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BOOKS REVIEWS

José de Ezpeleta, Gobernador de la Mobila, 1780-1781. By Francisco de Borja Medina Rojas. (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1980. lxxxii, 869 pp. Preface, introduction, biography of subject, acknowledgments, notes, maps; tables, appendices, bibliography, index.)

In spite of his well-known heradlic motto *Yo Solo* ("I Alone"), Bernardo de Gálvez had the aid of some 8,000 of his compatriots in conquering Britain's West Florida colony during the American Revolution. Father de Borja Medina Rojas considers one of these persons in an 869-page work. It is concerned, incredibly, with only one of the eighty-one years in the distinguished life of José de Ezpeleta, when, as a young colonel in 1781, he governed Mobile and assisted in the fall of Pensacola.

Although Ezpeleta conducted himself gallantly and effectively at Pensacola, in the tale of Spanish triumph on the Gulf coast, his able governorship of Mobile between March 1780 and the spring of 1781, was more significant. The consequences of failure in this less glamorous task would have been extremely serious for the Spanish cause. British recapture of Mobile would have facilitated an attempt on New Orleans, evoked increased support, from Indians already inclined in general to the British, and enabled John Campbell, West Florida's military commander, to spare the men and materials necessary for building a battery on Santa Rosa Island. Ultimately the lack of such a battery, more than any other single omission, doomed Pensacola.

Borja Medina elaborates Ezpeleta's difficulties in retaining Mobile. Pay and food arrived only fitfully for garrison troops who were, thanks to a notoriously unhealthy location, also chronically prey to disease. In addition, the local Indians, under British leadership, harassed them while the British residents in the Mobile district violated their oaths of loyalty to Spain by helping their fellow Britons at Pensacola. From there, the last British stronghold in West Florida, came attacks on Mobile itself by sea, and by land, on the village to its east. The latter was a vital post for the Spanish because it protected the cattle

herds which sustained the Mobile garrison from British and Indian raiders. Not only did Ezpeleta surmount all these difficulties but also, when Gálvez called on him, he was ready with 600 troops to help reduce Pensacola.

Borja Medina quotes at length from thoroughly researched British and Spanish manuscripts, giving much detail never before printed and very useful to the West Florida specialist, about rations, regiments, contractors, deserters, and Indians. The strength of the military narrative will hold the interest of many readers.

The author's impartiality is admirable. Although he rightly lauds Ezpeleta, he also admits his faults: for instance, inadvertently, and perhaps a little gullibly, he sent false intelligence (derived from deserters) to Gálvez. Nor does he gloss over the interservice rivalry and overestimates of British naval capability which almost caused the Spanish campaign to fail. His treatment of the British is likewise balanced. He blames Campbell's faulty Indian policy on excessive concern with expenditure, but he explains his difficulties and gives the British full credit for skill and bravery where it is justified. In particular he does not neglect, as other writers have, the very valuable services of Britons like Joseph Pinhorn and Farquhar Bethune who worked among the Indians and who had the tough job of getting them to fight alongside the redcoats. A difficulty of Campbell's which he does ignore was the low priority which West Florida had for the higher British authorities. The commercially unprofitable province was prized less than any of the sugar islands, which explains the half-hearted naval support which Campbell received from Jamaica.

The value of this book is further enhanced by its fifty maps, mostly rare reproductions from Spanish archives. It is an important work which confirms the high reputation of Gálvez, in spite of his deliberate deception of both naval and military colleagues, and commands a new respect for his subordinate, Governor Ezpeleta, who was a more conventional strategist than Gálvez but an exceedingly talented military administrator.

Auburn University

ROBIN F. A. FABEL

Sun, Sand and Water: A History of the Jacksonville District U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1821-1975. By George E. Buker. (Jacksonville: Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, 1981. xiv, 288 pp. Acknowledgment, foreword, biographical sketch, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

This history is one of several that the Army Corps of Engineers has contracted to have written in recent years. Like the others, this one is an attractive book with a colorful binding, large pages, and many maps and illustrations. Written by George E. Buker, a former aviator in the United States Navy and presently chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Jacksonville University, this account provides Florida readers with information about many projects that have aided in the development of the state. None of the great Florida ports— Jacksonville, Tampa, or Miami— could accommodate today's big ships if the Army Corps of Engineers had not dredged their channels and built protecting jetties. The corps has also spent millions of dollars on flood control, intracoastal waterways, beach restoration, the space center at Cape Canaveral, and the aborted Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

Although the Jacksonville District was not formally organized until 1908, army engineer activities began in Florida even before annexation. Accompanying General Andrew Jackson on his controversial raid into Spanish Florida, Lieutenant James Gadsden built a fort on the Apalachicola River, and Captain Hugh Young wrote a useful report describing the terrain. Soon after annexation in 1821 Congress ordered the army engineers to determine the feasibility of a cross-Florida canal. Despite the corps's discouraging report, Congress again and again authorized new surveys of possible routes.

The Army Corps of Engineers has long had a predominantly civilian character. Most of its missions have been in connection with proposed public works; most of its personnel, except for its commanding officers, have been civilian. Nevertheless, the corps has had important military tasks. Buker describes the building of frontier forts during the Seminole War and the construction of more formidable fortresses at Key West and Dry Tortugas. Because of its climate Florida offered ideal training

conditions for aviators during World War II, and the Army Corps of Engineers provided facilities with impressive speed.

Buker's notes reveal careful research, mostly in the printed reports of the corps. The author finds much to praise and practically nothing to condemn in the record of the engineers. Discussing drainage and flood control, he says that Governor Napoleon Broward and his successors "brought ecological disaster to south Florida," but that the Jacksonville District Engineers "studying the multitudinous factors of nature's balance, are gradually redressing the equation" (p. 111). This seems much too simple. The state government certainly made many mistakes, but the corps also blundered. The channelization of the Kissimmee River provides one example of this; the Four River Basins project, at least in some of its components, may be another.

The corps has had an ambiguous record on environmental issues because like all military outfits it is trained not to question orders but to obey them. Those orders have come mostly from Congress, and until recently Congress has demonstrated more concern for political advantage than for ecology. When congress changed the rules of the game and required the corps to study the environmental impact of its projects, the engineers began to do so with characteristic thoroughness. They have been particularly diligent in carrying out their recently assigned duty of protecting the wetlands,

Buker might well have analyzed the whole problem of the corps's relations with Congress. For many decades river and harbor bills provided the opportunity for pork barrel politics whereby congressmen obtained appropriations to benefit their local districts; more recently flood control bills have been used in this way. The corps's functions have been to make feasibility studies and then to build whichever projects are authorized. Supposedly the feasibility studies are based upon cold-blooded engineering and economic analysis, but is this always so? The measuring stick is the ratio of benefits to costs: the project must bring annual dollar benefits at least equal to the annual costs of building and maintaining it. But sometimes when the political demand for a project becomes strong enough, the corps's benefit-cost ratio seems to bend a little. Consider particularly the cross-Florida canal project which for decades was considered

economically unfeasible by the engineers but was finally recommended during the eras of Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy – presidents who wanted the projects built for their own political reasons.

Although historians may wish that Dr. Buker had been somewhat more critical, they will find a great deal of interest about Florida's past in this volume, which is well organized and clearly written. It contains many fascinating drawings and maps, although not all of them have reproduced well.

Deerfield Beach, Florida

NELSON M. BLAKE

The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650. Edited by K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979. xiv, 326 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, index. \$19.95.)

This is a collection of fourteen essays dedicated as a homage volume to David Beers Quinn by his English, Irish, and North American associates and former students. It was written upon the occasion of his retirement from the University of Liverpool in 1976, and the fifteenth section of the book comprises a bibliography of Quinn's works to that date. Professor Quinn, a notable scholar in the field of early English North American expansion, passed a busy retirement after that time. Among other works, he published *North America from Earliest Discovery to First Settlements* in 1977.

The essays touch upon topics almost as diverse as the English, North American, and Caribbean colonies themselves. Altogether, they exhibit the broader view of colonial studies seen in later efforts of the imperial school of American history and the deepening scholarship of Professor Quinn and his associates. In a fine introduction, J. H. Parry leads the way into consideration of comparative colonization, including examination of Spanish and French efforts. Some of the contributions follow his lead.

Although K. R. Andrews briefly mentions the sixteenth-century Franco-Spanish clash in Florida in his essay "The English in the Caribbean, 1560-1620," the chapter of more im-

portance and interest to students of Florida history is Paul Hulton's "Images of the New World: Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and John White." This essay describes and contrasts the work of two artists who accompanied key expeditions of New World exploration and attempted settlement.

Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, a native of Dieppe, sailed with René de Laudonnière to Florida in 1564, and remained there during the life of the French establishment at Fort Caroline. John White, who had evidently sailed with Frobisher in 1577, went to the Carolina Outer Banks with Grenville in 1585. Both men dedicated themselves to record their impressions of the land and Indian peoples they saw.

