crown's attempts to counteract the effect of foreign incursions through each of these periods by increasing fortifications in strategic ports, establishing coastal patrols, augmenting militia forces, and evolving from a policy of privately financed trans-Atlantic shipping to a formal royal *flota* system by the end of the century. A clear picture emerges of a besieged Spanish government constantly placed in the position of desperately formulating policy on an ad-hoc basis in response to a barrage of external attacks.

Hoffman provides his readers with elaborate explanations of his quantitative methodology both in his introductory chapter and in a separate appendix. Not only does he clearly discuss what he did and how he did it, but, much to his credit, he takes great pains to explain what could *not* properly be quantified or analyzed in a statistical manner. He also cites a problem very

common to those who attempt to use quantification in colonial Latin American history: the inconsistency of data and the difficulty of handling large amounts of missing data. By advising his readers of the tentative nature of his findings Hoffman displays a sensitivity rarely found among quantitative historians. Perhaps Hoffman goes into a bit too much detail in his methodological discussion. Information surrounding the data preparation, such as the size of the forms utilized, geographical codes, and the number of columns used to record treasury payments (pp. 252-53) do not seem of sufficient instructional value to the reader to have merited inclusion.

While Hoffman examined a wide variety of official treasury records from Sevilla and Simancas and synthesized them well, one might wonder if other sources of documentation— principally local archives in the Caribbean— might have revealed even more insights into the implementation of royal defense policy. Also, the Holy Office of the Inquisition was used as part of the overall defense policy by the crown, particularly after the establishment of the Tribunal of Mexico in 1572, to combat French and English Protestant corsairs. Although Hoffman briefly alluded to the question of heresy (p. 111), an elaboration of this issue would have been enlightening.

Despite these minor observations, Hoffman's work serves to fill an important void in Caribbean history, and it stands as a valuable contribution to the historiography of colonial Latin America.

*Heritage Conservation and
Recreation Service
Albuquerque, New Mexico*

STANLEY M. HORDES

Firearms in Colonial America: The Impact on History and Technology, 1492-1792. By M. L. Brown. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980. xiv, 448 pp. Foreword, preface, photos, maps, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$45.00.)

M. L. Brown set out to write an accurate "technomic" (i.e., technological and economic) history of firearms and people.

Given the 300-year variety of arms produced by the European powers, and the contrasts in human and material resources, the subject might seem impossibly complex. But with meticulous research, a logical outline, careful writing, and a fine selection of graphics, Brown has created a reference work that minutely describes firearm and materiel types of the period, and it makes very good reading indeed. There is much more to the book than the title suggests. The author includes all that goes along with firearms: materials, tools and techniques, powder and shot making, accouterments, and much more. The craftsmen innovators—Italian, Spanish, French, German, Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, English, Scottish, American, and others— all receive their due.

Chapter one introduces primitive metallurgy, gunpowder, and the invention of hand cannon and matchlocks. The second brings firearms to the Americas with Columbus and documents weapons used in Florida to 1600. The next four relate to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the following pair deal with the period of the American Revolution. The final chapter is on United States weaponry to 1792. Within each chapter, Brown sketches the history backgrounds and deals separately and specifically with each colonial power, not neglecting the roles of the Indian nations. His topical organization displays the national weaponries in parallel and permits ready comparison. Statistical appendices include arms inventories which, upon the foundation of technical description that dominates the book, will have new significance for many historians. There is a long list of patriot armsmakers, and an exceptionally detailed, twenty-seven page index.

Except for such works as those of Lavin, Brinckerhoff, and Chamberlain, Spanish firearms in America have had small attention from English-writing authors. Four of Brown's chapters deal in good part with Spain and her northerly colonies, from Florida to the southwest. Probably the first gunpowder weapons to reach Florida were the ship's cannon of Ponce de León. At Pensacola in the sixteenth century, at French Charlesfort and Fort Caroline, St. Augustine, Santa Elena, and the early shortlived outposts in southern Florida and in the Guale (Georgia) country, matchlock arquebuses were a significant part of the weaponry. A heavier weapon, the matchlock musket, came into Florida service no later than 1573. By the end of the 1500s this gun was the

principal long arm in Spain's arsenal, and it remained so for some 200 years— long after most other powers had opted for flintlocks. The lag seriously disadvantaged Florida's military. An example is the night at St. Augustine in 1668, when the glowing matches of the defenders betrayed their positions to flintlock-armed pirates.

Other ignition types came slowly to Florida. In 1680 a shipment from Spain brought seventy-five Biscayan carbines, which Brown believes to have been the first martial wheel locks introduced into this province. Ten were issued to mounted infantry, and sixteen were stored in the St. Augustine armory, but the rest were unserviceable due to rust and termite-ridden stocks. For the later resettlement of Pensacola, there was a good percentage of flintlocks, including fifty pairs of pistols. But in the English-led Indian raids into Florida of the early 1700s, the invaders had flintlock muskets while the Spaniards still used matchlocks, but even these were in short supply. At the siege of St. Augustine, almost forty per cent of the defenders carried pikes. After 1702, however, the number of flintlocks in the Florida garrison gradually increased.

This handsome and well-illustrated volume is a boon for buffs, curators, and insatiably curious archeologists— and perhaps even Florida Historical Vol. LX, No. 2, Oct., 1981 13945 for desk-bound historians. Brown in writing the book, and the Smithsonian in publishing it, have served American historiography well.

St. Augustine

ALBERT MANUCY

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume XIII, 1835-1837. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1980. xxii, 681 pp., Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

This latest well-edited and indexed volume of Calhoun papers covers two years of his service in the United States Senate in the last months of Andrew Jackson's presidency and the first months of that of Martin Van Buren. During this time he turned from a defender of slavery as a necessary evil to defending it as a posi-

tive good. From his earlier stance as a broad construction nationalist, here Calhoun is well down the road to strict construction sectionalism.

Though he collaborated with Whigs in the final months of the Jackson term and moved back toward Democrats during Van Buren's days, he saw himself as standing aloof from national parties, seeking to guide the South toward a role as balance wheel of the Union. His deadly fear of abolitionism emerges in these pages, buttressing his conviction that there could be no temporizing with it. Calhoun saw the Union as a bargain between gentlemen and believed that abolition was destructive of this confederation of patriarchs. To destroy slavery would be to destroy these patriarchal communities.

