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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Oldest City. Edited by Jean Parker Waterbury. (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1983. xi, 262 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, photographs, major sources, index. \$25.00, \$8.95, paper.)

The St. Augustine Historical Society is distinguished for its past tradition, its activity in the present, and for its publications. *The Oldest City* is a worthy successor to the Society's other printed works. In commissioning this history of St. Augustine, the Society chose eight authors to present and analyze the story of the First City from the close of the Ice Age until today.

The book begins with John Griffin's provocative essay, "The Men who met Menéndez," in which the reader glimpses aboriginal Florida and then sees the invading Europeans through Indian eyes. This excellent ethnohistorical summary outlines Indo-European contact in Florida and the irrevocable changes it brought in its train. In "The Noble and Loyal City: 1565-1668," Amy Bushnell very ably delineates the stressful years after Menéndez's founding of St. Augustine, through the Drake raid and into the expansion and contraction of Spanish Florida through the middle seventeenth century. The last years paralleled those of Spain's decline, in which rival nations planted colonies in North America.

Jean Parker Waterbury edited the volume and also wrote the excellent chapter "The Castillo Years, 1668-1763." In this time, the great Castillo de San Marcos was built and St. Augustine suffered invasion from the English colonies. An international power exchange led to Florida's loss in 1763, and St. Augustine became an English town. Daniel L. Schafer's chapter "Not so gay a town as this" is a penetrating analysis of British East Florida. Sizable land grants and English settlement led to dynamic economic activity as roads were built to unite St. Augustine with New Smyrna and Cowford. Despite some of the tensions that had led to the American Revolution, East Florida prospered and remained loyal to the crown.

Florida was returned to Spain after the American Revolution,

and Patricia C. Griffin has well described the time which followed as "The People-Mix Period." East Florida, peopled with a rich admixture of races and nationalities, experienced border wars, disputes over escaped slaves, and outlaw raids. Meanwhile, there waited in the wings that lusty new polity, the United States. Mrs. Griffin furnishes lively particulars of everyday existence in cosmopolitan St. Augustine. St. Augustine left its colonial times behind when, on July 10, 1821, it passed under United States sovereignty. George E. Buker here clearly describes "The Americanization of St. Augustine, 1821-1865." The city began to assume its classic architectural and demographic form as black, Minorcan, and Hispanic elements were assimilated into an American polity. The city survived yellow fever, freezes, and Indian and Civil war.

Thomas Graham has well designated that time in St. Augustine's life from 1865 to 1913 as "The Flagler Era." As Florida revived after the Civil War, St. Augustine found itself outside the railroad or steamer routes, and tourism developed slowly until Henry M. Flagler, co-founder of the Standard Oil Company, came in 1884. Soon Flagler's railroad arrived and three Flagler hotels graced St. Augustine. It had now become a modern city. "Yesterday and the Day Before," vividly written by Robert N. Dow, portrays the impact of the twentieth century upon St. Augustine. The advent of the automobile, the Great War, boom and depression stressed but never broke the social fabric of the Ancient City. At last, she has come full circle with her colonial past. Mr. Dow traces the restoration movement from 1924 until the present.

In sum: this useful work should become a standard.

University of Florida

EUGENE LYON

Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community. By Kathleen Deagan. (New York: Academic Press, 1983. xxii, 317 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, illustrations, tables, appendices, references, index. \$39.50.)

To anthropologist Melville Herskovits, the New World offered a "laboratory" to study the process of cultural interchange that occurred as free Europeans and African slaves settled among

Native Americans after 1492. Unfortunately, the early centuries of this cultural interchange in the New World were poorly documented in the written record. The masses of Native Americans and Africans were unlettered, and even most European settlers were illiterate. Thus, only a few literate Europeans left incomplete and biased accounts of the lifeways of their fellow illiterate New World inhabitants.

Although the written record of cultural interchange among New World inhabitants may be sparse, the archeological record of this process may be exceedingly rich. Such is the case at St. Augustine, Florida, which was a *presidio*, or garrison, of the Spanish empire from 1565 to 1763 and again from 1783 to 1821. During this time, St. Augustine's inhabitants included Spanish-born Europeans, or *peninsulares*; American-born Europeans, or *criollos*; mixed European-Native Americans, or *mestizos*; Native Americans; and, lastly, Africans. The presence of these various ethnic groups and the cultural interchange which occurred among them is revealed in the archeological record of houses, household artifacts, and food remains at St. Augustine sites dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

During the past decade, Dr. Kathleen Deagan, an historical archeologist with the Florida State Museum, has been systematically excavating house sites in St. Augustine that were occupied by families of differing ethnic backgrounds. The results of this impressive research have been published in *Spanish St. Augustine*, a book that focuses on the eighteenth century first Spanish period (1702-1763).

Though a surprising number of documents have survived from this period, most are official letters and reports which deal with military, political, and ecclesiastical affairs. These documents rarely describe the everyday lives of St. Augustine's occupants. The testamentary proceedings such as wills, inventories, and deeds, which could have illuminated the lifeways of St. Augustine's people, have been lost. Fortunately, the parish records, which contain information about the ethnicity, occupation, and family background of St. Augustine's inhabitants, have survived, as have several property maps which list the owners of eighteenth-century house sites. Armed with the parish records and property maps, Deagan successfully identified the names, ethnicity, and socioeconomic standing of inhabitants at a variety

of first Spanish period house sites in St. Augustine. And by excavating house sites which were occupied by people of known ethnicity and socioeconomic status, Deagan found archeological evidence of the cultural differences existing among the *presidio*'s inhabitants and abundant evidence of cultural interchange in Spanish St. Augustine.

Two St. Augustine house sites best illustrate this process of cultural interchange: the de Hita site, which was occupied by a *criollo* or American-born Spanish family; and the de la Cruz site, which was occupied by a *mestizo* or mixed Spanish-Native American family. At both the *criollo* and *mestizo* sites, excavators found evidence of Native American cultural influences in the form of locally-made Native American earthenwares, or San Marcos pottery. Yet, the *criollo* site yielded much higher percentages of imported Spanish tin-glazed earthenwares, or majolica, than the *mestizo* site. At both sites, excavators found the bones of Spanish barnyard animals as well as the bones of local game and fish. Yet, the *criollo* family ate far more meat from Spanish domestic animals than the *mestizo* family who relied more heavily on local game and fish. Thus, the cultural interchange which occurred among Spanish and Native Americans was indeed apparent in the household ceramics and food remains at both sites, but the Spanish heritage of the *criollo* family and the Native American background of the *mestizo* family was still apparent in their ceramics and diets.

Chapters 5, 6, 8, and 10 of *Spanish St. Augustine* are devoted to a comparative analysis of the housing, artifacts, and foodways from selected *criollo* and *mestizo* sites dating to the period from 1702 to 1763. These excellent chapters form the core of a highly-successful work. Yet, there are some minor problems. One wishes the author had included chapters on the *peninsulares* and the Africans in order to complete the comparison of ethnic groups in Spanish St. Augustine. In addition, Chapter 7, which deals with a seventeenth-century Native American village, and Chapter 9, which deals with Spanish and British burials at a church dating from 1599 to 1783, could have been deleted, since these sections deal with material that falls outside the focus of the remaining chapters. Despite these cavils, Deagan's *Spanish St. Augustine* remains the finest achievement in Hispanic-American archeology, and perhaps the finest achievement in the discipline

of historical archeology. The book should prove indispensable to Florida historians as well as to anthropologists and archeologists.

*Center for American Archeology,
Kampsville, Illinois*

JOHN S. OTTO

Fort Lauderdale and Broward County. By Stuart B. McIver.
(Woodland Hills, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1983. 232 pp.
Photographs, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Where do the college kids flock for their vernal rites? To Fort Lauderdale of course. Stuart B. McIver, journalist, historian, producer of documentary films— a fifteen-year-resident of Fort Lauderdale— tells the history of this glamorous wedge of the Gold Coast in a narrative as crisp and entertaining as it is informative. He unrolls a backdrop of a sparsely-populated watery jungle— the nineteenth century— as contrast before which to display the achievements in recent decades of Florida's fastest growing county.