A cloud has recently obscured the accuracy and utility of Jacques Le Moyne's drawings of the Florida Indians. Until recent years, only one original was known: the miniature of the Indian Athore pointing out Jean Ribault's column on the St. Johns River. Otherwise, Le Moyne's work had only been known indirectly, through two of White's watercolors and forty-two engravings published by Theodore De Bry in 1591 and issued in various editions since. Fifty-nine original plant drawings, by Le Moyne were purchased by the British Museum in 1962, but the Florida Indian drawings published by De Bry display obvious errors: Indian women with blond hair and other European features, the use of European tools and baskets, etc.

Hulton theorizes that only a small part of Le Moyne's Florida work escaped with him when Pedro Menéndez's Spaniards took Fort Caroline in September 1565. He believes that Le Moyne then used his journal and his recollections to reconstruct the drawings. In that event, the White watercolors of the Florida Indians, done from a Le Moyne original, are more faithful to Timucuan ethnographic models than the De Bry engravings.

Both White and Le Moyne were patronized by Sir Walter Raleigh. John White's work, most useful for viewing the life of the vanished Algonquian Indians, ended as he dedicated his time to service as governor of the ill-fated Roanoke colony. He escaped safely, but no other artistic work has survived. Jacques Le Moyne was last heard from in 1593, when he directed a letter to Hakluyt from Ireland.

This book will interest scholars of colonial history and Florida studies. Its essays are unfailingly stimulating.

Vero Beach, Florida

EUGENE LYON

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 5, August 16-December 31, 1776. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1979. xxx, 767 pp. Foreword, editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. \$11.25.)

The four and one-half months of the life of the Continental Congress documented by this volume were a period of uncertain improvisation in finance, military administration, maritime security, and diplomacy, and they were also a time of military adversity (Howe's capture of New York and northern New Jersey). A large portion of the letters in volume 5 either report the delegates' perception of these events or describe Congress's role in directing the revolutionary struggle in the immediate aftermath of the Declaration of Independence. Particularly valuable are the letters of two "Secret Committees" dealing with internal security and military supply and with diplomacy. By far the most valuable group of documents is some forty letters written primarily or entirely by William Hooper of North Carolina. Along with Francis Lightfoot Lee of Virginia, Hooper was the only other delegate to attend every session of Congress during this four and one-half month period (there is a useful list of delegates including the dates of their election and attendance in the front of each volume in this series).

Priding himself on his diligence and superior knowledge of events, Hooper sought to place his intelligence at the disposal of leaders in North Carolina who were the recipients of his longest and most detailed letters. Hooper's 3,000-word epistle, dated October 26, to the North Carolina Provincial Congress not only contained a prescient, if overly optimistic, assessment of Howe's capture of New York ("Were we disgraced? No! We retreated in a manner that would have honoured a Roman General.") but also contained a long and thoughtful analysis

of constitutional government which extrapolated from British history a strategy for American constitution making. Assuming, he wrote, that "virtue, wisdom, and power" were "the Characteristics of perfect Government" and furthermore that the people possessed virtue while a small number of persons with "superiour Talents or better opportunities for Improvement" were capable of wisdom, the key to the creative use of power lay in creating a "middle class" of politically capable citizens, "the hand which holds a pair of scales between the *One & the many*. . . Might not this or something like it serve as a Model for us?" Here is an exceptionally sophisticated version of what Gordon S. Wood calls the "Whig conception of politic" which dominated the early stages of the Revolution. Moreover, in Hooper's intriguing notion of "middle class" politics is a hint of the realism which, in Wood's view, broke the classical Whig position into a fragmented, realistic political theory by the 1780s.

Hooper's isolation in Philadelphia during the drafting of the North Carolina constitution was frustrating to be sure, but it also gave him a sense of the grand sweep of events which those engaged in provincial politics or the military struggle could not have achieved. In Congress's very isolation can be found one of the origins of American federalism; students who wish to reconstruct the pivotal place of Congress in the Revolution can now do so in part because the publication of volume 5 of the *Letters* coincided with that of Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress*. Three of Rakove's chapters—VI, "A Lengthening War," IX, "The Beginnings of National Government," and X, "Ambition and Responsibility: An Essay on Revolutionary Politics"—probe deeply the correspondence of delegates in late 1776 and comprise a superb companion to this volume of the *Letters*. These months in the life of Congress, Rakove argues, "marked a first though tentative step toward an era when the pursuit of office and the exercise of power would become far more demanding and when politics would ultimately become both an occupation and a career."

University of North Carolina at Greensboro ROBERT M. CALHOON

The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South. By J. Leitch Wright, Jr. (New York: The Free Press, 1981. xi, 372 pp. List of maps and illustrations, preface and acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, abbreviations used in notes, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

The history of the southern Indians, and of the Old South, has been a tale told by three teams of blind Hindus, severally examining an elephant, an ostrich, and an armadillo. The Old South was a long trunk here, tiny wings there, and a bony back over yonder.

I realized that this was the case in 1970, when I organized a symposium for the Southern Anthropological Society entitled "Red, White, and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South." The optimism of youth led me to expect that once the pluralistic nature of the Old South was discussed by scholars from many fields, then it would only be a matter of time before this unruly state of affairs would be tamed by normal scholarship. But no such scholarly domestication occurred.

It has been a long wait, but now I am pleased to be able to say that in *The Only Land They Knew* Leitch Wright has produced a sound general historical treatment of the Indians of the Old South. In all honesty, it betrays no obvious intellectual debt to the "Red, White, and Black" symposium, but it clearly achieves the kind of history which that symposium called for.

After briefly examining the prehistory of the southern Indians and their basic cultural and social institutions, Wright examines both Spain's initial failures and later successes at colonizing and missionizing the South. This story has been told before, but it is a piece of history that is all too often slighted in our history textbooks. He then briefly tells the story of Indian-European relations in early Florida, Virginia, and Carolina.

Wright makes two major contributions in this book. The first is when he broaches the subject of the enslavement of the southern Indians, first by the Spanish, but more particularly by the English in Virginia and South Carolina. Few people are aware that southern Indians were enslaved along with blacks

from Africa, and of those who are aware of it, few realize its magnitude or importance.

Adult Indian slaves in the South were predominantly female. Indian males who were captured were usually killed or shipped to the sugar plantations in the West Indies. Because Indian female slaves were already in the quarters when male Africans arrived, Wright argues that the sexual ratio of slaves in the South was closer to normal than elsewhere in the New World, and that this is the reason why the population of "Negroes" in the South increased so rapidly. Also, Wright lays to rest the myth that Indians were undesirable slaves because they were likely to escape and rejoin their kinsmen in the interior. Even when an Indian was sufficiently skilled in living off of the land, if he escaped, he was likely to be intercepted by Yamasees or other Indians who worked as slave-catchers for the colonists. Moreover, he makes clear the economic motives of the Indians who caught and sold neighboring Indians into slavery. It is simply that a single slave could be sold for as much as could be had for an entire year of hunting deer for their skins.

A second major contribution is Wright's discussion of how the Indians became incorporated into the Old South economically, socially, and culturally. Indians became hunters, horse-thieves, agriculturalists, cattle drovers, potters, wolf-hunters, and so on. Their genes not only entered the "Negro" population, but the "white" as well, in that there were far more mestizos in the Old South than is commonly realized. His chapter "Br'er Rabbit at the Square Ground," dealing with Indian-African social and cultural relations, is a delight.

In two respects the book is limited. It does not discuss the removal of the southern Indians, even though the title of the book will probably lead most readers to expect it. And while coverage of the Spanish and English colonial experience is full, relatively little is said about the French. These limitations aside, Leitch Wright's book belongs on the shelves of all historians and anthropologists who are interested in the colonial South.

University of Georgia

CHARLES HUDSON

Shucks, Shocks, and Hominy Blocks: Corn as a Way of Life in Pioneer America. By Nicholas P. Hardeman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xii, 271 pp. Preface, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Finally, a long overdue social history of corn, the great American food crop, has been written. Neglected by historians in favor of commercial crops like wheat, cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco, corn, which was grown largely for domestic consumption, has only recently begun to attract the attention of scholars. In 1972, Sam B. Hilliard revealed for the first time in *Hogmeat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* that corn was the largest and most valuable crop produced in the South during the era of slavery. Two years later, botanist Paul Mangelsdorf examined the ancestry and traced the development of the modern plant in *Corn, Its Origin, Evolution and Improvement*. Prior to the publication of Professor Hardeman's *Shucks, Shocks and Hominy Blocks*, no one had studied the influence of the corn crop upon nineteenth-century American society.

After relating what is known about the ancestry and evolution of the corn plant, Dr. Hardeman describes the several varieties that European settlers obtained from the Indians, as well as the methods of cultivation employed by the original inhabitants in growing the all-important food crop. Because the corn plant reached maturity very rapidly, grew well under an extraordinary range of soils, elevations, and temperatures, produced much greater yields than European small grains, and because it could be stored undamaged for years, crops of corn supplied the basic food requirements of frontiersmen and pioneer farmers from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes. According to Dr. Hardeman, corn's abundant yields rendered North America exempt from the famines that periodically afflicted the inhabitants of Asia, Africa and Europe.