Except for his preoccupation with abolition and what he termed the "corruption" of politics, his concerns were narrowly focused in this period on his plantation, the promotion of a Charleston-Louisville railroad, and various nit-picking legislative concerns, e.g., opposing the government purchase of Madison's constitutional convention notes, opposing railroad mail contracts as tending to corrupt the Post Office, and worrying about treasury surpluses as corrupting in their tendency. The editor maintains that Calhoun's continuing appeal and importance lie in his concern for the moral consequences of public measures, but his blindness to the immorality of a slave society and his narrow conceptions of liberty and honor as restricted to his elite "gentleman" class make his moral concerns, in retrospect, narrow indeed.

Florida history scholars will find no primary sources here for their researches. The Second Seminole War, the most important event of the day to Floridians, was dismissed by Calhoun as not even "interrupting the peace of the Union." He opposed enlarging the army, telling the Senate that we were at peace with all the Indians "save a little branch of the Creeks [the Seminoles]." What problems existed with the Indians were laid at the feet of a corrupt Jackson administration. Treatment of the Indians by faithless federal agents and land speculators had "fixed a stain on human nature." Calhoun reproved the Senate, "Send them fit agents and you will hear no more of Indian Wars."

This series of publications is made possible by a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The volume lives up to the high standards previously set by the

editor and the University of South Carolina Press. Unhappily, if the budget proposal of the present federal administration is adopted, all funds for the NHPRC will be eliminated and there may be no more of these volumes.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back. By Robert Penn Warren. (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1980. 144 pp. \$8.75.)

"The man and the hour have met," declaimed William Lowndes Yancey, when he introduced the newly-elected president of the Confederacy from the steps of the Exchange Hotel in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 17, 1861. The man was Jefferson Davis, "now past fifty, erect but . . . gaunt-cheeked, blind in one eye, racked by murderous neuralgia, certainly neurotic in some undiagnosable way [perhaps struggling from an inner struggle of values], given to irritability that could break through his iron mask of will." So Robert Penn Warren describes the man who was to lead the ill-fated Confederacy to a bloody defeat in the spring of 1865 that yet brought to it more honor and glory than even victory would have gained. With those words, too, the flamboyant Yancy sounded a knell of physical suffering and mental anguish for the man he sought to honor, plus a list of indignities in capture and imprisonment fully as heinous as those for which we lashed out at the Iranians for their treatment of the American hostages.

If any one of us would doubt this deplorable fact, let him read this compassionate, philosophical, and utterly delightful essay by one of America's most accomplished poets, novelists, and biographers. Much more than in the case of William Lowndes Yancey's introduction of Jefferson Davis, the decision of Robert Penn Warren to write this biographical essay on the act of the United States Congress in restoring citizenship to a nobly tragic leader of a lost cause and its enactment into law on October 17, 1978, by the signature of President Carter, was indeed a meeting, however belatedly, of the man and the literary hour.

When introducing before Congress the resolution restoring

citizenship to Jefferson Davis, Senator Mark Hatfield quoted the words of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, spoken at the height of the surge of Union anger after the Civil War: "If you bring these leaders to trial, it will condemn the North, for by the Constitution, secession is not rebellion." And in his own memoirs, Davis stated his purpose: to "keep the memory of our Southern heroes green, for they belong not to us alone; they belong to the whole country; they belong to America." To which Senator Hatfield added: "I seek to keep his memory green and to restore to him the rights due an outstanding American."

Robert Penn Warren's essay is much more than simply a celebration of the restoration of citizenship to Jefferson Davis; it is also a capsule biography of a man who, for all the faults of the cause he headed and of himself as its leader, had served his nation well. A hero during the Mexican War, a United States senator, and secretary of war under President Franklin Pierce, Davis was only reluctantly swept along by the tide of secession. In resigning from the Senate, he proclaimed, "If I thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation [in seceding] . . . I should still . . . because of my allegiance to the state of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action." Warren reminds us that "Many men, most notably Robert E. Lee, staked their lives and their sacred honor on this point." This is a pertinent reminder, indeed, in this day of declining pride in our nation and its heritage.

The mark of the philosopher and poet can be found on every page of this charming little book, but never more so than in the author's description of the local celebrations of the event it commemorates, starting on May 31, 1979, in Todd County, Kentucky, where Jefferson Davis was born. Here is a bucolic and reverent picture of America's heart, the small town and its people, its celebrations and its sorrows, its heroes— with or without statues in the town square— its pulsing life, even in death and the monuments marking the inexorable passage of time and history. Only a great writer could capture this life and these moments. Thornton Wilder did it beautifully for the theater with *Our Town*. Robert Penn Warren has done it just as effectively in *Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back*.

Jacksonville, Florida

FRANK G. SLAUGHTER

The Imperilled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. xv, 320 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$15.95.)

Recently someone estimated that an average of one book a week has been written about the Civil War since 1865. One hundred sixteen years have passed since Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomatox; one would think that the American public would at long last be tiring of studies dealing with the sectional conflict. Evidently not so, or Oxford Press would not be publishing this series of essays by Professor Stampp.

The titles of the eight essays are as follows: (1) The Concept of a Perpetual Union; (2) Rebels and Sambos: The Search for the Negro's Personality in Slavery; (3) *Time on the Cross: A Humanistic Persepective*; (4) Race, Slavery, and the Republican Party of the 1850s; (5) The Republican National Convention of 1860; (6) Lincoln and the Secession Crisis; (7) The Irrepressible Conflict; (8) The Southern Road to Appomatox. Six of them have been previously published, and one was delivered as a public lecture. All but two, according to the author, have been extensively revised and rewritten. Only "The Irrepressible Conflict," which readers will probably find the most provocative, is entirely new.

Stampp's justification for presenting this volume is that after many years of research, writing, teaching, and reading the works of other scholars, he has changed his mind on many of his original opinions. As a student he completely accepted Charles A. Beard's thesis about the causes of the Civil War, but now discards it. This reviewer went, through an identical process over the same span of years.

Obviously, trying to review this volume is like trying to evaluate eight separate books; each essay is so full of meat. They should be read one at a time, at least a week apart. They are tersely written, analytical, and extensively historiographical. Stampp gives full credit to dozens of other scholars, notably to C. Vann Woodward and the late David Potter. Stampp supports Seward who believed that the conflict was indeed irrepressible; though "I do not accept the conclusions of the economic determinists, or of the school known as revisionist, of those who stress profound cultural and ideological differences between North and South,

my interpretation is in part a synthesis of other strains of thought about the causes of the Civil War." He also contends that the South lost because many of its citizens did not have the will to win the war, and they accepted military defeat as a means of freeing the South from the burden of slavery and of restoring their section to the Union.

