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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

Los Sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition. By Ignacio Avellaneda. (Gainesville: P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida Libraries, 1990. ii, 104 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, tables, notes, index. \$18.50.)

Ignacio Avellaneda has provided scholars with a detailed portrayal of the survivors of the Hernando de Soto expedition through the present southeastern United States. His list of survivors is the most complete assembled to date, adding sixty-three names to the list of 194 previously assembled by John R. Swanton. But this work is much more than a mere listing of survivors. Avellaneda has added details about the lives of the participants in the expedition, including such biographical data as their places of birth, ages, occupations, and education.

While Swanton relied on the four narrative accounts of the expedition by Ranjel, Biedma, Elvas, and Garcilaso, Avellaneda built on this earlier work using microfilms and photostats of many previously unpublished documents on file at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. The subsequent biographical data were analyzed with interesting results. Avellaneda concludes (p. 74) that the typical conqueror was a twenty-four-year-old male Spaniard born either in Extremadura or Castilla. He was literate or at least knew how to sign his name. While most were commoners by birth, a few were hidalgos. Those who were not a military leader or an administrator had their chances of survival reduced to roughly 50 percent. Most of the survivors lived in Mexico or continued on to Peru.

There are all kinds of small gems of information. For example, several of the survivors mention (apparently in answer to a question) that de Soto had a fine tent made of Peruvian wool. Also of interest, at least two free blacks were members of the expedition.

The details mentioned in the short biographical sketches of the survivors suggest that there may be considerably more infor-

mation on the de Soto expedition in the documents that Avellaneda used. For example, in his sketch of Hernan Suarez de Maruelas (p. 54), Avellaneda notes that a probanza made by Suarez contains "interesting descriptions of some of the actions that took place in Florida during the de Soto expedition, especially around Mobila, Chicasa, and Tascalusa." Other bibliographic sketches suggest that further treasures of information lie in the documents. There is also the suggestion of a sixth chronicle of the de Soto expedition by Alvaro de la Torre (p. 56). If an additional account of the expedition could be found, it might assist scholars in unravelling a number of problems about the route and the native societies encountered.

My only disappointment with the book was the lack of references to the members of the de Soto expedition who later returned to the Southeast as members of the Tristan de Luna expedition of 1559. Perhaps this information simply is not available in Avellaneda's sources, or perhaps he did not consider it important in a book about the survivors of the de Soto expedition, certainly an understandable position.

This book is carefully researched and is an important contribution to our knowledge of early Spanish exploration of the New World. It is highly recommended.

University of South Alabama

MARVIN T. SMITH

Charles H. Jones, Journalist and Politician of the Gilded Age. By Thomas Graham. (Tallahassee: Florida A & M University Press, 1990. x, 207 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Charles Henry Jones—journalist, editor, publisher, and politician—made his mark among the second echelon of public figures in Gilded Age America. Born in Talbot County, Georgia, in 1848, Jones moved to New York following the Civil War to seek a career. He became, in his own words, a "hack literary writer" (p. 14). He moved to Florida in the winter of 1880-1881. Failing in an attempt to buy the *Daily Florida Union* in Jacksonville, Jones established the *Florida Daily Times*. In 1883, following the death of the former paper's owner, he merged the two into the *Florida Times-Union*.

The 1880s were years of great entrepreneurial opportunity in Florida for men like Hamilton Disston, Henry Flagler, and Henry Plant. In Jacksonville, William Barnett already had opened his bank, Wellington Cummer built his first saw mill, and Duncan Fletcher began his law practice. Jones provided the newspaper to celebrate growth in both the city and the state. By the time of his departure in 1887, Jones had become Florida's leading editor and political meddler. For the newspaper, he introduced wire-service coverage of national and international events, and he recruited correspondents from across the state to send him local news. On the editorial side, Jones followed the example of the *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, seeking to become "outspoken, fearless and independent" (p. 23) in support of good government and civic improvement.

Yet despite his good intentions to become an independent force in governmental affairs, Jones became deeply embroiled in politics. He helped select candidates for political office and too frequently provoked factional fights which enhanced partisan conflict, making the issues secondary. On the issues, Jones was a southern Democrat supporting low tariffs, limited government, and white supremacy. In Florida he advocated funding for public schools, a railroad regulatory commission, and the poll tax. He opposed lynching. By regional standards, Jones was a racial moderate who encouraged schooling and economic opportunities for blacks. James Weldon Johnson worked briefly for Jones at the *Times-Union* and remembered him favorably.

