

1982

Book Reviews

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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1982) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 61 : No. 3 , Article 9.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol61/iss3/9>

BOOK REVIEWS

My Work among the Florida Seminoles. By James Lafayette Glenn, edited with an introduction by Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (Gainesville: The University Presses of Florida, 1982. xiii, 121 pp. Foreword, introduction, photographs, index. \$12.00.)

In 1931 James L. Glenn, whose relevant experience was seven years as a minister in Everglades City, was put in charge of the Seminole Agency at Dania. He succeeded agent L. A. Spencer, who had served from 1913 to 1930. Glenn was removed as agent in 1935; he continued for a year as financial clerk, and then returned to the ministry. About 1946 he wrote the account that is now being published. Evidently he worked mainly from memory, but occasionally used (generally without citing) some of Spencer's and his own administrative reports, newspaper clippings, and perhaps, once or twice, MacCauley's 1887 report. Writing in the form of a letter to a young niece, Glenn produced an extended, rambling commentary organized around sixty snapshots taken between about 1928 and 1935 (evidently most of them by Glenn himself).

The editor has provided a competent brief summary of Glenn's work as agent and a few informative notes to his text. The basic source for Seminole social and economic conditions at about this time remains the report published in 1931 by Roy Nash, a temporary investigator for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who was responsible for Glenn's appointment as agent. Glenn had much longer experience with the Seminoles, and difficult administrative responsibilities as their agent, but unfortunately he lacked Nash's analytical and literary abilities. His reminiscences provide very little new factual data on the activities of the agency or on conditions among the Seminoles. They are not a source on Seminole ethnography. Even the photographs are but a minor supplement to the large available corpus from this period. The reader does not get a clear picture of Seminole society or attitudes and only glimpses some of the faces they turned towards outsiders.

One can obtain from this volume an impression of the duties and problems Glenn faced. The paternalistic, ethnocentric, self-righteous concern for Seminole welfare he expressed was not atypical of the better agency employees and of other local supporters and patrons of the Indians during Glenn's time and for at least twenty years thereafter. He was an authoritarian, hard-working superintendant of an under-staffed and under-funded agency trying to provide medical, legal, and economic assistance during the Depression years to a very widely scattered and largely independent Seminole population, one still very suspicious of the federal government and wary of all whites. The Indians were losing their economic independence, although one suspects that they were more self-sufficient economically (as they certainly were socially) than Glenn implies. The Seminoles were already a tourist attraction, to Glenn's disgust, but were not yet recognized as a resource or a responsibility by state or local governments or by chambers of commerce.

When he wrote, Glenn was filled with diffuse anger and resentment at John Collier, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and other federal bureaucracies, but he gave inadequate explanations for these feelings. He seems to have disagreed with Commissioner Collier's philosophy of Indian administration, as did many BIA employees, including reactionary time-servers of whom Glenn was certainly not one. On balance, Glenn probably helped the Seminoles— especially, as Kersey suggests, by acquiring land for the Brighton and Big Cypress reservations and starting the cattle program there. But the housing and anti-alcohol campaigns he seemed proud of had little lasting effect. The developments in education and employment that profoundly changed Seminole life largely began some ten years after his term, while the origins of the current political scene, the organization of the two modern Florida Indian tribes and of their two BIA agencies, lie more than twenty years later.

Smithsonian Institution

WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT

The Vision of a Contemporary University. By Russell M. Cooper and Margaret B. Fisher. (Tampa: The University of South Florida, 1982. xiv, 318 pp. Foreword, preface, epilogue, notes, index, photographs, illustrations. \$12.95.)

The University of South Florida was a child of the 1960s. Born in the post World War II era of higher educational expansion, it grew into adolescence and adulthood along with the flower children of the sixties and early seventies. It experienced their growth pains in a period of social upheaval and it responded to their desire for different educational experiences. In its maturity, like those flower children, it has settled into a thoroughly conventional life-style, resembling very much its more conservative parents.

Like most states after World War II, Florida experienced an enormous increase in student enrollment in higher education (from 36,000 in 1954 to 240,000 in 1970). A 1956 study revealed that nine private colleges and three state universities (the University of Florida, Florida State University, and Florida A & M University) had a capacity of 38,000. When the same study—the Brambaugh Report—recommended expansion the state undertook a giant construction program; it built eighteen new two-year community colleges with open enrollment and planned six four-year regional universities with restricted admission. Although the Brambaugh Report established no design for their expansion, for the universities it clearly favored the California model which provided for a single centralized system. Such a model (successfully repeated by New York and Texas) allowed for more efficient administration, but as it turned out, the Florida legislature rejected that model by allowing the first expansion, the University of South Florida, to assume an autonomous independent status. South Florida served as a model for the rest. Whether or not it was wise to create an independent rather than a pyramidal structure is an important question left unexplored by the authors.

The authors of *The Vision of a Contemporary University* were involved in the founding of the University of South Florida. Cooper served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts from 1959 to 1971, and Fisher served as dean of women. Cooper completed six chapters before his death in 1975, and Fisher finished the re-

mainder of the book. She retained Cooper's basic approach: namely, to assess "the organic and environmental forces that helped shape the University." Within this framework the authors write an interesting, if somewhat limited book. They deal thoroughly with how the founders grappled with the problems of creating from scratch a large urban university, and in this effort they do a creditable job. What is missing is a sense of historical development. While they try to place the founding of the University of South Florida in the larger national setting, the lack of historical development prevents them from seeing some events, such as the Johns committee investigation, in a larger perspective. In a deeper sense, it prevents them from properly evaluating the failure of the university to live up to expectations.

The effort to create an innovative general educational program is a pertinent example. Sidney French, later to become vice president of academic affairs, tried to give substance to general education by devising a plan to institute a separate and independent College of Basic Studies. One may argue with the wisdom but certainly not with the intention of this effort. There is no need to spell out the details of the plan; Cooper covers it in great detail for the interested reader. As the author indicates, it was a bold and challenging effort, calling forth positive effort by faculty and students to link immediate experience to future expectations, to share responsibility, and to contribute positively to the mission of the university.

What was the outcome? After a few years this "bold and innovative" program disappeared. Why? For the very good reason that it was bold innovation in a sea of conventionality. It succumbed to the same forces that had stifled innovation in hundreds of other colleges and universities: namely, graduate schools that produced professional scholars not teachers, and professional departments that tenaciously monopolized curriculums. Forced to compete with traditional departments for human and material resources, the outcome of the basic studies program was quite predictable.

In the end, the University of South Florida, became a regional replica of the University of Florida and Florida State University. The authors see it as a model of the modern urban university. It is, but not in the approving way the authors have tried to pre-

sent. It is a model story of what might have been— that is, it is a failed vision. That is not the story the authors have tried to write, but the facts have a way of intruding upon hope.

Rollins College

JACK C. LANE

The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History. By James A. Rawley. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981. xiv, 452 pp. Maps, tables, acknowledgments, abbreviations used, introduction, index. \$24.95.)

Philip D. Curtin's 1969 study, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, both provided the first systematically derived quantitative estimates of the volume of African slaves taken to America and stimulated a resurgence of interest into all aspects of the slave trade, an interest that is yielding a growing body of increasingly sophisticated literature. Though it is based upon some original research, primarily in British and American archives, James A. Rawley's admirably broad and sensibly argued volume is a largely successful attempt to incorporate the findings of this literature into what the dustjacket describes as a "general history of the transatlantic slave trade." Five early chapters recount the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, and French participation. But the core of the book consists of eight chapters on the role of the English and their offshoot societies in America.

On the basis of his own and other scholars' calculations over the past decade, Rawley puts the total volume of the trade at 11,345,000, a figure that raises Curtin's 1969 estimates by 1,778,900 or 18.6 per cent. In most other respects, however, Rawley refines and extends rather than revises in major ways Curtin's account of the shifting patterns of trade. Three-fifths of the total volume of slaves were imported between 1700 and 1810, with only three per cent arriving during the sixteenth century, fourteen per cent in the seventeenth century, and twenty-three per cent between 1810 and the final curtailment of the Brazilian trade in 1870. Prior to 1600, the Hispanic American colonies accounted for sixty per cent of the American total; thereafter, Brazil assumed first place, a position it held for the final 270 years of the trade.

Roughly half the slaves went to South America, almost four-fifths of those to Brazil, far and away the largest importer of any of the American colonies. The rest were divided about equally between the Guianas and the Hispanic colonies. Another forty-two to forty-three per cent went to the Caribbean with St. Domingue taking the largest number. The North American colonies took less than seven per cent and the Old World roughly one to two per cent.

