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BOOK REVIEWS

Anatomy of a Lynching, The Killing of Claude Neal. By James R. McGovern. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xii. 170 pp. Preface and acknowledgements, photographs, maps, illustrations, selected bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Anatomy of a Lynching is a sensitive and forthright analysis of one of the most gruesome episodes in Florida history, the 1934 lynching of Claude Neal. Gracefully written and carefully argued, James McGovern's brief monograph is a welcome addition to the small but growing scholarly literature on southern lynching. Utilizing oral history interviews, as well as a wide variety of printed sources, McGovern has produced a richly detailed case study that should enhance our general understanding of mob violence and vigilantism. More than a mere narrative, the book includes an incisive social portrait of Jackson County, the scene of the Neal lynching. The author also makes skillful use of social psychological theory. Drawing upon the work of Eric Fromm and Leonard Berkowitz, he stresses the importance of black vulnerability and compares lynching victims to battered women, abused children, and inmates of Nazi death camps. Although he does not totally discount the traditional theories that explain southern lynching as a function of Negrophobic pathology and socio-economic malaise, McGovern argues that southern whites lynched blacks "primarily because they exercised virtually unlimited power over them" (p. 10). His contention that the primary buttress of southern lynch-law was not fear, but fearlessness, is difficult to prove empirically. But the idea merits further consideration.

McGovern's account of the Neal saga is riveting. On October 19, 1934, the mutilated body of nineteen-year old Lola Cannidy was discovered on a hillside near her father's farm in Jackson County. The young white woman had been bludgeoned to death with a hammer and possibly raped. Two hours after the discovery, the local sheriff arrested Claude Neal, a black farm worker who lived less than one quarter mile from the Cannidy farm. Claude Neal had known Lola Cannidy since early childhood, and there

is some indication that they were lovers. Although the evidence against Neal was circumstantial at best, a lynch mob soon stormed the county jail. Fortunately, the sheriff had already taken the precaution of transferring Neal to a jail in Panama City, sixty miles away. Neal was later moved to an army jail in Fort Barrancas, near Pensacola, and finally to a county jail in Brewton, Alabama. On October 26, Neal was abducted from the Brewton jail by a small but well-organized band of Jackson County whites and taken to a wooded hideaway near the Chattahoochee River. The impending lynching— the plan was to allow the Cannidy family to execute Neal at the scene of the crime— was then publicized by a Dothan, Alabama, radio station and by the Dothan *Eagle*, which ran the following headline: “Florida to Burn Negro at Stake: Sex Criminal Seized from Brewton Jail, Will be Mutilated, Set Afire in Extra-Legal Vengeance for Deed.” By the evening of the twenty-sixth, a huge crowd (estimates ranged as high as 2,000) had gathered at the Cannidy farm to witness the bloodletting. An Associated Press reporter was at the scene, and both the NAACP and Florida Governor David Sholtz had been alerted to what was happening. The glare of publicity made some members of the lynch mob nervous, but the vengeance-seeking whites of Jackson County were not to be denied. Although they had promised to let the Cannidys have first crack at Neal, the men guarding Neal in the woods took it upon themselves to torture, castrate, and eventually murder their captive. Neal’s body was then brought to the Cannidy farm, where the Cannidy family and others mutilated the remains. Fingers and toes were removed as souvenirs, and small children were encouraged to jab pointed sticks into the corpse. The body was eventually taken to Marianna, the county seat, and suspended from a tree in front of the county courthouse. But even then the carnage did not end. The emotions aroused by the lynching led to an all-out assault on the local black community. During a day-long riot, several black homes were burned and hundreds of blacks were beaten. Only the arrival of the National Guard prevented a wholesale slaughter.

McGovern devotes three chapters to the aftermath of the lynching. The reaction of the press and the public, Governor Sholtz’s perfunctory investigation of the incident, and the NAACP’s use of the grisly details of the Neal lynching in its

campaign for a federal anti-lynching law are handled honestly and intelligently. In my opinion, McGovern's argument that the notoriety surrounding the Neal lynching was largely responsible for the rapid decline of "classic" community-endorsed lynchings in the late 1930s is not altogether convincing. But his tendency to overestimate the impact of the Neal incident is a minor flaw in an otherwise excellent book.

University of South Florida

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

George Gauld: Surveyor and Cartographer of the Gulf Coast. By John D. Ware, revised and completed by Robert R. Rea. (Gainesville, University Presses of Florida, 1982. xx, 251 pp. List of Illustrations, John D. Ware (an appreciation), preface, introduction, maps, appendix, index. \$30.00.)

Britain's acquisition of Florida in 1763 was accompanied by the growing realization that almost nothing in the way of detailed maps or charts of the vast new territory existed. Strident critics of the peace negotiations with Spain and France, which resulted in Florida's addition to King George's empire, proclaimed that Florida was little more than "pine barrens, or sandy deserts [sic]." Another more admiring observer commented that Florida was "the most precious jewel in His Majesty's American Dominions." The truth of the matter was that, to most Britons, Florida was an unknown and mysterious land in 1763.

This book details the career of one of a small handful of gifted and indefatigable surveyor-cartographers who explored and mapped Florida during the two decades of British control. He was George Gauld, a native of Scotland who served in the Royal Navy. Gauld, who earned an M.A. degree at Aberdeen, was certified as a navy schoolmaster aboard a British man-of-war which saw extensive combat service in the Mediterranean during the period 1757-1759.

George Gauld was selected by the Admiralty to proceed to Florida in 1764 to undertake vitally needed "accurate surveys . . . of His Majesty's Dominions" there. He arrived at Pensacola in August of that year aboard the *Tartar* which had been specially fitted out for a hydrographic survey. Gauld lost little time in be-

ginning his surveys, which were to extend more or less continuously until 1781, when Spain forcibly evicted the British from West Florida.

This book is a detailed chronicle of Gauld's charting of the Gulf coast during the period of its British control. It was begun by John Ware, a seafarer and shipmaster who became a Tampa Bay pilot in 1952. Ware knew the Gulf coast intimately as a licensed master of steam and motor vessels. Although never formally trained as a historian, Captain Ware became a respected expert on the first and second Spanish periods of Florida's history. His articles appeared in journals such as the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, *Tequesta*, and *El Escribano*. He wrote the introduction and compiled the index for the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series edition of P. Lee Phillips's volume, *Notes on the Life of Bernard Romans*, which appeared in 1975. Romans, it will be recalled, was also an important surveyor and cartographer of pre-Revolutionary Florida.

Most unfortunately, Captain Ware died before he had completed the manuscript of this book on George Gauld and his Florida surveys. Through the cooperation of Mrs. Ware, it was possible for Robert R. Rea, professor of history at Auburn University and a ranking expert on the eighteenth-century Gulf coast, to complete the manuscript and see it through publication. Thus a rare combination of talents, those of the mariner-historian and the accomplished academic, have been combined to produce a truly impressive volume.

Rea and the staff of the University Presses of Florida are particularly deserving of commendation for including several photographic copies of Gauld's original maps in the book. Although reduced in format, these maps are valuable documents which serve to epitomize the outstanding accomplishments of George Gauld during his arduous surveys of the eighteenth-century Gulf coast. Students of Gulf coast history, as well as those interested in the history of hydrography and charting, will find this a book well worth reading.

University of Georgia

LOUIS DEVORSEY

The Log of H.M.S. Mentor, 1780-1781, A New Account of the British Navy at Pensacola. Edited by James A. Servies. Intro-

duction by Robert R. Rea. (Pensacola: University Presses of Florida, 1982. xi, 207 pp. Acknowledgements., list of illustrations, illustrations, maps, names and technical terms. \$11.75.)

H.M.S. Mentor was built in Maryland as a privateer. Not much is known of her early career, but apparently she was fairly successful at the occupation for which she was intended. Robert Rea, in his well-written introduction, explains that nothing is known about *Mentor's* privateering activities in American waters, and he believes that it is probable that she had another name. She was eventually taken to Liverpool, where she was registered as *Who's Afraid*. *Who's Afraid* operated as a rather successful privateer from 1778 to 1780. In March 1780, Admiral Peter Parker purchased the ship for the Royal Navy and named her *H.M.S. Mentor*.

