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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

The King's Coffer, Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702. By Amy Bushnell. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981. ix, 198 pp. Preface, appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Recent monographs by Paul Hoffman and Eugene Lyon have greatly expanded our knowledge and appreciation of Hapsburg administration and imperial finance in Spanish Florida. This volume by Amy Bushnell will make an excellent companion to these studies. Bushnell examines the political and financial elite of the colony during the Hapsburg period and demonstrates how this *hidalgo* class dominated the royal treasury. She concludes that ultimately the success of this group, who saw themselves as *floridianos* rather than Spaniards, insured their own economic preservation and that of the colony through control of the treasury at St. Augustine. The province remained economically operational because of their efforts, although self-interest was their primary motivation. Not surprisingly, the Menéndez Marquez clan, descendent from the *adelantado*, served as the nucleus of this group, with many of its familial connections serving key roles in the Florida treasury throughout the Hapsburg era.

This volume is more, however, than the history of a social elite involved in treasury matters for their own economic and social betterment. It is a commentary on treasury organization and operation as practiced by Hapsburg colonial administrators. Its perspective is solidly imperial, viewing Florida from the standpoint of Spanish colonial policy and its execution on the local level. Although Florida was unique in some matters, including certain treasury practices, the author's analysis of the royal treasury may be safely used as a reliable case study, especially since no similar examination has been made of other Hapsburg colonial treasuries elsewhere in the Indies. This alone makes the volume a timely resource for a wide and varied readership interested in Latin American colonial history.

The King's Coffer does more than chronicle the activities of a Florida elite in dominating the royal treasury. The narrative

delicately weaves together this story with a general analysis of how a royal colonial treasury functioned. For example, an early chapter notes the expenses of maintaining one's self as a member of the privileged class in the province. This discussion, covering the demands of charity, the costs of high fashion, consumption of goods and services, housing styles, and similar considerations, provides insight into the motivations of the royal treasury officials. Office in the treasury became a way to maintain social and class position. In the telling of this story for Hapsburg Florida, Bushnell leads the reader through a detailed explanation of the structure and functioning of the treasury as an institution of colonial governance. She provides an overview of the sale of proprietary office, with special emphasis on the titles and obligations of treasury officials. Important as well is her detailed analysis of the duties and obligations of treasury officials, complete with an accounting of their salaries and specific job duties in the treasury. The fortunes of Florida, as a colony dependent on an annual monetary subsidy from the crown, naturally made the king's treasury an important institution in the province. This cash supplement, or *situado*, was coupled by colonial administrators to revenues collected locally in order to provide the financial base for the Florida government. Bushnell provides a discussion of *situado* administration and a catalog of the various taxes which generated local revenues, thereby making the study a valuable resource for those interested in Hapsburg treasury practices.

The author's careful research in the records of Spanish Florida is perhaps the strongest asset of this volume, which is an enlargement of her dissertation. Her research is also a tribute to the significant wealth of documents now available in transcription and microform at Florida repositories, particularly the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, since these served as the study's primary source base. The use of these records to comment on social practices and the concerns of imperial finance has been imaginative. For example, from random documentation, Bushnell has compiled a list of treasury officials and their dates of service which will serve as a valuable reference tool. Placing Florida within the context of imperial administrative concerns, and then contrasting this perspective with the development of a local elite which sometimes operated

in opposition to stated policy in the Indies, is a useful analytical approach which highlights the uniqueness of Spanish Florida while denoting the role it played in the Hapsburg colonial system. This book will certainly be received as a welcome addition to the growing literature of solid and competent scholarship dealing with Spanish Florida in the Hapsburg era.

Austin College

LIGHT TOWNSEND CUMMINS

Vicente Folch, Governor in Spanish Florida, 1787-1811. By David Hart White. (Washington: University Press of America, 1981. 111 pp. Introduction, footnotes. \$17.25; \$7.50 paper.)

David White's is a brief account of the West Florida career of a minor Spanish military administrator. From 1787 until 1796, Juan Vicente Folch commanded, respectively, the post of Mobile, a surveying expedition, two coastal galleys, and a fort at present Memphis, Tennessee. Half the book treats Folch's activities as commander of Pensacola beginning in 1796. In 1804 he received the long desired office of governor of West Florida. Thereafter, the Burr conspiracy and revolts at Baton Rouge heightened the Spanish perception that both Floridas ultimately were indefensible. In this context, Folch made a clouded exit in 1811. Disappointed that he had not been reassigned to Spain, and threatened by American filibusterers, the governor proposed surrendering Mobile to the United States Army to prevent its capture by filibusterers. After receiving reinforcements and a reprimand, he maintained that his offer had been a trick. Folch's defeatist attitude at least secured his deliverance from West Florida, which he had never liked, for he was ordered home to a court martial. He was cleared of the treason charge.

The author is a good storyteller, and his straightforward, engaging style is rarely marred by irrelevant filler or folksiness. To the extent that it entered his correspondence, Folch's personal life is treated. The reader learns, for example, that as commander of Mobile the cuckolded Folch had his wife arrested after hearing (with witnesses, of course) two persons breathing beneath her mosquito net. He asked his uncle and patron, Estevan Miro, to have the offending French officer transferred. Later one sees

Folch sleeping on oars during the two months exploration of Tampa Bay, "with the rudder for a headboard," in order to prevent his men, fearful of Indians, from absconding at night.

Good Indian relations was a priority. Folch acquiesced in the policy of supporting the trading monopoly of Panton, Leslie and Company (later the Forbes Company), knowing that the British firm could best keep the Indians satisfied. An irony of this relationship was apparent in 1806 while Spain and Britain were at war. It was with difficulty that Folch restrained a Spanish ship captain from attacking a British vessel which was in Pensacola harbor routinely unloading trade goods for Forbes Company.

White makes some observations about the society of West Florida and facilitates others. He notes a marked preference among blacks for Indian owners, observing that "no white man would knowingly buy a Negro who had been the slave of an Indian, feeling sure he would run away immediately" (p. 73). Similarly he records Folch's policy of not admitting blacks from the French West Indies during the upheavals of the French Revolution, for fear of the revolutionary contagion. The importance of social status among the Spanish military community is indicated by the story of a lieutenant who refused to marry the mother of his child on the grounds that her father, also a lieutenant, previously had been an enlisted man. Likewise, a sergeant was denied a promotion because his wife was socially unacceptable to the wives of other commissioned officers, being the sister-in-law of a shoemaker. Folch frequently complained of the poor morale of the men, for which White blames their isolation and "wretched living conditions." Folch had a different explanation: almost one-half of the soldiers in the Pensacola battalion were natives of Mexico or Cuba, and Folch had the peninsular's textbook disdain for the creole.

White's use of Spanish archival material is valuable, but his perception and inquiry rarely go beyond Folch's correspondence. As a result, while the reader learns of Folch's energy, diligence, and hard work, as well as his testy pride and arrogance, there is no attempt to compare him with others of his time and place and thereby assess his impact on them. Folch's Catalan background is mentioned only casually. In view of Spanish ethnic tensions, particularly between Catalans and Castillians, one wonders whether there was any ethnic or cultural component to Folch's

failure to get along with his colleagues and superiors. This failure, a theme of the book, is explained simply by Folch's "irascibility."

There is neither an index nor a map. These and other editorial short-comings no doubt were occasioned by the posthumous nature of the work's publication. They are far outweighed by its contributions.

Elon College

CAROLE WATTERSON TROXLER

Florida's "French" Revolution, 1793-1795. By Charles E. Bennett. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981. x, 218 pp. Maps, acknowledgements, appendix, selected bibliography, index, illustrations. \$16.00.)

This study concerns the abortive French-inspired invasion of and rebellion in Spanish East Florida during the years 1793 to 1795. When Citizen Edmond Genêt arrived in Charleston in April 1793, France and Spain were at war. Genêt intended to organize a force of United States volunteers who, with French aid, would invade the Spanish Floridas. Genêt's timing was good. Discontent in East Florida had reached near-epidemic proportions. Such unrest had been created in part by Spanish commercial policies which prevented competitive free enterprise and enabled one firm, Pantón, Leslie and Company, to enjoy a virtual monopoly of the colony's trade. Although Spain endeavored to alleviate the problem through a more liberal trade policy, the new commercial regulations did little to ease tensions.