In all regions of the United States farmers cultivated corn to feed themselves and their livestock no matter what their cash crops may have been. Consequently, northern wheat farmers, and southern cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco planters shared a common experience which differentiated them from agriculturists in other parts of the world. Therefore, the culture of southern white farmers, plantation slaves, and even plantation owners,

had many points in common with each other, as well as with northern agriculturists, because of the universality of the corn crop.

With humor, imagination, and delightful pen-and-ink sketches, Professor Hardeman explains how farmers of the last century planted, cultivated, harvested, stored, and utilized their crops of corn. He traced the development of tools and implements from the pointed sticks of the Indians through the iron hoe of the frontiersman to horse-drawn twin-row planters and cultivators of the 1860s and 1870s. His account of the problems farmers in all sections of the country experienced while growing their crops is particularly interesting. Imagine, for example, quail and dove being so abundant as to be considered pests like crows and blackbirds because they threatened the freshly-planted corn fields! Equally vivid are his descriptions of harvesting, shucking, and shelling the dry corn, and the husking bees and frolics that made community fun out of hard labor. Dr. Hardeman's account of the methods employed by antebellum farmers for storing ears of dry corn and of their ingenious systems for defending the corn cribs against rats, squirrels, and other pests is both interesting and amusing. He relates that it was customary to pen cats in the corn cribs, but he somehow overlooked the deep South practice of keeping king snakes in the cribs to destroy rats, mice, and the rattlesnakes which sometimes sought shelter under the crib floor.

Naturally Professor Hardeman gives deserved attention to the national drink, corn whiskey— or bourbon to the more sophisticated. From colonial times onward farmers of the interior turned their surplus corn into easily portable whiskey, as well as into such self-transporting products as cattle, hogs, geese, and turkeys. He relates how the Indians, and then the whites, fermented their beverages, and describes the technological progress made in distilling during the early nineteenth century. The invention of charred oaken barrels to remove impurities and improve the taste of whiskey was, of course, one of mankind's great steps forward.

Superbly written and full of human interest, Professor Hardeman's work is a model for modern social historians to imitate. Both professional historians and people who read

history only for entertainment will find much to enjoy in this biography of corn.

Florida State University

JOHN HEBRON MOORE

Mary Chestnut's Civil War. Edited by C. Vann Woodward. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. lviii, 886 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, photos, illustrations, index. \$29.95.)

Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Biography. By Elisabeth Muhlenfeld. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xv, 271 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, photos, notes, list of sources, index. \$20.00.)

In 1905 a series of magazine articles and then a book, by Mary Boykin Chesnut, appeared under the title *A Diary from Dixie*. This so-called diary gave an intimate and convincing picture of life in the Confederacy and especially in its highest governmental circles. Here was material for the novelist, material that Margaret Mitchell used in her *Gone with the Wind* and Ben Ames Williams in his *House Divided*. Williams discovered that the editors of the *Diary* had published only a small part of what Mrs. Chesnut had written— and none of it that might reflect on the southern cause or on Mrs. Chesnut's image as a southern lady.

So Williams brought out a new edition (1949), which, though still selective, was more than half again as long and contained scandal and gossip that the previous editors had decorously omitted. Mrs. Chesnut now revealed herself as, at heart, both a feminist and an abolitionist. After seeing a black woman sold at auction, she had written: "My very soul sickened. It was too dreadful. I tried to reason. You know how women sell themselves and are sold in marriage, from queens downwards, eh? You know what the Bible says about slavery, and marriage." On another occasion she wrote: "Under slavery, we live surrounded by prostitutes. . . . Like the patriarchs of old, our men live all in one house with their wives and their concubines; and the mulattoes one sees in every family partly resemble

the white children. Any lady is ready to tell you who is the father of all the mulatto children in everybody's household but her own." Historians as well as fictionists looked to the Williams edition as a valuable and reliable source. The literary critic Edmund Wilson, in his 1962 study of Civil War literature, *Patriotic Gore*, praised the *Diary* as a "work of art" and a "masterpiece." Wilson called for the publication of the "extraordinary document" in its entirety.

Now the distinguished historian of the South, C. Vann Woodward has responded to that challenge with a tome that he has titled *May Chesnut's Civil War* instead of *A Diary from Dixie*. He explains that Mrs. Chesnut disliked the word "Dixie" and, more important, that her work in its final form is only a "simulated diary," not a genuine one. It now appears that during the war she kept a journal irregularly, and that afterwards she filled in its gaps from letters, memoranda, and newspaper clippings. Again and again she rewrote the story of her wartime experiences, continuing to present it in pretended day-by-day entries while striving to heighten the dramatic effect. She made her last revision in the 1880s, two decades after the events she was relating. Woodward has reproduced this final version of the manuscript, and in it he has incorporated (with symbols to indicate) passages from earlier versions and from surviving portions of the original journal where he thinks these add significantly to the presentation.

What made Mrs. Chesnut what she was? Where did this "elite member of a slave society" get her feminism and abolitionism? How did this provincial person acquire her "cosmopolitanism of outlook"? She is remembered only for what she wrote about the Civil War. "But one cannot read more than a page or two without wishing to know more about the author herself," as her biographer Elisabeth Muhlenfeld points out. Muhlenfeld, now a member of the English department at Florida State University, arrived as a graduate student at the University of South Carolina in 1975, when Woodward was beginning his work on the Chesnut manuscripts there. Apparently the meeting proved mutually beneficial. Muhlenfeld offers Woodward her "very special thanks," and in a foreword to her book he says she compelled him "to acknowledge that he was dealing with a literary as

well as a historical document." Her biography admirably supplements his edition of the "diary."

Muhlenfeld concedes that the information she has had to go on is "scant," for Mrs. Chesnut kept no diaries and preserved few other personal records except for the war period. Though rather brief and general, the biography nevertheless presents a lifelike portrait. Daughter of a wealthy South Carolina planter who served as governor and United States Senator, Mary Boykin Miller attended Madame Talvande's French School for Young Ladies in Charleston and then, at the age of seventeen, married a wealthy South Carolina planter's son who was also to be a United States Senator. She was short and hardly beautiful but handsome, witty, flirtatious, and attractive to men. Childless, living for years with the family of her husband, who was often absent, she resented the tyranny of her mother-in-law and disdained the morals of her father-in-law, whom she assumed to be taking sexual favors from female slaves. She found solace in reading novels and comparing the characters with herself and the people she knew. Before the war she saw a good deal of the southeastern United States and a bit of England and Europe. During the war, following her husband on his political and military duties, she often happened to be where the action was—in Charleston for the firing on Fort Sumter, in Montgomery for the founding of the Confederacy, and in Richmond for most of the war. Afterwards she tried to relive the past by composing autobiographical novels and by elaborating her wartime journal.

Since the revelation of the true nature of her famous book, some critics have been inclined to deprecate it as a historical source and even to dismiss it entirely as no more than a "hoax." Certainly the work can no longer be trusted as a bona fide diary, but it nevertheless continues to embody many of the values of a memoir—and an especially vivid and spirited one at that.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

RICHARD N. CURRENT

Saddlebag and Spinning Wheel: being the Civil War Letters of George W. Peddy, M.D. and his wife Kate Featherston Peddy. By George P. Cuttino. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1981. xii, 332 pp. Preface, introduction, genealogical charts, index. \$18.95.)

The Civil War letters of George and Kate Peddy are indeed "something different," as the author, the grandson of the letter writers, indicates. Letters written by the average citizen have been virtually non-existent in the pages of Civil War history. However, similar themes prevail from these 216 letters, such as hard times in Georgia, extreme idealism for the Confederate cause, and profit-making by soldiers and speculators in the selling of items on the warfront. These letters start in October 1861, and conclude in April 1865. The author has conveniently divided the book into five parts, relative to the campaigns in which George Washington Peddy served as surgeon with the 56th Georgia Volunteer Regiment, C.S.A.

As he mentions on several occasions, George Peddy went into the Confederate army because of the salary he would receive. Although he was an ardent rebel, he was in debt and could not make a living in Franklin, Heard County, Georgia. He also made a couple of thousand dollars selling various items such as horses, saddles, clothing, food, and medical equipment on the warfront which his wife, father-in-law, or some other relative or friend would buy and send to him. He also did his own buying and selling in his travels. He sent virtually all of his money home to his wife and young daughter, Laura.

That George and Kate love each other very much is clear, although both seem insecure perhaps, since about half of every letter is filled with statements of love and affection for each other. This portion is obviously very boring to read, and some of their statements border on frivolity.

Hard times were present in Georgia from the outset of the war, even though the Civil War did not hit Georgia until the spring of 1864. Prices rose rapidly on items such as coffee, paper, meat, horses, and shoes. Transportation, mail service, disease, and many other problems seemed to be more than common during these troubled times. It also did not help Kate to read in nearly every letter she received, the statement, "If I should

live," when she had the extra responsibility of handling the household duties as well as raising pigs. These animals are referred to in probably one-third of the letters.