In her original form *Who's Afraid* or *Mentor* was described as a sloop. Later, as *Mentor* she is described as a small frigate. Normally a sloop of war carried her armament on the weather deck. *Mentor*, however, is shown to have had a regular gun deck pierced for twenty guns. Since she carried six four-pounders on the quarter deck, she might be classed as a small frigate. She was copper sheathed, a feature which made her extremely valuable in the warm waters of Florida where worm damage was a major problem for the wooden bottoms of ships.

Mentor's captain, Robert Deans, appears to have been an exceptionally good officer who managed his ship in an excellent fashion and eventually went on to have a distinguished if not illustrious naval career. Bad luck rather than lack of ability at times seems to have been the main reason Deans did not advance to even higher ranks.

This work is the edited log of *Mentor* with a narrative introduction giving an account of the captain, his crew, and a brief history of the ship. *Mentor* was part of the Royal naval squadron operating out of Pensacola. This squadron played a significant role in General John Campbell's defense of the Gulf coast and Pensacola. Even after a naval defense became impossible, *Mentor's* crew was used to man part of the fortifications of Pensacola. When the ship was damaged and faced capture by the Spanish, Deans burned her.

When Deans was captured by Gálvez, he was accused of mis-

treating Spanish prisoners, improperly destroying his ship, and instigating a revolt of English settlers. As a result, rather than being exchanged as were most prisoners, Deans was held prisoner until several months after peace was signed.

The log of *Mentor*, edited by James A. Servies, provides the reader with a day-by-day detailed account of the movements of the ship. To the uninitiated, a ship's log is not easy to read. The speed of the ship, the weather conditions, and wind direction and velocity are always entered in the log; ships sighted, along with all important subjects are also carefully recorded. Ships' logs can be extremely useful to the historian who can use them with the assurance of accuracy as to time, date, and weather.

Mentor's log is one of the few such books extant covering the Gulf coast in 1780-1781 and the Spanish capture of Pensacola. As such it is a valuable record of the whole campaign. This log contains details which would not have been available in military records or anywhere else. This book is very useful and should be especially helpful to scholars in their efforts to understand the Gulf coast during this period.

Dr. Rea has provided his readers with an interesting and understandable introduction. In addition, Mr. Servies had edited the text in a clear and readable manner. The University Presses of Florida have provided an attractive book with good print. This account should be of special value to scholars and students of maritime history. The editor has taken a difficult subject and made it understandable to the layman.

Auburn University

FRANK L. OWSLEY, JR.

Bonnie Melrose, The Early History of Melrose, Florida. By Zonira Hunter Tolles. (Gainesville: Storter Printing Company, Inc., 1982. xi, 372 pp. List of illustrations, preface, historical data, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Zonira Hunter Tolles developed an interest in Florida history in a class taught by historian Kathryn Abbey Hanna at Florida State College for Women, now Florida State University. After graduation Ms. Tolles came to Melrose, Florida, to teach in the Melrose High School. She recalls, "I fell in love with the region in the vicinity of Lake Santa Fe." When she retired from teaching,

research in local history became her hobby, and in 1974 the Melrose Bicentennial Committee asked her to write a history of Melrose.

Shadows in the Sand, the first of a projected three-volume history, was published in 1976. It followed the history from the time that European explorers first pushed through the area bordering Lake Santa Fe until the close of the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. *Bonnie Melrose*, the second volume, opens in 1876, the year of America's centennial, in the home of the area's first settler, Elijah Wall, and ends with the completion of the Green Cove Springs and Melrose Railroad in January 1890. The railroad linked the isolated community of Melrose with Green Cove Springs and the Tampa-Jacksonville Railroad. Tourists and winter visitors could now come to Melrose by rail. To accommodate the anticipated influx of winter visitors, the Santa Fe Hotel opened on January 15 with an evening of dancing and fireworks to usher in "the Golden Age of Melrose."

One of the most neglected areas in American historical writing is that of local history—the story of states, counties, and cities where much material exists about the active day-by-day lives of the people who lived there. Some non-professional historians possess the motivation to research local history. Ms. Tolles is such a motivated and resourceful historian. She has utilized land records of Alachua, Putnam, Clay, and Bradford counties, census returns, church histories, the minutes of the boards of county commissioners of Putnam County, diaries of pioneer residents, and photographic records. She has also read inscriptions on tombstones in cemeteries and interviewed many local residents.

Students of Florida history will conclude that Melrose's problems were not at all unique. Freedmen after 1865 worked as farm hands or as share croppers. Black women did laundry work and served as wet nurses and maids. Dr. Frank McRae had read medicine under his uncle, and it was stated that he, "did more charitable work among the poor than any man in the section and died a poor man." Most women did not work outside the home, but there were two liberated ladies in Melrose. Eliza King, who moved to Melrose in 1886, advocated dress reform for women and insisted on wearing men's trousers. Elizabeth Orr wrote her *Connecticut Cook Book* in Melrose in 1877. Ms. Tolles describes the orange fever which struck Melrose by 1876 when "the orange

reigned as its queen,” and the freeze of 1886, when the St. Johns River froze over in places with ice one inch thick. Melrose shared with other Florida communities the privations and suffering occasioned by the yellow fever epidemic of 1888. “The epidemic was a real killer, as the summer dragged on people were kindling huge fires of pine and tar to purify the air at night. Some people called it black death because the vomit of its victims approaching death was black in color.” Winter visitors were afraid to come to Melrose, and the community suffered real financial distress.

Bonnie Melrose chronicles some unique experiences of the pioneering Melrose community. Ms. Tolles finds humor and tragedy in the ordinary happenings of the population, but she also glimpses the elements of strength and weakness that make each person an individual. Land records indicate that plats existed for a community to be known as Melrose as early as 1877. The name was suggested by a Kentucky visitor named Bonney. The name Melrose comes from Scotland, where Melrose Abbey is located.

The reader senses empathy for the tragedy, the faded dreams and failures of the men and women of Melrose who labored and hoped that the community would become a metropolis. There was Black Friday, February 29, 1884, when the *F. S. Lewis*, the canal schooner that made daily trips to connect with the Transit Railroad at Waldo, burned. It would be years before *The Alert* could be obtained as a replacement. Each winter's end saw the departure of visitors. Melrose did not have great railroad builders like David Levy Yulee or Henry Flagler, but there were builders who organized smaller corporations that often went into bankruptcy even before the rails reached Melrose. The promoters of Melrose continued to hope for a railroad link with the outside world. If there was a unifying theme for *Bonnie Melrose*, it was this striving and hoping for a more prosperous future for this small, isolated frontier community.

Professional historians may have constructive criticisms for *Bonnie Melrose*. It seems sometimes that the primary sources—official records, diaries, newspapers, and interviews—determine the writing rather than the writing controlling the sources. Individuals who played no major role in the history could be better noted in a genealogical index. There should be more analysis of deep-seated economic and social problems.

Despite these criticisms, this is a good book, and the author should be congratulated for painstaking research in the area of local history. Local citizens, historians, and genealogists will find much of value in this study. Hopefully, this volume will inspire other historians to explore the early experiences of Florida settlements before this important local and often oral history is lost forever.

University of Florida

MERLIN G. COX

William Lauderdale: General Andrew Jackson's Warrior. By Cooper Kirk. (Fort Lauderdale: Manatee Books, 1982. 292 pp. Illustrations, preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

This book is well-bound with clear print on high-quality paper. Curiously the author's name is printed on such small type on the slip-cover that it looks like a footnote as well as throwing an otherwise attractive cover out of balance.

Cooper Kirk has chosen to research an obscure figure who took part, however small, in the Second Seminole War. Such a search, when done well (and Kirk's is done well), has as much validity as the endless quest by the majority of history writers for added bits and pieces of the giants who strode the stages of the past. Without the host of minor players such as Lauderdale, the major actors would have moved to no avail, the critical difference being that the lesser figures could be replaced without altering the plot while the leads often determined the plot.