A number of Americans who had left the United States and had taken an oath of loyalty to Spain were resident in East Florida in the 1790s. Most of them had obtained land grants and either farmed, ranched, or were engaged in commerce. Some of these new citizens served the Spaniards as alcaldes, militia officers, or in some other official capacity. A few of them, including Abner Hammond, William Jones, Richard Lang, John McIntosh, William Plowden, and John Peter Wagnon, chaffed at the lack of commercial and political freedom in the Floridas. They were ready to assist in the so-called "French" revolution in the Floridas. But Genêt's recall and the end of the French conspiracy did not

bring peace to East Florida. The ringleaders continued to plot the overthrow of Spanish authority.

Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada learned of their plans and ordered their arrest. All but McIntosh and Wagnon were confined in the Castillo de San Marcos. Those two were sent to Havana and were there imprisoned in El Morro. After a few months, Quesada released the St. Augustine prisoners, but McIntosh and Wagnon remained in custody for nearly a year. After their release, aided and abetted by General Elijah Clark, the conspirators captured Fort Juana, Fort San Nicolás, and the royal gunboat *San Simeon*. The Spaniards soon recaptured the posts and forced the rebels to flee.

The Spaniards tried sixty-eight of the men involved in the insurrection, thirty-five in absentia. Some of them were imprisoned, and most had their property confiscated. Some sentences were dramatic. McIntosh and Lang, among others, were sentenced to be dragged by the tail of a horse to the St. Augustine plaza, there hanged, their bodies quartered, and their heads and arms displayed near Fort San Nicolás and elsewhere as a warning to others. Apparently none of the rebels ever suffered such fates.

Congressman Charles E. Bennett of Jacksonville wrote the introduction and summaries, and translated and edited the documents. The format of this volume follows generally that of Mr. Bennett's earlier studies about the French in Florida in the 1560s. He has provided a general introduction followed by brief introductory summaries at the beginning of each chapter of translated documents. Several maps, drawings, and portraits are included.

The documents are from the *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 166, pormenor* (subsection or *expediente*) 16. They contain the criminal proceedings against John McIntosh and his accomplices. Copies of these records (microfilm and/or typescript) are in the Library of Congress and in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. This is only one of forty-six *expedientes* in this *legajo*. Several others are of particular interest because they are the records of the courts-martial of the officers who surrendered Fort San Marcos de Apalachee to William Augustus Bowles in 1800.

The history of the East Florida rebellion has been told in greater or lesser detail by other historians, but this is the first time

that the documents have been translated and published. Thus, while generally the story is familiar, many of the details contained in the documents are new. Panton, Leslie and Company was one of the objects of the rebels' wrath, but it is almost embarrassing to admit that this was the first time we had seen a copy of John Leslie's interrogatory (pp. 128-29). The combination of the translated documents and the narrative provides both scholar and layman with a different and new approach to this important episode in the history of the Spanish Floridas.

University of West Florida

WILLIAM S. COKER

The Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles Against the Whites. By James W. Covington. (Chuluota, Florida: The Mickler House Publishers, 1982. 82 pp. Preface, foreword, maps, illustrations, index. \$9.95.)

Dr. Covington's book at long last fills a conspicuous gap in Florida history. Before its publication no single reference existed covering events from the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842 to the conclusion of the Third War sixteen years later, May 8, 1858. The author has efficiently supplied an important missing segment of the state's history and of the history of Indian-white relations. The publishers deserve praise for recognizing the need and getting the missing piece into print.

Among the 450 Indians left in Florida in the late 1840s, there were a few renegades whose atrocities intensified the perennial dislike of the peninsular white people for their red neighbors. Senator Stephen R. Mallory stated the widely-held viewpoint: "Florida considers [the Indian] presence an intolerable evil; not to be endured and they must go out of the state or be exterminated" (p. 26). He voiced the same cry as others had uttered during the Second Seminole War. In response the United States government sent about 1,400 regular soldiers to Florida and began building new roads and restoring abandoned Second War forts.

When the Third War ended in May 1858, the Indian population had dropped to thirty-five warriors and some women, chil-

dren, and old men— in all no more than 100. Removal had been achieved by the same strategy as had ended the Second War, but only after all sorts of other random attempts, ranging from trying to bribe the natives to leave, to seeking to defeat them in white-style pitched battles, had failed. Small units penetrated the remotest of the Indian keeps, enduring heat, cold, insects, humidity, snake-bite, dysentery, and malaria to get there, and then had destroyed the native food supply and killed or captured as many of the foe as they could.

Even though the strategy was the same, the executors of it were different. When the Third War began in 1855, the United States government, and Floridians too, planned for the regular army to be the removal instrument. At the highest level of command it was Brigadier General William S. Harney who established an effective military organization for the guerrilla-style war, and his successor, Colonel Gustavus Loomis, who placed it in full operation. But out in the hammocks it was the citizen soldiers from Florida who carried out the search and destroy system. In the Second War, the regulars had done it.

I have but one fault to find with this gap-filling book: the two identical maps which are the front and rear end papers ought to include places mentioned in the text. Missing from those maps are Fish Eating Creek, Lakes Tohopekaliga, Istokpoga, Hamilton, and Monroe, and Forts Fraser, Crawford, Chokkonikla, Gardiner, Gatlin, Pierce, Clinch, Capron, McRae, Shackelford, Center, Hartsuff, Green, Hooker, Poinsett, Keais, Doane, and Simon Drum.

University of Florida.

JOHN K. MAHON

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 8, Oct. 10, 1771-April 18, 1773. Edited by George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnutt. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980. x, 783 pp. Introduction, list of abbreviations, principal dates of Laurens's life, appendices, index. \$27.50.)

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 9, April 19, 1773-Dec. 12, 1774. Edited by George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnutt. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981. xxii, 710 pp. Introduction, list of abbreviations, principal dates of Laurens's life, index. \$27.50.)

In the years covered by these two volumes (1771-1774) South Carolina planter Henry Laurens was in Europe. Spending much of his time in London, he also travelled throughout England and made four continental excursions, primarily to France and Switzerland. His wife had died in 1770, and Laurens went to England to supervise the education of his three sons. During Laurens's lifetime, Charleston had a hedonistic reputation associated with gambling, dancing, and excessive drinking, and a superficial interest in learning. This may have been unfair; in any case Laurens did not fit that mold. In England the Carolinian denounced the decadence and excesses of Georgian society and was relieved when he was able to relocate two of his sons to schools in republican Geneva.

Laurens was one of a group of upper class South Carolinians— Izards, Applebys, Beresfords, among others— who journeyed to England for business, educational, and personal reasons. Laurens visited them at the Carolina Coffee House in London and at Bristol and Bath. For several months he nursed his contemporary and old friend, Peter Manigault, who died nevertheless, and Laurens had the unpleasant duty of writing the family that the body was being returned to Charleston in a lead coffin. Young and foolish Mary Bremar, Laurens's niece, also arrived in London. Egerton Leigh had seduced young Molly— or vice versa— and she bore a child which soon died. Laurens eventually reconciled himself to Molly, placing her in a French convent away from temptation. But that “knave and fool” Leigh, with all his “lying, perjury, forgery,” etc., Laurens could never forgive. Leigh, president of the South Carolina council and a champion of the royal

prerogative, though initially a friend and business associate, in recent years had become Laurens's bitter political enemy.

True to his Calvinistic heritage, Laurens continued to make diligent use of his time in England, rising early and writing numerous letters. Part of his correspondence concerned management of his Carolina and Georgia plantations; overseers, friends, and relatives on the scene could not do it all. He assisted in selling rice, indigo, and deerskins sent out from America. He hoped to secure an improved rice-pounding mill, made preliminary arrangements to establish wine-making and sericulture on his holdings, and continued to purchase lands.

The Scot, Richard Oswald, Laurens's long-time friend and business partner, owned a large plantation in East Florida. Based on rice, indigo, and naval stores, East Florida's economy in many respects was an extension of that of Carolina and Georgia. Laurens advised Oswald about East Florida and consulted with prospective emigrants. Laurens promised the absentee planter, John Tucker, that as soon as he returned to America he would visit and report on Tucker's East Florida plantation. In general, however, Laurens thought one should not waste time on settling in that province.

With the Boston Tea Party (1773) and the Coersive Acts (1774), the movement toward colonial rebellion accelerated while Laurens was in England. He served as an unofficial colonial agent and was an outspoken Patriot, though a conservative one, vigorously upholding the rights of provincial assemblies. He did think Boston should pay for the tea, because property was one of those cherished inalienable rights. Storing the tea in a Charleston warehouse rather than destroying it was a better response. Collaborating with Ralph Izard, Arthur Lee, and other Americans, Laurens defended the actions of the colonies.