That both Kate and George were avid secessionists there is no question. Her hatred for Abraham Lincoln, which the author indicates in his introduction, is not revealed in the letters. She is the first to realize, however, that the "Cause" is slowly fading with the wind. It appears that the high command in the 56th Georgia only informed the regiment of good news, such as A. S. Johnston's great victory on April 6, 1862. There was no mention of what happened the next day at Shiloh in his letter. George Peddy, an optimist to the end, refers to the enemy as "Yankees," but on one occasion he calls them "Hessians." Even after the fall of Atlanta he writes, "I learn that the enemy have all left Atlanta. I hope it's so. If correct, our country will not be interrupted again during the war." Where does he think Sherman's army went? I suspect, however, that by "country", he is referring to Heard County. On March 23, 1865, he writes "Evry (G. W. Peddy was a terrible speller for an educated person) face looks bright and cheerfull. You need not doubt our ability to whip Shearman [*sic*]. We will have in a short time a splendid army." I wonder if he ever received the \$1,400 owed him by the Confederate government at the end of the war?

The author's decision to publish these letters unedited was a prudent one. These letters add considerable knowledge of the war years. Although a couple of pages and letters were printed out of order, the pictures, genealogical charts, and index are excellent. I would definitely recommend this book to any Civil War buff.

Heritage Park, Largo

ROBERT HARRIS

Richmond Redeemed: The Siege at Petersburg. By Richard J. Sommers. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981. xxiii, 670 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

The siege of Petersburg, Virginia, began in mid-June 1864, and continued until the following April. It was the longest

single land military operation of the American Civil War. The siege consisted of lengthy periods of sharpshooting and artillery fire punctuated by ten major northern efforts to capture Petersburg and thereby sever most of Richmond's communications with the rest of the Confederacy.

Richard J. Sommers, the archivist/historian at the United States Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, uses the term "offensive" to designate each of the efforts to capture Petersburg. *Richmond Redeemed* is the history of the sixth Union offensive, which began on September 29, 1864, and ended, for all practical purposes, on October 2, 1864. Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, the Federal commander, made a two-pronged attack against the southern lines held by the Confederate forces of General Robert E. Lee. The offensive was "the most threatening attack ever launched against Richmond" (p. 439).

In four days of fighting, Grant's troops managed to overrun some of the outer Confederate defensive works and to gain positions from which they were later able to mount other offensives. Grant could not, however, break the inner works, and he therefore failed to achieve his larger objectives of preventing Lee from sending reinforcements to other areas, cutting rebel supply lines, and capturing Petersburg and, perhaps, Richmond. Confederate counterattacks failed to recover the positions taken by the Northerners. Both commanders then realized that further fighting would produce no results, and the two armies resumed their usual siege operations. (Florida was represented in this fighting by Brigadier General Joseph Finegan's "fine but tiny" brigade which consisted of the Second, Fifth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Florida Infantry regiments.)

The reader should not begin *Richmond Redeemed* expecting to find easy reading or the soul-stirring prose of a Bruce Catton. Sommers demands much of his readers who will have to keep track of more characters than are found in *War and Peace*. Hundreds of generals, staff officers, and brigade and regimental commanders cross Sommers's pages as the movements of units down to regimental and even company level are described. The reader has to follow Sommers's discussion of grand strategy, strategy, minor strategy, grand tactics, and tactics. Even the most veteran Civil War buffs will encounter puzzlement with such

rarely-used terms as *voltiguers*, *flèche*, *fosse*, *frise*, palisaded gorge wall of bastioned trace, *ployed*, and *en potence* – terms that would have thoroughly befuddled Johnny Reb, Billy Yank, and most of their generals.

One begins Sommers's book with the pre-judgment that it was foolish to devote so much time and energy to the study of four days of fighting that resulted in no obviously significant victories for anybody and produced a total of fewer than 12,000 casualties. (Over 23,000 men were lost in the single day's battle at Antietam, September 17, 1862.) One finishes *Richmond Redeemed* convinced that Sommers has more than justified his topic and well repaid the reader for his effort. This study is military history at its best—"classical military history"—in which the author evaluates the generals, assesses responsibility, awards praise, and, most important, offers an excellent example of the historian's craft. The research is thorough. The style, while not sparkling, is very good. The treatment of men and units is balanced. The maps are excellent. Above all, the book does what any outstanding work of history is supposed to do: it forces the reader to think—to stretch his mind, to see things in a different light, to reevaluate his ideas. *Richmond Redeemed* will be for years the standard against which histories of American military campaigns will be judged.

North Carolina State University

RICHARD M. McMURRY

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 9: 1906-1908.

Edited by Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980. xxxii, 747 pp. Introduction, errata, symbols and abbreviations, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

There becomes evident in the course of Booker T. Washington's career in the latter part of the decade 1900-1910, a flattening-out of his influence and his objectives. There developed frictions within his race over matters of patronage, leadership, and basic approaches to problems. Washington appears, if not clearly developed, in the role of a sociopolitical boss-patriarch whose base of power and support had become diffused.

The South in this troubled era appears in bold outline as a troubled and often blood stained region. Lynching was its mark of Cain; and the stain grew more crimson with each passing year. The era of Vardamanism was an unhappy one for both the white and black races. On the national scene there were also oily political waters which entrapped victims of every stripe.

There is a mixture of the quality and nature of letters to and from Booker T. Washington. Included are articles which were published in various periodicals which reflect in some depth the nature of the struggles of blacks to make gains in southern economic and political areas. This is especially true of an article which appeared in *Outlook*, December 13, 1906. It provides an important perspective on the Atlanta riots, September 22-24, which shook the peace of mind of the city and region. As a result of these riots there came into being an assortment of organizations of unity and aid. Among these was the Colored Civic League which was successful in achieving a fair trial for Joe Glenn who was accused of assaulting a white woman, and whom she positively identified in court. Booker T. Washington viewed Glenn's defense by able white Atlanta lawyers and the verdict of the jury as "the most radical, far-reaching, and hopeful solution of the race problem that has ever been undertaken by southern white people."

Throughout this volume occur comments on that most sinful of all southern acts of violence—lynching. Especially poignant are the materials relating to the lynching of Jim and Frank Davis in Lula, Mississippi. The claim was made that their bodies were left suspended in clear line of vision of the railroad over which Washington traveled from Helena, Arkansas, to Tuskegee. The Davises had gone to Helena to hear Washington speak and were returning home when they became involved in an altercation with the train conductor. Washington, in a letter to Oswald Garrison Villard, denied that he saw the bodies. He regarded James K. Vardaman as the provocateur of this lynching. However, he told Villard in the fall of 1908, that the people of Mississippi were growing weary of Vardamanism.

In the period covered by this volume Tuskegee Institute faced some fundamental philosophical and academic challenges to its past policies. One of these was whether the program of

admitting students for extremely brief periods was worthwhile. Also, some of the institution's concerned friends raised questions about the overemphasizing of vocational-crafts education at the expense of the basic liberal arts which would prepare Negro students for entry into the professions. William E. Chancellor wrote on February 22, 1907, in response to a letter from Washington, that in his view the introduction of white instructors at Tuskegee would be unfortunate. It had worked at Hampton Institute, but he thought students at Tuskegee would be more responsive to black instructors.

As in preceding volumes, Washington's correspondence was wide-ranging both as to correspondents and subjects treated. There creeps into the materials of this volume a trace of anxiety and insecurity in the area of speaking for the Negro race in these turbulent years. Though Booker T. Washington had the ear of an impressive list of influential Americans, he had his jealous rivals and obstructionists among his own race. Nevertheless he gave strong support to William Howard Taft as he had to Roosevelt. He outpaced his critics and rivals in this area. The crusade to uplift the race in all areas of American life was burdened by many forces and counter-forces.

This is a meaty volume which reflects the underlying forces of an era when fundamental changes were in the making. There was room in Washington's harried schedule, for one warm sentimental pause. He visited Hale's Ford and Burroughs's plantation in Virginia where he recalled the details of his childhood as a slave.

This volume measures up to the high standards of editorship set in the preceding volumes.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

The New South and the "New Competition": Trade Association Development in the Southern Pine Industry. By James E. Fickle. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1980, xii, 435 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photos, selected bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

The Southern Pine Association was the most influential trade organization of the enormous lumber industry in the

twentieth-century South. Formed in 1915 "in an atmosphere of personal tragedy, unsettled market conditions, labor turmoil, legal difficulties, and approaching warfare," it replaced the Yellow Pine Manufacturers' Association, whose demise was so traumatic that its secretary leaped to his death from a St. Louis hotel window in 1914 (p. 45). Professor Fickle has approached his subject topically within a chronological frame to present both the functions of a trade association and a history of the southern lumber industry. Lumbering was a venerable industry in the South, but its enormous growth after the Civil War, just as northern timber was being cut out and the national government opened 47,000,000 acres of public land, marks a major change in its scope. Many northern firms bought up huge acreages in the South. Floridians will recognize the Brooks-Scanlon firm which not only acquired land in Florida but also purchased 47,474 acres in Louisiana.