The first fact to keep in mind is geographical— until the 1890s south Florida was accessible only by boat. The first venturesome transients and settlers lived along rivers and bays. New River, which cut through some high hammocks and pine ridges near the coast, was a natural drain for the Everglades, long an important artery for the Indians in their canoes. During the second Spanish period some Bahamians, including the Charles Lewis family, settled on New River. In 1824, after Florida was a territory, William Cooley, originally from Maryland, and his family moved to New River and established a sizable commercial mill producing starch from the plentiful wild coontie roots, a product he sold in Key West. One day on the eve of the Second Seminole War while Cooley was away, the Indians massacred his family. That ended the settlement. During the long war that followed Major William Lauderdale and his men built a small fort near New River, but it was only there temporarily.

In 1870 Dade County, which then stretched all the way from Jupiter to the Keys, had a population of only eighty-five, not counting Indians. Only a few were at New River. In 1890 the census taker found only one person to record in that area—

Washington Jenkins, keeper of the House of Refuge on the beach, an installation of the United States Life Saving Service.

Changes began with the first county road in 1892 which required a ferry at New River. Frank Stranahan ran the ferry, a tent hotel for the hackline travellers, and a trading post which were to become the nucleus for an agricultural community after the railroad arrived in 1896. For the first time farmers had a way to get their tender vegetables to market.

The New River area began to attract farmers looking for land. Germans started a community north of Fort Lauderdale called Dresden; it became Pompano. Several miles south of New River a colony of Danes founded Modello, named for Henry Flagler's Model Land Company, and later it became Dania. Nearby was Hallandale, established by Swedes. As the building of the Panama Canal wound down workers from that project moved to newly-drained Everglades land west of Dania and established Zona— today know as Davie.

A theme than runs through the history of Broward County is water: how to get up out of it (the Venice-plan was noteworthy), how to control it, and how to utilize it. The draining of the Everglades was promoted by Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, governor from 1905-1909. In the light of what is known about the Everglades today the thinking then was simplistic— dig enough canals, the water runs off, the land is dry. The first canal which was to connect Fort Lauderdale and Lake Okeechobee was begun in 1906. Millions of acres of new land did appear— and so did the land speculators, a few of them swindlers. Some land purchasers never found their land. And the New River area began to grow. In 1915 it cut away from Dade County to become Broward County, honoring the promoter of drainage in the process.

The boom of the 1920s brought a rising interest in tourism and beach development. Hollywood-by-the-Sea was laid out on a grand scale and so well funded that by 1926 it had grown to surpass Fort Lauderdale. By that date, however, the boom was beginning to falter and, in September, the worst hurricane to hit the lower Florida east coast in a century, gave the *coup de grace*. Unfinished skeletons were left unfinished, there were foreclosures, bank failures, unemployment, bread lines, people on the run, even suicides. One thing that grew out of the boom-bust, how-

ever, was the conversion of Bay Mabel into Port Everglades, though the payoff was slow in being realized.

In recent years Broward County has been on an incredible roll. Some of its twenty-nine incorporated cities— like Pembroke Pines and Coral Springs with populations 40,000 and 37,347, respectively— in 1980 had grown up out of bean and tomato fields in only a few years. The total population of Broward County in 1980 was 1,108,200— up 1,108,199 from 1890! This has to be a success story!

Fort Lauderdale and Broward County is embellished by a feast of early photographs, some of them in color from early post-cards, almost all supplied by the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. The book includes a section called “Partners in Progress,” a history of the institutions and companies of Broward County, also with excellent accompanying photographs. This part of the book was the work of Bill Luening.

Coral Gables, Florida

THELMA PETERS

Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay. By Janet Snyder Matthews. (Tulsa: Caprine Press, 1983. 464 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, photographs, household lists, notes, bibliography, index. \$21.50.)

Janet Snyder Matthews has written a detailed history of the Manatee River-Sarasota Bay region from prehistoric times through the late nineteenth century. In presenting this chronicle, she is very conscious of the contrasting people, styles, and cultures that have contributed to the development of settlements on Florida’s west central Gulf coast. The author recounts the efforts of a diverse group of pioneers to tame the wild but bountiful frontier land south of Tampa Bay, north of Charlotte Harbor, east of the Gulf of Mexico, and west of Lake Okeechobee. The pages of this book are filled with tales of native aboriginals and conquistadors, aristocratic planters and “Cracker” cowboys, white masters and black slaves, military commanders and Indian warriors, and law-abiding citizens and murderous vigilantes. Whether treating the Spanish or English, the rich or poor, the educated or illiterate, Matthews finds the settlers drawn to this

region mainly for two reasons: wealth and health. Undaunted by wars, epidemics, and hurricanes, pioneer men and women migrated to forge new lives in the wilderness.

Matthews paints many vivid portraits throughout this work. She does a good job in sketching the central characters in their own words or those of their contemporaries. To this end, she has mined a rich lode of historical documentation in letters, diaries, wills, and government reports. In addition to her impressive research in archival sources both in Florida and Washington, D.C., the author has read the available newspapers and published materials pertaining to her subject. She has digested this wealth of information to construct a readable narrative. In particular, she is at her best in discussing the role the Gamble family played in clearing the land and setting up a flourishing sugar refining business. Furthermore, her accounts of Judah P. Benjamin's daring escape through Manatee County at the close of the Civil War and the exploits of the Sarasota Assassination Society in the 1880s are compelling for their drama.

Although this book has merit as a fact-filled reference volume, it has less appeal as interpretive history. Too often the narrative bogs down in a swamp of names, places, and itemized lists (for instance, De Soto's funeral provisions), and it is difficult to discern what significant point the author is trying to make. Besides some obvious conclusions about the resiliency of the pioneer spirit, it is not clear that the author has a thesis around which to shape her abundant and interesting information. This is especially noticeable in her account of vigilantism. Although devoting two chapters to the murder in 1884 of Charles Abbe, a prominent Sarasota resident, she never makes clear what were the underlying social, political, and economic forces that spawned the extra-legal violence perpetrated by an organized gang of killers. Without a conceptual framework to explain the function and operation of frontier vigilantism, the reader does not know what to make of this incident or how to judge its historical significance. Nevertheless, for anyone interested in a straightforward and informative history of Manatee-Sarasota counties and their environs, this book is the place to start. The ample supply of photographs accompanying the text makes it particularly attractive.

University of South Florida

STEVEN F. LAWSON

The Plot to Steal Florida: James Madison's Phony War. By Joseph Burkholder Smith. (New York: Arbor House, 1983. 314 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

An employee of the CIA for twenty-three years, James Burkholder Smith has written two books. His first recounts his CIA experiences, and this second work deals with the early nineteenth-century American resolve to acquire Spanish Florida.

There were two Spanish Floridas— East and West— and between 1795-1810 a large part of West Florida already had come into American hands. President Madison during the War of 1812 era attempted to take the remainder, and, until his death, George Mathews, the semi-literate former governor of Georgia, was the central figure, Madison's primary agent provocateur. With the president's unofficial approval, seventy-two-year-old Mathews went to the St. Marys River in 1811, and, recruiting Anglos both in Georgia and East Florida, began to assemble a Patriot army. Mathews expected the small United States regular army detachment and American gunboats on the scene also to cooperate. These forces, by direct assault, internal revolution, or mere bravado would first seize Fernandina, a small Spanish outpost on Amelia Island, and then the massive Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine.

It was a frustrating time for Mathews. United States Army Major Jacint Laval did not think Mathews had sufficient written authorization from Madison to commit the regular troops, and Commodore Hugh Campbell, the American naval commander, began to have similar doubts. Nevertheless the Patriot army, which from the Spanish perspective was backed up by American gunboats, captured, with little difficulty, Fernandina. Then abruptly, Madison disavowed Mathews and the Patriots. Mathews was furious, though the president reassured Mathews that only reasons of state had forced a public disavowal, and shortly before his death in August 1812, Mathews seemed reconciled.

During the next two years Madison at one moment repudiated any design on East Florida, and at the next ordered the army, navy, and militia to occupy the province. With 10,000 British soldiers bound for the Gulf of Mexico in 1814 and troubles enough, Madison again withdrew support for the Patriot

army. A few years later, however, Andrew Jackson and President Monroe succeeded where Mathews and President Madison had failed.

In the events and intrigues concerned with Mathews and American attempts to liberate East Florida, Smith sees the origins of every post-World War II covert operation, including the Bay of Pigs, Vietnam, Chile, the Kennedy assassination, the Pentagon papers, and others. These digressions and those relating to Dolley Madison's coiffure, dress, or lack thereof, and moral turpitude make the reader stray from the St. Marys River, Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Alachua.