Repeated delays prevented him from returning to Carolina. Finally, after ensuring that sufficient Negro cloth would be sent out to his plantations, making arrangements for additional purchases of slaves, and winding up a multitude of personal and public obligations, he sailed for Carolina. Arriving in Charleston in December 1774, he became at once a leader of the Patriots, denouncing British tyranny and Parliament's resolve to reduce the colonies to abject slavery.

The editors, with their useful footnotes and informative in-

troductions, have continued the high standards set in preceding volumes, and readers, including those interested in the British Floridas, can look forward to succeeding volumes dealing with the American Revolution.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 6, January 1-April 30, 1777; Volume 7, May 1- September 18, 1777; Volume 8, September 19, 1777-January 31, 1778. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1980; 1981; 1981. xxviii, 760 pp.; xxvi, 749 pp.; xxxi, 745 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgements, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, appendices, indexes, advisory committee. \$19.00; \$15.00; \$17.00.)

The thirteen months covered by these volumes were some of the most difficult of the Revolution, what John S. Pancake calls *The Year of the Hangman* as the subtitle of his book, 1777. As in the previous volumes of this magnificent series, the spare but utilitarian editing gives the reader an abundance of useful information: a chronology, a listing of delegates' elections and attendance, annotated illustrations, and in a few cases lengthy explanatory notes on topics including Quaker persecution, the Conway cabal, and a dispute between Washington, Howe, and Congress over some Hessian and British prisoners (Vol. 7, 573-75; Vol. 8, 330-31, 640-42).

Even more than in earlier volumes on the closely studied events of 1774-1776, these volumes contain, almost exclusively, previously unpublished materials (the chief exceptions being John Adams's letters to Abigail from the modern edition of the *Adams Papers* and John Witherspoon's speeches to Congress, the originals of which have disappeared— forcing the editors to rely on drafts in Witherspoon's *Works*).

Many of the letters give a powerful sense of immediacy, for example this letter from Charles Carroll to his father: "The Congress still continues the same noisy, empty & talkative as-

sembly it always was since I have known it. No progress has been made in the Confederation tho' all seem desirous of forming one. A good confederation I am convinced would give us great strength & new vigor. This State [Pennsylvania] is in a great degree disaffected, & the well affected are inactive & supine. This supineness & inactivity I attribute to the government & to the men who govern; they want wisdom, influence, & the confidence of a very great portion of the People" (Vol. 8, 50). Carroll's astute complaint indicates the themes of these volumes: talkativeness, irresolution, underlying but inert consensus, and the link between influential leadership and popular revolutionary activity. The letters of several delegates—Carroll, Henry Laurens, Elbridge Gerry, Thomas Burke, John Adams, James Lovell, Robert Morris, William Hooper, and Richard Henry Lee—provide the most incisive and articulate testimony on these themes.

Henry Laurens's letters in volumes 7 and 8 are more numerous, lengthy, and vivid than those of any other delegate. They explode with curiosity, indignation, and animation as in this portrayal of John Hancock: "I can have no prejudice" against him because "in our short acquaintance . . . we always . . . sat & drank together in great cordiality. . . . [He] has contributed largely to the promotion of party. His fawning mild address & obsequiousness procured him toleration from great men on both sides, a sort of favoritism from some. His idleness, duplicity & criminal partiality in a certain Circle laid the foundation of our present deplorable state" (Vol. 8, 545).

Equally compelling are seven letters from John Adams to Nathanael Greene in which Adams mixes naiveté about the military situation with acute insight into the history of warfare. "If our officers will not lead their Men I am for shooting all who will not," he complained. "It is high Time for us to abandon this exorable defensive Plan." A few weeks later Adams sent Greene a learned and intricate comparison of the Roman general, Lucius Sulla, and William Howe: "Howe is no Sylla," Adams concluded, "but he is manifestly aping two of Sylla's Tricks, holding out Proposals of Terms and bribing soldiers to desert. . . . Many of the Troops from Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia are natives of England, Scotland and Ireland. . . . They have no Tie to this Country. They have no Principles. . . . These things give Howe great opportunities" (Vol. 6, 575; Vol. 7, 115).

Thomas Burke's extensive notes on the drafting of the Articles of Confederation appear often. In addition, Burke's "Draft Address to the Inhabitants of the United States" poured out in passionate, forceful prose his understanding of the causes of the Revolution. The "Address" deserves close study as a source on American tenacity in 1777 and an example of the Whigs' moral interpretation of their recent history.

Students of Florida history will value Henry Laurens's detailed discussion of August 30, 1777, of the case of George McIntosh of Georgia who was accused of illicit trade with the British in East Florida and the debates about a projected invasion of West Florida reported in Charles Thomson's notes of July 24 and Laurens's letter to John Rutledge of August 12, 1777.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

Arthur Lee: A Virtuous Revolutionary. By Louis W. Potts. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xiv, 315 pp. Acknowledgements, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Biographers face a task so difficult the wonder is that anyone has the fortitude to complete a life of his chosen victim. Arthur Lee presents an unusually knotty problem to his biographer: how to deal with a difficult, perhaps tormented man, and one not attractive personally. Lee had none of the grand simplicities of Abraham Lincoln that allowed Benjamin P. Thomas to portray the man in a single volume. Nor did Lee have Teddy Roosevelt's combination of capacity and panache that enabled Henry F. Pringle to elaborate his career without holding up to ridicule Roosevelt's foibles or underplaying his contributions. No one pretends that either Thomas or Pringle said all, and certainly not the last word, but each solved his problem successfully. To be fair, Arthur Lee does not compare with Lincoln or Roosevelt in magnitude of achievement, nor has scholarly attention to Lee provided his biographer ready building stones for constructing his memorial. Whatever the reason Professor Potts falls considerably short of a balanced biography of Lee.

By ordinary predictors for success— family, education, opportunity— Arthur Lee should have played the creative role he envisioned for himself in the America of his day. Born (1740) into the Lee family of Stratford Hall (though a younger son with next to no patrimony), educated at Eton, later trained in medicine at the University of Edinburgh, passionately involved once the revolutionary troubles began, Lee failed of the recognition he felt he deserved for his manifold labors in behalf of his country and ended his days (1792) in “sordid pursuits,” a self-pitying martyr.

Some of the shortcomings of this biography can be chalked up to the subject: an unlovable man with inner tensions and unsatisfied cravings. Certainly the problem does not lie in the scarcity of material that all but debars biographers of Lee’s contemporary, Patrick Henry, from the full life portrait. Arthur Lee corresponded widely: Edmund Burke, Richard Price, Abbé Reynal, Rouchefoucauld, Shelburne, not to mention the Adamses, Franklin, and his own brothers. Furthermore he produced a respectable body of polemics, especially in the years immediately preceding independence. In his writing Arthur Lee should reveal himself: he assuredly did not refrain from pleading his own virtue, and in his title the author takes Lee at his own appraisal. Perhaps Lee felt constrained to blow his own horn: he lived in the shadow of abler men, for one, Benjamin Franklin, whom he resented and sharply criticized for indolence and carelessness. Yet Lee correctly suspected the spy, Edward Bancroft, who retained not only Franklin’s confidence but the post of secretary to the American legation in Paris as a base for reporting every American diplomatic move to his British superiors. Not merely suspicious but also contentious, Lee alienated many who might have been his allies in furthering the American cause. Lee’s bad judgment (pointed up in the prologue), the intemperateness that made him a telling polemicist, and his incredible conceit that led him to undervalue colleagues— all combined to hobble him as an effective agent of the infant republic.

To his credit Professor Potts refrains from cosmetics to conceal the warts. He establishes the facts of Lee’s life far more amply than Burton J. Hendrick (*The Lees of Virginia*) and without the filiopietism of Richard Henry Lee’s volumes published in the 1820s. The initial thirty-seven pages cover the first twenty-six

years of Lee's life; the last thirty-four pages sketch his career from 1781 until his death eleven years later.