Several local trade organizations, such as the Alabama-West Florida Association, were formed before 1900 to promote common action among the lumber manufacturers. A major trade group was the Georgia-Florida Sawmill Association, which was headquartered in Jacksonville from 1903 until it amalgamated with the Southern Pine Association in the mid-1920s.

A chapter on "Mobilization for World War I" deals with the SPA's efforts to supply vast quantities of lumber for shipbuilding, in addition to increased amounts for other construction. Quarrels over prices, price-fixing, and production quotas involved M. J. Scanlon of Brooks-Scanlon and other large Florida lumber companies. Despite the difficulties, the SPA's role in WWI mobilization created a large reservoir of goodwill for the industry.

The next crisis occurred during the depression when the SPA participated in the National Recovery Administration program. Its code dealt with labor, production, cost protection, trade practices, and conservation, but implementation was difficult. One of the most complex problems was how to set standards for an industry in which very large and very small operators were trying to stay in business under the same operating rules. The Lumber Code ultimately wound up in federal court.

Subsequent chapters deal with "Statistics—the Heart of a Trade Association," "The Development of Standards, Advertis-

ing, and Promotion," "The Transportation Struggle," "The Conservation Struggle," and "The Labor Problem." Transportation was an especially important problem for the SPA because of the long-standing freight-rate differentials which discriminated against southern shipments. The chapter on labor deals with the SPA's long and vociferous fight against unionization of timber and mill workers. Defying the widespread opinion that "lumber is not a war industry" (p. 349), lumber manufacturers once again performed a remarkable service in supplying the nation's lumber needs during World War II. By the end of the war, however, it was clear that southern timber resources were diminishing so that a sustained supply was nearly impossible.

By the mid-1950s the southern lumber industry was changing and so was the SPA. New ownership patterns, new leaders, and new products such as plywood, pulp and paper, and pressboard were emerging. The SPA soon became the Southern Forest Products Association, but as Professor Fickle writes, "the future was built upon the foundations of the past" (p. 377).

University of Central Florida

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

Warren Akin Candler: The Conservative as Idealist. By Mark K. Bauman. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1981. x, 278 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, note on sources, index. \$16.00.)

This biography of the legendary bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is an important contribution to the ever-growing bibliography about the South. The first critical study to be made of the career of Warren A. Candler, it is well-balanced, covering all major aspects of his life and public career. This includes his contributions as churchman, educator, and molder of public opinion.

When he was elected bishop at age forty-one in 1898, Candler had already achieved prominence as eloquent preacher, presiding elder, assistant editor of the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, founder of Paine College for blacks in Augusta, and president of Emory College. During the next thirty-six years as an active bishop he moved onto a broader stage as evangelist "in Latin

America and the Far East, as founder of Emory University in Atlanta, and as a conservative voice in a slowly changing South. Author of fifteen books, a weekly column in the *Atlanta Journal*, and numerous articles in both church and lay publications, he expressed himself forthrightly on nearly every public issue of importance. In this latter role he spoke for a sizable constituency, and thus the book throws light on an interesting segment of southern thought.

Emory alumni may wish that Candler's presidency at Oxford and his role in the conflict of the Methodist bishops in the case of Vanderbilt University had been treated in more detail, but they will be rewarded as they learn more of his role in determining Emory's policy with regard to intercollegiate athletics, and his enigmatic but commendable defense of academic freedom for the faculty.

The heart of the biography is an analysis of Candler's basic philosophy which determined his reactions to current issues. It was a conservative philosophy which envisioned an ordered society in which each individual played a well-defined role and assumed idealistic responsibilities to those both above and below him. The home, the church, and the state provided education and discipline. He sought to defend these stabilizing institutions from every influence which he thought might weaken them.

Candler was able to work out a reasonably satisfying reconciliation with his world as it existed prior to World War I. Indeed he felt secure enough to serve as loving critic of its worst vices, but he could not cope with the dramatic new forces which the war unleashed. In the decades following 1920 he became progressively bitter and defensive so that in his later years he appeared to be an anachronism as he opposed church union, the new freedom for women, and a secular life style which approved divorce, dancing, the use of alcohol, movies, and preoccupation with the search for comfort and leisure. He became a professional Southerner in his efforts to defend the region from northern critics and southern advocates of change. Some readers may conclude that in his attempts to understand and explain the bishop's positions the author has rationalized the views of his subject too sympathetically. It appears to this reviewer, however, that the author has succeeded remarkably well in interpreting Candler in the context of his times and on the

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basis of his philosophy rather than measuring him against the standards of the present generation.

From his unusually impressive research efforts the author has produced a biography which was awarded the Jesse Lee Prize of the Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church for 1978. Although not likely to be considered bedside table reading, the book should prove useful to any reader who seeks to understand the paradoxes which characterized southern thought between Reconstruction and World War II. Warren Candler's contradictions and frustrations reveal much about the torture of his mind and soul, but they also reveal much about the doubt and anxieties which many of his contemporaries shared with him.

Atlanta, Georgia

JUDSON C. WARD, JR

Republicans, Negroes, and Progressives in the South, 1912-1916.

By Paul D. Casdorph. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1981. ix, 262 pp. Preface, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$18.75.)

In Theodore Roosevelt's battle with William Howard Taft for the 1912 Republican presidential nomination, the southern vote was crucial. In the fall election, it did not offer anything to either of them. The Republican party in the South was largely composed of Appalachian enclaves and black voters. Roosevelt faced two political problems and one moral one: winning the nomination, and the future of the party, and of the black man, in the South. For the political paths, he chose the "lily-white" course against Taft's patronage-controlled "black-and-tan" party of postmasters and other office-holders. Never mind the black man. Two hundred and nine of Taft's nomination-winning 540 convention votes came from the South. In the general election, the region went solidly for the Democrat, Woodrow Wilson.

Professor Casdorph's use of manuscript collections, newspapers, and the secondary literature is exemplary, and he offers more names, vote totals, and detail than anyone is ever likely to seek again. He identifies the participants, committees, meetings, and conventions, from the grass roots through the 1912 and

1916 elections, and shows that it was political power, not progressive reform, that was at stake.

This is a familiar story. George Mowry, Arthur Link, and various state historians have told the details. John Gable's *The Bull Moose Years* (1978) nicely supplements Mowry's classic account and presents the southern story with a clarity that Professor Casdorff tends to cloud with detail. Each person's life struggle is important to himself and a fragment of a greater reality, but significant historical writing is dependent on illuminating human penetration, narrative skill, and the posing of meaningful questions. What might still be asked about a southern Bull Moose progressivism which, Casdorff concedes, mounted "no real challenge" to Democratic control? Although the monographic focus on political performance might be expected to settle Roosevelt's claim that Taft stole the 1912 nomination in the "rotten boroughs" of southern Republicanism, Professor Casdorff does not use his data to attempt judgment. Perhaps, with no Republican primaries in the South, only those who controlled the national convention could decide.

After the Taft forces managed his renomination, Bull Moose progressivism— and the Republican party for that matter— no longer really mattered in the South. Neither Taft nor Roosevelt received a single electoral vote in the region. Neither carried a single county in Florida and both trailed the Socialist Eugene V. Debs. The major historians of the Progressive Era South will not find reason to question their passing over the Bull Moose episode. In his final chapter, Professor Casdorff speculates that it laid the groundwork for the eventual shift of black voters to the other Roosevelt's Democratic party, but that was to be many years later.

University of Florida

DAVID CHALMERS

Politics is My Parish. By Brooks Hays. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xi, 291 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, index. \$20.00.)

Judge Frank Johnson and Human Rights in Alabama. By Tinsley E. Yarbrough. (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1981. vii, 270 pp. Preface, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

These two books describe the lives of two leading southern progressives in the twentieth century— Brooks Hays, member of the House of Representatives from Arkansas for sixteen years and United States delegate to the United Nations, and Frank Johnson, chief judge of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama for twenty-four years and, more recently, judge on the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

Brooks Hays's personal account of his life and times is full of good humor, insight, and humane consideration. Hays's progressivism sprang from his family background and his religious faith. He saw in politics a chance to serve society and its people in much the same way a minister serves his congregation. During his career in the House of Representatives, he sponsored the Hays-Fulbright Act which required that government-owned farmland be sold to veterans with a farm background and the Hays-Coffin Report which recommended discussion to ease Canada's dependence on American business. He also lent his support to the Marshall Plan and foreign aid to impoverished nations. Throughout these years he remained very active in the Baptist church and combined his political career with his religious views to fulfill his "Christian duty" to society.

Hays's political ethics were severely tested in 1959 when the Faubus forces in Arkansas supported Dale Alford against him. During the campaign Alford portrayed Hays as a "national Democrat" as opposed to a "Faubus Democrat," one who was "selling Arkansas out" in its struggle to maintain segregated schools. A picture of Hays addressing the National Baptist Convention (a predominantly black organization) was widely publicized by the Alford forces. Hays refused to respond to the racial slurs, sacrificing his reelection chances but not his integrity.