It is not enough to confine our attention to developments in the United States in the 1850s. The conflict must be placed in a much longer time and world perspective. When the colonies won their independence in 1783, many Europeans expected that three nations would be formed: New England, the Middle States, and the South. Somehow the Founding Fathers at Philadelphia four years later prevented that from happening and one nation arose. But when the Spanish colonies in Central and South American won their independence early in the nineteenth century, a number of different nations were created.

In view of the size and the rapid expansion of the new United States of America, it might have seemed likely that at some time a disgruntled section might attempt secession from the Union. The West considered it in the 1790s when the Federalist administrations failed to obtain from Spain the "right of deposit" at New Orleans. Certainly many of the delegates at the Hartford Convention in New England in 1814 favored this action. Finally in 1861 eleven of the slave states did secede, but their northern brethren refused to allow their "erring sisters to depart in peace."

Tulane University

GERALD M. CAPERS

Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873. By Jacqueline Jones. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. xiii, 273 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

This thoughtful and sensitive study of black education during Reconstruction describes "the aspirations, struggles, achievements, and missed opportunities" of the "gentle 'soldiers' who went south as teachers armed only with the weapons of romantic reform." The teachers' experiences illustrate both the "strength

of the neo-abolitionists impulse” and the “limits of liberal reform.”

The “typical” teacher in a freedmen’s school in Georgia was a young, white, well-educated female. She already had common-school teaching experience and probably lived in a small town or rural area. She came from the literate “self-conscious protestant middle class, the group primarily responsible for the creation and support of evangelical reform movements in the antebellum period.” Most of these women were financially secure and going south meant a sacrifice in money as well as personal comfort. They were motivated by a concern for blacks, religious fervor, restlessness, desire for adventure, and a wish to “do good.” They believed that they “had both the duty and the ability to rectify certain moral and institutional evils.” Moreover, their sacrifice corresponded with the nineteenth century call for self-abnegation of women.

These teachers attempted to transplant the goals and methods of the northern common school to southern soil. They intended to teach literacy and prepare students for work, and life. They assumed that teachers should supplement the family in citizenship training and moral instruction. Their long-range purpose “was the intellectual and moral growth of responsible individuals who recognized their duty to God, country, and family.” They wished to transform Georgia freedmen into black yankees.

Although blacks eagerly sought education, the yankee teacher-black relationship was often filled with tension. While most teachers talked about racial equality, the rhetoric “proved difficult to match with deeds.” Even more obvious than racial prejudice was the cultural conflict between northern teachers and blacks. The former had little understanding of or appreciation for black culture. They were offended by the freedmen’s religion. Former slaves were “fiery glad” in their religion while most teachers advocated quiet, somber services. No matter how radical their views, Northerners generally failed to understand the blacks’ desire to control their own lives as much as possible. Many blacks wanted at least some freedom from all whites, paternalistic teachers as well as former slaveholders. Teachers were both hurt and angered when blacks wished to control their own schools. They were stunned by evidences of black racial exclusivity. As a result of these misunderstandings the teachers, “sometimes worked

at cross-purposes" with blacks. The teachers assisted, made possible the impossible, provided food, clothing, sympathy and training. But most of them could not understand the black desire for independence.

Professor Jones claims to be ambivalent in her assessment of the common schools for freedmen, yet she obviously considers them failures. She suggests that the effort was too limited to be of value and that yankee views were not especially relevant to black needs. What type of education would have been more relevant and whether the schools would have been beneficial to blacks had they lasted longer and reached a larger number of pupils are questions that remain unanswered.

Professor Jones has written a sensitive, judicious account of the dedicated, courageous, and well-meaning, if sometimes short-sighted, missionary teachers who went to Georgia after the Civil War. In the process she has vividly illuminated the enormity of their tasks and the complexity of the period. Unfortunately, as the yankee teachers discovered, good intentions do not always bring positive results.

Florida State University

JOE M. RICHARDSON

Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875. By Ronald E. Butchart. (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1980. xiv, 309 pp. Acknowledgements, tables and figures, preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Much hard work and sound scholarship has gone into the writing of this book. The author says he spent seven years on it. The bibliography is perhaps absolutely complete— I don't know anything at all that should have been included and is not. The text presents a wealth of factual information, names, agencies, events, relationships, dates, and places. Yet the reader is not overwhelmed with facts; they are so well organized, and the book is so well written, that the author's argument is easy to follow and to understand.

The book describes the efforts of freedmen's aid societies to provide schools and schooling for the recently-freed blacks during

Reconstruction. Dr. Butchart lists twenty-four secular and thirty-two church-supported freedmen's aid societies. He says, and clearly establishes, that there was intense rivalry both between the secular and ecclesiastical groups and the societies in each of these two groups. The freedmen's aid movement, writes Butchart, was "torn by dissension [vicious rivalry] between and even within the numerous groups." In Butchart's view this rivalry was unfortunate, but it was not a matter of major importance. What was important, he thinks, was the fact that "for every aid society, education was consistently the primary instrumentality to reform the former slaves, restructure the South, and protect the republic." Education should not have been the societies' primary instrument, says Butchart; their major thrust should have been on getting land for the former slaves. He criticizes the societies for "failing to use their agencies to agitate the land question, to assist blacks with the acquisition of land, to act in solidarity with them in obtaining land reform, and to keep before them the central imperative of economic power." But he also says that after Andrew Johnson's return of confiscated lands to southern whites, the aid societies "could conceive of no acceptable means of providing land."

Indeed, given the firm commitment of Anglo-Saxon Americans to property rights, the societies could not have secured land for the freedmen, not enough certainly to provide them as a group with a base for economic independence and political power. Then, should the societies have done nothing at all? Butchart states they "substituted" education for "the more basic reforms such as land and protection." In giving the school to the freedmen, he believes, "they all opted for the convenient institutions, the easy panacea." They gave "a placebo, not power." Their schools would bind, not liberate the black people; they would be "crippling rather than liberating agencies." They would become "a tool of oppression and degradation."

