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BOOK REVIEWS

Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century. By David R. Colburn and Richard K. Scher. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1980. viii, 342 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliographic essay, index. $19.95.)

Even the most casual student of recent southern history and politics is aware that the sub-title of V. O. Key's chapter on Florida in *Southern Politics* (1949) is "Every Man for Himself." Despite vast changes in the state over the past thirty years, it is surprising how well the caption still fits. The coauthors of *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century*, a felicitious combination of historian and political scientist, stress that characteristic at the outset of their near-exhaustive exploration of the gubernatorial office and its incumbents over the past eighty years: "Throughout the twentieth century Florida has had the most fragmented political structure in the South" (p. 2).

Since the authors' conception of the primary function of the governor is as a problem solver (i.e., one who perceives the problems of the state and tries to develop programs to alleviate them), and since the formulation and implementation of public policy depends on working with an inchoate structure of politicians, parties, interest groups, and bureaucrats in all three levels of government, the extent to which a governor can persuade the public and its "representatives" to adopt and implement his proposals is the real measure of his leadership. The book is a tightly organized effort to evaluate the leadership exercised by those who have served as governor in this century in relation to the flux of external conditions and the personal resources various governors used to make the office more or less effective.

The methods used in this assessment are perhaps best characterized as clear and uncluttered, although the reader may sometimes feel that he is getting to know more about certain formal aspects of the office than he needs to know, on the one hand, and perhaps less than he would like to know about the anecdotal appraisal of the *persona* and the way they actually

operated in certain circumstances, on the other. After a brief overview of the development of Florida since 1900 ("development" is the key word here because it suggests something of the changing demographic foundation and the emphasis on economic growth that has produced much of the political fragmentation as well as a pervasive attitude of business conservatism in the state), the authors provide a collective profile of the origins and backgrounds of the governors and the way each one campaigned his way to the office through the uncertainties of the Florida electoral process.

The second section deals with the structure, processes, and intergovernmental relations of the office, from constitutional characteristics through all of the formal and informal sources of power and influence, as well as the formidable constraints, that affect the capacity of the governor to identify problems, develop and implement policy, and be held accountable for his actions. This review of the resources and limits of the office is followed by a section entitled "Gubernatorial Initiatives." In it Colburn and Scher look briefly at the performance of each governor in four policy areas seen as essential responsibilities devolving on all governors: economic development, race relations, education, and criminal justice. The records here are interesting, and mixed indeed.

The brief concluding section pulls everything together in an "appraisal" of the twenty governors who served in Florida through 1978. Three categories are used: personal qualities, including personal appeal types (charismatic, gregarious, and reserved) and how this appeal related to style (demagogic, neopopulist, and reserved-businesslike) and character (using Barber's active-passive model); gubernatorial effectiveness in terms of administrative leadership and legislative relations to get programs approved and into operation; and gubernatorial initiatives in matters of economics, attitudes towards racial matters, and social programs. The range in each of these areas is considerable, and the permutations among the various categories is obviously extensive. One may disagree with the assignment of a governor to a particular category here and there (the ideal types admit of some crossovers), but on the whole the schema is helpful for comparative analysis. The authors do not hesitate to exercise moral judgment in an Aristotelian way (i.e., what positive moral

characteristics relative to leadership does the individual display most clearly, and did he serve *pro bono publico* or some narrower interest?). Furthermore, they are remarkably balanced in judging individuals in the perspective of their particular time and circumstance rather than against some absolute contemporaneous standard.

In sum, this is a book based on solid scholarship, and it is done in a way that should make it useful to academicians, aspiring political leaders, and interested political participants alike. Its subject and treatment– a major state institution carefully scrutinized over time– is a refreshing rarity these days.

Vanderbilt University WILLIAM C. HAVARD

The U.S. Navy in Pensacola, From Sailing Ships to Naval Aviation (1825-1930). By George F. Pearce. (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1980. viii, 207 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. $17.00.)

Soon after the American occupation of Florida, it became apparent that the United States needed additional naval bases on the Gulf coast. Up until this time the only facility of any significance in the entire area was New Orleans. Pensacola was obviously a good location for a base. It had one of the best harbors on the coast and the Spanish had left some fortifications from their earlier occupations. A naval base at Pensacola had, however, some drawbacks. It was not as accessible to the interior as either New Orleans or Mobile, and there were neither skilled workers nor readily available sources of material for construction. Good leadership and a high degree of persistence eventually overcame most of these disadvantages.

The beginnings of the yard were very modest, and for many years its facilities were used only for repairs. Competition with the better equipped Atlantic facilities also delayed the growth of the Pensacola station. However, when eventually a dry dock was built the yard's future seemed assured. During the Civil War the yard was occupied briefly by the Confederates, but after Union forces recaptured it, Pensacola became headquarters for the Western Gulf Blockading Squadron. Following the war,

the yard, as well as the navy itself, went through a long period of hard times. During the 1880s the yard's activity declined, reaching a low point in 1892. The coming of the Spanish-American War led to some increased use of the yard. In fact, soon after the war the facility was expanded with the addition of a floating dry dock and other construction. This growth continued until 1906 when a hurricane nearly destroyed the place. Although repairs were made, the yard was closed in October 1911. In part as a result of the efforts of Pensacola citizens, the yard was reopened at the end of 1913, and in January 1914, the naval aviation unit was moved from Annapolis to Pensacola. World War I gave a tremendous expansion to naval aviation, and from that time on the naval station at Pensacola continued to grow and prosper as the main center of naval aviation training and development.

The author has told the story of the development of the naval base at Pensacola in a clear narrative style. Although Pearce covers some of the same material as did Ernest F. Dibble in *Antebellum Pensacola and the Military Presence,* his emphasis is greatly different. Dibble's interest shows more concern for the town of Pensacola and its economic development, whereas Pearce has chosen to investigate the development of the yard itself. Each study has a rightful place of its own.

One weakness of this work was the author's failure to develop the human side of the navy yard and its administration. Readers will want to know more about the people who built, maintained, and staffed the Pensacola station. This is by no means a major flaw. The book is a valuable contribution, especially to the naval historian. The bibliography and notes show this work to have been well researched. Pearce's book will be of interest to the general reader, as well as to all who are interested in Florida's history.

Auburn University FRANK L. OWSLEY, JR.

A History of Columbia County, Florida. By Edward P. Keuchel. (Tallahassee: Sentry Press, 1981. xii, 267 pp. Foreword, preface, appendices, bibliography, illustrations, index. $12.50.)

Professor Edward Keuchel's *History of Columbia County* is

the story of one of the counties which constituted the antebellum middle Florida plantation belt. Situated along the Suwannee River on the eastern edge of that area, Columbia County was created in 1832. Like its neighbors to the west, it became a rural, agrarian community whose livelihood derived largely from cotton grown on plantations using slave labor. Keuchel's book places major emphasis on this early period of growth and development, the disruptions of civil war and reconstruction, and subsequent renewal in the late nineteenth century.

In a brief opening chapter, Keuchel describes the people who inhabited Columbia County before United States acquisition and then concentrates on the settlement of the region by the people whose descendants presently inhabit it. His handling of the devastating results of the Second Seminole War constitutes one of the strongest chapters of the book. A chapter on the county during the early years of statehood depicts a growing and developing community whose institutions were typically southern. The citizens of Columbia County supported Florida's secession and then fought in large numbers for the Confederacy. The Battle of Olustee, Florida's major military engagement during the war, is treated fully. An appendix to the book lists the numerous county residents who participated in the war.

A chapter on the Reconstruction era, with its turmoil, confusion, turbulence, violence, and resulting bitterness, shows how the county was affected by that chaotic episode. The chapter on the last quarter of the nineteenth century is concerned with the gradual emergence of Columbia County from the disruption of the Civil War and Reconstruction into an era of growth. Railroad construction and financing, the expansion of lumbering, and the introduction of such new economic activities as phosphate, oranges, vegetables, and wrapper-leaf tobacco are interlarded with descriptions of the various settlements of the county. Lake City and Fort White are the more important towns, but Benton, Mikesville, Leno, Mt. Tabor, Barrsville, Blounts Ferry, Suwannee Shoals, and Columbia City are also discussed.

The first thirty years of the twentieth century are covered in a single chapter. Highlights are the advent of the automobile, the loss of the Florida Agricultural College to Gainesville after the 1905 Buckman Act, and Aunt Aggie's Bone Yard. The De-

pression and World War II are condensed into a single chapter, and another covers the period "Since the Second World War." Fred Cone, Columbia County's contribution to the state's chief executive office, is included, but some of his colorful antics while in office have been omitted.