Smith has availed himself of sources not available to Rembert Patrick who, in 1954, published a detailed scholarly work dealing with the Patriots. In many respects, however, especially for the post-Mathews years, Patrick's work remains the standard. In his conclusion Patrick argued that what happened in 1811-1814 was an anomaly, and Americans could take pride in their country's record of expansion by negotiation and treaty rather than force. Smith strongly disagrees, and one does not have to dwell on his epilogue castigating Nixon and Kissinger to realize in this instance that Smith is on the mark.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Dogs of the Conquest. By John Grier Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. xvii, 238 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, epilogue, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95.)

We of the machine age, who no longer think of animals as working partners, forget the extent to which any European of account once lived in the company of mastiffs, greyhounds, and other useful breeds of dogs. In peacetime, they were his companions on the hunt and guarded and defended his property. In time of war they used the same skills to find food on the march and to track down, capture, and sometimes attack the enemy. The use of dogs in warfare was common in sixteenth-century Europe; indeed, modern armies and police forces still have their canine corps.

Dogs of the Conquest addresses the long-neglected subject of dogs as auxiliaries in the Spanish conquest of America, a multi-fronted war in which, as a surprise military weapon, the ferocious, iron-collared wardogs carried the same shock value as horses and were as lethal as firearms.

It is fitting that the volume should have been published by the University of Oklahoma Press, which in 1949 reprinted R. B. Cunninghame Graham's delightful *The Horses of the Conquest* (London, 1930). Despite the similar titles the two books are, however, quite different. Graham was a gentleman adventurer, gracing his pages with a first-hand knowledge of Latin American horsemanship. Indubitably well-read, he supplied only the airiest of documentation.

John Grier Varner and Jeanette Johnson Varner's academic credentials, on the other hand, are unexceptionable. She is an able translator and linguist and an indefatigable researcher; he, a professor of English, with a limpid prose and a warmly humanist approach toward learning. Varner and Varner collaborated on a definitive edition of *The Florida of the Inca* (Austin, 1951), and again on the thoroughly readable *El Inca: The Life and Times of Garcilaso de la Vega* (Austin, 1968).

Dogs of the Conquest is not as successful as either one of the Varners' previous books although it, too, was exhaustively researched. The fifteen-page "Select Bibliography" could serve as a scholar's guide to sources and commentaries on the conquest, listing as it does the documentary collections, reference works, sixteenth-century chroniclers, and historians from that day to this. In that wide sweep, no incident in which a wardog was involved is likely to have been missed. The book is also copiously illustrated with what seems to be every European engraving of the New World and every Indian *lienzo* painting in which a dog appears.

What is lacking in *Dogs of the Conquest* is the sound historical judgment which characterizes the Varners' earlier work. This latest book is an undigested assortment of disparate tales, arranged according to region and presented without critical examination. Concocted atrocity stories that were relished and reprinted in the propaganda campaigns of Spain's worst enemies, the exaggerations and calumnies of the fiery reformer Bartolomé de las Casas, legends of heroic prowess, and the sober accounts of

credible eyewitnesses are all thrown into the same pile as though they were of equal validity. It would have been preferable to present such stories frankly under their references and let the reader judge for himself than to have connected them with a weak narrative line and left the impression that they were alike true and typical. It does not help matters that the Varners took for illustrations many of Theodore de Bry's seventeenth-century propaganda engravings, showing Spaniards engaged in every species of inhumanity and torture.

Dogs of the Conquest contains virtually nothing about the breeding of the animals, their training, or their uses in warfare anywhere beyond the confines of America. The authors' stated purpose was to "relate the incidents in which dogs played a significant part in the conquest, as recorded by sixteenth-century chroniclers . . . and as revealed in legal, military, and literary-historical documents of the period" (xiii). Their book is exactly what they say it is, a narrated compilation of incidents.

A balanced book on the dogs of the conquest is still to be written. Perhaps someone will use the Varners' lovingly assembled material to write one.

*Historic St. Augustine
Preservation Board*

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL

The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley. By Gilbert C. Din and Abraham P. Nasatir. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. XV, 432 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Spanish officials in Louisiana and West Florida wrestled with a constant problem in dealing with the Osage who menaced the entire northwestern frontier of Louisiana during the period of Spanish occupation, 1770-1804. The dilemma of the Spanish administration arose from the fact that the Osage, most populous tribe in upper Louisiana, accounted for half the fur trade coming into St. Louis and thus constituted an important economic interest for local merchants. At the same time, the Osage were a persistent threat to population advance in the Spanish province. War parties stole horses and carried out destructive raids on both

Indian and Euro-American settlements in present Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana.

The trend of these frontier encounters has long been a part of regional history. But Nasatir has painstakingly accumulated the documents to give a detailed account of Spanish efforts to contain the Osage, an endeavor not particularly successful as long as officials did not agree concerning tactics. Open warfare was not a sensible undertaking for Spanish troops and militia outnumbered by Osage warriors. In 1794, the Spanish government finally granted a monopoly of the Osage trade to Auguste Chouteau, enabling him gradually to assert some control over the tribal people. This decision was a belated recognition of the success Spanish administrators had achieved in dealing with East and West Florida tribes by assigning a trade monopoly to Panton, Leslie and Co. beginning in 1784.

This Osage volume adds to the impressive list of publications on the Spanish Borderlands contributed by Nasatir and his collaborators. Basic source for the study of Spanish-Osage diplomacy is Nasatir's previously assembled documentary review that amounts to more than a thousand pages of manuscript. The pattern of Spanish-Osage relations displays a repetitive series of incidents. Osage leaders received presents in St. Louis, dealt illegally with questionable characters near the Arkansas Post, and made their most damaging attacks in the Red River country north of Natchitoches, Louisiana. Ultimate orders for handling the Osage were issued in Spain through the governor of Louisiana in New Orleans, but Osage warfare also impinged upon the separate Spanish province of Texas.

Details of the discussion of Osage diplomacy reveal the close relationship existing among the Spanish provinces bordering American territory in the post-Revolutionary War era. For example, Manuel Lisa, foremost Spanish trader on the Upper Missouri in the late colonial years, was the son of a St. Augustine native, Maria Rodriquez. Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard, sent to combat Jacobin influence in the St. Louis district in 1796, began his administrative career in St. Augustine in 1784 as secretary to Governor Zéspedes. And the advent of American rule in Louisiana in 1804 released troops to bolster the wavering Spanish domination of West Florida.

Despite their high scholarly attainments, Nasatir and Din

will surely confuse readers on two specific matters of geography and tribal identification. The authors use the term "Spanish Illinois," common in Spanish correspondence, to refer to territory west of the Mississippi River in present Missouri even as far west as the Osage River region. Students of American history are not accustomed to thinking of St. Louis as an Illinois town. References to Osage raids into "Illinois" are citing attacks on communities along the west bank of the Mississippi River, and often further beyond. At times the geographical and administrative district of Upper Louisiana appears to be indistinguishable from "Spanish Illinois."

The matter of tribal identity is more serious. Among the Indian groups marshalled by the Spanish commandant in St. Louis to fight the Osage were immigrant tribes from American territory who had sought Spanish protection. These included Shawnee, Delaware, Miami, and Cherokee who had diligently opposed American advance into Ohio and Indiana. Within this group of allies, the Delawares are called "Loups" in contemporary Spanish documents, a term that Nasatir and Din erroneously translate as "Abenaki," the name of a tribe with major settlements south of the St. Lawrence River near Montreal, Canada. In Maine, the term "Loup" might mean Abenaki, but not in Missouri. Where the authors have quoted previously published Spanish documents, the term "Loup" is correctly interpreted as "Delaware," but sometimes the Loup designation appears without further explanation. These inconsistencies create the inaccurate impression that Indian opposition to the Osage included three tribes, "Loups," Delawares, and "Abenakis," when the single identification "Delaware" is the only suitable common identification.

Aside from such problems, Nasatir and Din have prepared a conscientiously annotated treatment of a typical frontier problem. The objectives of Indian traders and white settlers demanded conflicting diplomatic policies, a challenge for governments of Spain as well as France, Great Britain, and the United States.

*Newberry Library
Chicago, Illinois*

HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

Cherokee Editor. Edited by Theda Perdue. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983. viii, 243. Preface, introduction, notes, index. \$18.95.)

Theda Perdue leads the reader into this set of documents via a thirty-five-page introduction about the life of the author of the documents and his place in Cherokee history, particularly the tragic removal of the 1830s. She also provides instructive notes that contain citations to most of the important writings about the Cherokees. She has performed her task as editor well.