White Americans, not blacks, were the chief beneficiaries of the school system begun by the freedmen's aid societies, says Butchart, because education for blacks was often conceived as "a means of manipulating the black community, limiting aspirations and power, and maintaining a dependent status." The school could not effectively attack "the problems of racism, subordination, discrimination, and power . . . [or] achieve black liberation

or equality." It could and did, however, create a black elite, who in Butchart's opinion, "would function as an example of the mythical potential of the American dream, drawing off and deflecting criticism, agitation, and discontent." It would also "establish a modicum of general education," thereby "bolstering the chimera of opportunity."

These opinions about the purposes, functions, values, and results of schooling for the freedmen and their descendants are just that—opinions. They are not conclusions proven by argument based on materials provided in this book. Contradictory opinions may be just as valid.

In conclusion the book says that the freedmen's aid societies chose schooling rather than "more direct means to black power" because "other options required confiscation [of white southerners' land], expanded military protection, social planning, and an abandonment of laissez-faire social theory. . . . Concerns to reestablish an orderly, expanding economic system, to assure a stable, stratified society, to limit both black aspirations and mobility, to promote cultural dominance, and in other ways to preserve a class society resulted in a choice of the more racist, limiting view of educational purposes." I would suggest that the last sentence might come closer to reality with certain phrases and words omitted: "Concerns to reestablish an orderly, expanding economic system, [and] to assure a stable, stratified society . . . resulted in a choice of . . . educational purposes."

University of Florida

GEORGE R. BENTLEY

The South and the North in American Religion. By Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980. xvi, 152 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, index. \$12.50.)

This volume provides historical comparisons between religion in the South and religion elsewhere in the nation, with emphasis on three epochs: 1795-1810, 1835-1850, and 1885-1900. In the first interval, amidst movements away from eastern seaboard and European dominance, evangelism and democratization stand out as national trends; but there was little sectional polarization or interaction in religion at that time. It was during the second

epoch that drastic South-North contrasts arose. Impacted by non-Protestant immigration, industrialization, urbanization, geographic growth, and other propellants, religion in the North veered toward pluralism, less visceral proselytizing, new intellectual formulations, and social reform (especially with reference to slavery). In the South, however, the propellants and drift were otherwise. As the region expanded westward to the Rio Grande, its attachments to cotton, states' rights, and slavery deepened, but it remained frontierlike overall, populated almost exclusively by old-stock Protestants, and oriented toward traditional outlooks. Though evangelism remained a great obsession, the southern churches were by no means wholly "other-worldly"; following the schisms of the 1840s, they became pugnaciously anti-northern and stridently defensive of slavery. "Whatever one's interpretation," Hill concludes, "the Old South and the Confederate States of America could not have existed without the popular religion of the region" (p. 89). During the third of the epochs, from 1885 to 1900, the popular southern denominations remained defiantly sectional, still ecclesiastically separate from northern counterparts, still zealously committed to white supremacy, still hostile toward new intellectual trends, still focused on evangelism and individual redemption. In Hill's words, "Regional insulation, aberrant racial attitudes, economic backwardness, and religious orthodoxy were among those features which were changing very little [in the South], remaining constant until many decades later" (pp. 125-26). Essentially, Hill concurs with John Lee Eighmy's conclusion that southern churches have been cultural "captives" of their region; he emphasizes that, in style, social biases, and world view, they have identified to an extraordinary degree with the norms of the surrounding populace.

Of course, anti-Catholicism, racism, and irascible sectionalism have waned in recent decades, and southern religion has changed profoundly in other respects as well. Yet the South remains a setting where "born-again" Christians converse about their spiritual lives, where revivals thrive, where a distinct regional subculture is revered, and where the most popular religious group is an explicitly sectional entity (the Southern Baptists). "To this day," Hill asserts, Southerners continue to be "attached to the church and responsive to religious teachings, perhaps more so than anywhere else in Christendom" (p. xi).

Mercer University deserves the gratitude of the scholarly community for hosting the foremost authority on southern religion as its Lamar Memorial Lecturer in 1979. This published version of Professor Hill's presentation should not be ignored by any serious student of the American heritage.

University of Texas at El Paso

KENNETH K. BAILEY

Crackers. By Roy Blount, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980. vi, 291 pp. Dedication, acknowledgments, a note on the type. \$10.95.)

Traditionally the fluid of southern literature, humor deliciously heightens this paradoxical search for and celebration of the Jimmy Carter mystique in Washington. With the first Georgian in the White House, transplanted Georgian Roy Blount, Jr. (he lives in Massachusetts) honed his sentences with rib-tickling precision in this comedic characterization: his personal journey back home, into the humanness of the people of Georgia.

Revealing mixed feelings about Georgia, being from Georgia and having the peanut farmer for president, Blount's peacock-proud with his "we-ain't-trash-no-more" scenes peppered with ribald language—richly rural southern, wittily unraveling the sorrowful, ironic Cracker sense of things. He doesn't bemoan the fact that the country missed the statesmanship of Carter— "A new creature, a Kennedyesque Baptist, a tight-fisted Democrat, a white Georgian who could race-relate better than broad-minded Northerners" — but transmutes the real Georgia in his imagined, dialectical Carter kinfolks; lean, earthy and simplistic Blount-styled lyrics of country music; affection for singers Willie Nelson and Jerry Jeff Walker; wisdom of Yazoo City, Mississippi, folk humorist Jerry Clower; honest southernism of governors Lester Maddox and Kissin' Jim Folsom; redneck ideology of "Possumism"; drugs in the White House; and prideful feeling of having to explain Georgia and Georgians in the wake of the Carter disappointment.

Hardly a Cracker, Blount (Vanderbilt graduate who studied English literature at Harvard) writes with a Cracker voice. He engezizes the stereotyped, uninhibited down-homeism with pithy,

salty language capturing the nuances of southern soul. Laughter is Blount's tonic for the southernness of Carter years gone awry. Not totally satisfied with real Georgians, he invents his own, "More Carters," sandwiched between chapters; and yet finds the heart of the Cracker-American Camelot in people nearest the president: unpredictability of Andrew Young; bluntness and affection of the president's mama, Miss Lillian; good ol' boy unorthodoxy of Hamilton Jordan; redneckery and raffishness of "Early" Billy and "Later" Billy.

Writing as one from Georgia but *outside* Georgia, Blount hungers for a bit of Maddox-Folsom frankness in Jimmy, recreates the Killer Rabbit episode in knee-slapping rhythm, and philosophizes about the world of juniors, from James Earl Carter, Jr., to Eugene L. (Gore) Vidal, Jr.