The 213 pages between, three quarters of the book, are essentially a monograph— Arthur Lee and the American Revolution. Here in chapters 2 through 7 Professor Potts takes Lee through the war of polemics, the association with the Adamses, dealings with Beaumarchais, and the battle with Silas Deane, among other activities. Presumably the author is emphasizing, as a biographer should, what he considers important and revealing, in this instance fifteen years of revolutionary troubles that raised this “restless genius” to ambiguous notoriety, which still attaches to his name. He has some difficulty keeping Lee at center stage: Lee is overshadowed by major players and overwhelmed by the sweep of the drama— not a principal actor at all. Professor Potts does not improve matters with his mannered, uninformative chapter headings and his graceless prose, particularly his faddish addiction to *would* (the preterit of *will*) in a past future construction— a growing disease among some historians. In justification for this structural balance the author asserts (p. 70), “Arthur Lee was to play a pivotal role in history.” His account does not support this judgment.

University of Georgia

AUBREY C. LAND

Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832. By Robert V. Remini. (New York: Harper & Row, 1981. xvi, 469 pp. Preface, chronology, illustrations, notes, index. \$20.00.)

In reviewing Robert V. Remini's *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821*, the present reviewer questioned in this journal (LVII, 478) whether the author could fulfill his announced intention to deal adequately with Jackson's career after 1821 in only one volume. Happily. Remini's publisher consented to allow him to expand what appears destined to be this generation's standard biography of Jackson into a three-volume work. *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832*, carries the story of Old Hickory's life through his reelection as president in 1832. The third and final volume

will cover his second administration and the years of his retirement prior to his death in 1845.

In his earlier volume Remini's central thesis was that "Andrew Jackson, more than any other man of the nineteenth century . . . determined the course of American expansion" (p. xii). There is a central theme in the present study— that Jackson was "committed to an ideology that reflected the beliefs of the Founding Fathers, and he devised a program of change and renewal . . . by which he hoped to . . . restore the country and its government to virtue and honesty" (p. ix). Remini's emphasis upon the influence of republican ideology on Jackson is akin to the view put forth in Richard B. Latner's *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House Politics, 1829-1837*. Although Remini does not share Latner's opinion that the Peggy Eaton affair grew out of a contest for control of the programmatic direction of the Jackson administration, Remini views Jackson not as an ideologue but rather as a "pragmatic politician fully prepared to compromise whenever it served his need" (p. 172). He concedes that he was motivated in part by personal ambition, private animosities, and deep-seated prejudices, and that at times, particularly when plagued by ill health, his behavior bordered on madness. On the whole, however, he displays sympathy for Jackson and his actions. He also firmly believes that "Jackson's political philosophy must be taken into serious account in any evaluation of his later career" (p. 35).

Crucial to Remini's designation of Jackson as the first reform president is his argument that what is commonly regarded as the Era of Good Feelings should be called "the nation's first Era of Corruption" (p. 15). "For a long time," he writes, "I resisted Jackson's contention about the corruption of this era, believing that it was largely a figment of his overwrought imagination. But the more I researched the period, the more the evidence convinced me that he knew what he was talking about" (pp. 396-97). This reviewer remains skeptical that Remini has proved that the period from 1816 to 1828 was relatively more corrupt than any other comparable period in early American history. Surely in light of the numerous speculations involving the customs houses and land offices, the gross mismanagement of the Post Office, and the unprecedented frauds that accompanied the removal of the Indians

during Jackson's presidency, a strong case could be made that his administration was a more conspicuous "Era of Corruption."

Remini has done a good job in showing how Jackson and his followers used the rhetoric inspired by the republican ideology of the American Revolution in his successful campaign to capture the presidency and in demonstrating the powerfulness of such appeals to the electorate that placed him there. But this writer is less convinced of the importance of that republican ideology in shaping Jackson's political actions. The republican principles of the Revolutionary era held strikingly different meanings to different Americans of Jackson's day. To opponents of slavery, for example, the terms "freedom" and "liberty"—two of the Old Hero's favorite expressions evoking the memory of the Founding Fathers—had entirely different connotations from those held by the seventh president. And even Jackson, according to Remini, entertained different meanings of those words from time to time. Prior to his election Jackson considered freedom to mean "the right of the individual to be left alone to enjoy the fruits of his labor without interference by government," but "more and more during his presidency the term 'freedom' became identified with majority rule." It is hoped that Remini will deal more fully with this transformation by which he argues that "Jackson subverted not only the meaning of freedom but the entire concept of 'republicanism'" (p. 323). Remini notes that by 1832 some of Jackson's opponents, alarmed over his strong executive leadership, were concerned about "the possible danger it posed to their republican system of government" (p. 391). In 1833, the first year to be covered in Remini's third volume, those opponents organized the Whig party and adopted the time-honored name of the Revolutionary patriots who first established republican rule in America.

University of Houston

EDWIN A. MILES

The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860. Edited by Drew Gilpin Faust. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. x, 306 pp. Preface, introduction, selected bibliography of secondary works on the proslavery argument. \$25.00; \$8.95 paper.)

In this book Drew Gilpin Faust presents the writings of seven major pro-slavery authors. Unlike Eric L. McKittrick's volume, *Slavery Defended*, which is now out of print, this collection consists of complete or almost complete works, not brief excerpts. It thus serves the valuable function of making readily accessible in one volume an important body of antebellum polemical thought. The book will be especially useful for courses in southern and Civil War-era history.

All the essays were originally composed during the thirty years preceding the Civil War; all but two were included in E. N. Elliott's monumental collection of pro-slavery writings, *Cotton Is King* (1860). Overall, the essays present a good cross-section of southern pro-slavery thought. (The only apparent shortcoming is Professor Faust's failure to include one or two earlier writings in defense of slavery; their absence is especially striking in light of her emphasis in the introduction on the essential continuity of pro-slavery arguments from the eighteenth century through the antebellum period.) Although the seven authors borrowed ideas liberally from each other, and defended slavery on a multiplicity of grounds, their emphases varied. Thomas Dew stressed the impracticality of emancipation proposals, while Thornton Stringfellow elaborated on the biblical justification of slavery; Josiah C. Nott argued on "scientific" grounds that blacks were physiologically inferior to whites and unfit for freedom, while William Harper, James H. Hammond, and Henry Hughes defended the humanity of southern slavery, which they contrasted with the brutality of northern "wage-slavery." The latter argument was pushed to the ultimate extreme in George Fitzhugh's article "Southern Thought," which appeared in *DeBow's Review* in 1857 and enunciated more pithily themes he had already presented in his books *Sociology for the South* and *Cannibals All!*

The editor's twenty-page introduction serves nicely to put the pro-slavery movement in perspective, by presenting both a brief

history of the defense of slavery and a historiographical survey of the subject. Probably most controversial is her rejection of George Fredrickson's categorization of pro-slavery thought into two camps, the majority "herrenvolk democrats" who stressed racial arguments, and a smaller group of aristocrats who portrayed the South as a bastion of conservative order in a world gone mad with democracy and individualism. Instead, she maintains, the pro-slavery movement had a unified "mainstream," and "the defenses of slavery [were] . . . remarkably consistent with one another" (p. 10). One of the virtues of Professor Faust's fine collection is that readers will be able to judge this question for themselves, in the process coming to a better understanding of the mind of the antebellum white South.

University of New Mexico

PETER KOLCHIN

Victims, A True Story of the Civil War. By Philip Shaw Paludan. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981. xvi, 144 pp. Acknowledgements, preface, epilogue, appendix, index. \$11.95.)

Small packages often contain pleasant surprises. Such is certainly the case with *Victims, A True Story of the Civil War*. This intelligently conceived, imaginatively argued, and skillfully written book contributes significantly to the literature of the Civil War, to the social history of American law, and to the debate among historians about how best to do history.

In January 1863 Confederate troops assigned to suppress Unionist guerrillas in western North Carolina massacred thirteen residents of the valley community of Shelton Laurel. The victims, some of whom had undoubtedly engaged in bushwacking Confederate troops, marched forth from their place of imprisonment believing their captors intended to deliver them to authorities in Knoxville. Shortly after the journey began, however, the Confederate officer in charge, Colonel James A. Keith, halted the column of prisoners. He ordered his apparently reluctant troops to execute the prisoners by shooting them in two groups of five and one of three. The last to die was a thirteen-year-old boy, who having already witnessed the murders of his father and brothers,

pleaded unsuccessfully to return to his mother. The troops left wild hogs to root up the hastily buried corpses.