Kirk has probably found virtually all that is to be found about his subject, and though the total is remarkably small he has put it together well and within the context of the times. We are able to see William Lauderdale about as clearly as his contemporaries may have viewed him, which is to say, not very well. As the author states, he "still has the unenviable status of a non-person." By and large the author has avoided the mistake of some who choose to research and write on the bit players of history, attempting to cast their subject in a major role rather than a member of the supporting cast. It is evident after reading this book why Lauderdale is an obscure figure in Florida history as well as in the annals of Tennessee, his native state. Rarely did

he rise high enough on the horizon of history, whether domestically, politically, or militarily, to be seen, then or now. It is meant as no affront to Lauderdale that he, like most men of all times, deserves the obscurity in which he rests.

Kirk's one attempt to prop Lauderdale up beyond his actual importance in history is in his sub-title: "General Andrew Jackson's Warrior." Quartermaster, perhaps (if briefly). Messenger, certainly. Neighbor and acquaintance, without doubt. But warrior? By 1836 Lauderdale— then between fifty and fifty-five years old— "never had commanded in the field a detachment larger than a company." In October 1836 Captain Lauderdale and his men took the field in their role as a "spy company" and succeeded in capturing "four squaws and eight children." A year later (nine months of which was spent back home in Tennessee), Lauderdale had been promoted to major and was back in Florida in command of a battalion.

"Lauderdale's Spy Battalion participated in the fierce but indecisive Battle of Lockahatchee . . . on January 24 [1838] against an Indian force ranging from 100 to 300 warriors. . . . The regular troops accused the Tennesseans of cowardice. . . . [Jesup] excused their temporary lapse on the grounds that they had no prior battle experience." And very little afterward. February 1837 was spent maintaining patrols and scouting parties. In March the force moved south from Jupiter Inlet some fifty miles to New River. Here the men built a fort (named for the major), but in April they received orders to proceed to Fort Brooke for mustering out. Lauderdale never made it home. On May 10 or 11 he died in Baton Rouge, presumably of a long-time lung affliction.

With this one exception of promoting a very ordinary citizen-soldier to "warrior" class, Cooper Kirk has thoroughly researched and written well of his subject. Through such works as this it becomes more possible for the reader to understand better the attitudes and thus the lives and actions of those Americans who preceded us; those men and women who had a part, however small, in shaping the society in which we live.

Dade City, Florida

FRANK LAUMER

The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789. By Robert Middlekauff. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. xvi, 696 pp. Preface, editor's introduction, prologue, maps, illustrations, epilogue, abbreviated titles, bibliographical note, index. \$25.00.)

The Glorious Cause is the first of eleven volumes which will constitute the Oxford History of the United States. As conceived originally by C. Vann Woodward and the late Richard Hofstadter, this ambitious series seeks to serve "the unspecialized reader" and "the educated public." The individual volumes are intended to be "ample," and certainly the first deserves that description. They are also intended to furnish new insights and revisions, to cover "large periods and aspects of the nation's history." There will be eight more volumes which will trace American history from its origins to the present; in addition, one volume will be devoted to diplomatic history, and another will focus on economic history. All are intended to be "readable" and "accessible"; all will be published as the manuscripts become available.

Robert Middlekauff's *The Glorious Cause* is well worth having despite its limitations. His title is borrowed from George Washington's description of the American Revolution. Middlekauff observes that while the cause was indeed glorious, it "had its inglorious sides." His purpose is to show both the achievements and the failures and to do so in a book which is largely narrative but has several chapters and sections within chapters which analyze events and explain the real meaning of the events. If this suggests something of a hybrid, the suggestion seems justified. The frequent interruptions to the narrative seem to belong to another—very desirable—book. And the narrative itself is frustrating in its omissions: the substantial exclusion of western settlement and diplomatic history may be purposeful, but it does the book a disservice.

It is unclear how educated a reader is really sought for the Oxford History and its first volume. *The Glorious Cause* presumes considerable familiarity with relatively recent scholarship and usually builds well upon it. Readers with long memories of John C. Miller's two-volume narrative account of the achievement of American independence will find Robert Middlekauff's

book very different. Although much more scholarly and accurate, *The Glorious Cause* lacks the sense of drama, humor, and excitement conveyed by Miller's *Origins of the American Revolution* and *The Triumph of Freedom*. But Middlekauff does remind us how far historians have travelled in the past forty years, the measure of the new findings, and how they have enhanced our understanding of the Revolution.

Perhaps our most significant advance has been in our ability to appreciate the social and intellectual circumstances of the eighteenth-century colonists. Drawing upon the research of Gary Nash, Middlekauff paints a bleak portrait of the urban poor in the 1750s. When observing that Tom Paine told the colonists what so many of them wanted to hear, Middlekauff is also able to explain why Paine's message was at once familiar and acceptable. Helped by the work of Bernard Bailyn, Caroline Robbins, and others, Middlekauff explains anew the importance of the tradition of the eighteenth-century commonwealthmen and the relevance of seventeenth-century English radical Whig ideology to the American revolutionary generation.

Chapter six, "Selden's Penny," deserves to be singled out for its treatment of the colonists' preoccupation with property and freedom, their awareness of a particular historical perspective which "recounted the development of representative institutions to serve in effect as extensions of the rights of property." And yet, despite this acknowledgment of the importance of the colonists' educational experience, there is surprisingly little attention given to its content and character. Too often the reader of *The Glorious Cause* is told and not shown.

Insights— not necessarily new— abound. So does good writing. For example: "Honor and gallantry did not die . . . though large numbers of English, American, and French soldiers and Indians did." Note the succinct if overly simplified description of how Frederick the Great "danced and slashed his way through the encircling armies of France, Russia, and Austria." There is an excellent account of the Boston Massacre but very little on the consequent trial and its skillful exploitation by colonial propagandists. The British march on Concord is admirably reconstructed from depositions of participants. The description of the battle of Breed's Hill is no less successful, as is the assessment of Israel Putnam: "At the head of a regiment in assault he had few

equals; in staff meeting, few inferiors.”

Middlekauff gives appropriate credit to Garry Wills's perceptive *Inventing America*, but his narrative skimps the politics of the final decision for independence. Jefferson's importance is beyond dispute, but the lack of attention to John Dickinson is not. On the other hand Middlekauff's account of the military consequences of the Declaration is excellent, as is his thoughtful essay (chapter twenty) on why and how men fought and died in America's first civil war. And the treatment of the Yorktown campaign, while low-keyed and familiar, is eminently satisfactory.

Unfortunately the same cannot be claimed for the final fifty pages of this long book. These have a textbook flavor, possibly because the author was left with so much to cover and too little space: the result is a very abbreviated description of government prior to the Constitution of 1787 (the location of the discussion of the Articles of Confederation seems awkward), and the review of the internal aspects of the Revolution seems somewhat cursory. Middlekauff does manage to get the Constitution of 1787 drafted and ratified but does so in a rushed fashion.

In conclusion, this reviewer found *The Glorious Cause* somewhat uneven and uncertain. The attempt to combine narrative with analytical essays works intermittently, sometimes at the expense of both. There is much good writing, perception, and ambition. But it is hard to resist the thought that had *The Glorious Cause* not been part of so special a series, it might have been more satisfying. If Middlekauff had undertaken a totally independent study of the American Revolution and its consummation, we might have had a book at once more relaxed, more informing, more stimulating, and better integrated.

University of Central Florida

TREVER COLBOURN

The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Edited by David Eltis and James Walvin. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. xiii, 314 pp. Contributors and conference participants, maps, figures and tables, preface, introduction, selected bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

The fifteen original essays that constitute this volume are

collectively the product of a symposium held in 1978 at Aarhus University in Denmark. Three of the essays authored by Howard Temperley, the late Roger Anstey, and James Walvin are grouped under the heading "Abolition and the European Metropolis." Four more written by Philip Curtin, Ralph Austen, Edward Reynolds, and Jan Hogendorn and Henry Gemery are devoted to questions of "The Impact of Abolition on Africa"; three studies by David Eltis, Pieter Emmer, and Serge Daget deal with "The Illegal Slave Trade," while another four essays by Hans Christian Johansen, Svend Green-Pedersen, Richard Sheridan, and Franklin Knight conclude the work by examining "American Demographic and Cultural Responses" to the abolition of the slave trade. The fifteenth essay is a fine examination by Stanley Engerman of "Some Implications of the Abolition of the Slave Trade" which both introduces the studies that follow and places them in historiographical perspective.