Not only is Crackers fun reading, its value is in its informal yet poignant social portraiture with a touch of Will Rogers's earthiness and Jimmie Rodgers's melancholy lyrics recast for today's New South. It stands not as hard history but as a slice of Americana in burlesque, flavored with farcical Redneck rhetoric typically enunciated on shady front porches and around symbolic cracker barrels of the Deep South.

A poetic writer and lyricist, Blount marches to the Carter cadence of pathos and idealism, laments the Georgian's failure to southernize Washington, and through his invented Carter kinsmen, speaks satirically about a region he left but obviously still understands and loves.

Pensacola News-Journal

J. EARLE BOWDEN

Dixie's Forgotten People: The South's Poor Whites. By J. Wayne Flynt. (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, 1979. xviii, 206 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, bibliography, notes, index. \$12.95; \$5.95 paper.)

Dixie's Forgotten People should be required reading— for all southern apologists and militant defenders, for all yankee missionaries, for conservatives who care, for liberals who look on injections of federal largesse and massive education as perfect panaceae, for wistful agrarians, and for righteous industrialists

and civic boosters who think that another payroll will automatically solve the problems of the poor in their midst. Each group would find almost every page— certainly every chapter— a cathartic. Then, cleansed of that inhibiting shibboleth, *The Southern Way of Life*, we could all turn to and make the Sun Belt gleam the way it's advertised.

Included in *Dixie's* paragraphs are expositions, backed up with fact, or nearly everything I have felt for a lifetime. In most instances author Wayne Flynt now confirms why I have felt these ways. In his gentle but trenchant style he outlines the reasons that the southern poor white became poor in the first place, how the Forgotten Poor became in effect an ethnic minority because of their unrelenting poverty, and how they resisted the efforts of the prosperous to unlock their poorhouse. Even though aggressive yankee reformers brought their uplift programs to the South following the Civil War, the southern white poor remained stubbornly poor. Since they felt a psychological distaste for wallowing alone in their misery, they naturally kept the blacks down with them. They proved to be perfect pawns for the conservative courthouse crowd and the merchants around the town square who wanted to live in the past and present rather than in the future.

The New South arose, or at least its myth did. But it was the same old South, just moved to town. And the southern poor white who left his marginal land to labor in the mills and forests remained poor and illiterate. When outsiders charged the class with being shiftless and trashy, more affluent Southerners bought that myth too. Once in a while the poor whites tried to raise themselves through political radicalism, but they found that politics offered as little relief as their attempts at upward mobility in social and economic pursuits.

So the poor whites became as invisible in the South as the poor blacks in the North. If the whites tried to grasp the opportunities of the prospering North, they remained an outside people, with an alien culture, a speech as identifiable as a Polish immigrant's, and a stupefying bewilderment at their new world that made social and economic integration impossible. As one study showed, the comfortable residents of Indianapolis believed that they could absorb the southern black with less indigestion

than they could swallow these ignorant southern hillbillies with their strange speech and peculiar, intransigent customs.

Meanwhile the southern poor white, even today, resist the betterment programs of the federal government, sociologists, and non-understanding reformers. They cling to their accustomed ways, in which they feel comfortable; when they vote, they vote increasingly Republican, while allying with the Democratic establishment to perpetuate the vestiges of racism. They believe in their other-worldly religion (surely life in the next world will be better); and they tenant-farm their worn-out land, move frequently, and simply exchange one exploiter for another if they move off the land into the mills of the cities. Their schools are inadequate, their health care is poor, and their future is bleak.

This is a sad book, for all its delightful insights into the folkways of a people set aside by history. The author doesn't moralize or inveigh. He simply lays out the facts, spiced with revealing personal glimpses. Both facts and glimpses dismay. If all those purveyors of the Sun Belt religion would read this book, and if—a big if—they could see beyond today's dollar mark, they would cease chirping cheerily about the present and future greatness of the South and spend some of their enormous energy trying to rescue these beleaguered people from their ghettos of rural, mountain, or mill-town entrapment. Speaking personally, I know I haven't had a conscience-free moment since I began the book.

University of Texas at Austin

JOE B. FRANTZ

Nations Remembered: An Oral History of the Five Civilized Tribes. By Theda Perdue. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980. xxiv, 221 pp. List of illustrations, series foreword, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photos, maps, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$23.95.)

With the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the United States committed itself to the creation of a race of refugees. Native inhabitants of the land east of the Mississippi River were forced to quit their ancestral homes and take up residence in sparsely settled territory in the west. Pressure from railroad, mining, and cattle interests led to several changes in the location

and dimensions of the Indian Territory established by Congress as a reserve for these displaced peoples, and there followed a number of other adjustments growing out of the Civil War and its aftermath. By the end of Reconstruction most of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes (a non-Indian appellation applied to the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee tribes who had inhabited the American Southwest) were confined within the area which became the state of Oklahoma in 1907. These Muskogean-speaking people shared many cultural traits, including a semi-sedentary life based on the cultivation of corn, beans, and other crops. They were better able to adapt to the environment and to the imposed social and governmental relations of life in Indian Territory than the nomadic hunters of the Great Plains. Nevertheless, they were compelled to embark on a difficult process of cultural evolution which has yet to run its course. Arbitrarily sequestered in an alien land, stripped of some of their most cherished institutions, lumped together with traditional enemies, and subjected to the relentless attentions of missionaries and federal bureaucrats, the Five Civilized Tribes experienced the trauma of dislocation and adaptation; but they left no written record of it.

In *Nations Remembered* we have the first organized effort to put before the reading public an Indian account of life among the Five Civilized Tribes in the years between the Civil War and Oklahoma statehood. The work has much to recommend it. Given the character of the material with which she was working, Professor Perdue has succeeded admirably in her effort to produce an evocative account of Indian life in Oklahoma Territory, 1865-1907. *Nations Remembered* is a collage assembled from fragments of WPA Writers' Project interviews of elderly Oklahoma Indians conducted in the 1930s. In chapters arranged to cover the most important facets of their evolving society, Indians reminisce about topics as diverse as stomp dances and tribal elections, coal mining and inter-tribal warfare, subsistence agriculture and commercial cattle ranching; they recall the Civil War, education in missionary schools, and the effects of the Indian Allotment Act. Their words are seldom eloquent, but they offer a view of the past that is richer in texture than that which can be derived from traditional documentary sources alone. Professor Perdue provides an informative historical context for the "oral

Too often park boundaries are structured by commercial pressures and not ecological or natural concerns. The future development and use of the national parks is still very much in question.