Phillip Paludan frames the pathos of this atrocity in the context of individual lives powerfully altered by the forces of war. He deals at once with the motivation of the killers, the sentiment of the victims, and the clash of cultural differences that informed both. Colonel Keith and his subordinate, Captain Lawrence M. Allen, were residents of the nearby town of Marshall. Like many townspeople in the sparsely-settled western region of North Carolina they were Confederate sympathizers who looked contemptuously on the isolated mountain folk of places like Shelton Laurel. The Confederate commanding general in the region, Henry Heth, was the son of a Virginia planter, a friend of Robert E. Lee, and a veteran of irregular warfare in the West. Bold, courageous, and unthinking, Heth, Paludan argues, encouraged ruthlessness in his subordinate officers and may have even directed, as Keith claimed, the summary execution of guerrillas. The rough terrain, poor weather, and the Unionists's bushwacking tactics pushed Confederate officers from frustration, to brutishness, to savagery. All of these conditions combined with the uncertain legal status of irregular troops to foster the human depravity that culminated in massacre.

The people of Shelton Laurel, Paludan argues, were an inbred, traditional mountain culture that valued family, land, and isolation. Suspicious of Confederates in the towns, the mountaineers became "Lincolmites" and quickly deserted Confederate service after conscription. Under the exigencies of war traditional and modern values clashed; the result was suspicion, disdain, and ultimately hatred. The massacre, Paludan concludes, was more than an incident of war; it was the collision of cultures, a collision long in the making.

Paludan reveals that military and civil authorities failed to mete out justice. No person was ever punished. Confederate military officials covered up the incident. Immediately following the War the North Carolina Supreme Court ruled that the state's constitution, which granted amnesty to participants in the War, precluded prosecution of Keith. Some years later, Congress declined to grant pensions to the families of the victims on the incredible ground that the petitioners failed to submit proof that the killings had actually occurred.

Victims deserves thoughtful— and certainly critical— attention from professional historians groping for ways to infuse the methodological insights of other disciplines into their work while reaching a broad reading audience. Paludan exploits social science and psychological theory to probe issues of motivation otherwise obscured by a thin historical record. His narrative style emphasizes emotional impact and verisimilitude; the author quite unabashedly allows the reader to crawl inside the skins of murderers and victims.

Paludan offers a powerful story of small human tragedy amidst the cataclysm of the Civil War. Both in substance and method he speaks to us, as do all fine historians, with subtle yet undiluted force.

University of Florida

KERMIT L. HALL

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 10: 1909-1911. Edited Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. xxvi, 660 pp. Introduction, symbols and abbreviations, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

There emerges from these pages, covering only three years of the life of Booker T. Washington, an almost new and different personality. Whether he liked it or not he had virtually become an office-broker for Negroes north and south. The president of Tuskegee made the transition from the Roosevelt to the Taft administrations with seeming success. Roosevelt commended him to Taft “as the truest friend the party had among the race.”

In these latter years Booker T. Washington had become both a national and international figure who had access to personages in high places in Washington, and to the pages of many current periodicals. He came to write almost *ex-cathedra* on the racial issues, education, politics, and Negro economy. His letter to Louis Bronislavovich Skarzynski, a Polish count, in answer to a series of questions on liquor, prohibition, and the Negro, March 11, 1909, reveals this fact with marked clarity.

In November and December 1909, Booker T. Washington made a tour by special train across Tennessee and southern Kentucky. Along the way he spoke on education. This was well

covered by the national press. He was depressed by some conditions, but generally preached the intellectual advancement of his race.

Two famous Negroes come into focus in this volume, George Washington Carver and William Edward Burkhardt DuBois. Neither of these men appealed to Washington. His correspondence with Carver has both an impatient and condescending tone of the administrator asking work-a-day practical results from his staff. He showed little tolerance for pure research, and attempted to prescribe guidelines for his agricultural chemist and experiment station director. No doubt Dr. Carver should never have been saddled with the onerous duties of director.

The conflict with DuBois was philosophically more fundamental. Washington regarded DuBois as a dunce, and in January 1911, in a letter to Timothy Thomas Fortune, he accused DuBois of fleeing the Atlanta riots and hiding in an Alabama school. The chasm between the two men was broad and largely unbridgable. DuBois supported the cause of the poorer and less privileged of his race and accused Washington of thinking of them largely in the abstract and from an altogether different level of observation and audience appeal. DuBois may have had the more acute sense of basic racial economic and everyday social needs. However, he was never able to make the approaches to a discussion of the Negro in high places as did Booker T. Washington.

Washington crusaded with selected audiences at home, and with comparable ones abroad. On his famous European tour he traveled almost as official ambassador with advanced arrangements being made for him. Back home in 1911, he campaigned with newspaper and magazine editors to dignify his race by capitalizing Negro instead of using the slurring lower case letter.

There parades through this volume an almost endless procession of national and regional names such as Samuel Gompers, James Hardy Dillard, Hilary Herbert, William Crum, Clark Howell, Hollis Burke Frissell, Robert Curtis Ogden, and George Foster Peabody. In these years Booker T. Washington had become sure of himself as a political power, no doubt jealous of his position, and a spokesman not only for a southern constituency, but for Negroes in Liberia, Haiti, and other places.

There appears in articles and letters numerous value judge-

ments of the good and the bad among white Southerners. Most often he adopted a conciliatory view. The letters and papers appearing in this volume give a good, but sometimes oblique view of the racially transitional era in which there was a growing awareness among both races of their interdependence, but there is seldom a hint of means for fostering this awareness. Again, the papers of Booker T. Washington reach far out beyond a single personality in their importance in portraying the currents of change and strivings to find a happy median of racial coexistence and cooperation not only in the South but in the world.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

The Oratory of Southern Demagogues. Edited by Cal M. Logue and Howard Dorgan. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. 286 pp. Illustrations, contributors., index. \$22.50.)

Historians familiar with twentieth-century American politics will find little new information in this study of the oratory of southern demagogues. Most of the historical background is drawn from standard published biographies or unpublished but well known dissertations. Nonetheless, the volume is valuable for what it brings together in one place. By comparing the oratorical skills and emotional appeals of nine demagogues (Jeff Davis, Benjamin Tillman, James K. Vardaman, Tom Watson, Cole Blease, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Theodore Bilbo, Huey P. Long, and Eugene Talmadge), the authors are able to compare styles and philosophies in a way not previously done.

Common themes stand out in sharp relief. All of the speakers brought a certain arrogance to the stump which appealed to their mostly powerless and self-deprecating audiences. They expressed contempt for the social, economic, and political establishments, even when they sometimes belonged to them. Such rhetoric was well received by poor whites who were eager for explanations and scapegoats for their own deprivation. The speakers also were promoters who successfully marketed themselves and their policies. Usually, their emotional appeals over-simplified complex issues and confused legitimate debate.

Themes which emerged from all the essays tend to reinforce many historical generalities about the twentieth-century South. Obviously, "reforms" in voting which allowed common whites more power also produced political showmen whose campaigns consisted more of froth than of substance. The poverty of the white South is overwhelmingly a factor in every essay. The mindless racism which permeated society also appears repeatedly. One sometimes forgets that before the age of television and standardized newspaper coverage of campaigns, politicians could make such slanderous and contradictory charges.

But there are also differences in the orators. Some of the demagogues were cynical opportunists who obviously cared little for the common whites whose votes they sought and did nothing of substance to help them once elected; Cole Blease, "Cotton Ed" Smith, and Eugene Talmadge fit this pattern. Others, although equally cynical in their appeals, enacted substantive legislative reform; Jeff Davis, James K. Vardaman, Tom Watson, and Huey Long fit this designation. Benjamin Tillman and Theodore Bilbo fit somewhere between the categories. Almost as pervasive as race in the litany of the demagogues was the use of Protestant Christianity. Both the symbol and rhetoric of evangelicalism influenced all these speakers to one degree or another.

As with any anthology, the quality of the essays vary. All attempt to put the speaker in a broad historical context. Some essayists then utilize a rather heavy dose of professional jargon from rhetorical criticism; thankfully, most write cogently and plainly. Some authors concentrate on a single campaign, while others build their analysis upon an entire career. Obviously, the scope varies widely as a result.