The volume enriches our knowledge of the abolition of the slave trade in a number of ways. First, although the emphasis is on the British slave trade and its abolition, the lesser known experience of the Danes, Dutch, and French are also treated. Secondly, much quantitative material on the slave trade is introduced; indeed demographic questions of one sort or another are treated in most of the essays, and the text contains some forty figures and tables. Thirdly, many of the studies raise as many questions as they answer, thus revealing the complexity of numerous questions regarding the slave trade and abolition which not too many years ago seemed to have been comfortably resolved.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the volume however, lies in the remarkable bibliographical grasp and expertise of its authors most of whom go to great lengths in their essays to point out what is new and different in their particular areas. The result is a splendid overview of recent work in myriad areas which the specialist will find invaluable. For the generalist, the editors have contributed a selected bibliography, while their provision of a satisfactory index enhances the volume's usefulness.

The volume's major weakness is one of omission for not one of the essays deal directly with the Spanish or Brazilian slave trades and their abolition. David Eltis considers the Iberian slave trades in a look at "The Impact of Abolition on the Atlantic

Slave Trade," and Franklin Knight touches on demographic questions of black populations in Brazil and the Spanish Islands in his look at "The Atlantic Slave Trade and the Development of African Culture." Yet surely a volume entitled *The Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade* should give the Spanish and Portuguese Atlantic slave trades, which were the first to be implemented and the last to be terminated, something more than this very brief attention.

Bowling Green State University

KENNETH F. KIPLE

The Papers of Andrew Jackson: Volume 1, 1770-1803. Edited by Sam B. Smith and Harriet Chappell Owsley. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980. xxxix, 529 pp. Introduction, acknowledgements, editorial method, chronology, illustrations, notes, appendices, index. \$25.00.)

Between 1926 and 1933, six volumes of Andrew Jackson's correspondence were published under the editorship of John Spencer Bassett. This is the first attempt at another collection since that time. The material collected by Bassett was less than ten per cent of the materials now available. The present editors project a series of fifteen volumes to make available the most important material, much of which is Jackson correspondence in the National Archives dealing with his military and presidential careers. This letterpress series of selected documents will be accompanied by the publication of a comprehensive microform edition of all available Jackson papers.

This volume contains not only letters to and from Jackson but documents that relate to him or are important to knowledge of him. The earliest document in this volume is a deed dated December 17, 1770, and the last, is a receipt to Jackson, dated December 30, 1803, for \$97.00 for the hire of two slaves. In between, despite the fact that he had not yet risen to national prominence, are letters from such leaders as George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. More important, however, is correspondence from friends, relatives, and associates which charts his rise to positions of local importance.

After having drifted about in his youth, he read law in Salisbury, North Carolina, and was there licensed to practice. In 1787

he was appointed public prosecutor for the western district of North Carolina (now Tennessee) at Nashville, and from that time on his life was linked with that area. In 1796 he served in the Tennessee constitutional convention and was thereafter chosen as the first congressman from that state. In 1797 the state legislature named him a United States Senator, a position he resigned in 1798 to accept appointment to the state superior court. In 1802 he was commissioned major general of the Tennessee militia, the post which was to bring him national fame in the War of 1812. His income in the early years was based largely on his practice of law, cultivation of and speculation in lands, operation of a store, conduct of river-borne commerce with New Orleans and Natchez, the racing of horses, and even the operation of a cotton gin and a still. The documents for this period are valuable for the light they shed upon frontier life and the complex nature of the frontier economy.

By the end of this volume Jackson is thirty-six years old, has married Rachel Robards, and has established himself as a respected social and political leader. If Jackson developed a specific political philosophy in these early years it is not articulated in the papers which appear here— a lack, however, which marked the early life of many of our most prominent presidents. By this time most of his strong as well as his weak personal characteristics had developed. His arbitrary qualities, his personal pride and extraordinary touchiness, his blind loyalty to friends and relatives are all demonstrated here. His strengths— unquestioned personal honesty, his tenderness toward Rachel and her close kin, his sense of honor which led to unusual proportions of aid to those who were bound to him by ties of blood or friendship, his great physical courage, and his sense of duty— are exhibited here. Fortunately for posterity, he also had a sense of history which led him to preserve in organized fashion the documents of his life. The editors of this series estimate that he wrote eighteen or twenty letters a day.

This is an unusually sturdy volume, well illustrated with maps and portraits, informatively footnoted, proofed with extreme care, and bound in heavy cloth designed to last for ages. A handsome touch is a gold bas-relief profile of Jackson embossed on the front cover. Publication and collection of the Jackson papers owes much to the Ladies' Hermitage Association and

was assisted by grants from the University of Tennessee at Nashville, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, and the Tennessee Historical Commission.

This volume has set a highly praiseworthy precedent for the others to follow in the series. It will be of invaluable assistance to historians of the antebellum United States.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

Attack and Die: Civil War Military Tactics and the Southern Heritage. By Grady McWhiney and Perry D. Jamieson. (University: The University of Alabama Press, 1982. xv, 209 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, tables, an essay of selected sources, index. \$17.95.)

This book is intriguing. Interesting from the opening chapter, where the authors contend that the "South simply bled itself to death in the first three years of the war by taking the tactical offensive in nearly seventy per cent of the major actions" (p. 7), the work climaxes with "The Rebels Are Barbarians," an interpretative chapter of historical causation in a sweeping sense. Stating that "the majority of white people in the South in the 1860s were of Celtic origins," while "the majority in the North were of English origins," the authors contend that, "This cultural dichotomy in America was not only the major cause of the Civil War but it explains why the war was fought the way it was." The American Civil War, McWhiney and Jamieson conclude, "was basically a continuation of the centuries-old conflict between the Celts and Englishmen" (p. 178). They say that "Southerners lost the war because they were too Celtic (Celts always made reckless headlong attacks) and their opponents were too English" (p. 180).

While this thesis about the "why" of what happened is sure to be controversial— as indeed is already proven by the sometimes heated reception of various articles on the Celtic influence which McWhiney and his colleague at the University of Alabama, Forrest McDonald, have published in several journals— the reviewer welcomes such a thought-provoking interpretation. Although certainly entertaining questions and reserving judgment on the validity of the Celtic thesis, hearty commendation of the

authors for the presentation of a stimulating perspective-history painted in the broadest strokes— is appropriate.

Regardless of what one thinks about the Celtic thesis, reading *Attack and Die* will be rewarding to the Civil War student. The first chapter, in a highly factual, but very readable analysis of the large percentage of Confederate losses, clearly establishes that the Confederates attacked more often than the Federals and, whenever attacking, suffered much greater losses than when defending. Murfreesboro (Stones River) and Chickamauga are the most closely examined battles, although a number of engagements, are considered, and five statistical tables presented. When it is remembered that “the Confederacy only had to be defended to survive,” and that “the North had greater resources and a three-to-two military manpower advantage over the South” (p. 6), the Confederate penchant for self-destructive attacks does seem strange.

The authors continue, and here is the bulk of their work, with a consideration of the influence of the Mexican War, where offensive tactics were quite successful for the Americans; with a chapter on the almost macabre enchantment for the bayonet; with the coming of the age of the rifle which vastly increased the strength of defenders; and with the changes in tactical theory (relative to formations and speeds of march and attack) which, to a limited degree, were restructured to adjust to increased firepower. In the final analysis, however— that is, on the battlefield— much more had been expected of the cavalry and the artillery than either could deliver in the Civil War (except the latter on defense and the former sometimes in a non-traditional role); while the rifle proved a far more destructive weapon than had been envisioned by most tactical theorists.