Although there was a gradual shift in the source of slaves south and east to the Congo and Angola during the eighteenth century, nearly three-fourths came from West Africa and ninety per cent of those from the Bights of Benin and Biafra, the Gold Coast, and the Windward Coast. Down to the 1640s, the Portuguese, who inaugurated the trade and continued to transport large numbers down to 1870, were the leading carriers, but they lost that distinction to the Dutch during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Beginning around 1670, the French and English vied for first place with the English, finally achieving and holding predominance between 1740 and 1810, when they followed the Danes and renounced the trade. Spain did not enter the trade in a major way until the nineteenth century, and the United States was an important carrier only between 1790 and 1813.

Although the author does not downplay the “undoubted horrors” of the trade, he focuses primarily upon it as “a business” that was increasingly dominated by experienced family firms and had a more modest rate of profit—about ten per cent—than has traditionally been supposed. This focus necessarily results in his giving less attention to either the plight of the slaves themselves or the supply side of the trade. But he does contend that the death rate during the middle passage was not as high as sometimes asserted and was improving over time. Following recent African historiography, he also stresses the central role of Africans in the trade. Throughout its history, they both controlled all of its internal aspects and, unlike their late nineteenth-century descendants, retained complete power over the small enclaves of European traders.

Somewhat ironically, perhaps, Rawley’s focus upon the slave trade as a business enables him, probably more powerfully than

any previous writer, to convey a full appreciation of how completely the slave trade and slavery were accepted by every one of the Atlantic societies of early modern Europe prior to the very late eighteenth century. His volume is not an explicit history of values. But in his comprehensive recounting of the eagerness with which Europeans over more than four centuries eagerly involved themselves with the slave trade, positively endorsed it as a source of national wealth, power, and honor, and enthusiastically encouraged the employment of slaves in their American colonies, he shows not only how alive they were to new economic opportunities but how far they would go to turn those opportunities to their advantage, how few qualms they had about treating other human beings as disposable commodities, and, like the inhabitants of their new satellite societies across the Atlantic, how fundamentally, fully, and unhesitatingly exploitative they were in their basic cultures and social organizations. In this situation, the still largely unexplained wonder is how the movement to abolish the slave trade ever managed even to surface at the end of the eighteenth century, much less to triumph so fully and so rapidly.

The Johns Hopkins University

JACK P. GREENE

La Misión de Don Luis de Onís en los Estados Unidos (1809-1819).

By Ángel del Río. (Barcelona: Talleres Novagrafik, 1981. 294 pp. Preface, notes, maps, appendices, bibliography. \$15.00.)

Luis de Onís y González has shared the bitter draught so common to a nation's statesmen. His skilled and tireless work in the United States from 1809 through the successful completion of the 1819 Adams-Onís Treaty (transcontinental or Florida-purchase treaty) was denigrated by his Spanish and American contemporaries. Generations of hispanic scholars, with the notable exception of Jerónimo Becker in his *Historia de las relaciones exteriores de España durante el siglo xix* (1924-1926), have chosen to dismiss him as an inept, disloyal official who sold out to the United States. Truly, Onís was "a prophet without honor in his own land."

He fared better in the writings of American historians, as the ample bibliography in Bemis and Griffin's *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921* (1935), indicates. Professor Ángel del Rió, whose noted career as an authority on Spanish literature was cut short by cancer in 1962 while he was a professor at Columbia University, has not sought to duplicate the excellent Onís studies by Charles C. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (1937), and Philip Coolidge Brooks, *Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819* (1939). Actually, Professor del Rió wrote this book almost forty years ago, and it was brought to light by his widow, a renowned specialist in Spanish literature in her own right, Professor Amelia Agostini de del Rió. Thus, it does not incorporate such data as this reviewer used in the introduction to the Porrúa edition of the Onís *Memoria* (1969), which was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, July 1970.

What this book tries to do is to give yet another facet to the fascinating subject— Don Luis de Onís— by using archival and published sources, and particularly the private Onís family archives at Cantalapiedra. Appendix II, for example, includes correspondence between Onís and his son Mauricio, along with a reference to other, heretofore unused archival treasures on Onís.

Recall, Onís came to the United States at a time when factional strife between the Jeffersonians and Federalists was still rife, at a point in history when Spain's American colonies were in the process of declaring independence, and when the United States was embarked on its initial aggression against weaker hispanic neighbors a generation before the famous "manifest destiny" policy of the 1840s. If Florida and American historians are loathe to explain the actual warlike steps taken by the United States against Spain during this period of history, it is not because they lack the source materials. Onís's writings, under the pen-name "Verus," explained why West Florida was *not* part of the Louisiana Purchase, and why American aggression in that area was so reprehensible.

I recall asking the late Professor T. Harry Williams as to the justness of the United States position regarding the Mexican War. His laconic reply, applicable to West Florida as well as

Mexico, or even to the Falkland Islands/Malvinas, was, "might makes right." Perhaps that is so, historically, but Onís never felt the United States was justified in conquering the Mississippi Gulf coast or Mobile.

A third of this book is devoted to the appendices, bibliography, and several maps. Unfortunately, there is no index, and the lack of proof-reading is a serious defect. Professor del Río's widow furnished a three-page list of errata (and there are even more errors she missed), but no such list was included in the volume by careless editors, nor was the widow given the opportunity to proof-read the galleys.

Still, this is a useful book, one which recalls that the mission of Luis de Onís was a no-win operation, given the inexorable march of history toward the independence of Latin America and to the American frontier expansion into the Old Southwest. It is bound beautifully in dark red cloth embossed with gold and makes an attractive addition to any library of Floridiana or Latin American history.

Birmingham, Alabama

JACK D. L. HOLMES

The Papers of Henry Clay. Volume 6: Secretary of State, 1827.

Edited by Mary W. M. Hargreaves and James F. Hopkins.
(Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1981. viii,
1448 pp. Preface, symbols, index. \$35.00.)

Volume 6 of *The Papers of Henry Clay*, like its two immediate predecessors, is devoted to a single year. In 1827 Clay was serving his third year as secretary of state in the cabinet of President John Quincy Adams. Despite the fact that Congress had recently provided him with additional clerks, he still found his duties "very laborious." He had good cause to complain— as a perusal of this volume clearly indicates— of the "oppressive extent of my correspondence, public and private."

There were nevertheless compensatory aspects to his position. Even after moving into Mrs. Stephen Decatur's mansion near the White House— "the best private dwelling in the city" (and at \$800 per year rent one of the most expensive), he and his

family could live comfortably off his annual salary of \$6,000, "leaving the income of my property in Kentucky to operate as a sinking fund of my remaining debt." Yet his health and that of his wife were frequent matters of concern. Clay, at age fifty, concluded that they were "both getting old, and both feel it." He was somewhat revived by a mid-summer trip to Kentucky, but after his return to Washington illness required his absence from his duties for several days, and in October he again left the capital for a short spell "to get out of the dust of the office and the smook of the City."

Although the bulk of the papers in this volume pertain to foreign affairs—much of it of a routine nature—what will impress political historians is Clay's leadership role in the new National Republican party. Impatient of those politicians who still thought in terms of the long-ago struggle between Federalists and Republicans, he wrote Daniel Webster that "we should, on all occasions, inculcate the incontestible [*sic*] truth that *now* there are but two parties in the Union, the friends and the enemies of the administration." In advancing the cause of the administration's friends, Clay corresponded extensively with party leaders such as Webster, Edward Everett, and Peter B. Porter; he solicited financial support for two stalwart National Republican presses, Charles Hammond's Cincinnati *Gazette* and John H. Pleasant's Richmond *Whig*; and he wrote editorials for the Washington *National Journal* and the *National Intelligencer*. He also spent considerable time, and energy in amassing a defense against the charge by Andrew Jackson that he and Adams had entered into a "corrupt bargain" to deny the Old Hero the presidency in 1825. He also had one of his clerks transcribe a copy of Jackson's expense account as territorial governor of Florida and forwarded it to Hammond. "I need not suggest to your discretion," he wrote, "the expediency of avoiding a reference to my name in any use you may think proper to make of the a/c."

The publication of Volume 6 marks the termination of the connection of Mary W. M. Hargreaves and James F. Hopkins with *The Papers of Henry Clay* project, an association that began with the inauguration of the enterprise some thirty years ago. Hopkins, the original senior editor, continued to work on the current volume five years after his formal retirement from the

University of Kentucky and Hargreaves one year after she became emerita professor. Clearly the most difficult task the co-editors faced was the plethora of official correspondence that Clay wrote or received as secretary of state. Their decision to be as comprehensive as possible slowed down their progress in producing the volumes for Clay's cabinet years but greatly added to their utility for future historians. In the current volume, however, necessity forced them to be somewhat less comprehensive than in the earlier ones. A larger percentage of the documents have been summarized and routine letters of application and recommendation after March 31, 1827, were omitted. Still this four-and-one-half pound volume is 350 pages longer than any of its predecessors! Given the present financial difficulties facing editorial projects such as *The Papers of Henry Clay*, new director and editor Robert Seager II will doubtless make other space-saving innovations in treating Clay's last fourteen months as secretary of state. His overall task has been greatly facilitated by the excellent foundation established by his predecessors.