If only because it brings together so many fascinating men from a lost age of oratorical flourish, this book is useful. It also reminds us that no matter how bad we believe the current crop of politicians to be, we have come a long way forward in the quality of American political debate.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

Americans and Their Servants, Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920. By Daniel E. Sutherland. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xv, 229 pp. Preface, prologue, bibliographical essay, illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

This volume fills an important gap in American social and economic history in proposing "to describe and clarify the forces shaping the occupation of domestic service and the lives of domestic servants in the United States between 1800 and 1920." The focus is "the servant problem," as viewed both by servants and employers. "Servants" are defined as "free laborers as opposed to slaves and indentured workers performing household or personal service in private homes, boarding houses, and hotels." The "problem" is portrayed as not one but many problems originating in the historically severe social stigma on domestic service and servants derived from the British tradition (deepened by the American experience with slavery); the vestiges of a feudal master-servant relationship; and an unfounded naive belief of employers and reformers in a mythical golden age of domestic service.

The need for domestic servants is described, as are the efforts to increase the supply by immigration, migration, and commercial recruitment firms, among other techniques. Despite these attempts and the availability of a large pool of unemployed, a perceived "shortage" remained throughout the century due primarily to the employers' image of a "good" servant. "Good" servants were defined as obedient, moral, and religious, with racial and national origins similar to the employer. The "problem" as viewed by the servant was one of maintaining human dignity and securing fair treatment by employers in the nature of work, hours, compensation, and other working conditions. Motives and efforts to maintain class lines by employers and reformers alike and the stereotypes servants and employers held of each other added to the normal human relations difficulties.

Thorough research is reflected throughout the ten chapters. Statistics are provided on many aspects of domestic service, including the ratio of servants to households, the growth and decline (after 1910) in the number of servants, the predominance of women, literacy rates, the changes over time in their average age, marital status, and the relative ranking of racial and national

origins. Attention is also given to the morals and intelligence of servants, their "way of life," including recreation, patterns of hours, organization of work, and compensation. The author describes the tension and "warfare" between employer and servant in many households as well as feeble protests, including unsuccessful efforts to organize labor unions, affiliate with existing unions, and strike.

Reform is a major theme with Professor Sutherland, and his contribution is important in describing reform's changing emphasis. The first efforts were designed to reform the servants themselves through instruction in moral and religious values, appropriate behavior and etiquette, and household operation. The reformers, like the employers, also sought to improve the supply of "good" workers. Reform societies and benevolent institutions established more reliable registry offices, prizes and cash to servants for exemplary behavior, vocational training, and boarding houses for female servants; but few of these activities influenced greatly the conditions of domestic service.

A small literary group took a different tack in the second third of the century by writing about the conditions of service and urging both servants and employers to improve them. Notable were Cathern M. Sedgwick, whose shocking novel, *Live and Let Live or Domestic Service Illustrated*, was intended to give more public attention to the subject, and later, Catherine Esther Beecher, whose solutions shifted the focus to improving household operations and the responsibilities of employers.

Beecher's writings signaled a national trend toward reform based on a new "scientific" age and an approach led by the new college-educated middle class, including college professors of "household science." College curricula and courses emerged, with the University of Illinois initiating a four-year program in 1875, and a national home economics movement coming into full bloom in universities by the turn of the century. Vassar Professor Lucy Maynard Salmon formed the academic foundation of much of this and the later Home Economics movement with her 1897 monograph, *Domestic Service*, in which she suggested four approaches to improve domestic service. The basic foundation for solutions, according to Salmon, was public education in household affairs. Partly as a consequence of this new approach, literary

efforts continued, reform societies re-surfaced, and in 1909, the American Home Economics Association was formed.

Nevertheless, these new efforts were not much more successful than previous ones, according to Professor Sutherland. The author attributes the causes of failure of reformers to disputes concerning methods, goals, and general principles of reform, to the obstinancy of employers and servants, and the wide diversity and complexity of problems.

The role of government in the reform movement was appraised as half-hearted and haphazard, with the federal government quite tardy in even recognizing domestic service as a "legitimate field of labor." Reform legislation, or what there was of it, was left to the states because the federal government considered the wide variation of conditions of service beyond regulation in wages, hours, or other working conditions.

The book's final chapter summarizes the many changes in domestic service over the 1800-1920 period; the composition and number of servants, the appearance and organization of American households, and the methods of housekeeping, all of which reduced the need for servants. The author concludes, however, that "Americans had not been able to change domestic service as they had originally intended to change it, but as circumstances gradually altered the nature of housekeeping and home life, different, more workable solutions suggested themselves." The changing technological, economic, political, and social environment in America had all altered the domestic service. "Unfortunately, no one knew exactly how this had happened and whether the winds of change had blown ill or fair."

Americans and Their Servants is a valuable book that meets a need in giving attention to a small but generally neglected visible part of the work force. Although the author's purpose is an ambitious undertaking in scope and detail, he achieves it by giving us a wealth of information in a soundly researched volume which will likely provoke other scholarship in the subject.

University of Hawaii

DURWARD LONG

Reflections of Southern Jewry, the Letters of Charles Wessolowsky, 1878-1879. Edited by Louis E. Schmier. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1982. viii, 184 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, index. \$12.95.)

Charles Wessolowsky was a native of Prussian Posen. In 1858 he left his native land for America, first settling in Sanderson, Georgia, where an older brother lived. Like many other Jewish immigrants of his era he took up peddling. Four years after his arrival in Georgia he became a soldier and displayed sufficient valor in combat to be promoted to regimental sergeant major. After the Civil War he moved to Albany, Georgia, where he soon was recognized as the leader of that town's thirty Jewish families. He held positions of responsibility in the local Masonic lodge and was politically active, serving at various times as city alderman, clerk of the county superior court, state representative, and state senator.

In 1877 Wessolowsky agreed to become associate editor of *The Jewish South*. During 1878 and 1879 he took trips through much of the South to promote both the newspaper and B'nai B'rith. His journey took him to more than sixty villages and towns in seven states. Unfortunately for readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* he did not include Florida in his travels. The letters Wessolowsky wrote were sent to editor Edward B. Browne, and they form the basis for this book.

Wessolowsky's letters provide invaluable data— in some cases, the only extant data— of Jewish life in small communities of the South. The letters reveal the prosperity of Jewish settlers and the high regard which most Gentiles then had for them. A surprising number of Jewish Southerners were community leaders, bankers, and elected public officials. Anti-Semitism was rare, and one's success was determined mainly by one's ability. Wessolowsky found that many small communities were able to support impressive synagogues and to provide children with quality religious education.

Despite the obvious value of these letters, they do have some limitations. Wessolowsky was no Alexis de Tocqueville. He seldom asked probing questions, and it seems to this reviewer that he consistently overestimated the Jewish population of the towns he visited. Wessolowsky appears to have been of the opinion

that the typical Jewish family consisted of eight to twelve members, a rather high figure even for the nineteenth century. Moreover, Wessolowsky's opinion of a town and its inhabitants was all too often determined solely by his evaluation of its religious institutions. These criticisms, however, are not meant to downgrade Wessolowsky's rather considerable contribution to our knowledge about the lives of nineteenth-century southern Jewry.

Professor Schmier of Valdosta State College edited these letters in a fashion that can best be described as superb. Newspapers, National Archives records, tax records, and oral history interviews were all used to flesh out details about the story of Wessolowsky's life. Footnotes appear throughout the volume explaining in detail Jewish customs and observances, ensuring that non-Jews will be able to follow the text of the letters with minimal difficulty. Capsule summaries appear with each letter, and appendices at the end of the volume provide important data on Jewish fraternal organizations.

Following the letters is Schmier's brief essay on the importance of Wessolowsky's observations and a well-reasoned account of the current status of southern Jewish historiography. Schmier, a founder and officer of the Southern Jewish Historical Society, is well versed on this subject and asks significant questions that should inspire others to do needed research on what is still virgin territory in American history. All in all, this is an important volume—one that belongs in all southern public and college libraries and one that is mandatory for all southern synagogue libraries. Schmier is to be congratulated for making available one of the major sources of information about nineteenth-century southern Jews.

Winthrop College

ARNOLD SHANKMAN

Ethnic America, A History. By Thomas Sowell. (New York: Basic Books, 1981. 353 pp. Introduction, notes, index. \$16.95.)

Expanding upon and refining the thesis he originally developed in *Race and Economics* (1975), Thomas Sowell asserts that historically a free economy, unrestrained by government interference, has worked best in enabling ethnic groups to achieve

mobility in American society. He notes that this mobility has been widespread and has afforded real prosperity for the nine ethnic groups he examines.

A leading black economist and disciple of Milton Friedman, Sowell criticizes the moralistic approach which alleges that minority progress is the result of new rights or partial acceptance. Sowell finds instead that ethnic groups achieved considerable progress amidst widespread discrimination. The Japanese and Chinese, in particular, experienced real economic gains during periods of intense anti-Oriental feelings on the west coast.