Tinsley Yarbrough's biography of Judge Frank Johnson

examines the career of the South's most controversial jurist during the post-1954 period. Much like Hays, Johnson's family background had profound influence on his political and social attitudes. A native of northwestern Alabama, Johnson's relatives had supported the Union cause during the Civil War and served in the Republican party during the Reconstruction era.

President Dwight Eisenhower selected Johnson to sit on the Middle District Court in Alabama one year after the *Brown* decision. While Johnson never questioned the racial segregation that pervaded southern society during his youth, Yarbrough points out that he had no strong racial prejudices and had never had "to give lip service to the idea of black inferiority and the virtues of segregation" as was the case with many southern politicians.

Beginning with his decision in the Montgomery bus boycott in 1957, Johnson issued a series of decisions over the next thirteen years that led to the demise of Jim Crow in the South and the integration of public schools. In these decisions, and the ones he rendered in cases involving Alabama's prisons and mental institutions, Johnson demonstrated a marked concern for the rights of the poor and downtrodden. It was his view that the more advanced American society became, the more appropriate it was for the federal judiciary, in particular, "to find rights in the Constitution . . . that have not been heretofore declared."

Tinsley Yarbrough has provided us with a very informative, well-written study of Frank M. Johnson. He has managed to steer us through a maze of court cases and judicial findings without losing sight of his subject and without sacrificing the book's readability and coherence. This is no small accomplishment. The book's major weakness is its lack of critical assessment of Johnson's judicial career. Why Johnson was a judicial activist is never totally clear. This point aside, Yarbrough has provided us with a finely crafted work and one which greatly enhances our knowledge of Judge Johnson and the significance of his legal decisions.

University of Florida

DAVID R. COLBURN

In the Realms of Gold: The Proceedings of the Tenth Conference on Underwater Archaeology. Edited by Wilburn A. Cockrell. (San Marino: Fathom Eight, 1981. xi, 255 pp. List of illustrations, foreword, editor's note, dedication. \$12.00.)

The volume contains twenty-seven papers grouped into categories as follows: Shipwreck Archeology (8), Method and Technique (7), Inundated Terrestrial Sites (6), and Underwater Cultural Resource Management (6). It ends with a panel discussion about Crisis in Underwater Archaeology.

Some articles are premature because they do not contain reports of investigations but state only what should or may be undertaken. Others are descriptions of elaborate projects with trivial results or excellent accounts of techniques that did not work. Many of the papers are so elementary they remind one of freshman term papers that were published, as received, with no attempt by the editor to correct their deficiencies. One paper was so badly written that I was not sure I was really reading English. Another author does not provide even a general location for a deepwater shipwreck site he is surveying. Fortunately, there is at least one worthwhile paper in each section.

Broadwater provides a brief summary of the 1781, Battle of Yorktown and describes a survey that was conducted to locate, identify, and evaluate shipwrecks in the York River from the fleet of General Cornwallis. His paper exemplifies my perception of how an archeological investigation should be carried out, underwater or terrestrial. In this case, historic documentation and locational survey demonstrated that valuable information could be derived from archeological recovery to supplement already available written accounts. The environmental situation and the condition of the ships were taken into consideration. Based on these inductive investigations, the author concludes that proper archeological techniques are possible and recommends that at least one of the shipwrecks should be completely excavated. With a good research plan, I am convinced that Broadwater will be reporting significant results in the near future.

A fine example of data interpretation is contained in Lester Ross's paper. He examines the tools aboard *Le Machault* to explain eighteenth-century French naval duties. Ross says that

shipwreck researchers should identify those events and activities which established the original cultural assemblage associated with their shipwreck. The single cultural assemblage is comprised of multiple functional assemblages representing a series of activities occurring in various areas of the ship. Ross not only recognizes classes of tools, their functions, and the specialists who used them, he also identifies tools that should have been present but are missing. This suggests to him what objects were considered valuable and what actions were taken immediately following the sinking of the ship to salvage those objects. He views shipwrecks as books and their surviving artifacts as words; the tools from *Le Machault* comprise only one of the chapters.

Other articles with a message are those of Spiess and Orzech (location of ancient amphorae in the Mediterranean), Ruppé (sea level changes at colonial American sites), Davis (antiquities and artifacts markets), and Hochschild (public interest). Davis and Hochschild attempt to reconcile the real world with the ideal world regarding the protection and preservation of sites and artifacts.

The use of space age technology has benefitted many archeological studies. I have used a number of "gadgets" in my own work, but I am concerned with the time, expense, and training necessary to use methods when "the operation is a success but the patient dies." The search for specific shipwrecks using the magnetometer, side scan sonar, and similar instrumentation, especially in areas of known abundant shipwrecks, might be like looking for a needle in a haystack. The methods are only good if they have practical applications and valuable results. They are only going to be as good as the people who use them. They are not a substitute for scholarship. Archeologists who utilize such instrumentation unnecessarily could be accused of being "sensation seekers" much as they accuse the treasure hunters whom they condemn.

The panel discussion, *Crisis in Underwater Archeology*, identifies the problem as a lack of public sentiment in favor of systematic anthropological investigations of underwater archeological sites. "Yes," if under land, "no," if underwater really is a paradox. Educating the public and the government by applying pressure in an organized effort for proper legislation is

proposed as a solution. Another way might be to substitute intellectual dialogue for tantrums and four-letter words.

Florida State Museum

BARBARA A. PURDY

BOOK NOTES

Postcard manufacture began near the end of the nineteenth century about the same time that Florida was being recognized as a major tourist mecca. Visitors came into North Florida either by boat or train from the North, usually during the winter months, and they explored Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine. Jacksonville was the most important tourist center in Florida at the time. Thousands of visitors stayed in the city's excellent hotels, enjoying good food and entertainment. There were steamers to carry them along the St. Johns and Oklawaha rivers, and carriages and buggies to take them to the attractions in the area. With the extension of the railroad down the east coast, into the interior of the state, and to the Gulf coast. With the extension of the railroad down the east coast tourists began moving into Palm Beach and Miami. Others visited the Tampa Bay area, and some traveled to Tallahassee, Apalachicola, and Pensacola. They were all intrigued with the exotic environment of Florida—towering pine trees, moss-festooned oaks and cypress, wild animals, colorful tropic birds, and flowering shrubs and trees. Picture postcards portrayed these strange and beautiful views, and visitors bought so many of them that their publication became an important industry. Street scenes in the various towns, businesses, homes, and parks were all featured on the cards. Orange groves and beaches were particular favorites. Some of the earliest pictures of Jacksonville and Daytona Beach are on postcards. Hotels like the Ponce de Leon in St. Augustine, Ormond Beach Hotel, the St. James in Jacksonville, and the Tampa Bay Hotel were world famous. These buildings and their lavish gardens, and interior pictures of parlors, bedrooms, and dining rooms were pictured on the cards. There was a short space for messages, and the tourists mailed the cards with their “wish you were here” greetings back to relatives and friends. Thousands of these cards were saved and are now part of manuscript and photograph collections. Postcards can often be discovered in flea markets, antique stores, and even in garage sales. Hampton Dunn's Florida postcards provide a graphic history of social, economic, and recreational development of the state. Some include short descriptions of attractions

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available in various communities; all add to our knowledge and understanding of Florida history. Mr. Dunn is a postcard collector, and his book *Wish You Were Here . . . A Grand Tour of Early Florida Via Old Postcards* provides scenes from Florida's sixty-seven counties. Dunn is the author of twelve Florida books, featuring Tampa, St. Petersburg, Clearwater, Tallahassee, Lakeland, and Citrus County, and the producer of an educational filmstrip, "Florida—Treasureland in the Sun." His latest volume, *Wish You Were Here*, published by Byron, Kennedy & Company, of St. Petersburg, provides a fascinating visual account of the history of Florida from the beginning of this century to the present. Many buildings shown on these cards have disappeared, demolished in the name of progress. Some views, including many of the nature scenes, are relatively unchanged. Dunn has not neglected the small communities. There are cards from places like Mt. Dora, Clermont, White Springs, Melrose, Zephyrhills, Milton, De Leon Springs, Cassadeaga, Port Orange, and Jasper. Some celebrities are on the cards. Thomas A. Edison is shown on his eighty-third birthday in Florida, and another, with his wife, is in front of his Fort Myers workshop. William Jennings Bryan is shown teaching his open-air Sunday school class in Miami in 1921. Jacksonville cards reveal how quickly that city was rebuilt after the 1901 fire. World War II cards are of soldiers on parade on Lincoln Road in Miami Beach and on the streets of Starke near Camp Blanding. This handsome book sells for \$19.95.