A History of Columbia County is a worthwhile addition to the growing number of county histories that have been published in recent years, in part spurred on by the Bicentennial. Dr. Keuchel has placed the county in the context of the state, region, and nation, but this reviewer would have welcomed a fuller treatment of the twentieth century. Three chapters covering sixty pages are simply inadequate for treating one of Florida's most colorful rural counties. Despite the book's many fine qualities, I must agree with Professor Keuchel's introductory comment that "This is not the full story" (ix).

University of Central Florida JERRELL H. SHOFNER

Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage, Curtis-Hixon Convention Center, Tampa, Florida, March 22-23, 1980. Edited by Barbara A. Purdy (Gainesville: Florida State Museum, 1980. x, 69 pp. List of illustrations, introduction, welcome, photos, maps, illustrations, appendices. $5.00.)

Here for the price of a modest lunch the reader can acquire an introduction and broad perspective to one of the more colorful and least thoroughly developed aspects of Florida's rich history. Barbara Purdy has done yeoman's service in editing for publication the entire proceedings of an interdisciplinary conference held in 1980 devoted to Florida's maritime heritage.

Such a conference was conceived of by Dr. Purdy when the National Trust for Historic Preservation made resources available for maritime projects in the late 1970s. Florida's extensive coastline and many inland waterways, coupled with its rich history of aboriginal and European settlement, held the promise of an equally rich maritime heritage. With additional support from the University of Florida and Florida Sea Grant programs the conference was held on March 22-23, 1980. Ninety papers were presented by twenty-one authorities whose interests and

expertise covered a wide spectrum. The paper sessions were organized into three main divisions or parts.

Part one of the conference combined the efforts of archeologists and historians in the form of nine papers devoted to "The Maritime Heritage of Florida." Archeological aspects of this heritage were addressed by Purdy, Richard Daugherty, Rochelle Marrinan, Elizabeth Wing, Eugene Lyon, and Stephen Gluckman. Leading off, Purdy presented "An Evaluation of Wet Site Resources of Florida." Daugherty's paper, which followed, was a discussion of his experiences excavating a wet site in the state of Washington. Its inclusion in this Florida-centered symposium is somewhat difficult to understand beyond the fact that it described archeological field procedures at a wet site. Marrinan and Wing devoted their paper to a review of what archeological studies of some fifty sites across the length and breadth of Florida have revealed concerning prehistoric fishing activities. Eugene Lyon followed with an essay devoted to a review of the utilization of marine resources by Florida Indians during the pre-contact and contact periods. A wrap-up of things directly archeological was provided by Stephen Gluckman's presentation which outlined categories of underwater sites and existing underwater archeological programs underway in Florida.

The remaining four papers grouped in part one of the conference are clearly historical in nature. The best of these is George E. Buker's sketch of marine and joint military operations in south Florida and the Everglades during the Seminole conflicts. A colorfully illustrated essay detailing Florida's steamboat era was contributed by Edward Mueller. More general essays on Florida's maritime commerce and fishing industry up to the recent period were provided by Thomas O'Connor, James Cato, and Donald Sweat to round out this substantive portion of the conference.

Part two is shorter, with four papers devoted to the theme of preservation of Florida's maritime heritage. Neil Crenshaw, Florida's 4-H marine education specialist, described the way that active organization was working to keep maritime skills and interests alive among the state's youth enrolled in its programs. William Baker, a New England-based specialist in boat restoration and naval architecture, presented an overview of

past efforts devoted to building reproductions of historic vessels in America. Herschel Shepard, speaking from the perspective of city planning, addressed the problems of identifying and preserving those elements of the built environment and districts which are uniquely maritime in their character. The role of museums in maritime preservation efforts was treated by Peter Stanford in the final of these four papers.

The third and final portion of the conference was devoted to a keynote address and papers describing the various agencies and programs which support the preservation of Florida's maritime heritage. In his keynote address, Jerry Rogers spoke from the vantage point of his position as deputy associate director of cultural programs of the federal government's Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service. Harry Allendorfer's talk on "Current Legislation" also drew participant attention to the Washington scene insofar as preservation efforts were concerned. The Florida Trust and Sea Grant programs which touched on maritime heritage were discussed by Joan Jennewein and William Seaman. The role of the Florida Division of Archives, History and Records Management and the status of state legislation bearing on historic preservation were detailed by L. Ross Morrell and George Percy to round out the final section of this information-rich conference.

Dr. Purdy added considerably to the value of this volume by including the remarks and questions of many of the participants who were attending the conference in roles other than that of paper presenters. Groups as diverse as treasure hunters and lighthouse preservationists were represented in the obviously lively discussion period which followed the formal presentations.

The publication of the proceedings of the Conference on Florida's Maritime Heritage is a welcome addition to a growing literature which presents state and local history as a valuable base from which important public policy decisions concerned with the management of cultural and historical resources can be more intelligently formulated. Individuals and groups in all of our coastal and Great Lakes states, in addition to those interested in Florida's maritime heritage, can find valuable insight here.

University of Georgia LOUIS DE VORSEY, JR.

The Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815. By Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1980. viii, 255 pp. List of maps, introduction, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $20.00.)

In *The Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands,* Professor Owsley treats the Creek War and the British operations in the Gulf of Mexico as a single campaign. Although a number of recent writers have also scouted this idea, none has made the case as persuasively as Owsley. Most older histories have considered operations in the Gulf as little more than footnotes or have relegated them to a self-standing chapter. The Creek hostilities, when treated at all, have been viewed as an aspect of the history of Indian relations separate from the second War for Independence. That historians largely ignored the operations in the Gulf littoral is scarcely surprising for few of the writers brought any appreciation of the history of the southeast to their studies.

Owsley argues that the Creek War stemmed from the hostility of the traditionalist, pro-Tecumseh Red Sticks to westernizing influences. He finds scant evidence of direct outside influence. On the other hand, he cogently points out that the Fort Mims massacre destroyed any hope of an accommodation of the traditionalists by their white neighbors for it made the pressures for removal unstoppable. It also brought onto the field Brigadier General Andrew Jackson. With a military competence rare for the time or place he smashed the hostiles and extorted a territorial settlement far beyond that desired in Washington.

Some of the Red Stick survivors fled into Florida where British agents, now awakened to the possibilities of the region, recruited them and the more numerous lower Creeks. Yet, from the British viewpoint the Indians had attacked prematurely for they had drawn sizable American forces into the region. Despite this the prospects for British success remained high since they possessed the mobility of water transport while the defenders faced major logistic difficulties, were short of trained manpower, and held a long exposed coast. The occupation of Pensacola and the abortive assault on Mobile destroyed much of the British strategic advantage by alerting Jackson to

the impending attack. Even so, Jackson misread British intentions and concentrated his forces at Mobile which leads Owsley to suggest that if Admiral Alexander Cochrane had moved rapidly to assail New Orleans it would have fallen before the defenders could arrive in sufficient numbers to offer serious opposition. He concludes that Cochrane did not decide to seize New Orleans until after it became clear that Jackson would fight for Mobile. By then it was too late.

Two chapters discuss the strategic options available to both sides during the New Orleans attack, the reasons for the choices, and the actual clash of arms. They are models of good operational history– clear, concise, and well written. The short concluding chapter on the significance of the war on the Gulf coast is more than a simple exposition of Owsley's thesis. He reminds his readers of the diplomatic importance of the twin American victories at Mobile and New Orleans. They occurred in areas which the British, who did not recognize the Louisiana Purchase, considered outside that covered by the Treaty of Ghent. Moreover, that treaty contained a provision which, if narrowly interpreted, required the restoration of the lands surrendered by the Creeks in the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Owsley points out that following their defeats the British abandoned their support of the Creeks while the pressures set loose by Jackson's insistence on removal prevented implementation by American authorities.

The Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands is an account of one portion of the War of 1812 from a regional perspective. It is nevertheless a highly useful corrective to traditional accounts of the war, and it makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of the conflict and its results.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute K. JACK BAUER

Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860. By Anne C. Loveland. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xiv, 293 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. $30.00; $12.95 paper.)

In nine clearly written, densely documented chapters Anne Loveland has made a significant contribution to our under-

standing of the social thought of southern evangelical clergymen. Concentrating on Southern Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian ministers in the south Atlantic states between 1800 and 1860, Loveland examined manuscript sources in eleven different collections as well as over two dozen religious and secular newspapers and magazines and an impressive array of printed primary and secondary sources.