As the authors expressed it: “The Confederates could have offset their numerical disadvantage by remaining on the defensive and forcing the Federals to attack; one man in a trench armed with a rifle was equal to several outside it” (p. xv). For whatever reasons, Southerners were slower to learn (at least in any pragmatic sense) that fact than were the Federals. This is a good book which should be of interest to military enthusiasts, social and cultural historians, as well as the general reader. Its more spectacular aspects, e.g., the rebel yell was a variation on Celtic

animal calls, add spice to a solid contribution.

David Lipscomb College

JAMES LEE McDONOUGH

From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South. Edited by Walter J. Fraser, Jr., and Winfred B. Moore, Jr. (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1981. xiii, 286 pp. Maps and tables, preface, suggestions for further reading, index, notes on contributors. \$35.00.)

There are many perceptions and interpretations of the South evolving from the Cotton Kingdom of the 1850s to the many New Souths in the century following the Civil War— and as much as the replowed region has been in transition, either by change or by continuity, so have the scholars who sift through time-worn evaluations and modern mythology for new ground.

Few collections of southern study and thought offer as broad a perspective and as much refreshing provocation as this compilation of essays, gleaned from more than 100 papers presented at The Citadel Conferences on the South in 1978 and 1979. The nineteen essays, ably structured on the perennial question of a changing South or one rooted in traditional continuity, focus fresh re-evaluations of the many intricacies in the understanding of southern history.

The most provocative is the keynote challenger, "A Generation of Defeat" by Harvard historian David Herbert Donald, who rationalizes that the Jim Crow laws of the 1890s sprang from old Confederate soldiers who offered their final legacy by codifying their southern mores— born of battlefield experience and the twin traumas of defeat and betrayal by the freedmen— so their heritage would not be abandoned by succeeding generations. He sharply challenges other interpretations, primarily those of C. Vann Woodward and Joel Williamson, from Populism to Social Darwinism, as inadequate. He prefers the generational theory— the war generation in "middle adulthood," after founding veterans' organizations, erecting monuments, and even resorting to terrorism, converted their paternalistic attitudes toward blacks to a form of hatred that resulted in passage of segregation and disenfranchisement laws.

Other topics, conveniently sectionalized with helpful prefaces

summarizing the theses, attack or refortify earlier evaluations on the composition of southern leadership, causes of crime and violence, changing patterns of race relations, the significance of mythology in literature and film, and the currents of southern thought.

Dan T. Carter persuasively challenges C. Vann Woodward's post-Civil War "watershed" thesis when "new men and new ideals" gained power over the planter elite. He believes another generation of historians— the radicals whose spiritual godfather is Karl Marx— share the common theme of a continuing planter hegemony, controlling and repressing its enemies up to the present day. Carter remains skeptical that such Marxist analysis offers any better answer to the question of change of continuity to southern leadership than traditional, eclectic approaches. David Carlton's case study of the South Carolina Piedmont supports Woodward's theory. Challenging this view are William Barney, Michael Johnson, John Radford, and Don Doyle, whose studies on Alabama and Charleston, South Carolina, argue that the old planter class maintained its hegemony well into the New south.

Exploring new avenues of southern crime and violence, David Bodenhamer and William Holmes offer different conclusions to the argument of whether or not causes of southern criminal conduct were unique to the region.

In illuminating essays, Stephen Davis focuses on the literary images of "Johnny Reb" that exaggerated the southern mystique in modern times, and Edward Campbell argues the weight of the public response to the movie version of *Gone With the Wind*— with its "staircase" symbolism of the Old and New South— demonstrated how mythology was a psychological crutch in molding attitudes and easing the transition from one era to another.

Ronald Davis contends that blacks were able to preserve their dignity and to maintain a higher degree of autonomy under the sharecropping system than previously recognized, and James Burran refutes the old idea that southern black militancy of the Second Reconstruction originated during World War II. Arnold Shankman's article on Dorothy Tilly and Robert Randolph's essay of James McBride Dabbs are thoughtful treatments, documenting both the effectiveness and limitations of white southern racial reformers.

As a climax, and with a broader perspective, Mark K. Bauman is another of the many historians challenging aspects of W. J. Cash's *The Mind of the South*, yet Bertram Wyatt-Brown believes that such criticism has been badly overdrawn in his vigorous, penetrating defense of Cash's classic. Wyatt-Brown chides Cash's most "savage critic," Eugene D. Genovese, and other historians for first denouncing Cash's ideas and then introducing his ideas as their own without citing Cash or his book. He believes that Cash's book stands now, as when first published four decades ago, as one of the most important contributions to the understanding of southern history.

Discussing southern nationalism, Steven A. Channing argues its distinctiveness was not solely the result of a master class of planters, rather from a complex interplay of international, regional, class, and religious factors coupled with the black-white interaction. Lawrence Goodwyn's essay reflects on southern reformers and their legacies, concluding that their work has usually resulted only in strengthening of the very social, economic, and political hierarchies that they attacked.

Argument over Cash's book and Professor Donald's generational thesis strengthen the fiber of this collection, which by its provocation and strong argument should stimulate southern historians to dig even deeper in old plowed ground for a fresh harvest of ideas, adding muscle and tone to the bones of what George Tindall describes as "one of the flourishing minor industries of the region."

Pensacola News-Journal

JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

There Is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America.

By Vincent Harding. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981. xxvi, 416 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, illustrations, index. \$19.95.)

This is an ambitious but maddening book. The first of two projected volumes on the struggle of black Americans for freedom and equality, it is, by its author's account, "an experiment in history, solidarity, and hope" (xi). The book's scope and sweep are impressive: beginning with the resistance of Africans to the slave trade and ending with emancipation in 1865, it

traces in narrative fashion the efforts of blacks against overwhelming odds to achieve dignity and justice. In it one encounters nameless slaves who chipped away at the peculiar institution as well as black spokesmen such as Frederick Douglass, Martin Delany, David Ruggles, and David Walker. Harding sees "the active black struggle for freedom and justice" (p. xx) as the central theme of Afro-American history (and the "river" of the title); therefore, "we black people are the river; the river is us" (p. xix).

It is Harding's passion and commitment that both provide this book with its searing intensity and give rise to its failure as a work of history. This is a frankly celebratory— and condemnatory — book. Its heroes are blacks who struggled for freedom for themselves and their people, but more especially those "radicals" (a favorite term of Harding's) who saw white America as a whole, not just slavery, as the enemy. Thus, Harding criticizes "mainstream" black abolitionists like Frederick Douglass for their "faith in the peaceful working out of the American situation" (132), arguing that "Douglass tended dangerously to dissociate the institution of slavery from its roots in the racist, exploitative American society" (p. 167). Emigrationist Martin Delany, by contrast, receives praise for his "audacity and breadth of vision," his "brilliant, exciting analysis," and his "prophetic insight" (pp. 185-87). White abolitionists appear as "a burden, adding to the problems of black people in the North" (p. 128). Even John Brown, whose radical credentials would seem impeccable to most, comes in for criticism for being blind to the fact "that black freedom could not be obtained without revolutionary transformation of the entire society" (p. 206). Harding identifies so intensely with his subject that he sometimes uses the first person plural; relating Africans' resistance to the slave trade, for example, he writes that "we fought to remain in our homeland" (p. 9).

The central weakness of this book, then, is the author's reliance on moral judgment as his major criterion for exploring the past. There is nothing wrong, of course, with bringing passion to the study of history; some of the best works of historical scholarship have been infused with moral commitment. The problem emerges when value judgments become a substitute for historical understanding rather than a spur to achieving it.

While Harding's emotional involvement at times produces poetic incisiveness, more often it leads him into preachy emoting in which language is used to obscure—by playing on our feelings—rather than clarify. Throughout the long narrative descriptions of black protest, one wishes for more analysis of patterns, forms, causes, and consequences of different types of resistance, rather than the endless praise for radicalism and condemnation of racism and exploitation one encounters. Furthermore, Harding falls into an ironic kind of elitism: his search for black heroes leads him to devote far more attention—and accolades—to the handful of northern leaders who articulated conscious strategies of protest than to the masses of southern slaves who struggled to survive on a daily basis.