University of Houston

EDWIN A. MILES

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume XIV, 1837-1839. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981. xxxiii, 680 pp. Frontispiece, preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

This fourteenth volume in the papers of John C. Calhoun covers the period of the second and third sessions of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the United States, December 1837, to December 1839. It was an era in Calhoun's career when he was reasserting his connections with the Democratic party, to the dismay of some Whigs who erroneously believed he was theirs. Though earlier Calhoun had ceased collaboration with the Democrats, due to his conflicts with Andrew Jackson, he recognized that the loose construction philosophy of the Whigs was not compatible with the interests he represented. The less centralizing, more strict basic views of the Democrats led him to believe that it was the only national party within which he could operate.

Calhoun, however, was one of those early nineteenth-century political figures who doubted the usefulness of parties, and in his own state decried their divisive tendencies. To give weight to the political policies he deemed valid, South Carolina must be united in one cause, as if there were no conflicting interests within the state. He assumed a monolithic unity of opinion and purpose which did not admit of national parties in his political bailiwick.

In his well-conceived introductory essays, the editor seeks to destroy some stereotypes of Calhoun, particularly of Calhoun "the cast-iron man" and Calhoun the political dictator of South Carolina. He shows that the former view, largely attributable to Hermann von Holst and Harriet Martineau, was a misleading oversimplification. In fact, Calhoun was too intensely intellectual for many "light-weight" Southerners, but the letters here reveal a warm family man, a typical Southerner of the antebellum planter class who was moved by a stem sense of duty. It was not, however, a puritanical outlook because he enjoyed good fun and saw no sin in it.

As for Calhoun's political domination of South Carolina, the editor's denial is less complete. He asserts that the task of having one leader there was easier because South Carolina was the most coherent and homogeneous polity in the United States. South Carolina was full of proud men who took "orders" from no one, but, the editor asserts, in his last years Calhoun's word carried great authority.

This reviewer differs from the editor of these volumes in a basic assessment of Calhoun's political value system. The editor appears to see virtue in a set of mind inherent in men such as Calhoun who wed themselves to a view of an ideal social system which denies complexity and divergent interests. Calling such men "statesmen," he quotes a modern essayist's nonsense that statesmen must fail, and mere politicians succeed. He ranks Calhoun with Jefferson in his suspicion of strong central government but does not see that, unlike Jefferson, the "original principles" to which Calhoun would return government were static—lacking in the resilience to cope with changing society.

Researchers in Florida history may safely ignore this volume. In the period covered, Floridians were primarily preoccupied

with their constitutional convention at St. Joseph and the Second Seminole War. To the former, there is no reference. To the Seminole War, there is one indexed entry, but no reference to it appears on the page cited. Despite these differences of opinion with the editor, he is to be commended. This series has been a fine collection with insightful and provocative editorial essays.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Olive Branch and Sword—The Compromise of 1833. By Merrill D. Peterson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xi, 132 pp. Acknowledgments, index. \$15.00.)

The “sword” of Merrill Peterson’s story of the nullification crisis was the Force Act authorizing President Andrew Jackson to use military means to execute the national law in South Carolina. The “olive branch” was the Compromise Tariff of 1833 which scaled down the protective tariff rates of 1832 to a non-protective twenty per cent over a nine and one-half year period. One of Peterson’s principal points is that the Force Act, considered by many to be merely a gesture to placate the Old Hero, was in fact a necessary element in the resolution of the crisis.

This was the heyday of the Generation of 1812. Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and John C. Calhoun waged epic battles, sometimes together and sometimes separately, against the “executive tyranny” of Andrew Jackson. The Compromise brought about that strange coalition of Clay and Calhoun, yet this was only one of the twistings and “political somersaults” that marked the tortuous paths of the triumvirate. Guided by presidential ambition, craftily plotting political strategy, yet often deeply moved by principle and ideal, “they enjoyed the same celebrity on the public stage as the great dramatic actors of the age enjoyed in the theatre” (p. 126). The packed galleries in the Senate and the House attested to the fact that the best show in town was in the halls of Congress.

The Compromise of 1833 (the tariff and the Force Act) was the result of the masterful political strategy of Henry Clay. Peterson is careful to point out that the compromise was not

effected by compromisers but by men like John Tyler and Daniel Webster who were not in favor of both measures but whose opposite votes on the bills allowed their separate passage. In fact, 114 of 188 representatives whose votes were recorded voted in opposite ways. Representatives of the manufacturing interests in New England and Pennsylvania voted overwhelmingly against the tariff bill (although manufacturers subsequently prospered under a stable tariff policy removed from the whims of the politicians). The Jacksonians made no effort at all to support it.

Calhoun returned to South Carolina claiming a victory for state sovereignty, although forty-three of eighty-two Southerners had voted for the Force Bill. Henry Clay announced the salvation of protectionism and the American System. President Jackson affirmed the preservation of the Union and the Constitution. In the ensuing years the Compromise became many things to many people. And it is in this respect that Professor Peterson warns us about reading too much into such dramatic historical events.

The Compromise did not, as some have concluded, lead to the Panic of 1837, nor in a larger context did it lead the nation into, a great civil war. "The workings of history are much too subtle and intricate for such stupendously simple explanations" (pp. 124-25). He also notes that the Compromise was a vivid example of the way in which national policy was made in the Jacksonian era. It was a complex process involving a whole range of forces from self-serving ambition to the noblest ideals. Above all it was the artistry of the actors on the public stage, the domination of a few political giants that shaped the politics of the times. "The history of the Compromise of 1833 is largely the history of Clay and Calhoun, Jackson and Webster; it cannot be explained without them" (p. 126).

Finally, he points out that, as with all compromises, the Compromise of 1833 did not offer any permanent solutions. It consisted of a practical resolution of differences, a *modus vivendi* between opposite extremes that allowed the nation to pass the crisis, to "enable society to get on with its business." This is a valuable book for it offers not only a perceptive study of an important event but some valuable lessons in the uses of history.

University of Alabama

JOHN PANCAKE

Eating, Drinking, and Visiting in the South. An Informal History.
By Joe Gray Taylor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. ix, 184 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$22.50.)

In 1966 Joe Gray Taylor published an article in the *Georgia Review* on "The Food of the New South." That was the beginning of extensive research in the literary sources that resulted in the volume under review here. A decade before Professor Taylor completed *Eating, Drinking, and Visiting in the South*, Sam Bowers Hilliard published his study on southern food, covering roughly the twenty years before the Civil War. Hilliard's, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South* (1972) is a much more detailed study than Taylor's in that production of food is given considerable attention. Of necessity that took Hilliard into aspects of southern farming and the importation of food from the Midwest. As Taylor emphasizes, his is an informal history which considers food mainly in a social rather than an economic context.

The book begins with a discussion of food on the southern frontier. Taylor points out that frontiersmen followed the Indian practice of killing game for food. But they quickly began raising livestock and growing corn, a favorite food. Then in two chapters he discusses the eating habits of the plain people of the Old South, followed by chapters on how the planters ate and drank and on the diet of the slaves. While pork and corn were the main food items for the South's plain folk, they also consumed vegetables and livestock products. Milk, both sweet and sour, was a favorite drink among many farmers. As would be expected, the planters ate better, had a greater variety of food, and often washed down their dinner with relatively expensive wine. Taylor found little to commend dining away from home, or "eating out." Most of the accounts by travelers indicated that trying to buy a decent meal was pretty hopeless, although there were notable exceptions in some inns and taverns. In a chapter on the Civil War, Taylor concludes that food shortages were very serious throughout much of the South before the war ended.

The last four chapters deal with food and drink in the New South from the Civil War to the post-World War II period.

Taylor stresses that food and drink remained much the same for most Southerners in those years. Corn and pork continued to hold an inordinate position in the diet of many Southerners, and they continued to eat about the same vegetables consumed by their forefathers before the Civil War. Taylor believes that greater changes have probably occurred in southern eating since 1940 than in the previous century.

Despite the title, this book contains much more information about eating than about drinking and visiting. There is, for instance, very little discussion of home made alcoholic beverages, including moonshining. The reader is really unable to get a very clear picture of southern drinking preferences and habits.

Professor Taylor has written an informative, interesting, and lively summary of southern eating. He paints with a broad brush and makes no pretense of presenting new data or analysis. His principal sources are travel accounts and scholarly secondary works. Statistics are almost totally lacking. In short, this is a book for general readers, and that audience should welcome it. We need more solidly researched, interestedly written history for the general public.

This reviewer now wishes that Professor Taylor would do an in-depth study of southern food and diets for the period from the late nineteenth century to about World War II. We do not need more studies of what Southerners ate, but an analysis of how the diets affected people's personal, social, and economic welfare. Beginning with the study published by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1896, on diets of blacks in Macon County, Alabama, mentioned by Professor Taylor, there is an increasing amount of research on southern food and diets that would provide a strong basis for such a study. I would like to see scholars quit repeating what is already well known and strike out in some new and more challenging directions. Meanwhile, read *Eating, Drinking, and Visiting in the South*.