Elias Boudinot is an ill-fated and little-known figure in American history. True, there is a brief essay on him in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, but his name does not appear in the indices of any two-volume college texts in my possession nor in books on the history of the American Indians in general. One source of the tragedy of his life was his early enrollment in Christian missionary schools. These taught him to think of his forbears as savages, at the same time that they taught him to write the to-us stilted English prose, the written voice of educated Americans at that time. Perdue does not say whether or not her subject had white blood, nor does his biographer, Ralph Henry Gabriel. Most of the Cherokee leadership was of mixed blood, and the frontispiece picture of Boudinot is of a man who could have passed for a white gentleman if he wanted to.

He was farther set apart from the Cherokee culture when, in 1820, he was converted to Christianity. Thereafter his writing is full of pious expressions such as "the meek and lowly Jesus" (p. 14). He rejoiced that most of the Cherokees had risen from "the worst kind of paganism to the knowledge of the true God" (p. 141). Small wonder that he was bewildered when the race that had converted him treated him and his people in a brutal and unfeeling way. This was impressed upon him when he married a white woman in Connecticut and was burned with his wife in effigy. He could not grasp the racism practiced by Christian white persons.

One of the documents printed in this book is an address he gave before a white congregation in Philadelphia to raise money for the purchase of a printing press. Through his efforts the money came in, and the press was used to print the first North American Indian newspaper, about one-third of which was ex-

pressed in the only written Indian language in this continent. Boudinot's influence came largely through the *Cherokee Phoenix*, begun in 1824, of which he was the first and virtually the only editor. In the *Phoenix* he inveighed against the monstrous injustices done his people by Georgians and the Jackson administration; inveighed in the cultured prose which took the fire out of much that he said. He used "Sir" often as if addressing a deliberative body, and relieved that sometimes with "Gentlemen." Like white writers, he relied heavily on rhetorical questions, and, like them, frequently said, "I have taken the liberty," or, "allow me the liberty," and other standard phrases of polite communication. As a result, he is not nearly as eloquent as certain "savage" Indian leaders who spoke free of white rhetoric. He presented impeccable logic when the Georgians and Andrew Jackson cared nothing for logic; they wanted the Cherokee's land!

After he was treated as an outcast by the people he had tried to emulate (p. 10) at the time of his wedding, he championed Cherokee separateness from white polity. He never deviated from this position; expressing it at first as resistance to removal from Georgia. Early in the 1830s he began to view removal to the West as inevitable—given white power—and he supported it in order to preserve the Cherokee nation. For this stance he was ousted as editor of the *Phoenix*, and he resigned in 1832. Most of the Cherokees opposed removal, and some marked him as a traitor. When he was only thirty-five, certain of the latter murdered him, as they did other leaders who had championed removal. In American history there is probably no person so thoroughly honorable and so devoutly Christian who was as fully ruined and betrayed by white indoctrination as Elias Boudinot.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON

Renato Beluche, Smuggler, Privateer, and Patriot, 1780-1860. By Jane Lucas De Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. xiii, 300 pp. Acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, photographs, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Born in New Orleans in 1780, and buried in Venezuela in 1860, Renato Beluche lived in an era when the Gulf-Caribbean world was in tumult. At the time of Beluche's birth, the Spanish governor of New Orleans was directing his forces in successful campaigns against British West Florida; in the 1790s bloody slave insurrections swept over Haiti, and Louisiana felt their repercussions; in 1814-1815 Britain dispatched 10,000 men to the Gulf of Mexico to seize New Orleans and much more territory; for two decades after 1810 Spain's mainland colonies struggled to win independence; and in the ensuing years the new republics experienced revolutions and coups. As a Baratarian smuggler, legitimate ship captain, privateer, pirate, and Spanish-American patriot, this was part of Beluche's world.

Joining Jean Lafitte and other Baratarians, Beluche manned Jackson's artillery at New Orleans, and the devastating fire from Baratarian cannons more than any single factor explained Old Hickory's remarkable victory over the British. Trading and privateering ventures took Beluche to Haiti, Jamaica, Yucatan, northern South America, and virtually every corner of the Gulf and Caribbean. Around 1815 he enlisted in Bolívar's insurgent forces, and in time he became a leading, and by some considered the best, naval commander who served in forces of Gran Columbia.

It was at this period, in the years after 1821, that Beluche emerged from the shadowy world of smuggling, privateering, and relative insignificance. He commanded part of José Padilla's fleet which in 1823 successfully defeated the royalists defending Lake Maracaibo, and soon afterward Beluche's squadron helped capture Puerto Cabello, the last royalist bastion in the Republic of Gran Columbia. At the request of Bolívar, in 1829 Beluche commenced a 12,000-mile voyage with two ships, setting out from Puerto Cabello, sailing around Cape Horn, and finally arriving at Guayaquil in Ecuador. Ecuador, like Venezuela, at least for the moment, was part of Bolívar's Gran Columbia. As it

turned out there was no immediate naval threat, and Beluche made his way back to Venezuela via Panama.

Because he supported anti-José Antonio Páez forces in an internal revolution after Venezuela had separated from Gran Columbia, Beluche was forced to go into exile from 1836 to 1845. He eventually returned to Puerto Cabello where in 1860 he died, and in 1962 his remains were reinterred in the Panteón Nacional in Caracas.

For several decades Professor de Grummond has meticulously researched Beluche's career, examining archives in the United States and Latin America, interviewing Beluche's descendants, and, from New Orleans to Jamaica, Panama, and Venezuela, retracing his steps. Her indefatigable research and mature judgments have allowed her skillfully to recreate and analyze conditions in the Gulf and Caribbean.

But she has not recreated Beluche, partly because of the nature of the sources which leave great gaps in Beluche's career. Even so, for long periods the author unnecessarily loses sight of her subject. In Jackson's New Orleans campaign, Bolívar's liberation of Gran Columbia, and similar major developments, the reader often must wonder where Beluche was and what he was up to. This concerns the problem of not clearly focusing on her subject. One would like to experience the dramatic events of Beluche's lifetime from his perspective: to smell the acrid smoke belching from his cannons at New Orleans or to hear him order grappling hooks thrown over his ship's side when engaging a potential Spanish prize.

Beluche's career, bound up with the liberation of Spanish America, discloses something about the activities of Luis Aury, the Spanish American revolutionist who in 1817 briefly occupied Amelia Island. But for the author, as for Beluche and Spanish authorities in New Orleans, Florida meant not East Florida but Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola in Spanish West Florida. Despite shortcomings as a biographical work, Professor de Grummond's study adroitly illustrates conditions in, and to an extent the unity of, the Gulf-Caribbean world during a prolonged revolutionary era, and from the latter standpoint her book has much to offer.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Correspondence of James K. Polk, Volume 6. Edited by Wayne Cutler and Carese M. Parker. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1983. xxxvi, 726 pp. Preface, chronology, calendar, index. \$30.00.)

Volume 6 of the *Correspondence of James K. Polk* is the second of the series to be edited by Wayne Cutler, and it exhibits the same high level of scholarship displayed in Volume 5. In his well-written preface, Cutler succinctly analyzed the political situation in Tennessee during 1842-1843 when the Democratic party was out of power on both the state and national levels. In this period, Polk, as leader of the Tennessee Democracy and as an important southern ally of Martin Van Buren, carried the dual responsibility of rescuing the state from the Whigs and reuniting the divided southern wing of the national Democratic party under the banner of the former president.

Polk, having lost his race for re-election as governor of Tennessee in 1841 to his Whig opponent, James C. Jones, was out of office during this two-year period. Ostensibly Polk retired to private life and the practice of law, while actually he was planning the state party's strategy for winning the state elections of 1843. At this time Polk resisted the temptation to obtain a seat in the United States Senate by striking a bargain with the Tennessee Whig leaders to break a deadlock in the state senate between the Whigs and Democrats by pairing his candidacy with that of John Bell, or some other prominent Whig politician. Instead, Polk determined to run once again for the governorship, believing that the Democrats would have a better chance to recapture the state government under his leadership than any other possible candidate, and that his victory would assure that the southern Democrats would rally around Van Buren in the forthcoming national election. If he succeeded in gaining the governorship, Polk confidently expected to receive the nomination of his party for the vice presidency on a Van Buren-Polk ticket.