National Parks: The American Experience is a thoughtful, well-illustrated and engrossing book that offers readers a discussion of the forces which created the national park system as it exists today. Will the parks become areas of conservation and preservation or will they become exploited commercial playgrounds? Both the general reading audience and the preservation historians will enjoy exploring this question in Alfred Runte's book.

American West Center
University of Utah

GREGORY C. THOMPSON

Delta: The History of an Airline. By W. David Lewis and Wesley Phillips Newton. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. xiii, 504 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

The rise of Delta Airlines closely parallels the burst of the Sun Belt into national prominence in the twentieth century. *Delta: The History of an Airline* recounts the transformation of a small aerial crop dusting company organized in the 1920s in Macon, Georgia, first into an important sectional carrier serving primarily Atlanta and the Deep South, and then into one of the country's major airlines during the past two decades. The authors, W. David Lewis and Wesley Phillips Newton, carefully describe the various factors which contributed to the growth of the firm.

One individual frequently proves the driving personality who establishes the specific policies and the general tone or style of a company in its formative stages. When C. E. Woolman abandoned his career as a county agricultural extension agent in Louisiana for one with Huff Daland Dusters, he quickly became the company's central figure in most key decisions. A workaholic and fiscal conservative, Woolman could communicate effectively with customers, governmental officials, or colleagues, and he had "an infectious enthusiasm for aviation." He also displayed an old-fashioned paternalism toward his employees. Woolman no

doubt played a key role in the move in 1925 of the company from Macon, Georgia, to Louisiana; in the reorganization in 1928 of Huff Daland into the independent company, Delta Air Service, Inc., and then in the decision to enter commercial aviation, first with the postal service and then with scheduled passenger operations.

As all aspiring companies learned, developing passenger revenues required routes into such prime markets as Atlanta, the Midwest, Florida, the West coast, and northeastern seaport cities; appropriate planes and well-trained crews; and adequate support services including marketing, baggage processing, in-air service, and land terminals. The authors skillfully analyze the various strategies which Woolman and his colleagues evolved for competing in each of these areas. That the budding airline executives had gained a measure of success even during the depression of the 1930s is reflected in the decision of the company to move into much larger headquarters in Atlanta just before Pearl Harbor.

Following World War II, Delta Airlines slowly passed many of its rivals in the quest to become a truly national airline. Fortuitous decisions about the type and supplier of planes (the company maintained an almost unique position with Douglas Aircraft Corporation for many years), stable labor relations, especially with the pilots (no prolonged strikes), a sound organizational structure, and successful route decisions by the Civil Aeronautics Board contributed to the competitiveness and profitability of the company. Throughout this expansionary era, evidence of the increasing bureaucratization of Delta mounted although the more personalized family style of Woolman remained in place until the 1960s. That the firm successfully made the transition following the leader's death in 1966 is further evidence of the managerial skill of this giant of the airline industry. By the early 1970s, the new leaders had negotiated the merger of Northeast Airlines which gave the parent company an important trunk line into the Northeast, laid the groundwork for becoming a trans-Atlantic carrier, greatly expanded the fleet of jets, and achieved one of the highest levels of efficiency and productivity in the industry. The modern corporation had not experienced an annual deficit for almost three decades. These sound business practices permitted Delta to survive far better than many of its

competitors the traumatic effects of the energy crisis beginning in 1974.

Although this book chronicles a business success story for almost a half century, the authors do not fail to mention some of the less fortunate events such as the unsavory clashes among early investors, tragic airline crashes, the sexist attitudes toward stewardesses until quite recently, and the lack of black employees. Despite the focus on organizational history, the authors carefully place their firm into the broader context of regional and national economic and social developments. Florida readers will discover the important role their state played in the major airlines' competition for markets and should enjoy observing the rise to national domination of a company deeply rooted in the traditions of the South.

With the endorsement of Delta Airlines, the authors had access to company records and employees, and the book reflects judicious use of these important sources. Maps clearly delineate the expansion of the route system. The many photographs illustrate the people and planes which made this company successful. Later parts of the book lack the clarity of focus of the early chapters; this characteristic could result from the increasingly complex nature of the subject. Business history is always more difficult to write when the fortunes of the firm are not tied to the strong personalities of one or two individuals. Professors Lewis and Newton are to be commended for their first-rate history of a major American corporation and for one of the first scholarly studies of an airline.

University of West Florida

LUCIUS F. ELLSWORTH

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume I. The Black Worker to 1869. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. 451 pp. Acknowledgements, preface, tables, notes and index. \$15.00.)

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume II. The Black Worker During the Era of the National Labor Union. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. 378 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$15.00.)

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume III. The Black Worker During the Era of the Knights of Labor. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978. 438 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$15.00.)

The Black Worker: A Documentary History from Colonial Times to the Present. Volume IV. The Black Worker During the Era of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. Edited by Philip S. Foner and Ronald L. Lewis. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979. 402 pp. Preface, tables, notes, index. \$15.00.)

This four-volume work on black labor is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the black experience in America. Much of the previous literature has focused on slavery, family, and politics, so these volumes on the Negro worker are particularly valuable.

The first volume essentially describes the antebellum work experience. Although some of the material concerns field hands, a disproportionately large share deals with urban, free blacks. These skilled artisans enjoyed greater mobility than their country cousins; yet, the freedom they enjoyed made real liberty more desirable and any degree of restriction more obnoxious.

Because black slave labor was cheaper than employing free whites, white industrialists used slaves for coal mines and textile mills. This policy excited the angry reaction of white artisans, who objected to such job competition. Riots by sullen white

workers against blacks, especially in the North, occurred with increasing frequency. Job competition, the status of blacks in skilled trades, their admission to labor unions, the role of race in strikes (strike breakers might be whites imported to assume the jobs of black strikers, as well as the more common reverse situation), are central to all four volumes. In fact, I found myself observing a larger tragedy than the biracial strife between workers: poor people of both races, desperate to make a living, might join with the opposite race in a usually futile struggle for higher wages, or they might kill each other over a job paying \$1.00 a day in a coal mine. Obviously, the economic situation controlled to a considerable degree racial attitudes.