While not totally rejecting the view of some historians that southern evangelicalism was shaped by, and subservient to, the ideology of the Old South, Loveland does find evidence of autonomy in the views of southern evangelical ministers and popular ideology. The largely middle-class clergymen she studied deviated from and criticized popular opinion on temperance, Sabbath observances, and dueling. Their views on slavery were "more in line with the dominant ideology, yet they never went so far as to defend slavery as a 'positive good' and their demands for religious instruction of the Negroes often contained an implicit criticism of the Old South's 'peculiar institution'." Loveland's main hope is to demonstrate the heretofore unrecognized complexity of the social ideas of southern evangelicals.

The study begins with detailed, often moving, accounts of the experience of being converted, joining a church, being called to preach, and being ordained. The pathways to preaching of Daniel Baker, Jeremiah Jeter, William Capers, and others are carefully traced. At the beginning of the nineteenth century southern evangelicals faced several cultural factors which were differentially prevalent in the South: the "destitute" (unchurched) status of most Southerners, the paucity of ministers, and the wide dispersal of population and inadequate transportation. Against this cultural backdrop the ministers performed their four main duties of teaching, pastoral work, discipline, and preaching. The most important of these duties was to preach the gospel because evangelicals believed that God used preaching to convert sinners. The imperative to preach to the unconverted necessitated a number of devices to overcome the dispersal of population and the scarcity of ministers: systems of itinerancy, once-a-month preaching, and the frontier-style revival. The camp meeting, the principle vehicle of revivalism, was not without its problems, abuses, and critics. The meetings were susceptible to worldly concerns– strong drink; fist fights,

excessive emotionalism, and just plain old secular fun– if not properly controlled, but even into the 1850s such meetings remained probably the best means of converting large numbers of people. Professor Loveland noted differences among the denominations in the preferred revival method, with Presbyterians and Baptists moving earlier and more completely toward the indoor protracted meeting, while Methodists were slower to abandon the outdoor camp meeting. Most southern evangelicals, says Loveland, stood "somewhere between outright hostility and unqualified approval" of revivalism. They seemed to accept a certain amount of excitement as necessary to make the unconverted listen to the gospel.

Later chapters in this fine work deal explicitly with such specific social issues as temperence, benevolence and reform, slavery, religious instruction of blacks, and the sectional controversy. While the treatment of the clergymen's social views soundly demonstrates their complexity, it probably will not seriously shake the earlier view that southern evangelicalism was shaped by the prevailing ideology of the Old South. Perhaps this merely highlights the heaviness of the dominant slaveholding ideology. Social and religious appeals aimed at the dominant class were often couched in terms which would help members of this group perceive material secular interest in doing morally right things like providing religious instruction for slaves and advocating temperence. Loveland notes, for example, the striking similarity between the evangelicals' appeal to slaveholders for religious instruction of the slaves and appeals to the same group on temperence. The temperence appeals focused on the hackneyed theme of slave control, arguing that the difficulties of "managing" slaves were multiplied by intemperence. Despite the existence of genuine, but usually only implicit, criticism of the Old South's peculiar institution, the approach of southern evangelicals did not seriously challenge the dominant ideology on that centrally important matter. Readers interested in exploring the intricacies of antebellum southern evangelical social thought will find themselves turning repeatedly to Loveland's well-organized and thorough account.

Florida State University ROBERT L. HALL

Reluctant Imperialists: Calhoun, the South Carolinians, and the Mexican War. By Ernest McPherson Lander, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xiv, 189 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, chronology of important events, abbreviations used in footnotes, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, notes, index. $13.95.)

It is a pleasure to read a book whose author presents his thesis clearly, develops it convincingly, states it succinctly, synthesizes his primary and secondary source materials skillfully, and accomplishes all this without benefit of the Pythagorean numerology of the cliometricians or the Freudian babblings of the psychohistorians. Instead, he has done it the hard way– by grubbing through thousands of pages of South Carolina newspapers and manuscripts.

In so doing, Professor Lander may well have driven the last nail in the coffin of the "aggressive slavocracy" hypothesis– or at least into its South Carolina slat. For he shows that leading South Carolina apologists for slavery and its expansion, John C. Calhoun principally among them, were not only "Reluctant Imperialists" in May 1846, but by January 1848, they had become aggressively disenchanted anti-imperialists insofar as Polk's politically disruptive Mexican War policies and goals were concerned.

During this nineteen-month period they resisted the president's diplomatic pressure on "Poor Mexico," castigated his territorial appetites once the fighting had begun, criticized his dangerously inconclusive war strategy, and deplored the sectional animosity inherent in his unnecessary pursuit of "Manifest Destiny" in the desert wastes of the Southwest. Lander also demonstrates that public opinion in South Carolina, particularly as revealed in the state's newspapers, came to support the anti-expansionist views of the Calhounian coterie, especially as the state's combat casualties mounted, and as the literate citizenry of the state came to appreciate the anti-slavery dangers of the Wilmot Proviso, All-Mexico Movement, and popular sovereignty questions.

But to this review, Lander's most important interpretive contribution turns on his treatment of the tragic history of South Carolina's volunteer Palmetto Regiment. This sad story he

relates to the overall military strategy of the war, and to the steady shift of public opinion in South Carolina from superficial torch-light-parade patriotism in mid-1846 to bitter anti-imperialism in late 1847.

The ill-fated Palmetto Regiment was raised only with the greatest difficulty. South Carolinians did not rally 'round the flag with much genuine enthusiasm when Congress declared war, mainly because the enlistment term was for twelve, long months and the inhospitable seat of war was far away. Further, the regiment's officer corps was filled with dashing young Carolina blue-bloods and glory-hungry Gamecock politicians whose collective military skills ranged from the tactically incompetent to the strategically ignorant. Nor were Generals James Shields, Robert Patterson, and John A. Quitman, the brigade and divisional commanders under whom the Palmetto Regiment fought in Mexico, much better. It was often the blind leading the brash.

The history of the Palmettos was one of logistical confusion, poor leadership, low morale, unnecessary privation, untreated disease, pointless marching and counter-marching, mutiny, and desertion. These experiences, however, were punctuated by acts of exceptional personal bravery as well as by exceptionally heavy casualties– the heaviest by far (forty-three per cent) of any American unit to serve in the war. Even the ill-trained and ineptly-commanded Mexicans, for whom the racially arrogant South Carolinians had such contempt, could hit a prideful Palmetto chest at fifty feet, and frequently did.

Small wonder, then, that what there was of South Carolina's support for the war in 1846 melted away as accounts of the Army's mishandling of the Palmettos in the field reached the columns of the state's newspapers and the ears of its politicians in 1847. This unsettling information helped solidify Calhoun's political base at home, a development which revived briefly his presidential ambitions and encouraged him to escalate his attacks on Polk, Wilmot, the All-Mexico land grabbers, and the popular sovereignty heretics. The apogee of this process came in his brilliant speech in the Senate on January 4, 1848, which utterly destroyed the All-Mexico Movement. Whatever factors or motives influenced Calhoun's stances on these war-related political issues, Lander demonstrates that the destruction of the

Palmetto Regiment in distant Mexico was important among them.

Two minor cavils: the book is far too brief (176 pages); so brief, that the author can say little about Calhoun's personal responsibility in bringing on the war in his capacity as Tyler's aggressive secretary of state during the matter of Texas annexation in 1844-1845. Surely there is irony in this. Nor does Professor Lander take the space to consider the possibility that the Mexicans themselves did much to provoke the war. Indeed, it is high time that the enduring notion of a weak, innocent, pacifistic Mexico being pounced upon by a screaming American eagle be returned to the bosom of the Whig folk, tradition from whence politically it sprang in 1846. But whether or not that reunion will ever occur, and it probably won't, the fact remains, quibbles aside, that *Reluctant Imperialists* is an excellent monograph.

University of Kentucky ROBERT SEAGER II

The Nashville Convention: Southern Movement for Unity, 1848-1851. By Thelma Jennings. (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1980. vii, 309 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliographical essay, index. $16.95.)

The Nashville Convention has not gone unnoticed by historians, but Professor Jennings is the first to offer a book-length account of its background, its action, and its importance. Particularly significant is her identification and analysis of the delegates to the two sessions. They are revealed, for the most part, as thoughtful, well-educated leaders. Moderates and conservatives far outnumbered the radicals.