Prior to the gubernatorial race, Polk occupied his time with reorganizing the machinery of the Tennessee Democratic party and with raising funds for the coming campaign. As in his recent campaigns, Polk stressed national rather than local issues, attacking Henry Clay and his American System. During his campaign against Jones, who was running for reelection, he emphasized

that a victory for Jones would promote the founding of a third national bank and lead to higher tariffs and internal taxes, while expanding the powers of the central government. During a long series of debates by Polk and Jones held throughout the state, Jones's humorous speeches contrasted sharply with Polk's stern lectures on political morality. When the votes were counted, it was found that the frontier humorist had gained the support of a majority of Tennessee's fun-loving electorate. Ironically, had Polk triumphed over Jones, he probably would have lost his chance at the presidency, much as a victory by Lincoln over Douglas in 1858 might have cost him the nation's highest office.

The nature of the correspondence published in this volume reflects Polk's roles in state and national politics. Letters exchanged between Polk and state political leaders made up the bulk of the correspondence, but important letters from Polk to Van Buren and other national leaders are also included. As in previous volumes, an extensive correspondence between Polk and his wife, Sarah, reveals that he relied heavily upon her for advice as well as for assistance in managing the family's business affairs. Agricultural historians will especially regret that virtually no correspondence relating to the management of Polk's plantations was published in this or earlier volumes.

Anticipating that funds to complete the publication of Polk's political correspondence might not be forthcoming, Cutler decided to include a calendar of Polk's correspondence between 1816 and 1843, a useful addition that occupied approximately one-third of the volume. If Cutler's forebodings prove to be justified, the termination of the project before the correspondence of Polk's years in the White House are published will be a major loss for future historians of this period.

Florida State University

JOHN HEBRON MOORE

A *Carolinian Goes to War: The Civil War Narrative of Arthur Middleton Manigault, Brigadier General, C. S. A.* Edited by R. Lockwood Tower. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983. xvi, 344 pp. Foreword, introduction, prologue, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, appendix, index. \$24.95.)

Shortly after the Civil War, Confederate General Arthur Manigault wrote a long account of his war service. He intended it not for publication, but for the private use of his family. Now, more than a century later, a descendant has permitted printing of the general's narrative. It is a story worth telling. With a distinguished family name (pronounced by Charlestonians as MAN-i-GO) and some Mexican War experience, the young Carolinian supervised the building of batteries around Fort Sumter, then witnessed the famous bombardment. Soon he became colonel of the Tenth South Carolina Infantry, and with it transferred to the western theater in the spring of 1862. Thus he participated in the invasion of Kentucky, after which he was nominated for brigadier general. He also fought at Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, in the defense of Atlanta, and in Hood's campaign into Tennessee. There, at Franklin on November 30, 1864, Manigault was wounded so severely that he never returned to active service.

Writing between 1866 and 1868, the general was candid in his opinions about the Confederacy's western army. Manigault liked Braxton Bragg, but thought Hood was "incompetent" and unfit for command of an army. The removal of Johnston was therefore "one of those hasty and ill-judged steps on the part of Mr. Davis" which led to Confederate defeat (p. 200). Then, too, Manigault occasionally provides glimpses of life at the front, as when he explains how men in the rifle pits dodged enemy fire to fill their canteens. We also see how Manigault exercised command. Though most officers preferred marksmen to musicians ("shooters before tooters," as one put it), Manigault relates his own practice during a battle of using band members as hospital orderlies—musicians, so important for morale, were too valuable to become casualties.

On the whole, however, these colorful remarks are too infrequent to rescue the general's narrative from a regrettable dreari-

ness. Manigault's style is almost Latinate in its complicated phrasing, and his wordiness sometimes leads to run-on sentences of remarkable length. Despite this prolixity, Manigault's writing has a curious obliqueness. The result is that sometimes the reader has difficulty envisioning the action being described. For instance, Manigault's brigade was on Longstreet's left during the great breakthrough of the enemy line at Chickamauga, but nowhere does the narrative relate the exciting battlefield sweep.

A more important criticism pertains to the narrative as historiographical document. Though Manigault claims that in his writing he had to rely almost entirely upon memory, one quickly sees that the minutiae which he provides could not have been derived from recollection. Eventually we learn that he had access to important reports of both Union and Confederate officers. But because Manigault only rarely acknowledges these documents, we are left to guess his sources, and perhaps even wonder about the usefulness of the narrative to the modern researcher.

The editor, R. Lockwood Tower, has punctuated Manigault's text with an unusually large number of corroborative and explanatory footnotes. Many of these relate data from the *Official Records*, and consequently enrich the general's observations. Unfortunately, Tower's eagerness to provide information approaches self-indulgence. Frequently his annotation is excessive, especially when it interrupts Manigault's text to identify incidental personalities. Furthermore, his extensive prefaces give the impression of trying to overshadow the general's chapters, as when Tower describes at length the movement to have Bragg relieved of command, though Manigault never mentions the controversy.

A Carolinian Goes to War thus is uneven in the quality of narrative and its editing. At the same time, this is an important complement to histories of the Army of Tennessee. We are indebted to the Manigault family for its publication.

Atlanta, Georgia

STEPHEN DAVIS

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 6, 1862-1864. Edited by Leroy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983. xciv, 797 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, chronology, photographs, appendix, index. \$27.50.)

In what amounted to an acceptance speech, Andrew Johnson noted, in Nashville on June 9, 1864, that the Union (Republican) party had chosen a man from "one of the rebellious States" as its vice-presidential candidate. "Thus," Johnson went on, "the Union party declared its belief that the rebellious States are still in the Union, and that their loyal citizens are still citizens of the United States." But Tennessee was only a territory and not a state at all in the opinion of the Radical Republican Pennsylvania Congressman Thaddeus Stevens, who was sarcastic about the party's nominating a man from one of the "rebel provinces." Already the politicians, Johnson prominent among them, were foreshadowing in their wartime utterances the postwar conflict between president and Congress.

Glimpses such as this, of a president in the making, are among the chief rewards to be gained from the sixth volume of the Johnson papers, as also from its predecessors. Like the papers of Abraham Lincoln, however, those of Johnson throw no light on the much debated question whether Lincoln secretly maneuvered to get Johnson nominated as the southern and Democratic half of a "Union" ticket. Nor do these sources give evidence of Johnson's politicking for high office—except for such evidence as may be read between the lines. And they contain little about his personal and family life. The volume includes 130 letters from and about four times as many to him, besides speeches and miscellaneous documents of his. Only a few of his letters are addressed to his son Robert, only one to his wife, Eliza, and none at all to his son Charles, who died in 1863.

But if the materials reveal less than one would like to know about the private Johnson, they tell a good deal about the public man, not only the president-to-be but, even more, the military governor in actuality. The volume begins with him environed by difficulties and dangers in beleaguered Nashville; it ends with Tennessee definitely saved for the Union and with his own political prospects bright. The intervening pages show him defining as well as performing the duties of a military governor

and meanwhile transforming himself from a proslavery advocate to an emancipationist, though never to a proponent of equal rights for blacks. These pages also richly document the various aspects of wartime life in Tennessee: the disintegration of slavery, the problem of determining loyalty, the plight of refugees and war prisoners, and the effort to reestablish civilian government.

The editing continues to display the high qualities that have won it universal praise in the past. Informative but not excessive, the notes identify persons, correct errors, and clarify allusions. The full biographical introductions provide an admirable setting for the items reproduced. Indeed, when the series is completed, the volume introductions, taken together, may be expected to constitute the best Johnson biography yet published.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

RICHARD N. CURRENT

Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy. By Eric Foner. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. xii, 142 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, notes, index. \$14.95.)

The three essays in this volume were originally presented in 1982 as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures at Louisiana State University. In them Columbia history professor Eric Foner carries forward the interpretation of southern Reconstruction after the Civil War that he posited in his essay "Reconstruction and the Crisis of Free Labor," which appeared in his *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1980), and extends the powerful, sophisticated Marxist interpretation of Reconstruction articulated since the 1930s by such scholars as W. E. B. Dubois, Horace Mann Bond, David Montgomery, and Armstead Robinson.

Foner goes beyond traditional approaches by comparing the American Reconstruction experience with labor adjustment in the plantation societies of the West Indies after emancipation and southern and eastern Africa during the colonization era of the late nineteenth century. His assessments of the West Indian and African experience are based upon secondary sources; his

general discussion of "The Politics of Reconstruction" is based on both primary and secondary sources, while his final chapter, on the bitter strikes of 1876 in the Georgia and South Carolina rice-growing region, is based almost entirely on primary materials.