Reiterating views he initially expressed in *Race and Economics*, Sowell contends that the economic and cultural heritage of America's ethnic groups had a profound effect on their economic assimilation. Jews, for example, came from an urban background where they had engaged in such economic activities as weaving, trading, and money lending. These economic pursuits were greatly needed in the United States and provided Jews with almost instantaneous success. The Irish on the other hand came from a rural heritage where they had developed few economic skills for an urban society. As a consequence, the Irish struggled at menial jobs for several generations before achieving economic success.

Much of the book examines the economic experiences of nine immigrant groups from Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Relying almost entirely on secondary sources, some of which are less than reliable, Sowell sympathetically observes that among ethnic groups "much depends on the whole constellation of values, attitudes, skills, and contacts that many call a culture and that economists call 'human capital'" (p. 282). He also points out that each ethnic group was subject to the economic characteristics of the region in which they located. Mexicans, for example, earned twice as much in Detroit as in Texas towns. "These differences within the same ethnic group are greater than the differences between any ethnic group and the larger society," Sowell asserts (p. 11). This seems quite sensible, but what does twice as much mean for a Mexican-American in Detroit as opposed to one in Laredo? It is conceivable that the disparity in income is not nearly as meaningful when measured against the cost of living in the respective communities,

and that economic mobility was not necessarily assured by high northern salaries.

Sowell does argue very persuasively that I.Q.'s do vary significantly over time, despite the arguments of Arthur Jensen and others to the contrary. Russian Jews, who have above average I.Q.'s today, had the lowest mental test scores on the United States Army intelligence tests until the post-1950 period. As in *Race and Economics*, Sowell stresses the value of education in providing ethnic groups with economic advancement. The Jews and Japanese made great sacrifices to send their children to school, but they ultimately became the two most successful ethnic groups in American society.

Sowell also argues that fertility rates have a significant influence on mobility. High fertility "lowers the standard of living of a group by spreading a given income more thinly among family members" (p. 7). He points out that many of today's more successful ethnic groups had high fertility rates during their first years, but reduced their birth rates significantly over time.

Sowell has temporized several of his contentions from *Race and Economics*. He no longer argues that the Japanese internment was as beneficial economically for Japanese-Americans. His observations on slavery in the Western Hemisphere are also much more sophisticated. In all, this is a stronger volume than *Race and Economics*. The impression still exists, however, that Sowell has marshaled his facts to underscore the need for less government interference in the private sector. Could it be that minorities today are enjoying as much economic progress, and in a more wholesome environment, thanks to the active role of the federal government than they did in the period from 1830-1945? Sowell never addresses this question.

University of Florida

DAVID R. COLBURN

The New Urban America, Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities.

By Carl Abbott. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981. viii, 340 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index, illustrations. \$19.95; \$9.95 paper.)

A surge of recent books bear titles or subtitles such as *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities*, *The Rise of the Sunbelt and the Decline of the Northeast*, and *The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment*. For those of us who came of academic age while studying the influence of mythology, plantation slavery, or peculiarly un-American historical experiences on the formation of a southern culture, the sudden marriage of California (or, depending upon the book, southern California) to South Carolina requires a considerable leap of imagination. Goodness knows the reaction of western historians who now learn that the end result of the frontier experience was to make the West southern.

But if all this is a bit difficult to fathom, Carl Abbott's *The New Urban America, Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities* makes it vastly more complicated. The sunbelt, according to Abbott, includes Maryland and Delaware but excludes Louisiana and Arkansas. It includes Washington and Oregon but excludes Mississippi and Alabama—er, well, no, it does not exactly exclude Alabama since it includes Mobile but otherwise excludes Alabama. On top of this, Abbott, having split the South more decisively than Grant's victory at Vicksburg, consistently refers to "the South" (and "the West") while rarely making clear whether he means the Sunbelt South (which includes Mobile but not Alabama), the Census South, or something else. And then there are the tables and figures, most of which are inadequately labeled and require yet another reading of the narrative in search of hints about what the data in the displays might represent. *The New Urban America* is for the determined reader.

Yet, despite serious problems, the book also has merit. Abbott defines the sunbelt primarily in terms of urban growth: those southern and western states with cities that grew rapidly in the post-World War II era are a part of the sunbelt while those mid-South states without burgeoning urban areas are cast out. Five "sunbelt" cities—Norfolk, Atlanta, San Antonio, Denver, and Portland—are examined intensively. Not surprisingly, Abbott

finds that in important ways "San Antonio, Atlanta, and Norfolk are more typical sunbelt cities than is Denver or Portland" (46).

The author's central concerns are the similarities between the expansive metropolitan areas that developed during the "post-industrial" era and the differences between these cities and the older metropolitan centers of the North and East. Many of the findings are predictable. The "postindustrial" "automobile" cities of the sunbelt emerged as decentralized, sprawling metropolitan areas. Vigorous urban renewal efforts failed to stem the flow of people and economic power to the suburban office parks, shopping malls, and industrial parks. The increasingly self-conscious suburbanites successfully resisted further expansion of the central cities, and thus the sunbelt "cities which have lost their battle for continued territorial growth will increasingly find themselves faced with the same problems of obsolescence that haunt New York and Chicago" (p. 254). So much for "the new urban America."

Abbott is at his best when tracing the general political and demographic trends in sunbelt cities and particularly in his five key cities. The World War II "boom" in people and prosperity and the accompanying urban problems generated a business oriented urban reform movement that sought to modernize city governmental procedures and to expand municipal boundaries. These successful reform administrations laid the foundation for a "growth consensus" that dominated urban governments during the 1950s and 1960s. During the late 1960s, the business growth consensus began to break apart. Minority groups, whose neighborhoods usually contributed the raw materials for urban renewal and whose leaders demanded greater power, revolted from the businessmen's coalition; middle-class "quality of life" liberals grew concerned about the costs of urban growth; and the prospering suburbs became openly hostile toward the central cities. The "golden age for the planners, housing experts, public health specialists, and redevelopment officials," not to mention real estate speculators and the chambers of commerce, gave way to "the politics of community independence" (pp. 247,245). Little of this is new, but Abbott does effectively document the general patterns of urban development.

University of Georgia

NUMAN V. BARTLEY

BOOK NOTES

He Was Singin' This Song, by Jim Bob Tinsley, is a musical and historical narrative of the Old West. It also includes a short chapter on Florida. The forty-eight annotated songs which Tinsley writes about are examples of the popular music of the era. Because most of the songs were unwritten, the author studied early transcriptions. He also collected stories that related to the music. The songs reflect the hard, lonely life led by the cowboys. The music was not original; most of the tunes were borrowed from Negro spirituals, Irish jigs, and Scottish reels. The cowboys improvised the verses based on their work and their experiences. The author, who has been a working cowboy in Arizona and Florida, devotes the chapter "Bad Brahma Bull," to this state. Florida, he notes has been called "the birthplace of the American cattle industry." Ponce de Leon and de Soto brought cows to Florida in the sixteenth century, but whether this is the origin of the scrub cattle of frontier Florida is not known. Regardless, these cows were a sorry lot. In 1885 an observer wrote, "Florida cattle of this section are the poorest specimens of the bovine race known." Notwithstanding, cattle were being shipped to Havana, Key West, the Dry Tortugas, and the Bahamas even before the Civil War. Florida became a major source of beef for the Confederate armies, and Jake Summerlin was the great cattle baron of the state. During the first two years of the war he provided some 25,000 steers. The drive from the Caloosahatchee to Baldwin, near the Georgia border, was a forty-day trip. Summerlin later shipped cattle to Cuba, using the shipping facilities at Punta Rassa on the lower Gulf coast. His cattle came from as far north as St. Augustine. The drive from there to the shipping port required from five to six weeks. Brahma cattle and selective cross-breeding has now established Florida as one of the best beef producing states. Frederic Remington, the American artist, visited Florida in the late nineteenth century and drew a number of sketches of the cowboys around Kissimmee and Tampa. *He Was Singin' This Song* includes forewords by Gene Autry and S. Omar Barker. Published by University of Florida Press, Gainesville, it sells for \$30.00.