In a brief introductory chapter the author conveniently furnishes the reader an overview of the movement. She concludes: "Instead of disrupting the Union, the convention may have saved it for another decade" (p. 12). She believes the first session, June 1850, influenced the congressional compromise, and that the Unionist victories in Georgia and Mississippi sealed the fate of the secessionists. Even South Carolina would not go it alone.

As do others, Professor Jennings credits Calhoun with the authorship of the movement which both South Carolinians and

Mississippians for purposes of strategy concealed from the general public. As the story moves along, the author gives state by state analysis of the response to the call, the choosing of the delegates, and the reaction to the convention's actions. This detailed information about 175 delegates and dozens of newspaper reports becomes tedious and difficult to digest at times.

In general, support for the convention was strongest among Democrats in the heart of the black belt, the region most supportive of secession in 1861. The Whigs did not wish to embarrass the Taylor administration, but many were willing to attend the convention in an effort to restrain the hotheads. Also, the Whigs were under pressure to join the Democrats in supporting southern rights.

The convention's moderate resolutions called for 36°30' to be extended to the Pacific, but many Whigs and border state Southerners preferred to accept the compromise. Throughout her narrative the author weaves in the story of the battle in Congress over the compromise. She finds that Webster's famous seventh of March speech did much to dampen southern sentiment for a convention. Interestingly, she notes that the Texans were more ready to fight over their boundary than to challenge federal authority over slavery in the territories.

In her conclusion, the author claims that while moderation at Nashville strengthened the forces in Congress favoring compromise, at the same time most Southerners retained the belief that secession was a legal right of the states. Thus, "the Nashville Convention paved the way for a Southern Confederacy in 1861. Southern nationalists had realized the difficulty of securing the cooperation of all the southern states in the defense of southern rights, and southern fire-eaters had learned their lesson well at Nashville. From 1850 on they eschewed cooperation and advocated single state action" (p. 210).

This is a well-written monograph based upon the widest possible use of manuscript sources. While there are no startling revelations, the author tells her story well. This should be the definitive study of the Nashville Convention.

Clemson University ERNEST M. LANDER, JR.

Stones River— Bloody Winter in Tennessee. By James Lee McDonough. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980. xiv, 271 pp. List of illustrations, preface, photos, illustrations, maps, index. $14.50.)

Moments alone, looking across an empty stage:

It is quiet now. The stillness hangs heavy even as the melodies of birds, innocent of all the history lingering here, mingle their lovely sounds with the history that only old men who survived remembered. They are all gone now, those who were active on this stage. It is quiet here, too silent to think of raging horses and roaring guns, of swords and epaulettes, of pain and dying men. Too quiet now. One feels the presence of long ago, shadows of fateful days linger still among the sounds of singing birds, beside the sluggish stream, in yellowed notes that hide in files and family vaults, in pictures that fill the barren walls of an old museum.

This is hallowed ground, but not too sacred to write of death or of a peace that never came, except to the victors' disposition. The field is silent as its graves that hide the deeds that were once this place. The battle is long over, the heights all scaled, the heroes lie together beneath the marble and the sighing of the wind. Old men's tales now clutter history books. Rosecrans had his finest hour. Bragg slipped off to Chattanooga to mend his pain. Never again will these silent trees hear the battle cry, nor will those Tennessee birds I love to hear know this evil thing . . . at least not here, not here where guns are old and lined with rust and summer birds, to fire no more at random men as glory they pursue or courage they proclaim. No more will this river flow in blood, no more the horses in the fields nearby scream with battle pain, nor will they carry the swift and the brave to parapets stark and grim, there: the kiss of death! No more the rebel yell of men not ripe for life, nor men too old to feel the sun and rain but know the pain of viewing death as though a pageant on a stage.

Stones River, so quiet now, nature abounding in grace. But there are other fields, other men, history still to be made, epaulettes to shine with blood and space for heroes' graves. The horses now are tanks and planes, but the cries of Johnny Reb and Billy Yank will blend in other fields, in the fury of modern games.

Beyond the battle lines, the files await the newer notes, the picture frames cry out for newer faces wracked in pain. Stones River's day is past, the sun shines on a quiet field. But somewhere darkness lingers yet, new men await the sounds to charge, to fire at modern random men, then speak of peace again amidst the newer mounds, and pinning medals on other widows' sons.

On Good Friday, the last day of Abraham Lincoln's life, General Ulysses S. Grant, in an informal statement to the president and some of his assembled cabinet, remarked that Stones River had been no military victory for the North. In fact, Grant concluded, many such engagements would probably have ruined the country. In *Stones River– Bloody Winter in Tennessee*, historian James Lee McDonough has recreated the saga of this battle in sharpest tones, illuminating many of its darkest secrets. Deep in the "heartland" of the Confederacy, far from the more publicized Eastern Theater of Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, and Robert E. Lee, another Yankee general with the "slows" finally made his move, striking General Braxton Bragg's defending Army of Tennessee's long defensive line stretched out just north of sleepy little Murfreesboro, Tennessee. McDonough's work covers the preliminaries, the battle itself, and the immediate aftermath of this battle, the strategies and intrigues of Bragg and his opponent Federal General William S. Rosecrans, the heroism and the death among the enlisted men, and the frustrations of "best laid plans."

Detailing a battle, just as fighting one, is an intricate process. The writer immediately involves himself in selecting and interpreting conflicting reports, feeling the pain and remaining detached, knowing the results but trying not to anticipate them in the writing. Like Wiley Sword in his fine book *Shiloh: Bloody April* (New York, 1974), McDonough selects material to highlight the human factor in war, gives intimate details of action through the eyes and words of the participants, comments sharply upon the decisions of commanders. Few writers have so captured the fury of war and remained so faithful to the details of the fighting. The reader can hardly restrain from getting personally caught up in the action as bravery and cowardice blend in the assaults of men against equally determined and inexperienced men in different uniforms.

While many historians have tended to give more emphasis to

the Virginia campaigns, McDonough follows more the patterns set by Stanley Horn, Thomas Connolly, and Archer Jones by searching for meaning in the actions beyond the Appalachians. He sees Stones River as an important engagement, but a strange battle where two commanding generals, reluctant to engage, finally attack each other in tactical operations memorized from the same military manual. On the last day of December 1862, their two armies struck against each other with great violence, and after a hard day fighting, the Confederates appeared to control the field, yea, even to win the day. But then came a day of stagnation, the New Year, a day of confusion, a time to lick wounds and reassemble the "iron filings" that the magnets of war had so haphazardly scattered through the vast countryside. Then, another day of battle with the Confederate lines finally breaking before Rosecrans's superior firepower and larger units if not imaginative generalship. Again the results were indecisive, still not the clear-cut victory for which Lincoln prayed. Rosecrans, with heavy losses himself, allowed Bragg to escape from another "terrible affair." Still, though not pivotal at this half-way point of the war in determining its final outcome, this battle did enable Rosecrans to move the Confederates south to the Tennessee River and begin the long march to Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Sherman's march to the sea. And it was, writes its narrator, "one of the spectacular, breathtaking moments of the entire war."

McDonough's attempt to follow two armies with their many scattered units is generally well written and properly detailed. But sometimes the reader is lost in the maze of confusing action, even with the very descriptive maps which bless this work. Sometimes the writing is labored, even confusing, as the author attempts to reconcile conflicting interpretations and record simultaneous actions. There is the occasional cliché for immediate identification of his generals, and sometimes there is minutia in his detailing of events that detracts from the central action, as with his description of the abolitionists in the midst of battle plans, and a little song about Rosecrans as we get acquainted with his battle strategy. He probably dismisses too lightly the English decision not to intervene in the Civil War, and there is sometimes difficulty in separating the generals

from their immediate actions and those that yet lie ahead of them.

But this is a good book. The writing is fair, always lively, always engaged in search for new answers to old questions and new ones. His descriptions are sometimes classic, as with Braxton Bragg, his less than winning personality, "wedded to the tactics of the Mexican War . . . a puzzling mixture of competence and ineptness." This book will not enhance the reputations of either Bragg or Rosecrans, nor some of the other officers serving under them. The mistakes they made cost the Confederacy and the Union armies too many of their best soldiers. And it was indeed a poorly fought battle, just as Grant later insisted, but it was an important moment in history and McDonough so memoralizes it. His picture of the three days at Stones River is a picture of permanent duration.

Wittenberg University ROBERT HARTJE

Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause. By Charles Reagan Wilson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980. viii, 256 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index, $19.95.)