Foner concludes that everywhere the adjustment of labor relations involved bitter conflict over how resources would be distributed among economic classes. Plantation systems require coercive labor systems, he finds. This necessitates planter control of regional legal and political machinery, not only to sustain the authority of employers but to arrange the legal and economic system to preclude the potential labor force from pursuing alternative means of securing a living. Thus, in each region, planters sought to control the institutions of the state in order to maintain the plantation system, while laborers struggled to force the creation of an alternative in which they could exercise economic and social autonomy. In the end planters got pretty much their own way in most, but not all, the regions Foner discusses; but everywhere they had to concede something to their workers.

Viewed in a comparative context, southern Reconstruction appears a remarkably radical effort to restructure society. Nowhere else were workers given direct political power; nowhere else were they able to secure a dominant voice, even temporarily, in government; nowhere else, therefore, were they able to use the power of government to promote their own notions of economic relations, through direct legislation and, perhaps more important, through sympathetic administration of laws at the local level.

In his introduction Foner concedes the importance of race in the Reconstruction conflict, writing only that he does not intend to pursue it in these essays. In plantation societies, he writes, race and class are too closely entwined to give one precedence over another as organizing themes. But nonetheless from Foner's Marxist perspective it is plain that "the struggle over the labor of the emancipated slave [w]as the crucial issue of Reconstruction" (p. 5). It is that perception that has determined Foner's theses and directed his research. It is clear that in his present investigation of Reconstruction, he is developing the most thorough and sophisticated assessment of the labor-relations aspect of Reconstruction that we yet have. One need not be a Marxist to find

his evidence and insights compelling, even if one questions the conviction that economic class relations were the central issue of post-war southern life.

Deftly written in appropriately scholarly style, but unfortunately lacking a bibliography, this volume is "must reading" not only for students of the Civil War era, but all who cover that period as part of their teaching responsibilities.

Ohio State University

MICHAEL LES BENEDICT

Northernizing the South. By Richard N. Current. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983. x, 147 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

This published version of Richard N. Current's Lamar Memorial Lectures at Mercer University addresses the subject of northern efforts to Yankeeify the South and southern efforts to resist the same. Insofar as there is a thesis, it is that self-conscious southernism has developed largely in response to perceived fears of northernization. Having lived in the South now for over twenty years, Current no longer believes the cultural roots of southern distinctiveness reach very deep.

Northernizing the South covers a lot of historical ground, from the founding of the Republic down to the present time. Current understandably dwells most on the period of sectional conflict: the territorial crisis over slavery, the Civil War, and the first Reconstruction. He nicely recounts how competing sectional stereotypes fed on one another. Mounting southern fears of northernization intensified self-conscious southernism, which in turn stimulated anew the northernization impulse, chiefly on the part of Republicans. Northern Democrats were indifferent, if not hostile, to attempts at Yankeeifying the South.

The apogee of this spiralling sectionalism came during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Now southern resistance to northernization took the form of separate nationhood. In response Yankeeification escalated into emancipation, and then radical Reconstruction. But save for the abolition of slavery, the institutional barriers within the South to northernization were left intact— the plantation system. Northernizers settled for a program

of black suffrage and northern immigration. But Yankee settlers who stayed the course usually became avid converts to southernism. And planter resistance to black political equality was so fierce as to cause Yankeeifiers to abandon the field for nearly seventy-five years. (Or did they merely forsake their political methods for economic ones, a possibility Current overlooks?)

The last of Current's three chapters puzzles over the fate of southernism since Reconstruction. Among other things, he discusses the convergence of southernism with the jingoistic Americanism of the early Jim Crow era, the reaction of the Agrarians to northern cultural condescension, and the recent efforts by some southern historians to fashion an ethnic identity for their compatriots.

Lucidly written, *Northernizing the South* is perhaps too brief to do full justice to its vast subject.

Tulane University

LAWRENCE N. POWELL

This Land, This South. By Albert E. Cowdry. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983. xii, 236 pp. Editor's preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$23.00.)

This is the story of the long interaction between man, land, and climate in the American South. More appropriately it is a study of the encounter between a particular subculture and a particular environment. It is not only a tale of soil erosion and depletion of such basic resources as forests and wildlife but, through its many endemic diseases, human energy as well. It also includes a wide consideration of the more enchanting search for wisdom and knowledge to combat these many-faceted ills.

Ancient and geological forces created the South's landscape, but human forces have been reshaping it since long before historical times. The author maintains that the southern Indians were by no means the natural ecologists of myth; they changed their environment by such practices as woods-burning, which helped to create the long leaf pine forests. European immigrants, particularly those from England, accelerated such patterns. Considering the environment a commodity, they exercised through

greed and ignorance a great toll on the land and on future generations. Beginning as early as the sixteenth century there was a decline in the quantity and the quality of soil, water, forests, and wildlife. Likewise diseases brought from Europe and Africa found a warm and hospitable reception in the South with disastrous consequences to white settlers, their slaves, and the Indians. Malaria, yellow fever, and hookworm eroded human energy and shortened the life span. Mortality of early settlers in Louisiana was equal to that of Jamestown.

The author maintains that the southern crop which wrought most damage to the soil was not cotton but the more abundant crop, corn. At the same time industrial impacts on the section's environment were of small account. In 1890, for example, the South's entire industrial production was worth less than one-half that of New York. Yet the agricultural, forest, and extractive industries were another matter. He points out that the era of "triumphant monoculture" and the flowering of the Cotton Kingdom occurred during the Gilded Age rather than in the period of the Old South. It was in the twentieth century that more effective efforts were begun to repair the damage done by human folly, to conserve forests, soil, and wildlife, and to improve medicine and to inaugurate scientific flood control. This happier phase of his story hopefully has not yet ended.

Forestry has been called "the center-piece" of the region's environmental history during the Gilded Age when efforts moved from the reservation of forest lands to their exploitation, and finally to the beginnings of scientific forestry in the United States. With the last came a change in the human perception of the forest from commodity to renewable resource.

Reclamation and flood control began in the Mississippi alluvial valley as a necessary solution to a local problem. By 1879 it had become a federal commitment, but engineers could not agree on how it should be done. The construction of levees proved not to be the solution proclaimed for it, for cutting off the river's normal flood plain caused flood heights to rise accordingly.

Just as the South learned to restrain the Mississippi, it learned also to restrain the boll weevil but not to destroy it completely. The rampage of the parasite was more of a regional calamity than any other event in the South's economic history. The combina-

tion of weevil with erosion on the hilly land of the Piedmont was catastrophic in its results. Yet the Cotton Kingdom managed to survive and to grow until New Deal programs helped to achieve a revolution in the nature of southern farming. This revolution exacted grave costs in suffering from the poorest workers in the land, but it brought forth new successor crops such as the soybean.

After World War II mechanization came slowly to the South's farms. The section's endemic diseases went into practical oblivion as hookworm and pellagra became curiosities. Diet became richer and more varied. The deer and the beaver returned to their old habitats, and in some communities are now considered as nuisances. The South's sophistication in forestry is probably unsurpassed anywhere else in the world.

The evidence which the author uses in constructing this fascinating story is both abundant and sometimes spotty. The nature of the narrative also presumes some degree of speculation, particularly when one treats the landscape as an historical document and recites the history of certain species of animals. However, as a study which explores man's cumulative impact on the southern landscape and the latter's impact on man it probably has no parallel. Despite a few long and involved sentences, the book is beautifully written and easily read. It should be on every historian's bookshelf.

Lockerly Arboretum Foundation
Milledgeville, Georgia

JAMES C. BONNER

Now That The Buffalo's Gone: A Study of Today's American Indians. By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. xv, 300 pp. Preface, photographs, bibliography, index. \$15.95.)

While much attention has been given to Indians of the frontier era, Alvin M. Josephy attempts to rectify this situation by this book on recent Native Americans. Each chapter examines a different theme, using a particular tribe as a case study. Josephy writes well, and his interpretations are well argued. Nevertheless, the first third of the book hardly touches on the twentieth cen-

tury. In a book about "today's" Indians, too much space is devoted to the colonial era.

In the first chapter, for example, Josephy examines the Seminoles to demonstrate the longstanding Indian will to endure. He writes movingly of the Florida Indians' aboriginal cultures and their resistance to the Spanish, and also argues that there is a significant connection between pre-Columbian Florida natives and the later immigrants who became the Seminoles. This is a good summary of early Florida Indian history, but there are only three pages on the post-1800 period. The author ignores the works of scholars like Harry Kersey, which do show the Seminoles' will to endure over the last century.