University of Georgia

GILBERT C. FITE

Slavery and Freedom. by Willie Lee Rose. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. xiv, 224 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, remarks on editorial procedure, notes, index. \$17.95.)

For readers who know Willie Lee Rose only from her book on wartime Reconstruction at Port Royal, this collection of essays, some never before published, may come as a revelation. All along she has really been more preoccupied with slavery than with Reconstruction. Even when she writes about emancipation and its aftermath, it is usually to discover new insights into the Old Regime. Mrs. Rose was among the first historians of her generation to realize that much might be learned about slavery by studying it during its collapse.

Slavery and Freedom covers a wide range of subjects. There are essays on slave acculturation during the colonial period, on slavery under the impact of the American Revolution, and on free blacks in both the South and in Brazil. One chapter is a sensitive exploration of the connection between childrearing practices and slave personality. Two other essays consider how ex-masters and ex-slaves adjusted to one another under the new conditions of freedom. Mrs. Rose also assesses revisionist studies on various aspects of the slave South and calls attention to some of the difficulties involved in using primary source material pertaining to the subject. For readers whose tastes run toward historical fiction, or "faction," there is a magnificent assessment of Alex Haley's *Roots*. And her piece on John Brown, Frederick Douglass, and the problem of revolutionary violence in the American setting is still provocative despite having been written almost twelve years ago, when such subjects were in fashion.

Mrs. Rose has firm convictions about how future overviews of slavery should be written. She is strongly of the mind that the slaves themselves must be treated as active agents in the historical process, who creatively adapted to their condition as best they could. But more of a sticking point with her is the belief that we must cease focussing exclusively on slavery during its last phases and begin studying it as it evolved over time— that is, historically. Some of her richest insights come from this angle of vision. She glimpses, for example, the paradox of slavery be-

coming physically milder and more paternalistic just at the moment when it was becoming legally and racially more repressive, for both slaves and free blacks. There is no hint here that kinder necessarily means better. In fact, she tends to feel that the paternalism might have made the slaves psychologically dependent in ways that would not become fully evident until Reconstruction.

It requires keen intelligence to perceive paradox, and intellectual honesty to deal with ambiguity. But Mrs. Rose thinks at a high level of abstraction, and she is not at all afraid of subjecting the broadest generalizations to the test of verifiable fact, or to the concrete realities of local history. Nor is she hesitant about trying to view slavery from the interior perspective. Her appreciation of how slave and master shaped one another's personalities is profound. "Like the opposite poles of a magnetic field, slave and master held one another in suspension," she writes. "They were what they were because of each other, and each . . . created the role of the other" (p. 186). This is not an easy truth to grasp or relate, and to convey it at all requires more than a sharp eye for hidden meanings in commonplace details. It also takes artistic intuition and literary skills of a rare type. But Mrs. Rose possesses these gifts in abundant measure.

William W. Freehling, Mrs. Rose's colleague at Johns Hopkins, has done a laudable job of preparing these essays for publication. Several of the unpublished ones have influenced interpretations now in print by other specialists in the field. Freehling's introductory headnotes establish the right tone, and his silent corrections and emendations are never obtrusive. He deserves our thanks for making conveniently accessible these fine essays by one of his generation's finest historians.

Tulane University

LAWRENCE N. POWELL

Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina. By Daniel C. Littlefield (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xii, 199 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, tables, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Daniel C. Littlefield has gone further than any modern historian to argue that South Carolinians of the eighteenth century were keenly aware of, and based the selection of their slaves on, the cultural traits attributed to specific groups of Africans. Littlefield's volume is in some ways a sequel to Peter Wood's *Black Majority* (1974), but Littlefield provides a much fuller analysis of the African side of the slave trade which provided the labor force for colonial South Carolina.

Wood argued that the successful development of a rice culture was based in large measure on the agricultural skills of those slaves imported from the rice growing areas of Africa. Littlefield is more cautious, but builds an even stronger case for African contributions by a more thorough explication of the agricultural practices in the African regions which supplied many of those slaves to South Carolina.

Littlefield demonstrates that even before the settlement of South Carolina Englishmen were aware of the African rice culture; that South Carolinians placed an emphasis on slaves from rice-growing regions like Gambia; and that from the earliest years of South Carolina's development, a strong connection existed between the colony and the rice-growing regions of Africa. He concludes that South Carolinians were willing to avail themselves of those skills: "Englishmen had everything to learn and Africans much to teach."

Throughout his study Littlefield is most concerned with the African population and a demonstration of white awareness of distinctions within that population. His statistical analysis of ethnic diversity based on advertisements for fugitives is carefully constructed to reveal both white awareness and white perceptions of that diversity.

Littlefield's larger perspective is to suggest that more information about the African population has become available and that historians can now begin a more reliable assessment of

the survival of "Africanisms" in North America. One can only hope that other historians will rise to the challenge and do so with the measured pace reflected in Littlefield's own study.

University of South Carolina

DAVID R. CHESNUTT

Edmund Ruffin, A Biography. By Betty L. Mitchell. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981. x, 306 pp. Preface, selected bibliography, notes, index. \$22.50.)

A sixty-seven year old Virginian with shoulder-length white hair jerked the lanyard on a cannon to send the first shell into Fort Sumter and finally achieved the notoriety he had pathetically sought for most of his life. Edmund **Ruffin**, honorary volunteer, Palmetto Guards, had ricocheted about the South for a decade, bouncing off sympathetic fire-eaters and many other prominent Southerners who were unimpressed. His self-appointed role as catalyst for secession had become an obsession that usually brought frustration and depression. John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry had rescued him from one of his deepest depressions, and to get to witness Brown's hanging he became a temporary private in the corps of giggling Virginia Military Institute cadets. Missing few opportunities to mingle with fire-eaters, he had journeyed to Montgomery for the 1858 Southern Commercial Convention, where he had fervently endorsed the extremists' favorite ploy for infuriating Northerners— proposing to reopen the African slave trade. That he was haunting the environs of Fort Sumter is not surprising, nor that he rejoined the Palmetto Guards in Virginia for the first major battle. Again he was allowed to jerk a lanyard, after which he spent days accumulating evidence of the damage his shell had caused, even borrowing a horse to poke about among the dead and dying the day after the battle. In and about Richmond during the war, he witnessed the destruction of his plantations and personal possessions and suffered the loss of a son in battle. Though he fervently hoped for an honorable battle death for his youngest son, a great disappointment to him, that son instead successfully deserted. The war lost, Ruffin concluded his diary with a declaration of unmitigated hatred toward Yankees

and killed himself. That startlingly revealing diary had been kept for nearly a decade and aided greatly in making him a fascinating subject of study.

For most of his adult life Ruffin was a very successful Virginia planter and a remarkably perceptive agricultural reformer. It may be impossible to measure his influence on agricultural practices, but he earned widespread recognition for his original discoveries, especially in soil chemistry, and for his many years of writing and publishing for farmers. It is difficult to believe that he would be the subject of major biographies, nonetheless, without his frenetic activities in the cause of secession. This is ironic, for his effect on agricultural developments was surely greater than his effect on actual secession decisions.

A half century ago Avery Craven, early in a career of great distinction as a historian, offered a competent and artistic interpretation of Ruffin's life that until now no one has undertaken to replace. Betty L. Mitchell, in this much longer treatment that provides room for some telling material Craven omitted, has rendered a brilliantly compelling and convincing portrayal. It is not that a much different image of Ruffin emerges but that the image is so much more effectively fleshed out. The depth of his contempt for the capacities of black people is far more extensively demonstrated, for example, as is Ruffin's capacity for permanent alienation. He had bitterly opposed the marriage of his daughter, Agnes, and after many years of her husband's financial disasters he had terminated communication. When Agnes's son died in battle, Ruffin could not bring himself even to write. His most beloved daughter, Mildred, died the following winter, shattering him with grief. Yet, when Agnes wrote expressing her own grief at losing her sister and pleading for reconciliation, he sent her letter back endorsed: "I have *no daughter* left alive" (p. 226).

The author has explicitly avoided psychoanalytic effort, though one would have guessed that a new biography of Ruffin would lean that way. Not risking such a hazardous technique, she has accomplished no mean feat in supplanting Craven as the standard biographer of Edmund Ruffin.

University of Missouri-Columbia

THOMAS B. ALEXANDER

Lincoln and Black Freedom, A Study in Presidential Leadership.
By LaWanda Cox. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981. xiii, 254 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.95.)