This study of civil religion in the South from 1865 to 1920 fills a cavity in the history of the area. The Confederate experience provided the Southerners with a base for self-examination. They realized that their history was distinct; the Redeemer Nation had died, but remained as "a holy ghost haunting the spirits and actions of post-Civil War Southerners."

Mr. Wilson develops his perspective of a civil religion that "centers on the religious implications of a nation." His organization of the book is good. Early he outlines the scope, saying it is not a study of southern Protestantism, but of the religion of the Lost Cause, a defeated, humiliated, and distressed heritage. From that base "the cultural dream replaced the political dream."

Baptized in Blood is a well-chosen title; it was a term often used by preachers who declared that war had brought "redemption from past sins, an atonement, and a sanctification for

the future." After Appomattox Southerners tried to reconcile their universal notion of a chosen people now defeated. Members of Baptist and Methodist congregations dominated the movement, but were supported by Presbyterians and Episcopalians. For many Southerners defeat was a divine testing that would eventually result in renewed virtue and strength. This concept flourished in lay organizations and several loose groups, such as United Confederate Veterans, Ku Klux Klan, private schools, historical societies, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and United Sons of Confederate Veterans. Women were sought since they added respectability.

Where facts failed to support fantasy, avid minds nurtured a righteous cause with rituals and myths. From nonexistent precedents, memorial days were created, fasting and thanksgiving observances were specified, funeral sermons became eulogies, reunions magnified in importance, secular subjects were placed in stained windows of churches, and hymns such as "How Firm a Foundation" were part of a litany. Every town square found an appropriate place for a statue of a southern hero. Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and Jefferson Davis became monumental in importance and size on either boulevard or mountain face. Lee was regarded as the Christian knight in white armor, Davis was raised to sainthood, and Jackson was idolized in name and symbols. To this trio was added Sam Davis, a Tennessee private soldier hanged as a spy, whose scaffold was likened to the cross of the crucified Christ, and Leonidas Polk, general and bishop, became the defender of the church and its altars.

With the passage of time, ministers, having shelved the term Lost Cause, emphasized southern identity with the two-fold appeal of religion and regional history. Segregation replaced the caste of slavery, a process which relegated the Negro to inferiority and reemphasized white supremacy. This philosophical approach to an old problem was strongly supported by the Ku Klux Klan, whose members were generally on the church rolls.

J. William Jones of Lexington, Virginia, a close friend to Lee, became the most ubiquitous evangelist in the Lost Cause cult. Involved in almost every phase of southern life, as a soldier, cleric, historian, publisher, organizer, volunteer in all appeals, Jones "provided the crucial link between the Southern civil religion and Christianity." Unreconstructed, but not em-

bittered by defeat, he believed that a focus on virtue and moral exemplification could firmly establish a "separate culture with religion at its heart."

Southern heritage became the fulcrum for establishment of elementary and secondary schools linking the Confederacy with Christianity. Many teachers, especially in private academies, had been Confederate officers or were women who had rarely left the home turf. Books and materials written by Northerners were generally rejected, and those with a Dixie flavor were substituted. Steeped in the Lost Cause tradition, the University of the South was reorganized. Its teaching staff was heavy with former officers, and the town of Sewanee became a congenial haven for Southerners. Washington College (later Washington and Lee University) had a similar history and growth experience. Lexington and Sewanee rivaled Richmond as headquarters of the southern Confederacy.

Despite the fact that as late as 1920 southern churches were "the South's most distinctly sectional institutions," a new unity between North and South became evident. The barrier was broken by industrialism, northern investment in the South, the Spanish-American War, World War I, and Woodrow Wilson in the White House. Southern clergymen insisted that the Lost Cause really was a crusade for liberty quite similar to Wilson's right of self-government.

Without question this is a good book, well conceived, the product of extensive research and careful writing. Forty-odd pages of references attest to the immensity of the undertaking. A lengthy bibliography seems to omit little of consequence with the exception of the excellent life of Bishop Polk by Joseph H. Parks and the incomparable four volumes on General Lee by Douglas S. Freeman. The University of Georgia Press also deserves commendation for this publication.

Atlanta, Georgia WALTER B. POSEY

Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment. By Elizabeth Jacoway. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xvi, 301 pp. Preface, photos, appendices, bibliography, index. $25.00.)

The "Port Royal Experiment" was dramatic, revealing, poignant, and, by some standards, unsuccessful. Commodore Samuel F. DuPont's capture of the Sea Islands in 1861 aroused enthusiasm and activity in the North. Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury, aware of the value of Sea Island long-staple cotton and, like most abolitionists, certain that the slaves, when freed and educated, would be patriotic, productive, and dependable citizens, sent Edward L. Pierce of Massachusetts to Port Royal to supervise the contrabands and direct their progress.

As the Federal forces moved into the Confederate states they were followed by hundreds of teachers and clergymen who organized schools and churches throughout the area. Many of them were abolitionists to the core and highly idealistic, but few understood the problems which they encountered. Some, overcome by disillusionment and despair, withdrew; others, brave and determined, devoted their lives to work among the freedmen. No accurate measure of their success is possible, of course, but certainly they influenced education and race relations in the South. Prominent among these stalwart souls were Laura M. Towne and Ellen Murray who worked in the Sea Islands for forty years. They established the Penn School, truly an "experiment," in the words of the author. They were followed by Rossa Belle Cooley, Frances Butler (who died soon after beginning her work), and Grace House. Under their direction Penn School became a showcase for industrial education and community service.

The Port Royal experiment has been described in some detail, but Jacoway's work is the first study of its most impressive and successful aspect, the Penn School. The author understands the philosophy which underlay Hampton, Tuskegee, and Penn; she also shows that the teachers in these institutions and the philanthropists who supported them firmly believed that they were agents of progressivism. Their goal was the development of character. Training in industrial and agricultural skills

was important, but not primary; the school was an instrument of progress, an institution through which Americans, including the Negro, would develop sound character and reliable citizenship. Penn was "an outpost of progressive education"; the "genteel" Northerners who supported it believed that it would develop in the Negro the traditional virtues of industry, thrift, and self-reliance which they considered essentials in citizens of a democracy. The aim of education was the development of "character," as they defined it: "Self-discipline, hard work, and orderliness were essential in that growth," the author correctly says. The pioneers at the Penn School saw it as a unique opportunity to show what could be done in an agricultural community in which the residents were ethnically and sociologically homogeneous. It could be the center of social and economic life, a tool by which sound character could be developed.

Jacoway has used a mass of documents and many interviews to trace the history of the Penn School. The selfless sacrifice of Laura M. Towne, Rossa B. Cooley, and their associates demands respect, and their determination and skill in following their ideal is impressive. They failed, however, to understand the changes which rapidly were thrust upon the nation, the region, and their wards. The author's assessment is correct; the people at Penn were unrealistically optimistic and naive; they were imbued with the confident arrogance of many Progressives and of the patrician reformers who supported them. They believed that the plight of the Negro could be solved; only patient application of the principles of progressive education was necessary.

The poignancy lies in the indisputable fact that the Penn School foundered on "the rough shoals of economic distress" fostered by the appearance of the boll weevil, depression, and repeated storms. Miss Cooley and her colleagues could not understand that "the goals and assumptions" of the missionaries were "woefully inadequate" to deal with the problem of racial relations, the author says, or, as she might have said, to cope with the social and economic developments of the twentieth century. Despite the undeniable impact of the school on the blacks who lived on the Islands in the period while the institution was at its height, it was based on "fallacious assumptions," the author concludes. The teachers could not make blacks white,

and the Penn School "became an irrelevant reminder of a promise unfilled."

Vanderbilt University HENRY L. SWINT

The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth. By Alfred A. Moss, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. 327 pp. Introduction, photos, complete bibliography, index. $30.00; $12.95 paper.)

A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946. By Joe M. Richardson (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1980. 227 pp. Preface, photos, selected bibliography, index. $19.50.)

Professor Richardson traces the history of Fisk University from its precarious beginnings in 1866 as a school for black children founded by three Christian missionaries from the North. Despite a considerable and racist opposition, Fisk survived and expanded to become a university with strong emphasis on academic achievement. Fisk succeeded so well that it was able to inspire one of its undergraduates, W. E. B. DuBois, with a lifelong quest for excellence. In the early twentieth century Fisk's intellectual atmosphere attracted two of America's leading black scholars, James Weldon Johnson and Charles S. Johnson, to teach on the campus.