Even stranger is the chapter on the theme of white racial stereotypes about Indians. Rather than use any number of examples of stereotyping from recent eras, this chapter bogs down in a detailed account of the 1637 Pequot War. While not disagreeing with Josephy's conclusions, one wonders why he included this chapter instead of devoting more space to New England Indians in the twentieth century.

Chapter three analyzes the deep spiritual basis of Indian culture, by focusing on the Pueblos. After an excellent beginning on the destructive impact of Christian missionaries, Josephy again lapses into an account of the 1680 Pueblo revolt that needs condensing. But once he gets past 1900, the narrative becomes fascinating. The author demonstrates the intense spiritual basis of Taos Pueblo attachment to Blue Lake, showing that this firm grounding kept them fighting for sixty years, against great odds, to get their sacred lands finally returned to them. By chapter four, Josephy is firmly within the scope of his topic, writing on recent Indians' struggle to retain their lands. With a focus on the Seneca resistance to the flooding of their reservation by the United States Army Corps of Engineers, he shows that even though they lost, the Kinzua Dam controversy sparked numerous other tribes to resist. Likewise, Josephy uses the Paiute effort to save Pyramid Lake as an indicator of increasing Indian resistance. The federal government diverted most of the Paiutes' water to neighboring whites, and shamelessly abdicated its responsibility to protect Indian interests. Only after the Paiutes sought outside legal help and began their own court battles did they manage to protect their water rights.

Josephy next analyzes the reassertion of native fishing and hunting rights by attention to the 1960s protests of Washington state Indians. This chapter effectively shows the tangled twists and turns of protracted court battles which have become so important to twentieth-century Indians.

Finally, Josephy uses the Sioux as a case study of the colonial relationship that tribal governments exist in today. He offers a scathing critique of the governments set up under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. By establishing unfamiliar white-type governments that in some cases undercut continuing traditional forms of government, and by retaining real decision-making power in the Interior Department, such governments ensured white control of reservation resources. Many Indians refused to participate in such shams, thus further factionalizing tribes and creating power-politics cliques. He correctly notes that grassroots protests like the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation were revolts against these oppressive non-representative governments.

For the reader who sticks with this book, the case studies are excellently presented. But the first third of the book needs severe condensing, so that more attention could be paid to issues like allotment, ethnic persistence with acculturation, and Maine and Alaska native land claims.

University of Cincinnati

WALTER L. WILLIAMS

A Southern Rebel, The Life and Times of Aubrey Willis Williams, 1890-1965. By John A. Salmond. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983. xii, 337 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Aubrey Williams grew up poor in Birmingham, Alabama, and he never forgot his roots. His father's alcoholism and irresponsibility was balanced by his mother's dreams and willingness to sacrifice. She bequeathed him a strong religious faith which was one source of his abiding liberalism. In time the Presbyterian ministerial student became a Unitarian social worker, but he carried the ethical principles of Jesus throughout his life.

He made his major contribution to the quality of American life during the 1930s. As Harry Hopkins's chief administrative

aide, he helped chart New Deal relief policy. As relief administrator for the Southwest, Williams demonstrated a strong populist commitment, but he also proved to be a capable administrator who worked hard to eliminate petty state and local politics from the administration of relief. His belief in work relief rather than the dole corresponded to the view of Hopkins, and reinforced the New Deal preference for indirect relief. As the deputy administrator of the WPA, and later as director of the NYA, Williams sought to involve blacks fully not only in the benefits of government programs, but in their administration as well.

Unfortunately, Williams's Presbyterian heritage did not serve him so well in some ways. His moral commitments led not only to courageous stands for civil rights and civil liberties, but also caused him to eschew compromise and to judge his allies by a harsh standard. In time he condemned Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Martin Luther King, Jr., and John F. Kennedy for their moral compromises. Although the author attributes Williams's growing isolation to the red-baiting and smears of the McCarthy era, one suspects that his friends deserted Williams at least partly because of his dogmatism and his sense of moral superiority.

In many ways this is a very sad book. Williams, whose career after 1945 was devoted primarily to the cause of civil rights, saw many of his dreams of a biracial society disappear. And he could not accept that many liberals as committed as he was could nonetheless disagree honorably with him on strategy. He also suffered the fate of many another southern racial liberal, when congressmen who had been his allies in the dark days of the relief programs in the early 1930s later viciously attacked his racial iconoclasm and denied him the directorship of first the WPA and later the REA. An even worse fate awaited him in the early 1950s when he was investigated by Senator Eastland's Internal Security Committee and accused of being a Communist. This smear destroyed his Montgomery printing business and nearly ended his marriage because of his wife's desperate desire to leave Montgomery. Ultimately, the pressure and ostracism became too great, and he left Alabama for Washington, D. C., where he ended his days in misery and bitterness.

Relieving this tragic story of a prophet without honor in his own land is Williams's courage and the support of so many like-minded Southerners. People such as Virginia and Clifford Durr,

Gould Beech, Florida's liberal Senator Claude Pepper, Alabama's Lister Hill, and especially Lyndon Johnson gave him unwavering support. The relationship with Johnson somewhat balances Robert Caro's devastating biography of L.B.J. by showing that Johnson could prove a loyal friend to those he really cared for, ignoring red-baiting and smears which frightened other liberals.

Salmond's biography sinks into excessive detail and occasional repetition. But it is impressively researched and balanced in judgment. Any American who wants to understand how painful and slow has been the nation's progress toward justice would do well to read this book.

Auburn University

J. WAYNE FLYNT

BOOK NOTES

Clermont: Gem of the Hills, a History of Clermont, Florida, and Its Neighboring Communities, was written by Miriam Johnson and Rosemary Young to help celebrate Clermont's centennial. The first permanent settler in the part of South Lake County called "the Clermont area" was James Anderson from Georgia, who located near Kirkland Lake in 1853. Others soon followed, arriving by horse and wagon. However, in the 1880s it became possible to travel by steamboat from Jacksonville via the St. Johns and Oklawaha rivers to Leesburg and Yalaha, and then by oxcart or horse and wagon overland to Minneola. Minneola and Mohawa are two of the neighboring communities described in the book. Clermont was incorporated in 1891. Until a city hall was completed, the law offices of William A. House at the corner of Seventh and Minneola Avenue served as the meeting place for the aldermen and city officials. *Clermont: Gem of the Hills*, includes information about pioneer settlers, schools, businesses, recreational facilities, churches, newspapers, hotels, social and civic organizations, railroads, cultural institutions, and government activities. Nine chapters trace the chronological history of Clermont; another deals with the history of the black community and its leaders. Pictures and statistical data from early census records make a good reference for genealogists. Order from Miriam Johnson, 1459 Bowman Street, Clermont, FL 32711; the price is \$15.00, plus \$1.00 for mailing.

Bolles is one of the best known private schools in Jacksonville and the South. It was named for Richard J. Bolles, a wealthy silver miner who came to Florida in 1907 upon the invitation of Governor Napoleon B. Broward, and began purchasing Everglades swamp land at \$2.00 an acre. After his death in 1917, care of his estate went to Agnes Cain, his secretary. In 1926, at the time of the Florida boom, the San Jose Hotel opened in Jacksonville on the south side of the river. Agnes held the mortgage on the property and the following year she purchased it at a foreclosure sale. It operated for three years as the Florida Military Academy, and then, in 1932, the Bolles School was established. It was a military school under the supervision of Roger Painter

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(Agnes's husband). Education has always been the main emphasis. It has also maintained a record of excellence in athletics. Some of the leading business and political leaders of Jacksonville and the state are graduates of Bolles. It now admits both male and female students, many of whom have graduated as Merit Scholars. *Bolles, The Standard-Bearer* is by George W. Hallam, professor of English at Jacksonville University. His earlier book was *Riverside Remembered*. William P. Massey, a member of the Bolles faculty, was graphics director for *Bolles, The Standard-Bearer*. It sells for \$15.00 and may be ordered from Bolles, 7400 San Jose Boulevard, Jacksonville 32217.

Atlas of Florida is a collection of sectional maps of each county reproduced by Charles Rickenbach of Melbourne from an original map dating to 1925. Land surveys, roads, railroads, canals, and drainage are among the data included. The volume sells for \$15.95, order from Living Pictures, Inc., 2910 South Riverview Drive, Melbourne, FL 32901.