This outstanding book makes its contribution by taking two old adages about Lincoln seriously. First, historians and every one else have long talked about his political talent. LaWanda Cox has taken the trouble to show it in action in Louisiana during the first efforts to reconstruct a rebel state. Second, we have been reminded that this political talent operated within the limits of the possible— which Lincoln had the good sense to understand. By re-considering Lincoln, Cox helps us think in new ways about just what was achieved and what was in fact possible. We understand not only the man but the age better, not only politics but the enduring problem of changing societies.

Lincoln in these pages is shown to be seeking not only emancipation but also suffrage for the freedmen in the Bayou State. He was reflecting egalitarian feelings he had long held— even before the war. But he had to proceed cautiously toward his goals because the environment was filled with obstacles. While maintaining a public posture of limited goals— seeming more interested in restoring the Union than in protecting the blacks— Lincoln worked behind the scenes to advance the state toward first emancipation, then civil rights, and then political rights. His primary instrument in achieving these goals was General Banks, but he was also willing to use the patronage whip to encourage legislators to vote the proper way.

Cox also points out that in some respects Lincoln was in advance even of the so-called radicals in Congress. She notes that the Wade-Davis bill restricted ballots to white men, while Lincoln was working for black voting. In fact Lincoln had taken actions directly against slavery prior to congressional initiatives. His compensated emancipation proposal of March 6, 1862, preceded congressional attacks on bondage. Also his Emancipation Proclamation was more advanced than the Second Confiscation Act. The latter measure focused primarily on slaves within Union lines. The Proclamation offered freedom to those in the much larger region outside those lines. He also supported policies that

set aside land for acquisition by freedmen. Fredrick Douglass's assessment of the president seems verified: "measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined" (p. 36).

The contrast between Lincoln and Andrew Johnson is thus shown clearly. While Douglass admired Lincoln and the president returned the favor, Johnson said that Douglass was "just like any nigger." Lincoln would have signed the Civil Rights Bill, the Freedman's Bureau Bill, and the subsequent amendments. Johnson vetoed them. Johnson supported the Louisiana conservative government that Lincoln sought to undermine. Lincoln used his pardoning and patronage power to advance the freedmen's cause. Johnson used his to restore their former masters to dominance.

That Lincoln operated within the limits of the possible has also been part of catechism. But Cox takes that adage seriously, not to justify behavior but to assess Reconstruction possibilities. She moves beyond the judgments of historians of the 1960-early 1970s that congressional Reconstruction measures should have been stronger in order to succeed in giving meaningful liberty to blacks. She contrasts the first and second Reconstructions and notes that in the 1860s southern opposition was more widespread and violent while northern power was exercised under a more limited constitutional vision. Nevertheless, greater force was used in the 1860s than in the next century and still the cause of equality was advanced only incrementally. Given such opposition Cox wonders if Lincoln's sagacity and his cautious approach, which shared radical goals, would not have been more likely to achieve them.

Cox notes also the awesome size of what was being attempted, and here again the comparative approach serves her well. No other emancipation effort was so grand— 4,000,000 slaves freed yet still facing a society in which they were a minority, and their freedom coming only after one of the bloodiest wars in history. In this context the achievements of Reconstruction seem creditable. Cox calls attention to the fact that changing the economic condition of a "dependent, subservient agrarian people" has proved an awesome task anytime or place that it has been tried.

She quotes Jerome Blum saying in the 1970s, "freeing of the European peasantry from the bonds of their servility" was a "still unfinished social revolution."

In all there is little to criticize in this excellent work. Her discussion of the constitutional limitations of Reconstruction needs elaboration. In arguing that Lincoln did not use emancipation solely as a device for winning the war, she says that he initiated his proposals when Grant's victories in the West still "cheered Union men," without noting that men were less than cheery about what McClellan was doing, or rather not doing, in the foremost theater of war. But these caveats are miniscule in the context of a superb book which combines thorough research with wide vision. Historians of the Civil War era are in Cox's debt once more. She has helped them think more carefully about their field. Historians in general are too. She has demonstrated the writing of history at its best.

University of Kansas

PHILLIP S. PALUDAN

Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction, The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870. By Robert C. Morris. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981. xv, 341 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index, illustrations. \$25.00.)

The adjective "definitive" must always be used with care, but perhaps it properly can be applied to this monograph. It is based on careful research in an impressive array of material, requiring twenty-five pages for the bibliography and fifty-two for the footnotes, in a book of 330 pages. In the subtitle Professor Morris sets the limits of his work. Further study of the broad outline of his subject will not be necessary, although histories of schools and biographies of individuals will continue to attract historians of the period.

Morris's factual summary will not be seriously challenged. The education of the freedmen did involve the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, over fifty benevolent and philanthropic societies, and more than 3,500 teachers. Some of his judgments, however, will not be readily accepted. The

teachers and their supporting societies did consider their work to be a crusade: they did take on “responsibilities outside of the classroom, acting as missionaries, social workers, dispensers of charity, labor superintendents, legal advisers, and even politicians” (p. ix). But were they aware of the “need for sectional accommodation?” And what does the author mean by the statement that, “as in the antebellum period, the underlying philosophy of black education was moderate in tone?”

The current furor over desegregation in public schools obviously supports the author’s observation that “the topic has hardly lent itself to dispassionate analysis” (p. ix). The facts which he presents seem to support the conclusion that controversy was unavoidable. Many of the teachers and the officers of the societies were abolitionists. Although few of the teachers from the North had had any contact with the Negro, they obviously shared Lyman Abbott’s belief that they must “not only . . . conquer the South,” but also, “convert it.” “We have not only to occupy it by bayonets and bullets— but also by ideas and institutions,” he said (p. 187). That fact was also too well understood by many Southerners.

A valuable part of this work is the many thumb-nail biographies of the teachers, black and white, northern and southern. The author understands that reformers of the period “rarely restricted themselves to one cause;” teachers include “abolitionists, feminists, and civil rights workers,” and advocates of temperance and penal reform (p. 74). Morris ignores the fact that the antebellum South had attempted to set up a *cordon sanitaire* against precisely these movements. “Civil rights” meant the suffrage and, as Morris says, to “many Southerners the whole freedmen’s educational program smacked of ‘social equality’ ” (p. 230). Reaction against the “Yankee schoolmarm” and the “nigger teacher” was widespread and often violent. Morris recognizes that fact, but he seems to soft-pedal the bitterness of the southern reaction. When New England egalitarianism and traditional southern racism collided, emotion inevitably ran high.

Chapter six of the book is a detailed analysis of the textbooks and procedures used in the freedmen’s schools. Morris believes that some Southerners “purposely exaggerated” the degree of radicalism and were unaware of the teachers’ efforts “to dis-

courage excessive manifestations of partisanship and sectional bias," but he found "evidence of a strong Northern bias" in the texts used (pp. 182, 187). Southerners charged that the teachers belittled the region, stirred racial hatred, and taught the children to support the Republican party (p. 177). And, in a remarkably mild observation, he observes that "partisan lessons were not appreciated by local whites" (p. 180). Indeed they were not; teachers often were ostracized and insulted and, in some instances, beaten and forced to flee. Morris seems to have underestimated the bitterness of reaction to the work of the teachers.

In general, Morris concludes, the teachers followed the patterns used in northern public schools, with special emphasis on preparation for life in a dramatically changed society. This he considers to be a pragmatic approach to an exceedingly difficult problem (p. 212).

Nashville, Tennessee

HENRY L. SWINT

Education and the Rise of the New South, Edited by Ronald K. Goodenow and Arthur O. White. (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1981. xi, 303 pp. Foreword, notes, about the authors, index, \$19.95.)

While attention has centered on the processes of school desegregation historians have tended to neglect educational developments in the South from Reconstruction to the 1954 Brown decision. The editors of this volume have assembled twelve essays which demonstrate the promise and possibilities of work in this field. The theme centers on the tension created by racial attitudes in conflict with the idea that education was a necessity for the "rise" of the New South. The consequence was that blacks received minimum education aimed at social control while education for whites aimed at quality and emulation of the North. Leaders in the New South practiced these policies openly and accomplished most of what they set out to do.

The essays cover the era in roughly chronological order beginning with James D. Anderson's "Ex-Slaves and the Rise of Universal Education," which credits the impulse to create schools

for blacks to the ex-slaves, rather than to northern teachers and philanthropists. Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., analyzes the role of President Charles W. Elliot of Harvard University in developing the "compromise" that led to vocational education for blacks. Spencer J. Maxcy covers rural education from 1900-1950 to show the rural school transformation led by the progressives. It is no surprise that he concludes that blacks received "only token reforms." Amy Friedlander and Mark K. Bauman, respectively, recount the history of the origins of Agnes Scott College and Emory University. Their essays stand out as critical evaluations unusual among the histories of colleges in the South.