Harding's book is ultimately more successful as political discourse than history. *There Is A River* is a book that is often powerful and moving. It is also one that offers young blacks in search of role models to celebrate far more than it offers historians and students in search of understanding the past.

University of New Mexico

PETER KOLCHIN

The Harder We Run: Black Workers Since the Civil War. By William H. Harris. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. ix, 259 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, appendixes, guide to further reading, index, figures, tables. \$17.95.)

Labor history has recently enjoyed "growth industry" status. Labor historians have abandoned their preoccupation with union development and union-management wars; they now define labor history to include all workers and all working experiences. The results have added considerably to our understanding of work, workers, and the history of labor. In these publications are studies of minority workers, including black and female Americans. Nearly all of the published work has appeared in monographs or articles, but historians have lacked a synthesis. William Harris recognized the need for this synthesis, and *The Harder We Run* attempts to provide a survey of the black workers' experience.

This much-needed survey is ambitious. Harris begins with chapters on the legacy of slavery. He documents the heritage of

limited occupational mobility, low levels of literacy, patterns of agricultural tenancy, and regional concentration. He points to the small triumphs but reminds readers of the continuing impediments which were at first a legacy of slavery but which quickly became a product of white racial practice. It was under these conditions and urged by World War I that an unprecedented black northward migration occurred in the early twentieth century. Blacks moved into the industrial workforce. There, too, white-dominated hiring practices or lily-white union policies made for a most difficult road to advancement. Harris devotes considerable attention to A. Philip Randolph and his Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as well as Randolph's threatened march on Washington. It was Randolph's World War II actions which forced the issuance of Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 and the creation of the FEPC. These became the basis of a post-war improvement of black working conditions. The status of black workers was central to the civil rights struggles. By the 1980s, though, black workers had failed to develop either a coherent working class or gain full participation in the worker dreams of other Americans. Wages remained lower, blacks remained under-represented in the professions and over-represented in the unskilled trades. Unemployment was consistently higher for blacks than for other Americans. Referring to the "illusions of progress," Harris bewails the lack of ultimate success in the black workers' quest.

The telling of this familiar but not previously surveyed story is the most important contribution of *The Harder We Run*. The book has flaws which will limit its durability. Harris believes that black workers have been unjustly treated by unions and by white workers generally. He is doubtless right. But to let accusations pervade his book limits its effectiveness. Readers no longer need reminding that American race relations have been less than exemplary; what they seek is an understanding of the meaning and dynamics of those race relations. Perhaps because of this tone, the book fails to ask many important questions. What impact did the generally menial work experiences have on black communities? Were there leadership struggles which might have limited black working class expressions? Harris needs to rely more on the insights of the historians of slavery and the freedmen to answer these questions. What of the role of the dual labor

markets proposed by labor economists? How pervasive was the flirtation with Marxism expressed by some black workers? The answers to some of these questions go beyond a survey. Yet they are the kinds of questions that would enable the essential comparability between black workers and others. They are questions hinted at but sadly left unanswered.

There is also a question of method. What constitutes the essential story of black workers? Does one employ the wonders of the computer to find "central tendencies?" Does one focus on select examples and make them the whole story? Harris has introduced statistics but not computer analysis into his text. His method is more in the tradition of narrative historians. He sells an important story, but one wonders whether such an approach can adequately convey the history of an often illiterate and certainly non-elite population.

These questions raise doubts about the book. To have dealt with them would have made a better survey. These problems do not invalidate Harris's contributions. Apart from the sometimes strident tone, the book's problems reflect the difficulties of writing a survey. Harris must necessarily rely on a supporting cast of historians who are writing about the black working experience. The unasked questions, the difficulties of coverage reflect the state of the art; *The Harder We Run* is a competent survey of a still embryonic field.

Georgia College

THOMAS F. ARMSTRONG

The Germ of Laziness, Rockefeller Philanthropy and Public Health in the New South. By John Ettling. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981. x, 263 pp. Preface, prologue, epilogue, abbreviations, notes, a note on the sources, index. \$18.50.)

Florida falls outside the center of this book's key concern, the fight against hookworm disease in the southern states supported by the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, because Florida had already begun the battle. Of all the southern states, Florida alone furnished its board of health stable funding based on the mill system of taxation. In 1909 with a surplus at which other state agencies were casting covetous eyes, the public health officer

launched an attack on the hookworm harbored by indigent victims. Already an educational campaign among physicians and school children had begun, as a result of several years of survey work, to learn the extent of hookworm disease in the state. At the very start of the Sanitary Commission's labors, early in 1910, its director, Wickliffe Rose, and the state directors of the commission's not-yet-created plans visited Florida to study its pioneering program.

Florida did not share in the Rockefeller anti-hookworm largesse, maintaining its own independent initiative, a theme deserving further scholarly attention. Despite Florida's separate course, readers concerned with the health history of the state and of the South will find John Ettling's *The Germ of Laziness* intriguing and rewarding.

The phrase "germ of laziness" to designate the hookworm and its effect on its human host was coined by a *New York Sun* journalist in 1902 reporting a speech by Charles Wardell Stiles. Born in rural New York, educated in Germany as a parasitologist, employed by the Hygienic Laboratory of the Public Health Service, Stiles found the hookworm endemic in the South, sounded alarm, and launched an evangelical crusade to combat it. His most important convert was Frederick T. Gates, idea man for John D. Rockefeller's philanthropy. Equally evangelical, Gates could equate the hookworm with sin and its riddance from the body with religious conversion. Gates persuaded Rockefeller to give \$1,000,000 to be spent (only four-fifths of it was expended) between 1909 and 1914 to exterminate the hookworm in the South.

Stiles served as scientific secretary to the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, often at odds with Gates and with Rose, a Tennessee-born professional educator. Ettling is greatly concerned with motivation, and probes deeply the intellectual and emotional forces that drive the characters in his cast, who sometimes cooperate, sometimes contend.

The commission chose to operate through state and county health authorities, and by so doing left as a legacy a greatly enhanced public health structure. The program began by determining the degree of infestation in the eleven southern states involved, by examining school children; thirty-nine per cent were afflicted. Using a many-faceted campaign, the commission

sought to educate physicians, medical students, school children, the populace about hookworm and how to cure and prevent infestation. One half of the 500,000 homes examined had no privies at all. This lack was not greatly remedied during the campaign. The main task was seeking to cure the infested. Some 700,000 Southerners got at least one dose of thymol and laxative salts, much of this therapy provided at county dispensaries. Hookworm disease was greatly reduced, but not exterminated. A New Deal era survey found the incidence decreased two-thirds over that plotted by the Sanitary Commission. Considerable opposition plagued the commission's labors, based on wounded southern pride and on Rockefeller's wretched reputation as a robber baron anxious to disguise greediness and brutal labor practices with a mantle of philanthropy.

Ettling's manuscript won the Allan Nevins Prize of the Society of American Historians as the best-written doctoral dissertation on a significant theme in American history. The book indeed deserves high praise. Ettling fuses many strands— intellectual, scientific, psychological, social, economic— into an absorbing unity that maintains our interest and enriches our knowledge of developing public health and controversial philanthropy during the years that American medicine was coming of age.

Emory University

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

American Indians and the Christian Missions. By Henry Warner Bowden. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981. xix, 255 pp. Foreward, preface, notes, suggestions for further reading, index, maps, \$14.95.)