Revolutionary America, 1763-1789 is a two-volume bibliography published by the Library of Congress. The work contains 14,810 numbered entries listing more than 20,000 titles in the Library's collections on the American Revolutionary era. The volumes are organized into twelve topicochronological chapters. Chapter one lists research aids, including bibliographies, guides to eighteenth-century imprints and manuscript collections, maps, atlases, and geographical aids. Chapter two includes general studies of the period. Other chapters deal with Great Britain and the Empire, pre-Revolutionary events, frontier and early developments in the West, the War for Independence, Loyalists in the colonies and in exile, the drafting and ratification of the Constitution, and economic, social, and intellectual life in Revolutionary America. Chapter twelve lists works by and about 2,138 participants in the Revolution. There are a number of Florida references throughout. Approximately forty per cent of the entries are annotated. There is an extensive index, approximately 100,000 references to persons and places. There is also an essay by Ronald M. Gephart, the compiler, on the preservation and publication of documentary sources on the Revolution. *Revolutionary America, 1763-1789* may be ordered from the

Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402 (Stock #030-000-00125-7); the price is \$38.00.

The Ku Klux Klan, A Bibliography was compiled by Lenwood G. Davis and Janet L. Sims-Wood, with the assistance of Marsha L. Moore, and was published by Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut. In his foreword, Earl E. Throp describes the volume as "the most comprehensive bibliography ever compiled on one of the most vicious organizations in the world." This compilation differs from William H. Fisher's, *The Invisible Empire: A Bibliography of the Ku Klux Klan*, published in 1980. It includes more items and approximately seventy-five per cent of the citations are from newspapers. A selected list of books, pamphlets, general works, dissertations, theses, KKK materials, government documents, elected officials' speeches, and articles from *The Courier*, the Klan magazine, are included. Florida is represented with 189 citations under general works. Cited are articles which were published in the *New York Times*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, *Chicago Defender*, *Newsweek*, and other newspapers and periodicals. The authors' index and the statistical data are helpful. In a *Washington Post* article (November 2, 1930) the membership of the KKK for 1925 was detailed for each state. It showed Florida with 391,040 members. Only Texas (450,000) had a larger membership. The price of *The Ku Klux Klan: A Bibliography* is \$49.50.

The Plantation Mistress by Catherine Clinton is a study of the role, responsibilities, and position of white women in the South living on plantations which had twenty or more slaves. The study includes Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, but not Florida. The period is 1780-1834. Dr. Clinton collected facts and feelings from household inventories, female academy records, commonplace books, physicians' records, wills, diaries and memoirs, court cases, legislative petitions, census data, and other legal documents. The relationship of white men to their wives and to women other than their wives, both black and white, is one of the topics discussed. A woman had major responsibilities within the household on the plantation, both for her own family and

for the slaves. She was doctor, nurse, supervisor of household cleaning and food preparation, disciplinarian, and religious mentor; she was wife, mother, and hostess; and she played an important role in the social, educational, and religious life in the antebellum South. *Plantation Mistress, Women's World in the Old South* is a Pantheon Book, New York, publication, and it sells for \$7.95.

The first modern edition of *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839* was published in 1961. It has now been republished by University of Georgia Press in its Brown Thrasher Books Series. Fanny Kemble's journal is a classic study of life and the living conditions of both owners and slaves on a Georgia plantation in the Old South. She was an English actress who came to New York with her company in 1832. Two years later she married Pierce Mease Butler whose family owned a Georgia plantation and upwards of 700 slaves. It was one of the most productive farming operations in Georgia. Fanny was a woman with strong anti-slavery sympathies and when she persuaded her husband to allow her to journey to Georgia she saw slavery firsthand. She was appalled, and revealed her feelings both publicly and in her journal. Her attitudes toward the South, slavery, and her husband's way of life eventually led to a divorce and her resettlement in England. *The Journal* was published in 1863, first in London and then in New York. This new publication was edited by John Anthony Scott, who also edited the 1961 edition. His original introduction and a new one for this edition are included. The price is \$9.95.

In 1734 the Protestants expelled from Salzburg, Germany, came to Georgia and established a colony which they called Ebenezer. In the next few years three additional transports arrived with German settlers. George Fenwick Jones has researched the colonial records of Georgia and the Missionary Archives of the Francke Foundation in Halle, East Germany, to get details on these colonists. His story of *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* lists the inhabitants of Ebenezer and its dependencies which should be of value to genealogists. *The Salzburger Saga* is a Brown Thrasher

original, published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens. The price is \$18.00.

The seventh annual Chancellor's Symposium, held in 1981 at the University of Mississippi, focused on the important scholarship of Professor Emory M. Thomas, one of the South's leading historians. The papers presented at that conference were edited for publication by Harry P. Owens and James J. Cooke, under the title *The Old South in the Crucible of War*. The essays are by Emory M. Thomas, Paul D. Escott, Lawrence N. Powell and Michael S. Wayne, Leon F. Litwack, Michael Barton, and Thomas B. Alexander. The paperback volume sells for \$7.50, and may be ordered from the University Press of Mississippi, Jackson.

In 1982 the Department of History and the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi sponsored its eighth annual Chancellor's Symposium. The topic, *Sex, Race, and the Role of the Woman in the South*, is the title of the volume, edited by Joanne Lee Hawks and Sheila L. Skemp and published by University Press of Mississippi. It includes the essays of Jean E. Friedman, Dolores Janiewski, Martha H. Swain, Sharon Harley, Anne Goodwyn Jones, and Anne Firor Scott. Their papers relate to "Women's History and the Revision of Southern History," "Southern Working Women," "The Public Role of Southern Working Women," "Black Women," and "The Ways in which Southern Literary Women have Portrayed Life in the South." The paperback sells for \$8.95.

The Seminole Seed, by Robert Newton Peck, is the story of Kirby Tree, son of a Seminole girl who died in childbirth. Kirby was raised by his Indian grandfather and his uncle, Little Man Tree. The world of the white man encroaches upon the life of the Seminole when construction of a country club begins near the swamp where the Indians live. Kirby becomes obsessed by tennis, and the club pro realizes that he can train him to become a champion. The climax of the book centers on the last day of the tournament. *Seminole Seed* was published by Pineapple Press, Box 314, Englewood, FL 33533, and it sells for \$16.95.

Another novel utilizing a Florida background is *Midnight Water*, by Geoffrey Norman. The action takes place in the Florida Panhandle. It was published by Dutton, New York, and sells for \$13.95.

The Atlanta Exposition Cookbook, compiled by Mrs. Henry Lumpkin Wilson, was first published in 1895 under the title *Tested Recipe Cook Book*. The Cotton States and International Exposition was held in Atlanta between September 18 and December 31, 1895, and women's activities were included. They featured exhibits, lectures, meetings of women's organizations from around the state and nation, and a demonstration kitchen, school, and kindergarden. This cookbook was also published. Darlene R. Roth, who has written the introduction to this new edition, notes that it is more than a cookbook; it is also a "document in social history." The recipes are from white kitchens, and the food was eaten in white homes, although the cooking was likely the work of black servants. Presumably, the stoves they used were wood-fired. The ice box was a common item at the time, but little else that the modern housewife uses was available. The women whose recipes are included were representatives of the "New Women" of the time. They were affluent and active in the social, philanthropic, religious, and political organizations in Atlanta and Georgia. *The Atlanta Exposition Cookbook* has been reprinted by the University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA, in its Brown Thrasher Books Series, and it sells for \$12.00.

A Guide to the History of Louisiana, edited by Light Townsend Cummins and Glen Jeansonne, is the first in a series of reference guides to state history and research. There will be a volume on Florida. Two types of articles are included in this Louisiana volume: historiographical essays which provide an overview of each chronological period from colonial times to the present, and descriptions of major archival and manuscript repositories in Louisiana. The volume is designed as a general reference for all interested in the history of Louisiana, especially those contemplating new research projects. Included is a description of the literature relating to blacks and women, oral history, urban New Orleans, and quantifications. Published by

Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, *A Guide to the History of Louisiana* sells for \$35.00.

The Other Side of the River, by Betsy Zeiss, was reviewed in the Book Notes section of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, April 1984. The book sells for \$18.95, plus tax, and \$1.00 for mailing and handling. The correct mailing address is 4707 S.E. 5th Avenue, Cape Coral, FL 33904.