Volumes II, III, and IV focus more on organized labor than on unorganized. Covering the years from about 1870 to approximately 1900, they quickly put to rest the stereotype of submissive, passive blacks who meekly accepted their fate. The documents recounting the Louisiana sugar workers' strikes in 1880 and 1887, the Galveston longshoremen's strike of 1898, and the New Orleans General strike of 1892, demonstrate the courage, integrity, and in many cases the biracial bellicosity of black and white workers. There are, of course, many tragedies where working people of different races fought each other more fiercely than they did the economic injustice which deprived them all.

Although volumes I and IV contain hardly a reference to Florida, the middle two volumes are more useful for the state. The second volume contains correspondence regarding Canadian stevedores working in Pensacola, who were attacked in 1873 by angry blacks whose jobs they had taken. The same volume describes an 1873 meeting of a black Labor League in Jacksonville, which called for a ten-hour day and a daily wage of \$1.50. Their demands led to a strike at local sawmills. The third volume describes an 1880 sawmill strike, also near Jacksonville, and an 1887 Pensacola strike by poor white and black stevedores who unloaded guano boats (the workers were called, with considerable irony, "Guano Men"). Unfortunately, these are the only major references to black labor in Florida. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, and the Carolinas receive much more extensive attention.

Scattered throughout the volumes are gems that inform about a variety of matters. One learns a good deal about the way black religion influenced both labor rhetoric and the drive for union-

ism by black workers. Black leaders, appearing before an 1883 congressional committee investigating relations between labor and management, perceptively cast the labor problem in broad terms: blacks wanted jobs, but they also needed industrial schools, access to labor unions, longer school terms, federal aid to education, and temperance legislation. On many occasions, one also reads incisive letters from southern white industrial workers praising the solidarity of black colleagues or the organizing skills of black union officials. Although there are as many revelations of a mean and racist spirit by white workers, one is again struck by how complex and baffling the South has been.

Minor problems exist with this admirable undertaking. The chronology is weighted heavily to the nineteenth century, no doubt by the availability of sources. The first volume brings the story to the 1870s, and the next three volumes discuss the thirty years from 1870 to 1900. The student interested in the antebellum black worker will be disappointed, although students of black history during the Gilded Age will rejoice.

Also, the black worker is depicted almost always in crisis or protest. One sees little of pride or satisfaction in one's work (a la Studs Terkel in *Working*). Perhaps no such pride existed. But one suspects that there were thousands of black workers who took pride in their trades, even in a larger society that rewarded them with inadequate wages and racial hostility.

Such reservations should not detract from the importance of this series. As a documentary guide to the black worker's experience, especially that of industrial and agricultural laborers between 1870 and 1900, it is imperative reading.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

BOOK NOTES

Mario Sanchez, Painter of Key West Memories, by Kathryn, Hall Proby, author of *Audubon in Florida*, is the story of the Key West artist whose wood carvings and colorful paintings have brought him a national reputation. Sanchez was born in Key West; his grandfather and great-grandfather, both cigar makers, emigrated from Cuba to Florida in 1868. They moved into *El Barrio de Gato* in Key West. This was Eduardo Gato's village where his own large factory and others were located and where the cigar workers lived. The history and lore of Key West have always been a part of Sanchez's life, and in Mrs. Proby's book he spins his memories of people, places, and events of the past. Sanchez's works hang in museums and in private collections throughout the United States. Some of his best-known paintings are reproduced in color in this book which was published by Southernmost Press, Inc., P. O. Box 1614, Key West, Florida 33040. *Mario Sanchez, Painter of Key West Memories*, sells for \$14.95.

The Siege of Pensacola, 1781, and Maps with Data on Troop Strength, Military Units, Ships, Casualties, and Related Statistics is by William S. Coker and Hazel T. Coker. It is another in the series of important primary source materials on Florida being published by Perdido Bay Press of Pensacola. For a presentation for the Pensacola Historical Society on Bernardo de Gálvez and the Battle of Pensacola, Professor William Coker of the University of West Florida prepared a series of maps depicting the siege on virtually a day-to-day basis. As soon as Governor Gálvez of Spanish Louisiana learned that Spain had declared war against Britain in August 1779, he organized a campaign against forts along the lower Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico to force the British to evacuate West Florida. The attack on Pensacola has been divided in *The Siege of Pensacola* into seven phases: the expedition to reinforce Mobile and for the Pensacola campaign, February 10-December 30, 1780, through the final action and fall of Pensacola, May 2-11, 1781. The appendices provide additional information about the troops (including the colored forces which

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were involved), composition of the squadrons and convoys (March 7, 1780, and October 16, 1780), and other data. Appendix M lists the French forces that, with José de Salano's, were involved. A bibliography and index add to the value of this volume. Order from Perdido Bay Press, Route 2, Box 323, Pensacola, Florida 32506; the price is \$12.00.

A series of reprints of important and popular Florida books is being published by the Florida Classics Library, Box 777, Port Salerno, Florida 33492. Val Martin began publishing these reprints earlier under the name of Valentine Books. He is rendering a valuable service to the reading public since many of the volumes have long been out-of-print, and are often difficult and expensive to obtain. It is appropriate that in this year (1981), which marks the bicentennial of the attack by Bernardo de Gálvez on Pensacola, N. Orwin Rush's study, *Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico, The Battle of Pensacola, March 9, May 8, 1781*, should become available again. The paperback reprint sells for \$6.95. Another Florida Classics Library reprint is *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal*, the narrative of the Quaker group which was shipwrecked along the Florida coast in 1696. The journal describing their sufferings was first published in Philadelphia in 1699. It has been reprinted several times, and is recognized as a primary source of early Florida history. Yale University Press published an edition, edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, in 1945, and it is this edition which has been reproduced by Florida Classics Library. It includes an introduction by Ernest Lyons, and the reprint sells for \$5.95. Two of Ernest Lyons's books, *My Florida* and *The Last Cracker Barrel*, are also in the reprint series. These are collections of some of his Florida columns which have appeared over the years in *The Stuart News* which he edited. *My Florida*, with illustrations by James Hutchinson, sells for \$4.95, *The Last Cracker Barrel* paperback reprint sells for \$3.95. *The Other Florida* by Gloria Jahoda is one of the most appealing and popular of all Florida books. It describes that part of north and panhandle Florida, off the usual tourist path, which contains the oldest recorded history in the state. The paperback reprint of Jahoda's book sells for \$6.95. Don Blanding's collection of *Flor-*

ida Poems, published first in 1941, is also reprinted in the Florida Classics Library series. It sells for \$4.95.