Joseph W. Newman presents a well-researched and carefully written study of unionism and racial politics in Atlanta, finding that race destroyed the potential for broader leadership by the "largest and most successful teachers' union in the South." William Bonds Thomas gives an analysis of how guidance and testing were used to keep blacks in their "place." Ronald K. Goodenow demonstrates that during the Great Depression black secondary education became less conservative than it had been. Arthur O. White gives the history of Florida's successful efforts to place county boards of education under centralized control. This essay brings the Florida story up into the 1970s. There is a final "historiographical" essay by Harvey Neufeldt and Clinton Anderson which should be consulted by anyone preparing to look further into this field.

The essay by Nancy L. Grant, "Government Social Planning and Education for Blacks: The TVA Experience, 1933-1945," is one of the best in the book. Grant shows that the potential of the Tennessee Valley Authority's educational program was undermined by politics and racial prejudice. TVA's planned communities, which included schools and apprenticeship programs, were a major threat to local control and customs. In addition, the managers of TVA doubted the mental capacities of blacks and relegated them to janitorial jobs while ignoring the black colleges in Alabama. The power of tradition and school boards prevailed, and TVA's moves into education were abandoned to the dismay of many parents. Grant concludes that the failure to create social change through the schools came from TVA's concept of "need and efficiency" for its existence rather than "duty or legal commit-

ment." The idea of an expanded role for the federal government in the schools was clearly ahead of the times, but change through electrification was not.

These essays illustrate the wide variety of topics possible to students of southern education. The editors have maintained a high standard as to length, organization, research, and writing. There is no tendency to attempt to generalize on the basis of partial evidence, but rather to show what can be done and to begin to fill a clear need. While there is little about the upper South or Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, or Oklahoma, one can gain a clear understanding of the central place that schools and educational policy-making held in the development of the New South. It was not simply a program based on the single idea of segregation, but contained the dynamics which would bring long term changes few had foreseen. This volume should be consulted by all students of southern history and culture.

Guilford College

ALEXANDER R. STOESEN

Today's Immigrants: Their Stories. By Thomas Kessner and Betty Boyd Caroli. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. 317 pp. Appendices, bibliography, illustrations. \$16.95.)

That America remains a nation of immigrants has been dramatically underscored in recent years. The controversies generated by the arrival of Vietnamese boat people, Haitian refugees, and "illegal aliens" from the southern regions bear witness to the continued importance of immigration to the American experience. As we learn from *Today's Immigrants, Their Stories*, however, these new arrivals are only part of a much larger stream of migration refreshing the cultural diversity of America. More than 4,800,000 newcomers arrived in the United States during the decade of the 1970s.

Professors Kessner and Caroli have chosen to stress the human side of recent migrations by blending a comfortable mix of direct oral testimony and historical narrative. For the most part, readers are able to capture a sense of each group's experience from the lips of immigrants themselves. The book's geographical focus

is our nation's great immigrant center, New York City. The authors have taken pains to make the necessary disclaimers about their approach (New York is not America, the immigrants chosen are not necessarily prototypical, etc.), and however much this selection may have slighted other areas of significant immigrant populations (such as Miami or San Francisco), or other groups (such as the Cubans), the advantage of a single reference point outweighs other considerations.

The groups under review fall into two broad categories—those that have had a major prior immigration experience in America and those that have not. Among the former, we learn of the modern movements of Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Jews, and Irish. Ironically, the presence of large numbers of earlier arrived countrymen was not always a positive factor. Recent Italian immigrants, for example, often found that they experienced their greatest friction with Italian Americans. Newer faces appearing in these pages include Vietnamese refugees, diverse undocumented aliens from Latin America, Peruvians, Koreans, West Indians, and Hondurans. Students of immigration history will find fresh perspectives on these relatively unexplored immigrant groups. Each of these groups, both new and old, have devised their own strategies to cope with the contemporary of green cards, visitor permits, and entry visas.

Taken as a whole, what do these eleven chapters tell us about current immigration? Certainly they point to the continued restlessness and vitality of the American scene, at least as it is unfolding in New York City. They also dramatically reveal a shift in major sources of immigration, which now are located in Latin America and Asia. The collective stories of the people themselves are a poignant testimony to the dynamism and power of the American dream. Despite the problems of Vietnam, Watergate, and economic disruption, America apparently continues to hold a special place in the minds of the world's peoples. Oftentimes with remarkable speed, this nation also still seems to infuse its newcomers with the basic values of the old Puritan ethic—a drive for success, hard work, frugality, and personal sacrifice. Although the paths chosen by these immigrants in their quest for a new life are as varied as their backgrounds, they emerge uniformly as “neither bitter nor broken or uprooted.”

All of this provides evidence for those who continue to see America as the world's great refuge for the oppressed and who argue for a liberal immigration policy. The volume contains material, however, that offers ammunition for those who urge more restrictive approaches. The authors found that these new arrivals "do not undergo a uniform purifying liberalizing process, making them more acutely sensitive to the needs of others." Indeed, they displayed the same range of flaws, prejudices, and rancors that affect the wider society. Some Americans may also be disturbed to learn how easily immigration laws are skirted and in some cases openly flaunted. The legal screen designed to filter immigrants clearly possesses an extremely wide mesh. Yet, the purposes of this volume are not polemical, and it takes no stand on current policy debates. What it does is present with care and sensitivity a great deal of fresh detail on contemporary immigration. In doing so, it has provided a welcome springboard for future studies.

University of Florida

GEORGE E. POZZETTA

The Celluloid South, Hollywood and the Southern Myth. By Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981. 'xvii, 212 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, afterword, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

The South and Film. Edited by Warren French. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1981. 258 pp. Introduction, photographs, notes on contributors, chronology, bibliography, indexes. \$12.50.)

Despite the emergence of New South sun-belt politics and economics, and the important continuing role Southerners play in American cultural life, the region still suffers from antebellum stereotypes dating back more than a century. The first serious book-length attempt to chart changing perceptions of the South as reflected in literature, stage, film, and television was Jack Temple Kirby's *Media-Made Dixie: The South in the American Imagination* (1978). Kirby broadly surveyed all facets of the mass media to conclude paradoxically that the "triumph" of the New

South represented by the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976, the successes of uplifting television programs set in southern locales such as *Roots* and *The Waltons*, and the booming popularity of country music signified the national co-option of things southern leading to its diffusion as an identifiable cultural region.

Without endorsing Kirby's thesis as to the demise of a separate Confederate culture (for after all Carter is out of the White House, *The Waltons* and *Roots* are in reruns, and Dolly Parton says she is leaving the plastic of Hollywood to return to Nashville), the recent publication of both *The Celluloid South, Hollywood and the Southern Myth* and *The South and Film* point to growing recognition that the many motion pictures made about the South and its people are worth examining a second time as empirical reflections of the society which produced them.

In studying the ramifications inherent in popular culture, the deliberate inclusion of the term "myth" by Campbell in the title of his book is significant in that it highlights how much our perception of the South has been filtered through the distorted eye of a movie industry based largely outside its confines. Campbell selectively examines film plots and the images they present of the region for several hundred photoplays released between 1903 and 1980—stressing their social, literary, and historical origins, as well as their impact on the creation of a popular mythology of the South. Indeed this long term filmic interest in the South suggests that the "Southern" should now be accepted as a full-fledged cinematic genre similar to that of the Western with which it has much in common.

Campbell argues that the film industry, motivated primarily by a desire to provide profit-making entertainment, for decades offered the public movies which downplayed difficult issues important for the reintegration of the post-Reconstructionist South into the national mainstream. As a result, Hollywood romanticized the South (particularly the antebellum era) in scores of productions typified by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, (1903 and subsequent remakes) *Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Gone With the Wind* (1939), and *Song of the South* (1946) where life was idyllic until external forces disrupted the natural order. The author feels that the imprint left by unrealistic but seemingly harmless characterizations of a planter society, an agricultural economy,

and especially slavery have hindered the region's self-assessment and warped the nation's perspective on race. Indeed, he says "moonlight and magnolia" romances focusing on southern heroines increased to such an extent between 1920-1945 that Hollywood has been struggling for nearly forty years to break out from the cinematic strait-jacket of a pre-War Between the States screen image which has remained amazingly consistent throughout more than seven decades of film exhibition. Unfortunately, as Campbell notes, recent productions often have attempted to gain social responsibility via equally distorted means as in films, such as *Mandingo* (1975 and its sequel *Drum* (1976), which mix "uncompromising honesty and realism" with prurient sexual appeals. Thus not only the filmmakers working in the industry, but ticket buyers themselves have come to believe in a falsely pictured world of sentimentality and salaciousness which is unrepresentative of Dixie as a whole. Indeed the filmic boundaries of the Old South exclude over half the Confederacy. States such as Florida, Arkansas, and Texas simply do not fit the mold of plantation life. Thus most films about Texas (even those dealing with the Civil War) tend to be seen as Westerns, while movies indigenous to Florida such as *The Seminole's Sacrifice* (1911), *Miami* (1924) and *Wind Across the Everglades* (1958) are not included by Campbell in his analysis. As he is director of the Museum of the Confederacy, this bias can be charitably forgiven.