This volume in the University of Chicago History of American Religion series edited by Martin E. Marty makes an important contribution to Indian-white relations by surveying a vast area of ethnohistory, religious history, and the history of Indian-white relations. The author, a seasoned historian of early American history and missionary activity, has given us a superb overview of exactly how various Indian societies responded to the main thrusts of missionary activity, both Catholic and Protestant. He begins his study with an essay on pre-Columbian Indian cultures, arguing that native cultures survived through continual re-

adjustment. The Anasazis and Mogollons, who had settled the Rio Grande Valley, were the ancestors of the Pueblo peoples who were confronted with the Franciscan missionaries. In contrasting Pueblo and Christian beliefs the author makes the very good point that the tribesmen found it hard to accept the idea that a faithful remnant of believers would be saved by a merciful diety. Pueblo beliefs held that every person could return to the sacred life of the underworld despite individual faults or lack of virtue. It was the powerful organizational strength of Pueblo culture and the priestly sociopolitical traditions that enabled these people to keep their ceremonial traditional existence.

In contrast, the Jesuit missionaries among the Hurons were marvelously successful in using local customs to enhance the acceptance of Christianity. And the Jesuit fathers were astute observers of native customs. For instance, when Father Brébeuf found that the Hurons attached special significance to the color red, he saw to it that every cross was painted with that color. The Hurons were a people who highly regarded property and gifts, so the Jesuits made gifts when appropriate. An Indian, Charles Tsondatasa, was actually presented with a gun to celebrate his baptism.

Subsequent chapters in this valuable survey of American missionary activity cover English colonial missionaries, and missions in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. There are excellent maps showing locations of the Pueblo, Hurons, and Algonquian peoples together with footnotes and a bibliographical essay entitled, "Suggestions for Further Reading."

I have several reactions to this book that I would like to pass on to other readers. First and foremost is the fact that this is a clearly written volume by an author who has done his homework in the complex and controversial area of missionary history. Although he clearly is not an apologist for missionary penetrations into Indian society, he nevertheless writes as if this entire effort was a chapter in our history which pitted one culture against another, and the Indians simply lost out. Further, he takes up moral questions in discussing the way in which Christianity was taught, that is the moral issues for persuading Indians to become converts, but the larger moral issue of Anglo-American cultural imperialism and exploitation of a native people seems to have

escaped him. Unlike Sherburn F. Cook, physiologist who gave us penetrating vistas into California mission "church history," the author of this volume seems, at times, to overlook the sheer catastrophe that came to Indian people along with missionaries (who took over Indian lands— a fact little noticed in this book) and were a prime agent in the dispossession and massive mortality (as disease carriers) that Indian people suffered. This book then looks approvingly over the shoulders of missionaries as they went about their work but tends to ignore the dark side of the missionary impact.

University of California, Santa Barbara

WILBUR R. JACOBS

The Cherokees, A Critical Bibliography. By Raymond D. Fogelson. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978. x, 98 pp. The editor to the reader, recommended works, bibliographical essay, alphabetical list and index. \$4.95, paper.)

Southeastern Frontiers: Europeans, Africans, and American Indians, 1513-1840, A Critical Bibliography. By James Howlett O'Donnell III. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982. xvi, 118 pp. Editor's preface, introduction, recommended works, bibliographical essay, alphabetical list and index, \$4.95, paper.)

The Newberry Library's bibliographical series on Native American culture and history has already earned accolades from students and scholars of ethnohistory. Of special interest to those concerned with the culture and history of the southeastern United States are these two volumes by Raymond Fogelson and James H. O'Donnell III.

Following the prescribed format for the series, each of these books includes a bibliographical essay and an alphabetical list of works, which, in the author's opinion, constitute the most reliable publications on the subject. To ensure that these bibliographies meet the needs of the general reader and the beginning student each work in the series also includes a list of five books for the beginner and a brief selection of volumes for a basic library collection. Those works suitable for secondary school students are marked with an asterisk. For public libraries and

high school and university libraries these bibliographies are invaluable. Scholars seeking guides to manuscript sources and document collections should look elsewhere. The bibliographical essays, however, provide both scholar and layman with useful insights into the voluminous literature on the Cherokees and cultural interaction on the southeastern frontier.

Raymond Fogelson, who describes himself as an anthropologist with historical interests, has tackled a difficult job and done it well. Choosing among the sources pertaining to the Cherokees required the expertise and judgment of the seasoned scholar, for, as Fogelson observes, more has been written about the Cherokees than most other Native American groups. In the bibliographical essay he approaches the subject from two different directions, a survey of the historical studies followed by an assessment of those works focusing on different aspects of the culture. The treatment is well balanced, though the commentary on Cherokee culture reveals Fogelson's sharper analytical skills in his own discipline. Constraints dictated by the format of the series made it necessary to adhere closely to selection criteria, resulting in the omission of highly specific sources, including older, more esoteric studies and articles by authors of monographs on similar topics. The general reader, as well as the scholar, will find beneficial Fogelson's indications of gaps in the literature and suggestions for further study.

The bibliographical essay by James H. O'Donnell III is a model for the genre. He weaves together the history of Indian, European, and black interaction on the frontier with keen evaluations of the literature. Several aspects of the essay deserve special mention. O'Donnell points out the merits of different translations of Spanish and French works and makes suggestions for complementary literature approaching specific topics from different perspectives. He is not afraid to indicate in an unequivocal manner the shortcomings of a work. Appraising the Jacksonian literature, for example, he charges that Michael P. Rogin's Freudian psychohistory of Jackson and the Indians goes too far. He even labels his own early study, *The Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, a "rather narrow, White-centered examination" of the subject. Like Fogelson, he was forced to make careful selections in order to stay within the prescribed space and scope, but no significant study in the massive literature

on the subject has been found missing. Well-written and a masterful analysis, this book could easily serve as a supplementary text for a course on southern frontier or southeastern Indian history.

The Newberry Library is to be commended for sponsoring the publication of such valuable tools for Native American history. And, in the case of these two works, Francis Jennings, general editor of the series, deserves thanks for selecting two master scholars to guide the reader through the labyrinth of scholarship in their respective fields. Finally, to the authors themselves, Fogelson and O'Donnell, belongs praise for performing so well such a difficult task.

University of West Florida

JANE E. DYSART

Black Boss, Political Revolution in a Georgia County. By John Rozier. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1982. x, 220 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.95.)

The desegregation of a poor black belt county in the American South would seem to bear similarity to decolonization of a poverty-laden Caribbean island. John Rozier's history of Hancock County is the story of a charismatic leader preaching sudden economic improvement and black power, confrontation with the old power structure of leading white families and merchants, disruption of accustomed relationships and ways of doing things, threats of violence, the take-over of the public sector and its jobs by the now enfranchised black majority, the infusion of development money from well-intentioned outside sources, wastage of funds, and considerable personal enrichment but the failure of projects, all resulting in a divided community and a further impoverished economy.

Hancock is a small, poor, former plantation county in central Georgia. Eighty per cent of its 10,000 citizens are black. Race relations were not red-neck violent, but until John McCown came to town in 1966, it was segregated from its courthouse water fountains to its public schools. McCown was a good organizer and a great salesman, but a poor businessman. He sold Georgia race relations agencies, New York foundations, and the Nixon administration on a vision of biracial economic develop-

ment to stem the flood of the rural poor into the cities. At the same time he took over the political system of Hancock County. McCown "ran" the county until his death in a still unexplained plane crash on the eve of grand jury corruption indictments.

Coming from an old, white, Hancock County family, John Rozier watched the events from his post as public information director at Emory and decided to record them. He has read the records and the court cases and interviewed John McCown's foes and friends to tell the story of "the first black-controlled county in the United States since Reconstruction days."

Rozier answers his own question, " 'Black Jesus' or self-enriching opportunist?" on the latter side, John McCown was "the mirror image" of the old corrupt, exploitive, racially-prejudiced former white-dominated plantation system. He was a "black demagogue" bolstered in his pathological greed and thirst for power by "arrogant and ill-informed bureaucrats and foundation officials" (p. 196) in Atlanta, New York, and Washington. While admitting all of the evils of the old segregated world of Hancock County, Rozier repeatedly maintains that things were better then, black and white people got along well together then.

McCown's supporters, who politically dominate Hancock today, maintain that he was a courageous man with the imagination and drive to try and upgrade the social and economic condition of the county's poor. The corruption indictments were plea-bargained into meaninglessness. The Industrial Development Authority has a biracial membership. Perhaps with better management even John McCown's catfish farm and the hospital can be made to work, and a new service station has been opened. The quality of black life is freer, but the economy is welfare dependent, business and the white-dominated city of Sparta stagnate, the historic antebellum Clinch House will not rise from its ashes, and the white children are in the private school.