The Chimneys: An Archeological Investigation of a Slave Cabin on Stafford Plantation, Cumberland Island National Seashore, Georgia, by John E. Ehrenhard and Mary R. Bullard, was published by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Archeological Center, Box 2416, Tallahassee, Florida 32304. The chimney ruins are from the slave quarters on the Stafford Plantation. They are in various stages of deterioration and in need of preservation. During the summer of 1978 archeological excavations were made in the area around the chimneys so that data on structural details and the material culture of the Stafford slaves could be salvaged. Robert Stafford was a planter, exporter, and importer, and he played an important role on Cumberland Island for more than sixty years. He was the owner and manager of a large plantation that specialized in the production of Sea Island cotton. A larger study of Stafford and the Stafford Plantation would provide other important information and also make a valuable contribution to the history of the South.

A Comparative View of French Louisiana, 1699 and 1762: The Journals of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and Jean-Jacques-Blaise d'Abbadie, 1699-1762 was translated, edited, and annotated by Carl A. Breseaux. It was published by The Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana which has provided a number of important works dealing with the earliest history of the South. These journals describe French settlements in Louisiana and the settlement of Pensacola. The Spanish established a colony at Pensacola Bay to prevent possible French encroachment in that area. There are many references to Pensacola, Pensacola Bay, and West Florida in *A Comparative View of French Louisiana*. This volume sells for \$6.95; order from the Center, Box 40831, Lafayette, Louisiana 70504.

Naval Documents of the American Revolution, volume eight, published by the Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, Washington, covers the American and European theaters during the first half of 1777. The Florida colonies had been

British possessions since 1763, and their protection became a matter of grave concern with the outbreak of the Revolution. In a letter from Patrick Tonyn to Lord George Germain, written from St. Augustine, May 5, 1777, the governor notes information which he has of a planned invasion of East Florida from Georgia and a possible attack on St. Augustine. Tonyn enumerates his efforts to protect his province from a sea attack by stationing ships on the St. Johns River and on patrol off the Florida coast. He discusses his rearmament of the Provincial Militia and detailing of Rangers and their Indian allies to duty along the Georgia frontier. Another document in this volume reports on the British surveying sloop, the *Florida*, which put into Pensacola harbor for repairs. William James Morgan served as editor of volume eight, as he did for the previous three volumes, and they show his care for scholarly detail and accuracy. He used documents from many libraries and depositories, including the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. Order from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. The price is \$24.00.

Rowdy Tales From Early Alabama, The Humor of John Gorman Barr was collected and annotated by G. Ward Hubbs. It provides samples of the rich and colorful stories told and retold on the southern frontier in the years prior to the Civil War. All are part of our oral tradition, and many were printed in local newspapers. Barr was a well-known contemporary humorist. He used his hometown, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, as the setting for his stories. His characters were his neighbors and friends, and because he used real places as settings for his stories, one secures a fine picture of a typical antebellum southern riverboat town. Barr was much like Mark Twain, another southern tale writer, who also grew up in a river town. *Rowdy Tales* was published by the University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama, and it sells for \$15.95.

Wouldn't Take Nothin' For My Journey Now is by Jock Lauterer who founded and edited for many years a weekly newspaper in Rutherford County, North Carolina. He roamed the countryside, meeting, photographing, and interviewing many people who talked to him about their lives and experiences.

While Lauterer did not use a tape recorder, his book is based upon the best tradition of oral history. He was able to talk to people as a friend, and they provided him with information about the past that they remembered, memories which were not likely to be documented in written or published form. Lauterer's interviews are with the common folk who enjoyed life and worked hard. As one, Ernest Murphy, noted: "Hard work's good for you. You can eat anything you want to— and you go right to sleep." Quintenna Boone Hampton is a sixth-generation descendant of Daniel Boone and the head of the Hampton clan. W. P. Ed Norville was the best watch and clock repairman in the area; if he could not fix a watch, everyone would agree that it was "plum busted." Hoyle Greene was known for his apple cider, and Carl Lawing for the old grist mill that he operated for many years. The Dycus brothers were photographers and worked in the area for ten dollars a week. Fiddle players, soapmakers, carpenters, shoemakers, hunters, fishermen, and mule skinnners are all included in Lauterer's book. It was published by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, and it sells for \$12.50.

Bernard M. Hermann, a French photojournalist, has published travel books and pictorial albums of San Francisco, Rio de Janeiro, New York, and Paris. His latest volume is *New Orleans*, published by Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. It includes color photographs of plantation houses along the river and lush properties in the Garden District. There are also pictures of churches, cathedrals, wildlife, Mardi Gras, and many old and new buildings. People have also been photographed working, playing, doing business, laughing, crying, eating, enjoying themselves, and being buried. The text is by Charles "Pie" Dufour, the noted New Orleans journalist, historian, and author. The price is \$19.95.

Working Lives, The Southern Exposure; History of Labor in the South is a paperback book edited by Marc S. Miller with an introduction by Herbert Gutman. It is a collection of memoirs, poems, essays, ballads, and interviews covering the history of the southern labor movement from the beginning of this century to the present. Most of the articles first appeared in *Southern Exposure*, the quarterly journal that is published by the Institute

for Southern Studies, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Pantheon Books of New York is the publisher, and the price is \$7.95.

The Louisiana State University Press has reprinted in its paperback series *Duel Between the First Ironclads* by William C. Davis, which recounts the historic duel between the U.S.S. *Monitor* and the C.S.S. *Virginia* (formerly the U.S.S. *Merrimack*). It sells for \$7.95. *Battle at Bull Run, A History of the First Major Campaign of the Civil War* is another paperback reprint, and it is also by William C. Davis. The price is \$7.95.

Researchers and scholars working in the Spanish colonial period in early American history will find *Northern New Spain, A Research Guide* a valuable book. Compiled by Thomas Barnes, Thomas H. Naylor, and Charles W. Polzer, it has been published by the University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, in its Documentary Relations of the Southwest series. The geographic area under study comprises all of northern Mexico, present-day Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. Types of available documents, political and social organizations, paleography, and special terms are some of the topics included. There is also a listing of locations of archival material in the United States, Mexico, and Europe, together with a list of guides and aids to documentary collections.