This book is primarily a chronological summary of the careers of the successive white presidents of Fisk and of the struggles and achievements during each of their tenures. There is abundant information on the evolving curriculum, the changing racial composition of the faculty, and the continuing fiscal crisis with which Fisk administrators struggled. It was fiscal crisis that inspired the Freedom Singers, whose tours are recounted here. There are brief and interesting mentions of the social science courses and the community outreach emphasis at Fisk. The chapter, "Student Revolt," looks into the complex mix of external and internal racial tensions and the puritanical and petty student conduct rules that led to protests and disturbances in the 1930s.

Readers will not, however, find a sustained analysis of the external and internal problems that Fisk encountered, nor will they find Fisk compared to other black schools of the South. More disturbing is the decision to end the book in 1946, the climactic year, when Charles S. Johnson was named the first black president and the exciting years of black liberation were just around the corner. The book also lacks a student perspective that would give insight into what it meant in the lives of the graduates to have been Fiskites.

That prejudice continued to hinder the advancement of black Americans after they earned college degrees is part of the dilemma examined by Alfred A. Moss in *The American Negro Academy*. Impetus for founding the ANA in 1897 came from the ascendancy of Booker T. Washington as the predominate black leader in America. To Alexander Crummel and W. E. B. DuBois this raised the fear that industrial education would soon eclipse classical education in the black colleges. Equally disturbing was Washington's apparent approval of compromise and acquiescence to the onrush of segregation coming from the state legislatures of the South. Believers in militant protest against injustice, the founders of the ANA pledged to promote publication by black scholars, to assist black youth to attain classical educations, and in general to refute racism through scholarship.

DuBois and Crummell were joined by men like John Cromwell, Francis J. Grimke, Carter G. Woodson, Alaine L. Locke, James Weldon Johnson, and Arthur W. Schomburg. They attended meetings where they presented and discussed scholarly papers, published twenty-two occasional papers, and articulated the viewpoint that only black America's educated elites, trained at universities and active in the professions, could lead the black masses and break down racist barriers. Hampered by sparse membership and a limited budget, the ANA was unable to influence in a major way either the black masses or white opinion. Its meetings were poorly attended and its publications of uneven quality. With new opportunities opening for membership in alternate organizations, interest in the ANA declined until it disbanded in 1928.

Alfred Moss has assembled an amazing array of primary and secondary materials on the ANA, and he tells his story well, with

clear prose and unusual analytic skill. This is especially true in the epilogue where he dissects the ANA's internal tensions and the changing fashions in scholarship that minimized its influence. Unfortunately, there are many sections of the book that are tedious. Moss rehashes overly long selections from minutes of meetings, who made and seconded motions, why meeting places were changed, papers presented and/or published, and assorted reactions to the papers. There is transmitted by this accurate and objective method a strong flavor of the original sources, but eventually there is a surfeit of flavor. Selectivity was needed. This book is too long, yet it has sections of superlative analytic history.

University of North Florida DANIEL SCHAFER

The Southern Common People: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Social History. Edited by Edward Magdol and Jon L. Wakelyn. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980. xii, 386 pp. Preface, tables, suggested readings, afterword, notes, index, contributors. $27.50.)

Professors Magdol and Wakelyn have focused their book on the social life and labor experiences of the great mass of whites in the South, the "common people." What the editors mean by "common people" is middle class, not poor, whites, and they are dealing with small farmers, herdsmen, and urban merchants and laborers. "Thus in defining the common people we have largely been guided by occupational and personal social relations" (xi).

The work is divided into two sections, one describing the life of the common people in the Old South, and the other depicting both the transition and departures they took in the New South. Each section contains an introductory essay and an annotated "suggested readings" section.

Part I has nine essays by well-known historians that range broadly in scope and geographical approach. Education, military commitment, religion, education, law and order, social and caste arrangements, and so on. An example is the essay by Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The Antebellum

Southern Herdsman: A Reinterpretation." They contend that the herdsman is a neglected figure among historians and deserves recognition for his large role in the Old South.

Part II has some solid, pioneering articles on what, in sum, amounts almost to a "new history," or, at least, a different estimate of what is important in history. As one might expect, there is material on Populists and organized labor (very good material in the form of articles by Leon Fink who discusses the Knights of Labor in Richmond, Virginia, and Lawrence C. Goodwyn who writes about the Populists and Negro rights in East Texas). Beyond that, Edward Magdol writes with insight in his "Against the Gentry: An Inquiry into a Southern Lower-Class Community and Culture, 1865-1870." Equally well done is Julie Roy Jeffrey's discussion of women in the Southern Farmers' Alliance.

In a brief but perceptive afterword, Professor Ira Berlin praises the work of Wakelyn and Magdol for what it does and for demonstrating how much remains to be done. This reviewer believes that the "common people" defy absolute definition and classification. Yet they can be studied, as these excellent articles demonstrate, as "parts," with close attention to time; and to chronology.

Florida State University WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment, Louisiana, 1887-1976. By Thomas Becnel. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xiii, 222 pp. Preface, chronology, abbreviations, prologue, essay on authorities, index. $20.00.)

Green Fields: Two Hundred Years of Louisiana Sugar. By the Center for Louisiana Studies. (Lafayette, Louisiana: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1980. xiv, 139 pp. Introduction, photos, illustrations, maps. $6.95.)

The last two decades have witnessed a veritable revolution in labor and working class historiography. Under the influence of social historians, anthropologists, and labor economists, there

has been an outpouring of literature on not only traditional subjects of labor history (unions and unionization) but also on non-traditional subjects such as preindustrial laborers, agricultural workers, and women workers. The results are impressive. Thomas Becnel's *Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment, Louisiana, 1887-1976* both reflects and retreats from these important historiographical directions. In nine chapters, a prologue, and an epilogue, Becnel traces the development of the sugar industry and outlines several decades of controversy between the industry and the agricultural work force. The focal point of the story is the sugar strike of 1953. Becnel narrates the role of the National Agricultural Workers Union of H. L. Mitchell, the Catholic church, and the opposition of the American Cane Growers Association. A particular strength of the book is Becnel's presentation of the dynamics of the Catholic church's social action program. Final chapters discuss the development of right to work legislation in the aftermath of the 1953 strike. Becnel has searched a range of manuscript sources including the Mitchell, papers and the Ellender papers, and he has gained access to otherwise closed resources of the Catholic church. Interviews are used to reconstruct important parts of the story, and he has read a number of state and local newspapers that covered the events. The research is impressive but, the book lacks the fresh conceptualization that the current trends in labor history permit. The discussions of the industry, the labor unions' organizing efforts, the role of Senator Ellender as friend of the industry, the participation of the church and of the strike itself are written almost as a number of one-act plays that happen to occur on the same stage. There is little attempt to weave the important descriptions into an entire play. Perhaps more notably, important actors in the development of this drama are left out. While Becnel has an obvious, and understandable sympathy for the sugar cane workers, we know very little about those workers, their daily lives, or their involvement in either the work process or the strike activity. They appear only as objects rather than as subjects. Given the importance of his subject for an understanding of the twentieth-century agricultural work patterns, such omissions are most disconcerting. Becnel's treatment of these matters would have benefited from a reading and use of the suggestive work of James Green on

southwestern socialism or in a more general way the seminal work of E. P. Thompson or his historiographical followers.

Becnel's work appears as part of a growing public interest in agricultural and labor history topics. The Center for Louisiana Studies has developed a travelling exhibit illustrating the historical development of Louisiana's sugar industry. The exhibit will include twenty-five panels depicting the technological transformation of the industry as well as the architectural story of the sugar plantation before and after the Civil War. *Green Fields: Two Hundred Years of Louisiana Sugar* is the catalog of that exhibit. The pictures are superb; a viewer of the pictures gains a vivid impression of the history of Louisiana sugar from its intricate production processes to its frequent pests. It is to be hoped that the display will have a wide audience both within and outside of the state of Louisiana. This catalog also includes eight brief interpretive essays which accompany the pictures. The essays relate historical developments, technical changes, architectural heritage, and marketing changes for the industry. From the standpoint of the historian the essays are best left unread; the panels and their accompanying captions tell a much better and far more appropriate story. By way of comparison, the editors of *Green Fields* acknowledge that, "quite early the decision was reached to limit the exhibit to history, technology and architecture" (viii). Thus, like Becnel in *Labor, Church, and the Sugar Establishment*, the workers are left out of the discussions. It is perhaps fitting commentary that in more than half of the display pictures, however, workers are present. Labor history, social history, and public interest in the pictorial past are all making important strides. Both of the works under review have much to offer in those directions; both, in quite different ways and for quite different reasons, have major omissions which limit their respective contributions.