Rozier quotes one of McCown's liberal supporters as saying "He broke a lot of rules, but they weren't his rules" (p. 195). Less favorable was the townsman's comment that "It was an interesting social experiment: I just wish it had happened somewhere else" (p. 196). Both statements bear witness to both the cumulative and the changing character of southern history.

University of Florida

DAVID CHALMERS

BOOK NOTES

The most recent edition of *The Florida Handbook, 1983-1984*, compiled by Allen Morris, has been published by the Peninsular Publishing Company of Tallahassee. This is the nineteenth biennial edition in the Florida Handbook series which began publication in 1947. Over the years, because of the variety of material included and the many state and local subjects covered, this has become recognized as an invaluable Florida reference guide. Anyone having questions about Florida government will likely find answers in the *Handbook*. The emphasis is on the political, and for historians, particularly those working on twentieth-century Florida political history, it is a good reference tool. Among the subjects in the 1983-1984 edition are "Women in Government," "Governor's Mansion," "Florida Keys," "Steamboat Era," "Memorable Homes," "Florida on Postage Stamps," "The Everglades," "State Parks," "Ringling Museum," "Literature," "Religion," "Climate," "Sports," "Forest Products," "Education," "People and Population," and "Executive Agencies." There are chapters on the discovery and settlement of Florida, the English period, Territorial Florida, and Florida during the Civil War. There is also material on marine resources, farming and truck crops, livestock, citrus, and minerals. The state constitution is reprinted, together with an index to the constitution. There are also drawings, graphs, and illustrations, many from the State Photographic Archives. Order from Peninsular Publishing Company, Box 5078, Tallahassee, Florida 32301. The price is \$13.60, including postage and handling.

Ray Washington for several years has been publishing a column, "Cracker Florida," in Florida papers owned by the New York Times Company. Washington travels from one end of the state to the other— from Fernandina to Key West to Pensacola— through the backwoods and along the country roads, seeking out the men and women who seem to meet the definition of being of a cracker. Many of these people who become subjects for Washington's columns are poor, were born in Florida, and live mainly on farms and in small towns. But not all of them. Some crackers are black, some are rich, and many live in the big

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cities. Many of Washington's subjects are natives to the state; others are relatively recent arrivals. A few are not even southern. Washington writes of the life experiences of the crackers, and he has amassed an amazing social history of Florida. Some of his choicest columns have been collected for *Cracker Florida, Some Lives and Times*. It was published by Banyan Books, Inc., Box 431160, Miami, Florida 33143, and sells for \$7.95.

A Voice for Agriculture: The First Forty Years of Farm Bureau in Florida was edited by Ray Washington, and was published by the Florida Farm Bureau Federation of Gainesville. It consists of a series of short articles which trace the organization from the 1930s to the present. A group of citrus growers, calling themselves the Committee of Eleven, at the end of the 1930s organized the Florida Citrus Growers, Inc. The organization failed to attract either substantial leadership or adequate financing. Then, in the summer of 1941, Emil Karst, an Orlando citrus grower, invited a representative from the American Farm Bureau Federation from Chicago to attend the next FCG director's meeting and to explain the workings of the Farm Bureau. The meeting was in Karst's office, and it was followed by a general farmers meeting at the old San Juan Hotel in Orlando. A non-profit cooperative association was then organized and was incorporated the following November. George Fullerton of New Smyrna was elected as the first president of the Florida Farm Bureau. The purpose of the Bureau has always been to give Florida farmers a special identity, to represent them in the legislature, and to enhance the well being of Bureau members. The book may be ordered from the Federation, P.O. Box 730, Gainesville, Florida 32602 for \$7.95.

Pine Island, the Forgotten Island is by Elaine Blohm Jordan. The earliest inhabitants of Pine Island, located off the lower Gulf coast of Florida near Sanibel and Captiva, were the Calusa Indians. There are many legends and stories about the Indians and pirates that supposedly infested these waters, and Mrs. Jordan notes some of these tales in her book. Documented history begins in the eighteenth century with the fishermen and crabbers. Pine Island lacked modern roads and easy transportation facilities, and it was not until the twentieth century that the area began

to develop. Mrs. Jordan used oral history interviews taped in the 1960s, and she also talked to many old-timers herself who provided her with colorful information about the past. The book includes photographs. Order copies from the author, Route 1, Box 414, Bokeelia, Florida 33922. The price is \$14.95, and there is a paperback edition which sells for \$9.95. Add \$1.00 for postage.

Searching in Florida, compiled by Diane C. Robie, is a reference guide to public and private records, particularly relating to adoption of children. There are three sections: State-wide Information, County Information, and People Who Help. The first provides data on where state records are located and how they can be obtained: the second on county schools, libraries, cemeteries, newspapers, hospitals, and county and local officials. Local addresses and mailing addresses and telephone numbers are also included. Part three lists historical and genealogical societies and libraries, and individuals who may be available to do research. Order from ISC Publications, Box 10857, Costa Mesa, CA 92627; the price is \$10.95.

Education in Escambia County, 1870-1982 was produced by the John Appleyard Agency, Inc., for the School District of Escambia County. The earliest recorded information on education in Pensacola begins with the arrival of Mr. Williston, a Protestant minister, in 1764. He organized the town's first Protestant religious service and taught some of the children. He was assisted by Elias Durnford. Copies of *Education in Escambia County* are available to libraries and schools. Write to Charles Stokes, superintendent of schools, Escambia County School Board, 215 West Garden Street, Pensacola, Florida 32150.

The Florida Almanac, 1983-1984, provides brief, concise information on a wide variety of topics: treasure hunting, festivals, planting guides, tide charts, taxes, hunting, government, boating, fishing, parks, education, election statistics, crime, tourism, sports, and population. It also contains graphs, county maps, the complete Florida constitution, and pictures. The graphics vary from a photograph of the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine to a picture of the electric chair at Raiford prison. Included is an index to the State constitution and to the many subjects included

which range from archeology to zip codes. *Florida Almanac* editors are Del and Martha Marth. It was published by Pelican Publishing Company, Gretna, LA, and sells for \$9.95.

Florida Trails, As Seen From Jacksonville To Key West And From November To April Inclusive was written by Winthrop Packard from articles which had appeared in the *Boston Evening Transcript*. It was published in 1910. The photographs for the book were supplied by J. D. Rahner, a well-known St. Augustine photographer. A facsimile of the volume is now available from Pineapple Press, Inc., Box 314 Englewood, Florida 33533. It sells for \$8.95.

Another Pineapple Press facsimile is the equally popular Florida travel book, *Florida Days* by Margaret Deland. It was published in 1889, after a visit to St. Augustine and a trip along the St. Johns River. The pen and ink drawings in the original volume are by Louis K. Harlow, and they also appear in this facsimile. *Florida Days* reprint sells for \$7.95.

Some Southern Colonial Families, Volume 2, by David A. Avant, Jr., of Tallahassee, will be of interest to genealogists and historians. The emphasis is on Virginia families, but an examination of the historical records of the Glenn, Johnson, Melton, Allen, West, Newsome, Spencer, Sheppard, Matthews, Pace, Maycocke, Avant, Crawford, Pearson, Woodlief, and Zimmerman families, reveals information on many areas of the South, including Florida. Order from L'Avant Studios, Box 1711, 207 W. Park Avenue, Tallahassee, Florida 32302; the price is \$35.00.

Piney Woods School, An Oral History, by Alferdteen Harrison, is the story of a school in Rankin County, Mississippi. It was organized by Laurence C. Jones following the Booker T. Washington model by emphasizing industrial arts. Professor Harrison, of Jackson State University, used oral history interviews with educators, former students, and members of the rural community to supplement manuscript and published source of the school. The history covered serves as a model for oral histories of other educational institutions. Published by University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi, sells for \$17.95.