Forgotten Legacy, Blacks in Nineteenth Century Key West, by Sharon Wells, examines the role that blacks have played in the community for more than 100 years. For many reasons, but particularly economic, black and white Bahamians began moving into Key West during the 1830s and 1840s. Blacks found jobs fishing, sponging, in salt manufacturing, and turtling. Many were slaves, although according to the census for 1830, out of a total population of 517, there were sixty-eight slaves, eighty-three free blacks, and 368 whites. Ten years later there were seventy-five "free men of color" and ninety-six slaves in a population of 688 persons. The black population continued to grow; there were approximately 1,000 living in Key West in 1870. At the beginning of the Civil War Key West was the second largest, the wealthiest, and the most cosmopolitan city in Florida. Many Key Westers

were Confederate sympathizers, including Senator Stephen R. Mallory, who became secretary of the navy in the Confederate cabinet. Key West, however, remained a Federal stronghold throughout the war, and black soliders were stationed there during the closing months of the conflict. After the war blacks were allowed to acquire property and to begin building a new life for themselves. Ms. Wells provides information on the cultural and demographic patterns for the period to 1900, on churches, the Key West Cornet Band, schools, benevolent societies, and folklore and traditions. Excellent pictures are included, and there is a selected bibliography. *Forgotten Legacy* was published by the Historic Key West Preservation Board, 500 Whitehead Street, Key West, Florida 33040. Bookstore price is \$7.95.

The Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company, DeLand, Florida, has published two more facsimiles in its Historical Byways of Florida Series. *Florida! Its Climate, Productions and Characteristics. A Hand Book of Important and Reliable Information for the Use of the Tourist, Settler and Investor* was prepared by John P. Varnum for the passenger department of the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railway. Construction on this road began in 1883 to provide freight and passenger service along the St. Johns River and to link up with the South Florida Railroad in Sanford, giving access to Tampa by a direct cross-state route. V. O. Coshow in his introduction to this facsimile, provides the history of the road from its incorporation in 1881 until it became a part of the Atlantic Coast Line System in 1902. The 1885 pamphlet provided interesting information on all aspects of Florida climate, wildlife, and vegetation, and it describes the communities along the route of the railroad. There are many pictures and vintage advertisements for banks, hotels, billiard and bowling parlors, dry goods stores, real estate, and hardware. Bennette & Mulroy's Metropolitan Wine Room on West Bay Street in Jacksonville is described in an advertisement as the "handsomest and most elaborately fitted wine room south of New York." It stocked draught and bottled beer plus a full line of claret, burgundy, Madeira, sherry, imported wines, and mineral waters. Havana, Key West, and domestic cigars were also available. Pogni's Billiard Saloon, was described as "the Largest and Most Popular Establishment in Florida." It advertised its two Jacksonville es-

tablishments, one on Bay Street "opposite the post office," the other at the St. Augustine Ferry landing, corner Bay and Newman streets. *Florida!* sells for \$7.95.

A Pamphlet, Historical and Descriptive of Volusia County and its Towns and Settlements was first published by the Volusia County Commissioners for the Florida Sub-Tropical Exposition which opened in Jacksonville on January 12, 1888. The purpose of the Exposition was to advertise Florida and its products, and the state as a tourist mecca. Many people attended, including President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland who arrived in February. Cleveland's visit and the history of the Sub-Tropical Exposition are described in an introduction to the facsimile by F. C. Little. The *Pamphlet* provided historical and descriptive information about Volusia County of interest to visitors and would be settlers. Included also are advertisements, including ones noting that boarding facilities were available at Daytona Beach for \$7.00 and \$10.00 a week. Daytona, DeLand, Hawk's Park, Highland Park, Lake Helen, New Smyrna, Oak, Ormond, Port Orange, Seville, Spring Gardens, and Tomoka are Volusia County communities described in the *Pamphlet*. The facsimile sells for \$5.95, from the Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company.

The Jacksonville Historical Society has published Volume VI in its series of *Papers*. This volume celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the Society, and is titled *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1929-1979*. Marking its half-century, the Society sponsored four major events in 1979-1980. One was the presentation "Jacksonville History— Its Appreciation and Its Writing," at the Fourth Annual Conference on Jacksonville History at Jacksonville University, February 22-23, 1980. The two papers presented at this workshop, "Researching Jacksonville History," by Jerrell H. Shofner, and "Nuts and Bolts of Oral History for Community and Family Projects," by Samuel Proctor, are published in *Papers, Volume VI*. There was a meeting of charter members of the Society on May 9, 1979. The conversations that evening were taped and the transcriptions are also included in this volume. Other articles are "Jacksonville Historical Society Library" by Audrey Broward, "Florida Photographic History" by N. Clement Slade, Jr., and "A Letter to His Excellency," which was edited by Dena Snodgrass.

Included also are a "Commendation to Miss Snodgrass" and a listing of Society programs, speakers, and important activities for the period 1969-1981. Pictures and an index are included. The editors are George E. Buker, Dena Snodgrass, and John B. Turner, Jr. Jacksonville Historical Society the *Papers* may be ordered from The Society, Box 6222, Jacksonville, FL 32236 for \$5.00 plus \$1.00 for mailing.

The History of the Loxahatchee River is by Bessie W. DuBois. It describes a waterway that has played an important role in the lives of people who have lived for many centuries in south Florida. Named by the Indians, the river is referred to in letters that General Jesup wrote from Fort Jupiter during the Second Seminole War. Mrs. DuBois notes the incidents involving whites and Indians during that period, and she tells how the lighthouse was put out of commission by Confederate sympathizers at the beginning of the Civil War. The Hunt brothers of Green Cove Springs brought logging operations into the area in 1891, and V. K. Hunt built a sawmill and a two-story house there and planted an orange grove. Mrs. DuBois describes the school boat which transported the children, and tells the story of Trapper Nelson the legendary figure of the Loxahatchee River. The booklet may be ordered from Florida Classics Library, Box 777, Port Salerno, FL 33492; the price is \$2.50.

W. Horace Carter, the Pulitzer Prize-winning North Carolina journalist, spends many weeks each year in Florida gathering information about fishing and wildlife for articles which he publishes in national wildlife magazines. He has long been captivated by the beauty of Cross Creek, the area made famous by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, another Pulitzer Prize-winning writer. His book, *Creatures and Chronicles from Cross Creek*, is a collection of the stories and lore of this area of Florida which Mr. Carter hopes will not become overly populated. Too many people and too much construction, he argues, will threaten its special beauty and appeal. Published by Atlantic Publishing Company, Box 67, Tabor City, NC 28463, *Creatures and Chronicles* is being distributed by Great Outdoors, St. Petersburg, FL 44714. The price is \$5.95.

The First Hundred Years of Avon Park, Florida, by Leoma Bradshaw Maxwell, is another of the growing list of local and county histories that have been published in Florida during the past decade. Often these are the only books documenting the history of the communities and sometimes the new studies supplement and update earlier books. In the case of Avon Park, there was only one published history, an incomplete study covering the period up to 1956. Two other histories of Avon Park, mainly memoirs of early settlers, appeared in the local newspaper. Mrs. Maxwell's book presents a more factual and complete record of Avon Park than these earlier works. It is based upon oral history accounts, family archives, newspapers, public records, and pictures, many from private photograph albums. Avon Park was settled by Oliver Marvin Crosby, a land developer from Connecticut, on acreage purchased from the Disston Company. The history of the first settlers, construction of the Verona Hotel in 1887, development of the early sawmills and lumber companies, establishment of mail service, the first newspapers, early schools, the beginning of transportation, and the impact of the 1894-1895 freeze are among the diverse subjects Mrs. Maxwell describes. There are many pictures, a list of people who came in during the 1920s and a bibliography. The book may be ordered from the Historical Society, Box 483, Avon Park, Florida 33825. The price is \$15.60 mailed.

Nathan W. White in his monograph, *Private Joseph Sprague of Vermont, the Last Soldier-Survivor of Dade's Massacre in Florida, 28 December 1835*, describes the activities of a Seminole War soldier. Major Francis L. Dade was leading a military force from Fort Brooke (Tampa) to Fort King (Ocala) when it was ambushed by a party of Seminole warriors on December 28, 1835. More than half his force, approximately 108 officers and men, were killed. The black interpreter, a slave, was carried away by one of the Indian chiefs. A second attack a few hours later further decimated the American force, and the Indians and their Negro allies left the field thinking everyone there was dead. However, there were three whites still alive—privates Ransom Clark, Edwin DeCourcy, and Joseph Sprague. Clark and DeCourcy teamed up in an attempt to get back to Fort Brooke, but DeCourcy never made it. Ransom Clark, badly wounded, did manage to reach

Fort Brooke, and he was often called "the only survivor of Dade's Massacre." His story was published in newspapers throughout the country and in books and pamphlets. Clark went on lecture tour to describe his exploits, which he began to embellish to the delight of his audiences. Everyone believed that Joseph Sprague had died, and Clark always insisted that was a fact. However, Mr. White reveals that Sprague had not expired, and that indeed he survived Ransom Clark. White cites army records to show that Sprague recovered from his wounds and that he was honorably discharged at Fort Defiance in Micanopy on August 22, 1836. After a brief visit North, he reenlisted and returned to Florida with the Second Infantry. Sprague reenlisted still again, now in the Sixth Infantry, and was involved in the final campaign against the Seminoles. He enlisted for a seventh term at Fort Pickens in 1842. With the support of Major General Winfield Scott, he received a pension for wounds sustained at the Dade Massacre and began receiving payment on March 3, 1844. Nothing is known of him after September 4, 1847. On the basis of his research, Mr. White urges that a monument or historical marker be placed on the Dade Battlefield site to memorialize Private Sprague. The monograph may be ordered from the author, 153 Nurmi Drive, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301; the price is \$10.60.