Georgia College THOMAS F. ARMSTRONG

Blood Relations: The Rise and Fall of the du Ponts of Delaware. By Leonard Mosley. (New York: Atheneum, 1980. xii, 426 pp. Acknowledgments, genealogical tables, prologue, illustrations, source notes, index. $17.50.)

In *Blood Relations* Mosely has produced a family study which is both interesting and well written. He chronicles the du Ponts from the arrival on American soil of Pierre Samuel in January 1800, until the appointment of attorney Irving S. Shapiro, a non-du Pont, as chairman of the board of the Du Pont corporation in 1974. The traditional stories of the role of Du Pont gunpowder in the Civil, Spanish-American, and First World wars are retold, but with an emphasis upon the actions of the various members of the family who were involved.

Some of the time-honored but more lurid stories of the family are retold together with some new ones; few skeletons have been left hidden in family closets. Coleman du Pont is described as possessing an "unquenchable lust after good food, good drink, and bad women." The chapter "Coup de Grace for Uncle Fred," describes his demise as a result of actions by the madam of a Louisville brothel. Alfred's adulterous affairs are covered in detail, and his brother-in-law, the late Ed Ball of Jacksonville, is referred to as a confirmed bachelor "who cold-bloodedly regarded women as useful only for recreational and therapeutic purposes." The author's preoccupation with sins of the flesh detracts from his study; they seem more appropriate to a television soap opera.

In spite of its shortcomings Florida readers will find interest in the sections devoted to Alfred I., the "Florida du Pont." The stories of Alfred's squabbles with family members and his marital problems have been related in earlier works such as Marquis James's *Alfred I. du Pont, the Family Rebel,* and more recently in John D. Gates's *The du Post Family*. Mosely does offer insights, however, not found in the earlier works. In some areas Mosely arouses more curiousity than he satisfies. We are told that much of Florida's road building program of the 1930s was the result of the desire of Alfred I. du Pont to get his north Florida timber holdings to market. Alfred is described as "the strong man of Florida" and Ed Ball as the "fixer behind the scenes." Ball, who headed a lobby group called the "Gulf Coast Highway

Association," allegedly obtained legislative support for road construction by entertaining political leaders with "bourbon and nubile college cheerleaders." Titillating and provocative though such charges may be, Mosely does not offer sufficient documentation to back them up, and the reader is left with many more questions than answers. His accuracy in reporting such matters is certainly suspect when we read that Ball helped to get a road constructed from Suwannee County to the state capital "three hundred miles away." Mosely is somewhat remiss on his geography.

All in all, the reader is left with the realization that the final word on the Florida du Pont is yet to be written. What we see in this book is a mosaic of a complex man who had difficulties in keeping his personal and family life in order, but who showed considerable sensitivity toward company employees and the less-advantaged. Alfred I. du Pont lobbied actively in Delaware for pension plans for the aged, and he included the provision in his will that a large part of his estate would go to orphans in Delaware. At the same time he did not seem to be as concerned for the less-fortunate in his adopted state, Florida. Mrs. Du Pont's will and that of her brother, Ed Ball, did bequeath a large amount of money for handicapped children of Florida.

Florida State University EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

BOOK NOTES

Florida's Fabled Inns is by Louise K. Frisbie, the author of *Peace River Pioneers* and *Yesterday's Polk County*. Mrs. Frisbie notes in her lavishly illustrated book that the earliest travelers to Florida could find accommodations in the primitive inns in Pensacola and St. Augustine, but if they were fortunate they might be entertained in private homes. The oldest inn in Florida is the Ximenez-Fatio House in St. Augustine. It is now owned by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America of the State of Florida. Two Georgians, William G. Dawson and Stephen E. Buckles, were among the earliest settlers in Jacksonville. They operated a store and erected a small frame house near the St. Johns River crossing where travelers could spend the night. The Florida census of 1850 lists some thirty innkeepers. Most of their hotels operated on the American plan with meals included in the daily or weekly rates. The dining rooms also received local guests; the independent restaurant was not much in evidence in Florida until the end of the nineteenth century. The era of the great resort hotels in Florida began after the Civil War. The first was the St. James Hotel in Jacksonville. It became nationally known, and many celebrities were guests there. Jacksonville was then the tourist center of Florida. From there visitors could travel by boat up the St. Johns and Oklawaha rivers. There were small resort hotels along the rivers to accommodate the travelers. Henry M. Flagler and Henry B. Plant were the great railroad and hotel builders of nineteenth-century Florida. The Plant System developed in the central part of the state and along the west coast; Flagler's system ran south from Jacksonville to Miami, and later to Key West. These two entrepreneurs also built lavish hotels. The most famous of Plant's operations was the Tampa Bay Hotel, now the University of Tampa. With its great Moorish towers, it was considered one of America's most beautiful buildings. The Ponce de Leon in St. Augustine was the most famous of Flagler's hotels. It cost $2,500,000 to build, and is today Flagler College. The Alcazar and Cordova in St. Augustine were also Flagler hotels. His chain included the Continental at Atlantic Beach, the

Ormond Beach Hotel, Royal Poinciana and Breakers at Palm Beach, and the Royal Palm in Miami. Included in Mrs. Frisbie's account of hotels and hotel builders, is the history of some of the famous brothels which operated in earlier years in Florida. In Ybor City there was the Melville Club, and Hilda Raymond's house. Gertie Walsh operated in a Victorian mansion on Flagler Street and later moved to a place on the Miami River which included a berth alongside for yachts. In Jacksonville, Cora Taylor, who married the writer Stephen Crane, operated two elegant bordellos: the Hotel de Dream and the Court. Published by Imperial Publishing Company, Box 120, Bartow, Florida 33830, *Florida's Fabled Inns* sells for $12.95.

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Tampa, James W. Covington of the history faculty of that institution wrote the history of the institution. His book, *Under the Minarets: The University of Tampa Celebrates Fifty Years of Progress: 1931-1981*, was published by the University of Tampa. Moorish minarets graced the lavish Tampa Bay Hotel constructed by Henry B. Plant; the old hotel is now the main university building. Mrs. Plant sold it and adjacent properties in 1905 to the city of Tampa for $125,000. It was operated as a hotel until 1929. In the meantime, a committee was formed in Tampa in July 1931 to develop a junior college until a four-year institution could be established. There was no money for faculty salaries; there was only the promise that if a surplus was accumulated it would be divided equally among the teachers. Courses were sparse that first year: rhetoric, composition, Latin, French, German, and Spanish, European history, and a handful of offerings in the mathematics and sciences. Many students found it difficult to meet tuition payments, but the college accepted notes, insurance policies, and deeds on homes in lieu of money. The profits from the first year, $700, were divided proportionately among the faculty according to class hours taught. One teacher reported that he was paid $52.00 for nine-months work. The college used the Hillsborough High School the first year, but when the city of Tampa offered the Tampa Bay Hotel for one dollar per year the college decided to move to that location. It opened there in the fall of 1933. Dr. Covington utilized college records, newspapers, and oral history interviews to secure the information that

he needed for his history. He shows how the University of Tampa has developed over half a century into an institution with a large physical plant, a good library, excellent facilities, an athletic program, and a quality faculty. It also plays an active role in providing community services to the Tampa Bay area. *Under the Minarets* is available from the University of Tampa, Tampa, Florida 33606; the price is $12.50.

Florida historians, particularly those interested in the early history of the southern part of the state, will refer to *Miami, Florida: Early Families and Records* compiled by Oby J. Bonawit. It is also useful for genealogical research. In 1821 when Florida became an American territory there were three families living on Biscayne Bay near the Miami River. One was John Egan who had migrated from St. Augustine in 1806. Two years later he received a Spanish land grant. Mr. Bonawit provides information on many early Dade County families, including the Adam C. Richards, Michael Oxar, the Frows, Robert H. Thompson, Julia Tuttle, Charles Peacock, Ralph M. Munroe, the Newbolds, and others. Land records, cemetery records, telephone directories, correspondence, legal records, and deeds are some of the primary sources which Bonawit utilized. A list of early Miami pioneers was published in the *Miami Herald* in 1935, and is reproduced in this volume. There is also a name index. The volume may be purchased from the author, 12030 S.W. 68th Street, Miami, Florida 33156. It sells for $16.50 to individuals, and $12.00 to libraries.