The twenty-two essays in *The South and Film*, while reflecting the individual viewpoints of their authors, also point to a rise of the South again— this time cinematically. In his useful introductory essay Warren French (who also edits the Twayne Theatrical Arts series) takes a different perspective to suggest it was the success of *Easy Rider* in 1969-1970 (whose characters head not for the West on horseback, but the South on motorcycles) which led to a series of "gasoline operas" and New South action pictures lensed in actual southern locations. This, of course, was also spurred by the technological advances in portable equipment which made such productions economically feasible. French points out the Southern actually has many sub-genres: pro-southern plantation along with anti-antebellum "blaxploitation pics" to be sure, but also movies about hill-

billies, riverboats, biographies of famous Southerners, as well as potboilers about sex and mutilation in the backwoods which continue to do well in drive-ins and mall theatres catering to the youth market.

Given these parameters, the essays are grouped in related areas: an obligatory overview of such classics as *Birth of a Nation*, *Jezebel* (1938), *Gone With the Wind*, and *The Southerner* (1945); selected subgenres such as the War Between the States (here called the Civil War) as treated in silent film, the post-Reconstruction South as pictured in Warner Brother's *Bright Leaf* (1949), hillbilly films popular in the 1930s thru 1950s when theatrical series such as *The Ma and Pa Kettle* pictures died out and were repackaged for television under the new guise of *The Beverly Hillbillies*, *Green Acres*, *Garter Country*, *The Dukes of Hazard*, and similar countryfried programs; and an essay by Campbell on the plantation South in modern films since the 1950s which further draws upon research conducted for his own book.

Other groups of essays look at how the South has been portrayed by *auteur* directors Robert Altman, John Ford, and Martin Ritt; southern women (both black and white); and attempts to translate William Faulkner accurately to the screen. The final section focuses "on the perils and pleasures of the search for authenticity when shooting in regional locations." Of particular interest is William Stephenson's chronicle of the protracted difficulties which plagued the on-off-on filming of Marjorie Rawling's *The Yearling* (released 1945) in Florida. One wishes that more emphasis in both volumes had been placed on the significance of productions actually made in the South versus films made about the South. It can be argued that a local production base (which existed in Florida, Louisiana, Texas, and other states during the silent era, and again is becoming reestablished not only in those areas but also North Carolina and Georgia as well) may well be reflected in a more realistic pro-southern image than that of a Hollywood art director creating "Tara" on a California backlot. This aside, however, *The South and Film* and *The Celluloid South, Hollywood and the Southern Myth* are required (and at times provocative) reading for anyone interested in understanding the South and its cinematic inheritance.

University of Houston

RICHARD ALAN NELSON

BOOK NOTES

The Fever Man, A Biography of Dr. John Gorrie is by Vivian M. Sherlock of Tallahassee. She has taught English at Florida State University, Gulf Coast Junior College, and Tallahassee Community College. Ms. Sherlock explains that her reason for writing the book "was to sift through the body of legend surrounding Dr. Gorrie and to arrange the few remaining tangible facts into a narrative which would reveal his aims and put into proper perspective his contribution to human welfare." She has done this very well. Since there is no collection of Gorrie letters or manuscripts, the author utilized newspapers, published books and pamphlets, state and federal documents, periodical articles, dissertations and theses, church records, and available Florida territorial material. As with all studies of Dr. Gorrie, there are questions about his family background and place of birth. It is presumed that he was from South Carolina, since that is the way he later identified himself on the Franklin County (Florida) census. After graduating from Fairfield Medical School in western New York, he practiced in Abbeville, South Carolina, and then in Apalachicola, Florida. To supplement his medical practice income, Gorrie became postmaster, receiving an annual salary of \$131.20. Dr. Gorrie quickly made a name for himself in Apalachicola, then one of the most important Gulf coast cotton shipping ports. He purchased property, and as part of a partnership he planned to erect a hotel; he became president of a bank; and in January 1837 was elected Intendant of the city. He married Caroline Francis Myrick Beman, a well-to-do widow, who operated a boarding house. Malaria and yellow fever were dread diseases that periodically ravaged seaport towns throughout the South with the onset of hot weather. The summer of 1841 was particularly disastrous along the Gulf coast, and there was sickness and deaths in Tallahassee, Port Leon, St. Marks, St. Joseph, and Apalachicola. Dr. Gorrie, long interested in scientific and medical experiments, believed that his patients needed fresh air, and that in some way their fevered temperatures needed to be lowered. Obviously, there was no ice in Florida in the summer to do this. He became absorbed in a "cooling theory," and by 1848 he had

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developed plans for an ice-making machine. His efforts to market his invention were not successful, although Dr. Gorrie always believed that he had produced a way to manufacture artificial ice. He never received full credit for his ice-making invention during his lifetime. *The Fever Man* is published by Medallion Press, Box 12432, Tallahassee, Florida 32108; the price is \$17.00.

Charles C. Fishburne, Jr., of Cedar Key is the author of six booklets which trace the history of the Cedar Keys Islands from the Second Seminole War to the present. His first essay, *Of Chiefs and Generals*, includes anthropological information about the aboriginal inhabitants of the area. He notes, however, that there is little historical data about the area prior to the nineteenth century; most of it is hearsay. Mr. Fishbourne points out in the introduction that he has made a deliberate attempt "either to exclude many oft-repeated speculations, or to brand them for what they are." He proves this through his careful research into existing records, mainly in Cedar Key. It is not until the Second Seminole War that authentic records are available. Lieutenant Myer Cohen noted the presence of a good harbor at Cedar Key which could become a military depot for provisions and stores. General Zachary Taylor also described the importance of the area in 1840, reporting that the depot there was "in course of completion." By the end of that year units of the regular army were stationed there. A small hospital had been constructed, and Cantonment Morgan was located on Sea Horse Key. *The End of the Line at the Cedar Keys, 1843-1861*, the second in the booklet series describes the construction of Florida's first trans-state railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Key by the Florida Railroad Company which was headed by United States Senator David Levy Yulee. The history of Judge Augustus Steele, who is known as the "father of Cedar Key," is also included in this essay. *The Cedar Keys in the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1876* is the third in the series. The lighthouse on Sea Horse Key, constructed in 1854-1855, was attacked by Federal raiders aboard the U.S.S. *Hatteras* in January 1862. There was another Union raid later that year, and some minor action in 1865 near the end of the war. A Cedar Key visitor after the War was John Muir, the renowned naturalist, who completed his thousand-mile walk to the Gulf of Mexico in 1867. *Cedar Key Booming: 1877-1886*, on

the post-Reconstruction era, covers a period of growth and change both for Florida and for Cedar Key. The extension of Henry B. Plant's railroad into Tampa affected all the Gulf coast area, including Cedar Key. The Eagle Pencil Company was providing jobs and pumping dollars into the booming economy. Roads were paved and sidewalks laid; the Episcopalians established a parish; the oyster, fish, and turtle businesses became significant; the *Levy County Times* published a city directory; and schools for whites and blacks were established. The 1885 Special Census listed 1,887 inhabitants. *The Cedar Keys in Decline, 1887-1890* is the fifth booklet. The years after Reconstruction had marked a boom period for Cedar Key, but the years following saw the community losing people, businesses closing, and political instability. Mr. Fishburne assesses the record of these turnabout years. A major problem for Cedar Key was Tampa, which was draining business and prosperity away from the upper Gulf coast. Political problems facing Cedar Key at the time did not help the situation either as Mr. Fishburne points out. He has titled his sixth essay *The Cedar Keys: Prelude to the 20th Century, 1891-1900*. By the end of the decade Cedar Key's economic situation had become even more depressed. The Eagle factory and the other cedar mills were closed, the cedars were exhausted, and there was neither money nor interest in replenishing the trees. A tragic hurricane swept through Cedar Key September 28-29, 1896, which almost blew and washed the town away. The storm wrecked the few slat mills still operating, as well as businesses, churches, and private homes. The Spanish-American War, which greatly impacted Tampa and other Florida ports, passed Cedar Key by. There were fewer than 1,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the new century, but as Mr. Fishburne points out, Cedar Key was still not a ghost town; there was hope for the future. Each booklet sells for \$2.50 and may be ordered from Cedar Key Historical Society, Box 222, Cedar Key, FL 32625.

The Mission of St. John's, the history of St. John's Episcopal Church of Eau Gallie, Florida, was written by Miriam K. Hicks who utilized newspapers and church and diocese records for her material. She also interviewed a number of people who had been communicants of St. John's, some for as long as half a century.