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The Days of Our Years, by August Burghard, is a history of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Lauderdale. It was written in honor of the seventieth anniversary of the church which was organized on April 12, 1912, by Pastor-Evangelist R. W. Edwards. Mr. Burghard, who has chronicled much of the history of his community and county, used church records to gather his data, but he also includes anecdotes, quotes, and information secured by talking to many church and community old-timers. The Methodists organized in 1905, the Baptists two years later. There were about 100 people in the town at the time, and a limestone road connected it with West Palm Beach and Miami. The water supply was rain water caught in tanks. Most of the area was covered by heavy growth of palmetto and pine. Having no building of their own, the Presbyterians organized in the Methodist Church. The church was formally incorporated in 1915, and a campaign began for the construction of a building on Las Olas Boulevard. Completed in 1920, the first services were held there on Easter Sunday. Mr. Burghard's text traces the growth and development of the church, and he has utilized scores of pictures to add to the interest of his narrative. Many of these photographs are from the scrapbooks and picture albums of the members. *The Days of Our Years* sells for \$25.00. Order from First Presbyterian Church, 401 S.W. 15 Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301.

Clyde S. Stephens has not only written a family history in *Stephens Ancestors and Pioneer Relatives*, he has also provided a model for anyone planning to do the research needed to compile a genealogical record and develop a family history. He separates fact (documented information) from legend (oral tradition), and urges genealogical researchers to do the same. Do not accept legends or oral tradition as fact, Stephens warns, unless it can be verified through accurate records in archives, libraries, churches, courthouses, cemeteries, and photographic collections. The earliest Stephens was John Henry who moved from St. Augustine to North Carolina in the 1760s. He married a Cherokee Indian, and their descendants proliferated and spread throughout the South into South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Texas, and Florida. By the end of the Civil War there were Stephenses living in Hillsborough County, and they and related families soon

settled in other parts of Florida— the lower Gulf coast, and Dade, Levy, Duval, Monroe, Alachua, and Marion counties. Order from Carl W. Stephens, Route 2, Box 840, Alva, Florida 33920. The price is \$15.00.

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society has printed *A Guide to Historic Fort Lauderdale/Broward County*. It notes thirty-three historic sites in Fort Lauderdale and thirty-seven in Broward County. There is also a listing of “origins of local place-names,” and appropriate maps. Copies are available from the Society, 219 S.W. 2 Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33302.

Miami Beach Art Deco District is a listing with pictures of some of the properties included in the south Miami Beach area. This area was recognized as a historic district on the National Register for Historic Places. Copies of this booklet are available for a \$5.00 contribution to the Miami Design Preservation League’s Legal Defense Fund, 1300 Ocean Drive, Miami Beach, Florida 33139. There is also a \$1.00 mailing charge.

Stoney Knows How, Life as a Tattoo Artist is by Leonard L. St. Clair and Alan B. Govenar. St. Clair, or Stoney as he was known, was a circus person. For more than twenty years he traveled with circuses and carnivals, working mainly as a sword-swallower. In the winter, however, he always opened a tattoo shop in some place where it was warm. He particularly liked Florida and operated his first shop there in 1936. He worked in many Florida cities, including Miami and Key West, but Tampa was his favorite. Later, when the circus gave up its tent operations and went “indoors,” he became a year-round tattoo shop operator. He stayed on in Tampa, until tattooing began to be regulated by the state. Then he moved to Columbus, Ohio, and that is where folklorist Alan Govenar came to know him. Govenar organized Stoney’s oral reminiscences, and this book is the result. It was published by the University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, and it sells for \$13.50.

Hush, Child! Can’t You Hear the Music? includes some of the folk tales collected by Rose Thompson during the 1930s and 1940s. She was working in rural Georgia as a home supervisor with

the Farm Security Administration. She heard the stories as she worked with the black farmers who loved and trusted her. She wrote in her own special kind of shorthand and had to transcribe quickly, so as not to forget any of the words or phrases. Several of these stories were published in the Winter 1977 issue of *Foxfire*. The twenty-five stories in this collection, which includes those from *Foxfire*, were edited by Charles Beaumont and were published by the University of Georgia Press in its Brown Thrasher series. Beaumont also taped some eight hours of interview with Miss Thompson, and excerpts are used throughout the book to explain the stories and the circumstances relating to their telling. Most of the photographs in the book were taken in Green County, Georgia, by Rose Thompson, about the same time that she was collecting stories. This appealing book documents the rich oral tradition of southern rural blacks. It sells for \$12.50.

Dr. Howard L. Holley, in his *A History of Medicine in Alabama*, traces medical practices from the early eighteenth century to the present. Fort Toulouse, he notes, was built by the French in Mobile in 1714, and a surgeon was assigned there five years later. When the British took over West Florida in 1763, the small military hospital in Mobile contained sixteen beds, but during the "sickly" season, it was too small, and the sick had to be placed in private homes. Bernard Romans and Dr. John Lorimer noted in their late nineteenth-century writings the many plants and herbs growing in Alabama which could be utilized for medicinal purposes. William Bartram, during his visit to Alabama, was taken ill but was nursed back to health with medication from a local plant. From these early beginnings in Alabama, Dr. Holley points out, some of the nation's finest medical centers, public health facilities, and medical education programs have developed. Medical practice during and after the Civil War, the growth of local and state medical societies, medical journals, public health, the mental health movement, dentistry, and pharmacy as a profession are some of the topics covered in *A History of Medicine in Alabama*. Published by the University of Alabama Press for the University of Alabama School of Medicine, it sells for \$35.00.

Youngblood has come to be recognized as one of the important black social protest novels published in the 1950s. Its 1954 publication coincides with the *Brown* decision by the United States Supreme Court. *Youngblood* describes the lives of the black family by that name who lived in the Georgia community of Crossroads, Georgia, from the beginning of the century to the 1930s. The author is John Oliver Killens, himself a Georgian, from Macon. This reprint volume was published by the University of Georgia Press in its Brown Thrasher series. It includes a foreword by Addison Gayle. The paperback edition sells for \$7.95.

Cherokee Removal: The "William Penn" Essays and Other Writings is by Jeremiah Evarts who was secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He strongly opposed the removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia and the Carolinas to the West. Writing under the name of William Penn, Evarts was responsible for a series of essays on behalf of Indian rights. His writings have been edited by Francis Paul Prucha who has also contributed an introductory essay and has compiled an index. It was published by the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, and sells for \$19.50.

The Conch Book, by Dee Carstarphen, carries the subtitle, "all you ever wanted to know about the Queen Conch from gestation to gastronomy." The booklet lives up to its subtitle. It describes the Queen Conch, what she eats, how she reproduces, who her enemies are, and her family. There is information on how to clean the conch, how to cook it (delectable recipes), and how to serve it. There is a bibliography, and colored and black-and-white sketches. It is published by Pen and Ink Press and distributed by Banyan Books, Inc., Miami, Florida 33143. The price is \$6.95.

Maverick Sea Fare is a Caribbean cook book by Dee Carstarphen. *Maverick* is a small windjammer that takes up to fourteen people sailing in the Caribbean. There is a crew of six, including the cook who believes in serving good food. Vegetables, fruits, and nuts native to the Caribbean form the basis for the recipes and the food served on the *Maverick*. It is no surprise to find the banana, pineapple, mango, coconut, avocado,

guava, lime, papaya, breadfruit, pumpkin, and all kinds of seafood featured in the recipes. There are also suggestions on how Caribbean rum might best be utilized. This book is also published by Pen and Ink Press, and is distributed by Banyan Books. It sells for \$5.95.

Napoleon and the American Dream, by Ines Murat, was translated from the French by Frances Frenaye. It was published by Louisiana State University Press. It contains brief mention of the activities of Gregor MacGregor and Luis Aury at Fernandina and Amelia Island in 1817, Andrew Jackson's expedition against the Florida Seminoles, and the transfer of Florida sovereignty from Spain to the United States. The book sells for \$17.50.

Standards and Colors of the American Revolution, by Edward W. Richardson, is a reference volume describing the design, emblems, and designations of flags of the Revolution. Included are the flags of the Continental army, navy, and privateers, the thirteen states, the French forces in America, British and Loyalist colors, German colors, and post-war colors. Included are sixty-four color plates, a chronological summary of George Washington's correspondence, orders and events, and other documentation relating to Continental army standards and colors, references to Philadelphia flagmakers and flagpainters, a glossary of military terms and organizations, and a bibliography and index. The book was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press and the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution and its Color Guard. The price is \$50.00.

The price for *Discover Florida* by Rolf Tolf was incorrectly given in the review which appeared in the July 1982 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, p. 116. The correct price is \$5.95.