St. Petersburg's Architectural and Historic Resources is a report on the survey of St. Petersburg properties dating prior to December 31, 1939, which have potential historic and/or architectural significance. Published by the Planning Division, Community Development Department, City of St. Petersburg, this document also provides guidelines for governmental agencies, professionals, and citizens interested in the identification, evaluation, and preservation of potential significant sites and districts in the area. In addition to a brief history of St. Petersburg and a listing of the architectural styles of the various buildings (the majority of which are Mediterranean Revival), it provides a number of policy recommendations. The appendices list all of the build-

ings surveyed, showing site name, location, year built, style, present use, significance, and a notation showing its architectural and/or historical importance. *Historic Resources* can be obtained from the St. Petersburg Planning Division, Box 2842, St. Petersburg, Florida 33731, at a cost of $5.00.

"Gate City" Route, South Florida Railroad, is the most recent facsimile published by the Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company in its Historic Byways of. Florida series. It is a reproduction of the 1887 edition, and includes an introduction by V. O. Coshow, who briefly describes the development of the Plant System into central Florida. In 1883, the Plant Investment Company purchased a three-fifths interest in the South Florida Railroad. Construction of this line had begun in 1880 when former President Ulysses S. Grant, touring Florida at that time, threw out the first ceremonial spadeful of dirt. The *Boston Herald* owned the railroad. The road from Sanford reached Orlando in October 1880. When Henry Plant acquired the property he developed it on into Tampa. Later his company purchased the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway. After his death in 1899, the Plant System merged with the Atlantic Coast Line. *"Gate City" Route* provides information about the area of Florida through which the railroad traveled, together with interesting vintage pictures showing early hotels and tourist sites. It may be ordered from the Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company, Box 3503, DeLand, Florida 32720, and the price is $6.95.

E. W. Carswell of Milton, Florida, has been collecting folklore and stories about Florida for many years, and for the past decade he has been publishing this material in a series of biweekly articles in the *Pensacola Journal.* Two recent books include some of these columns. The first is *Commotion in the Magnolia Tree,* and the second is *He Sold No 'Shine Before Its Time.* Both were compiled and edited by Ray Reynolds. The illustrations are by Harely Hall. The emphasis is on west Florida. The stories mainly involve people and places, but there are also valuable comments about the wildlife, insects, and flora of the region. Judge Carswell recounts some of his famous hunting and fishing stories. The publications sell for $2.95 each, and

are being distributed by Taylor Publications, Route 3, Dogwood Lakes, Bonifay, Florida 32425. A third recent publication of Judge Carswell is his *Possum Cookbook*. It is a humorous look at the animal inspired by the annual Possum Auction that is part of the Wausau Funday festivities. It includes many recipes for preparing possum and accompanying dishes. The price is $2.95, and it is also distributed by Taylor Publications.

The History of Jupiter Lighthouse, by Bessie Wilson Du Bois, is a reprint from *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida* (XX, 1960). For more than 120 years, the lighthouse has warned approaching ships of the treacherous reefs located near the shipping lanes in the Gulf Stream. During the Civil War, the lighthouse was darkened when Confederates removed and hid the lenses. It was relighted in June 1866, and it has continued in operation ever since. Mrs. Du Bois, a native of Jupiter, has written a fascinating account of the lighthouse and the men who supervised its operation. One of the first was James A. Armour, and his daughter, born in 1868, was the first white child born in the area. She in time became the wife of the next keeper of Jupiter Lighthouse. The pamphlet may be purchased from Mrs. Du Bois, 18045 DuBois Road, Jupiter, Florida 33458, or from Florida Classics Library, Box 777, Port Salerno, Florida 33492. It sells for $2.50, plus postage of 39¢.

The Catlin Genealogy was compiled by Louise Catlin Cleaver Roloson who, before her death in 1974 at the age of ninety-three, lived in the Melbourne area. Joanne Galbroner Kirchman has edited the manuscript for publication. It shows that John Catlin was probably the first of his family to arrive in America from England. He settled in Connecticut, and from this line descended many distinguished Americans, including George Catlin the well-known artist and author. *The Catlin Genealogy* was published under the auspices of the Kellersberger Fund of the South Brevard Historical Society. It may be ordered from that organization in Melbourne, Florida. The price is $12.95.

Daphne M. Brownell in three previously published monographs reported on the results of her examination of inscriptions

and records from twenty-seven cemeteries in the western part of Volusia County. *Volume Four, Cemetery Inscriptions* lists inscriptions and records from six cemeteries in east Volusia County. Mrs. Brownell provides an index which makes this a very useful document for historical and genealogical research. The Kellersberger Fund, South Brevard Historical Society, published this volume which sells for $6.95.

Melbourne, Florida, Postal History, 1880-1980, was compiled by Fred A. Hopwood and was also published by the Kellersberger Fund, South Brevard Historical Society. This is a larger edition of an earlier study published privately by the author in June 1980 as his gift to the community in honor of its centennial. Melbourne's first post office was established in 1880 in a trading post run by Cornthwaite John Hector, a native of Melbourne, Australia. Hector's store was at the mouth of Crane Creek. Mail in those days came from New Smyrna to Titusville and then was transferred by boat to Melbourne. When the Florida East Coast Railroad reached the Melbourne area in 1893, mail service became more regular. Before Civil Service the position of postmaster was a Federal political appointment, and replacements occurred as new administrations were elected to office in Washington. As a result there was a long and frequently changing list of postmasters in Melbourne. Mr. Hopwood brings his Melbourne postal history up to 1977, when Maxwell E. Scott was appointed postmaster. The book sells for $6.95.

The Charm of the Bear Claw Necklace: A Story of Stone Age Southeastern Indians, by Margaret Z. Searcy, tells of two Indians, brother and sister. It describes their activities and the problems and dangers which they and their family encountered. They lived during the time which anthropologists describe as the Archaic Period. Mrs. Searcy's previous book, *Ikwa of the Temple Mounds,* was awarded the Charlton W. Tebeau Prize by the Florida Historical Society. *The Charm of the Bear Claw Necklace,* a children's book, was published by the University of Alabama Press, Box 2877, University, Alabama 35486; the price $9.50.

Behind The Big Top, by David Lewis Hammarstrom, is the

story of many of the most celebrated circus people and their organizations. It describes the Ringling brothers, particularly Charles and John Ringling, who played an important role in the history of Florida. They owned extensive properties on the Gulf coast and built lavish homes in Sarasota. The Sarasota area also became winter headquarters for their circus. Published by A. S. Barnes and Company, Cranbury, New Jersey, *Behind The Big Top* sells for $19.95.

American Indian Leaders, Studies in Diversity is a collection of essays edited by R. David Edmunds. Several relate to the southeast, including "Alexander McGillivray," written by Michael D. Green. Educated in Charleston, McGillivray became a Creek Indian chief and served as an important protector of his people's interest in the years following the American Revolution. He maneuvered American and Spanish officials to his own advantage, and it was because of his cooperation that the Panton, Leslie Company became such a major force in the economic life of Florida at the end of the eighteenth century. The essays on John Ross by Gary Moulton and on Dennis Bushyhead by Craig Miner describe the lives of two Indian leaders who played major roles in the history of the Cherokee Indians. Ross fought to keep his people from being removed from their homes in Georgia and Tennessee to Oklahoma. Bushyhead also struggled to strengthen the position of the Cherokees, believing that their only chance for survival lay in developing a partnership with the business community, mainly the railroad and mining companies. This paperback history was published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska 68588, and it sells for $5.95.

The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954-1980, by Harvard Sitkoff, includes information about civil rights activities in Florida. In February 1960, Florida A & M students supported demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, by staging their own non-violent sit-in at the Woolworth store in Tallahassee. Later they were joined by white supporters from Florida State University. A second demonstration a week later brought in the police. The pace of sit-ins and arrests in Tallahassee quickened, culminating in a protest march of nearly 1,000

students, both white and black. Other Florida incidents are also noted, including the pistol-whipping of a young demonstrator in Jacksonville, the jailing of Freedom Riders during the summer of 1961, and the voter-registration campaign and statewide demonstrations against segregation in 1963. Hill and Wang, New York, published this study; the paperback edition sells for $6.95.

From Cotton to Quail, An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967, by Clifford Paisley (reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, July 1969, pp. 80-82), is available in a paperback edition. It is a Florida State University book, published by the University Presses of Florida. The price is $10.00.