She provides historical information of that area of Florida before and after the Civil War. In 1856 there were only eight families scattered along the lower Indian River, but other settlers were beginning to move in. Eau Gallie was established in 1870, and the railroad reached there in 1893. Meanwhile, the Episcopalians in the area were organizing a congregation and making plans to build a church. The first services were held at St. John's church, February 20, 1898, with Archdeacon B. F. Brown officiating. Mrs. Hicks's book includes extensive information on the church and its furnishings, the altar, Sunday School, church organizations, vicars and layreaders, music, and the men and women who have been active in the church over the years. The appendix includes lists of baptisms, marriages and burials and other pertinent data relating to the church's history. An index and a list of the notes and sources add to the value of this history. It may be ordered from the author at 1522 Palmwood Drive, Eau Gallie, Florida 32935. The price is \$5.00, plus \$1.00 for mailing and handling.

When *Folksongs of Florida*, which had been collected and edited by Alton C. Morris, professor of English at the University of Florida, was first published in 1950, it made a significant contribution to our knowledge of Florida history and folklore. Morris began collecting songs and ballads in and around Gainesville and Alachua County when he first arrived to teach at the University in the 1930s. In 1937 he enticed John Lomax to visit, and together they recorded nearly 125 folksongs and ballads in Newberry, Micanopy, High Springs, Gainesville, Moss Bluff, and Fort White. These recordings are now part of the Folksong Archives in the Library of Congress. More recordings were added by Morris in 1939 as part of the Federal Writers' Project. With the assistance of high school seniors and college students throughout Florida, he accumulated a large general folklore collection, which also provided the basis for his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *Folksongs of Florida*, emerged from this dissertation. Morris's book is divided into two sections: "Songs of the New World" and "Songs of the Old World." In the first section are folksongs and ballads dealing with war and other historical events; the West; the sea; outlawry and prison experience; disaster and tragic mischance; love and domestic re-

lations; religious and moral import; work and occupational songs; nursery songs; play-party songs; and fiddle songs. In the second section are English, Scottish, Bahamian, Irish, and Anglo-Irish folksongs. *Folksongs of Florida*, with a new introduction by Robert S. Thomson, has been reprinted by Folklorica Press, Inc., 301 East 47 Street, New York, New York 10017. The price is \$16.95, paperbound.

“Save The Old Capitol” became the rallying call for preservationists, historians, history buffs, and thousands of Floridians during the 1970s when the Capitol building, portions of which dated back to 1845, was threatened with demolition. A new twenty-two story Capitol was under construction, and its architect, the governor, the speaker of the house, and many legislators argued that the old building would detract from the new structure and that restoring it would require more money and effort than it was worth. A howl of protest went up all over Florida, and petitions and resolutions were passed by the Florida Historical Society, and other historical agencies, veteran organizations, woman and garden clubs, and civic groups. Secretary of State Bruce Smathers refused to move his personal office into the new Capitol, but he was evicted after the state fire marshall claimed the building was a firetrap. Meanwhile, public support had become so significant and vocal that it could no longer be overlooked, and after a hectic legislative battle, funds were appropriated, and restoration of the old Capitol began. The restored building, including red-and-white-striped awnings, was dedicated in 1982. Present in the audience were many who had opposed the restoration. *Capitol, A Guide for Visitors* published by the Historical Tallahassee Preservation Board, includes the story of the battle for restoration. There is also a brief history of the old and new Capitols, and many historic pictures. Order from the Board’s office, 329 North Meridian Street, Tallahassee, Florida 32301; the price is \$3.75.

E. W. Carswell is a notable collector of Florida folklore and history. His columns in the *Pensacola Journal* have great appeal to readers throughout the Panhandle. Mr. Carswell has selected some of these columns for publication in three booklets which were edited by Roy Reynolds and illustrated by Elizabeth

Landress, Harley Hall, and Kate Gonzalez Hawe. *Tales of Grandpa and Cousin Fitzhugh* are stories that Carswell remembered hearing from his maternal grandfather and his cousin. *A Grateful Note to Gracie Ashmore . . . and other Notable Northwest Floridians* are anecdotes and short biographical sketches of some of Carswell's friends. He describes them as "the world's finest people." *Remembering World War II Before Kilroy* are the sketches recalling Carswell's military experiences. All make delightful reading. Order from E. W. Carswell, 418 South Fourth Street, Chipley, Florida 32428. *Tales of Grandpa* and *Grateful Note* sell for \$2.95 each, and *Before Kilroy*, \$3.95. Add \$1.00 for postage.

The Indian Presence, Archeology of Sanibel, Captiva and Adjacent Islands in Pine Island Sound is by Charles J. Wilson who reminds us in his essay that these areas have had a long history of aboriginal occupation predating European contact. Early Indian campsites and prehistoric shell mounds are still visible on these barrier islands. Frank Hamilton Cushing visited some of these sites in 1895 while en route to Key Marco. The Early History Period, the Calusa, Florida Prehistory, and the Wightman Site are the topics discussed in Dr. Wilson's paper. He directed excavation of the Wightman Site on Sanibel from 1974 to 1976. Joan Wilson did the drawings for this booklet. It was published by the Sanibel-Captiva Conservation Foundation, Inc. Mail orders should be directed to the Foundation, Drawer S, Sanibel, Florida 33957. The price is \$3.50, and \$1.00 for postage.

Wolf Dog of the Woodland Indians is by Margaret Zehmer Searcy. It was published by University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama. One of Professor Searcy's earlier book's *IKWA of the Temple Mounds* won the Charlton W. Tebeau Prize from the Florida Historical Society in May 1976. *Wolf Dog of the Woodland Indians* is a charming book which successfully integrates accurate archeological and ethnological data with a format and plot that will have appeal both for children and adults. In her introduction Mrs. Searcy explains how hikers exploring a cave found two skeletons which were brought to her attention and other archeologists in the University of Alabama's Department of Anthropology. It was determined that the skeletons were

Woodland Indians called Copena. It was this discovery which stimulated Searcy's research which resulted in her book. It sells for \$9.95.

The major work relief program during the Depression of the 1930s was the WPA. It included Federal Project Number One which provided employment in the areas of art, music, theater, and writing. The WPA Federal Writer's Project was a part of Federal One. The recording of the slave narratives and the life histories were among the major contribution of this agency. William T. Couch, director of the University of North Carolina Press was in charge of these activities for the southeastern region. Influenced by the faculty of the new regional School of Social Science— Howard Odum, Guy Johnson, and Rupert Vance— he urged the histories project. Alabama's director was Myrtle Miles. By early 1939 Couch had accumulated sufficient life histories from all over the South to be edited and published as a book, *These Are Our Lives*. Because of a tight publishing schedule no Alabama life histories appeared in this volume, but they were being recorded all over that state. Federal One became a primary target of anti-New Deal forces, and the Relief Act of 1939 effectively cut off its funding. As a result, no other life histories, including those from Alabama, were published at the time. They were deposited with Couch's other Federal Writer's Project material in the University of North Carolina library. Others are probably in the state archives in Montgomery. Many of the Alabama writers participating in the program were excellent, particularly Covington Hall, Lawrence Evans, Francois L. Diard, and Ruby Pickens Tartt. Rhussus Perry was a black Alabama life history writer whose work is included. The Alabama life histories are finally available in this volume published by the University of Alabama Press. The editor of *Up before daylight, Life Histories* is James S. Brown, Jr., who has also written an introduction. There is listing of the other known life histories from Alabama which have not yet been published in addition to a bibliography and index. The paperback volume sells for \$8.95.

Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era, edited by Howard N. Rabinowitz, is published by University of Illinois Press. The paperback edition sells for \$9.95. It includes the essay,

"Race and Faction in the Public Career, of Florida's Josiah T. Wall," by Peter D. Klingman.

The First Colonists: Documents on the Planting of The First English Settlements in North America, 1584-1590 was edited with an introduction by David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn. In 1984 North Carolina will be celebrating the 400th anniversary of the attempted settlement of Roanoke Island by the English. The documents relating to the Roanoke voyages and the other colonizing activities of the years 1584-1590 were printed in London by Richard Haklyt in 1600. In 1948 the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History published a pamphlet entitled *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*. *The First Colonists* is a revised edition of *Explorations* which is being published by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. The price is \$5.00.

The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, has issued a paperback edition of *The Cherokees* by Grace Steele Woodward. It is one of the volumes in its Civilization of the American Indian series, and was published first in 1963. The paperback sells for \$10.95.

The background of John Katzenbach's novel, *In the Heat of the Summer*, is Miami. A teenage girl is found shot to death "execution-style," and a reporter from the *Miami Journal* is assigned to cover the story. Mr. Katzenbach is the criminal courts reporter for the *Miami Herald*. His book was printed by Atheneum Publishers, and it sells for \$13.95.

To help commemorate the celebration of Stetson University's centennial, the Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company has produced a calendar. Historical photographs are featured, and important dates relating to the history of Florida and the history of Stetson University are noted. Order from the Trading Company, 110 S. Woodland Boulevard, Suite 130, DeLand, Florida 32720. The price is \$5.95 and .75 for mailing.