The Historic Structure Report for Fort Matanzas National Monument, St. John's County, Florida was prepared by the Fort Matanzas Stabilization Team. The published report is available for distribution so long as limited numbers are available. It is the work of several individuals at the Historic Preservation Branch, Southeast/Southwest Team, Denver Service Center, in cooperation with the Monument staff in St. Augustine, professionals at the Southeast Regional Office, the office of the Chief Historical Architect, and archeologists at the Regional Archeological Center and Florida State University. The purpose of the project was to examine the status of the Matanzas Watchtower so as to facilitate stabilization programs at the Monument. The study includes an examination of historical data covering the period 1740-1979, together with pertinent archeological and architectural data. Illustrations and a bibliography are included. Luis R. Arana, historian for the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument and Fort Matanzas is responsible for much of the

report. Others who were involved in the extensive research and writing were John C. Paige, Edwin C. Bearss, Randall W. Copeland, Gary Cummins, Terry Wong, and C. Craig Frazier, all of the Denver Service Center, and Dr. Kathleen Deagan of Florida State University. Frazier served as team captain.

Biscayne Bay Trolleys, Street Railways of the Miami Area is by Edward Ridolph. The first train of the Florida East Coast Railroad reached Miami April 15, 1896; a week later, the first passenger train arrived. Miami was hardly more than a small fishing village at the time, but the railroad was to stimulate a major building and population boom. In 1906, when the Miami Street Railway Company announced that it would begin laying track for a streetcar line, the population was approximately 5,000. It would be in operation it was hoped, in time for the city's celebration of its tenth anniversary in July 1906. That deadline was met; the company was ready when the celebration began. There were problems from the start, including several accidents. Once a lumber wagon attempted to cut in front of the trolley and overturned it. Later the trolley hit a mule carrying a passenger. There were no injuries in either case. New lines began to be laid into the outlying areas as the town grew, and new equipment was secured. World War I delayed expansion to the Beach, but that line came in December 1920. The fare between Miami and Miami Beach was ten cents. Trolleys played an important role during the boom of the 1920s carrying passengers out to Coral Gables, Coconut Grove, and other subdivisions that were being developed. Even after the collapse of the boom, tourists continued to come to Miami, and business for the trolley company expanded. It was also during the 1920s that the system passed from private to municipal control. Buses began to compete with the trolley companies, but as the city grew so did transportation facilities. The author has included maps showing the routes of the cars and a number of pictures. Published by Harold E. Cox, 80 Virginia Terrace, Forty Fort, PA 18705, *Biscayne Bay Trolleys* sells for \$9.00.

Indian Rocks, A Pictorial History was published by the Indian Rocks Historical Society. One of the earliest settlers in the area was John T. Lowe who had been sailing a cargo ship between

Ceder Key and Key West. He arrived with his family and members of his wife's family in 1859, to homestead some eighty acres of land later granted by the government. Included in this attractive graphic history are pictures of people, tourist attractions, private residences, beach scenes, and business properties. There is a photograph of the Tampa excursion train and several of Gulf Boulevard in the early 1960s and after the 1950 hurricane demolished the roadway. There is an early picture of the Lowe homestead, and other photographs and narrative trace the history of the community to the present. *Indian Rocks* adds to our knowledge of Florida Gulf coast history. It may be ordered from the Society, 1507 Bay Palm Boulevard, Indian Rocks Beach, Florida 33535. The price is \$6.50.

Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles, by Burnette Vanstory, is an account of the history of the coastal islands, the Golden Isles, which stretch from Amelia Island off the northeast coast of Florida to South Carolina. First published in 1956, this is a revised edition that is being released by University of Georgia Press. It carries a foreword by Eugenia Price, who frequently uses the St. Augustine area as background for her novels. The paperback edition of *Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles* sells for \$8.95.

The Making of a Southerner by Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin is being published by the University of Georgia Press in its *Brown Thrasher Books* series. It is a reprint of an original published in 1947. The new edition carries an afterword by the author. It sells for \$6.95.

Okefinokee Album describes in pictures and narrative the history of the swamp that separates Florida and Georgia. Settlers moved into this isolated area around 1850, and remained until the 1930s and 1940s when the Okefinokee was declared a National Wildlife Refuge. Francis Harper, the famed Cornell University naturalist, came to the Okefinokee area in 1912 to do biological research. He compiled notes about the swamp people that he met, planning to write a book, but this never happened. His notebooks and other materials provide the basis for the *Album* which has been assembled by Delma E. Presley. There is an introduction to the chapter "Francis Harper and the People of the Great Swamp,"

and "Okefinokee Sampler" has been extracted from Harper's papers. There is also a postscript, "Notes on a Vanishing Breed." The book is rich in detail on lore and folktales, and on the mammals and birds of the area. Included are excerpts from Harper's "Chessers Island Journal, 1922-1951." A selected list of his works, pictures, and a list of articles, pamphlets, and books on the Okefinokee are included. *Okefinokee Album* was published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, the price is \$14.95.

The Afro-American Slave: Community or Chaos? is a collection of previously published essays by prominent scholars. The volume is divided into three sections: "The Seeds of Slavery and the Slave Community," "From the Bottom Up: Masters and Slaves, Family and Religion," and "The Distribution of Culture and Power in the Slave Community." There is an introduction and a section entitled "Suggestions for Further Reading." Randall M. Miller is the editor, and the publisher is Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, Box 9542, Melbourne, Florida 32901. The price is \$6.50.

Swamp Water is a novel set in the Okefenokee Swamp that was written by Vereen Bell, a Georgian. It first appeared serially in the *Saturday Evening Post*, November-December 1940, and was then published by Little, Brown & Company. It was a critical and financial success from the start, and two movie versions were made in 1941 and 1951. Vereen Bell, Jr., has written a foreword to this new edition. It sells for \$6.95 in paperback and was published by University of Georgia Press.

Portrait of an Island, by Mildred Teal and John Teal, was published first in 1964. It has now been reprinted by the University of Georgia Press in its *Brown Thrazer Book* series. Sapello is one of the sea islands off the coast of Georgia, and it was there that the authors worked in the University of Georgia's Marine Institute for four years, 1955-1959. They wrote a natural history of Sapello, describing the plants, animals, insects, birds, amphibians, fish, and sea creatures who lived in the forest, savannahs, swamps, salt marshes, beach, fresh water ditches, and ponds that make up the island. The sketches are by Richard Rice. There is

an index, and the authors have contributed an afterword to this paperback edition. It sells for \$6.95.

Ruby Pickens Tartt grew up in the black belt region of Alabama and early developed a keen interest in the stories, songs, and folklore of rural blacks in her native state. During the Depression she worked with the WPA Federal Writers' Project and collected stories and songs from black people, mainly those living in Sumter County, Alabama. She attended their churches and played games with them. By recording their stories and music she helped save folklore that might otherwise have been lost. She assisted many writers, including John and Alan Lomax, Carl Sandburg, and Carl Carmer, who have credited her in their writings for her valuable help. Her biography, *Toting the Lead Road; Ruby Pickens Tartt, Alabama Folklorist*, has been written and compiled by Virginia Towns Brown and Larulla Owens and published by the University of Alabama Press. The first part of the book is Mrs. Tartt's life as a typical southern lady; the remainder includes selections from her own writings. These are divided into two parts: "Life Histories and Stories" and "Slave Narratives." The appendix includes biographical sketches of the Sumter County singers and storytellers who provided Mrs. Tartt with much of her data. There are also pictures, a bibliography, and an index. The volume sells for \$19.95.

Ghosts and Goosebumps is a collection of ghost stories, tall tales, and superstitions from central and southeastern Alabama. According to the foreword, much of the material was collected by Troy State University students. Other material was taken from the WPA Federal Writers' Project and from findings reported by students in folklore classes at Alexander City State Junior College. The introduction provides historical data on the origin of the folk tales, both the supernatural and the humorous. Most of these had been transmitted orally, and as the authors note, a printed folk tale cannot convey the real effect and meaning of the storytelling experience. Superstitions are listed under many headings: pregnancy, birth, childhood, love and marriage, death, weather, and the seasons, good luck and good fortune, making wishes come true, bad luck, spells, and signs and portents. There is a bibliographic essay of American folklore collections and

scholarship and a reference list of Alabama folk tales in the Library of Congress. The volume sells for \$18.95.

Half Horse Half Alligator, the Growth of the Mike Fink Legend was published in 1956, and it has been reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press. Walter Blair and Franklin J. Mein edited this edition and have provided an introduction and notes. Legends and stories have grown up about Mike Fink, the nineteenth-century frontiersman, who was at various times a Mississippi River boatman, trapper, and mountainman. The book is divided into three sections: "Mike Fink in History, Legend, and Story," "The Growth of an American Legend," and "Accounts of Mike Fink's Death." There is a bibliography and illustrations from contemporary publications. The paperback sells for \$6.50.