Jones's efforts to overturn Democratic party leadership in Duval County and to direct the state party prompted his critics to start a rival newspaper challenging his authority in Jacksonville and Florida. About this time, Jones became involved in organizing the American Newspaper Publishers Association nationally which led to an offer to become editor of the *Missouri Republican*, a once-prominent, but faltering, St. Louis newspaper. Jones sold the *Times-Union* to his Jacksonville antagonists and moved to the bigger arena. In Missouri, Jones again combined aggressive journalism with political machinations on the local, state, and national levels. He increasingly supported the West-South axis of protest politics against the gold standard, monopolists, and financial barons of the East. His major achievement was drafting the 1896 Democratic party platform in support of William Jennings Bryan. Ill health forced Jones

into semi-retirement the following year, and he remained in retirement until his death in 1913.

Jones was a workaholic, very bright, aggressive, egotistical, seemingly humorless, physically short, and bewhiskered. Besides his passion for journalism and politics, there seemed few interests in his life. Certainly he neglected his family. Culture, travel, religion, and other diversions of the era rarely are mentioned in connection with Jones's life, at least until Jones's health failed. Like many other Gilded Age entrepreneurs, Jones lived to work.

Professor Graham has produced a solid, scholarly, well-written biography. Periodically one gets bogged down in the political infighting in Florida or Missouri. Historians of American journalism may wish for greater attention to Jones's impact upon the major transformations taking place in that profession during the Gilded Age. Floridians will enjoy the three chapters on the Jones years in this state and wish for more, especially relating to the other major figures working here during his brief six years in Jacksonville. Jones's career, if not his full life, is well covered. Graham has brought us one "of the lesser-known figures . . . who did indeed help to shape the history of the late nineteenth century" (p. 162).

University of North Florida

JAMES B. CROOKS

Florida Portrait: A Pictorial History of Florida. By Jerrell Shofner. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1990. 255 pp. Prologue, illustrations, photographs, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The subtitle of a book which includes the words, "A Pictorial History," usually brings to mind a paste-up volume of tired, old pictures and a nondescript text, with a slick, enticing cover intended to lure a prospective holiday purchaser into a quick means of crossing off the list the name of a hard-to-please gift recipient who "likes history." This work, a reentry into the book-publishing field by the Florida Historical Society, happily does not fit that description.

This book does have the attractive visual appeal to be expected, but there is more. The time-worn photographs are

there, of necessity, but there are many “rarely or never before published.” And the text is carefully and accurately written by a leading, award-winning Florida historian, Jerrell Shofner, who possesses that too-frequently absent talent of being able to combine good writing with good history. Aside from a somewhat redundant tendency to overwork the participial phrases in beginning his sentences, the book reads well. It would be carping and petty to argue minor lapses, but one easily may conclude that Professor Shofner is a better historian than mathematician when he writes that, after Ponce de León sailed from Puerto Rico to present-day Florida “in early 1513,” he returned in 1521 after “nine years elapsed.”

A wide range of time is detailed in this single volume, from first Floridians through Spanish and English occupation, the American Civil War, politics, growth, World Wars, Space Age, tourism, and the outlook for the future. An adequate bibliography and index are included.

Special notice should be taken of the advertisers, *sine qua non*, whose advertisements in the back of the book were low-key, following historical themes concerning their business endeavors. The Pineapple Press, Inc., has performed a creditable task in the manufacture of this book, which also deserves mention.

Even though Christmas, 1990, will have passed before publication of this review, *Florida Portrait* would be a good purchase for future gifts and for the reader of this review, who has proved by now that he or she, too, “likes history.”

Florida Museum of Natural History

WILLIAM M. GOZA

Thrills, Chills, & Spills - A Photographic History of Early Aviation on the World's Most Bizarre Airport - The Beach at Daytona Beach, Florida. By Dick and Yvonne Punnett. (New Smyrna Beach: Luthers, 1990. xv, 110 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, biographical references, index. \$17.95, paper.) Note: Mail distribution handled by Mrs. Yvonne Punnett, 115 Coquina Avenue, Ormond Beach, FL 32174-3303. Add \$2.00 for S & H. Fla. residents also add \$1.08 state sales tax.

Daytona Beach's long, wide beach, composed of hard-packed sand, made it a mecca for automobile and motorcycle

racing for many years. But few, except the most ancient locals or aviators, know that as one of the world's best natural airports it was used heavily by pioneer aviators. *Thrills, Chills, & Spills* revives those memories and, in the process, transcends the usual scope of a local aviation history, for this book also should appeal to anyone interested in aviation history nationwide. There is another appeal considering the odd nature of a beach airport. It was used by automobiles, bathers, bicycles, and airplanes all at the same time, and the results of this strange jumble forms the basis of colorful anecdotes. The beach airport was indeed "bizarre"!

Dick Punnett wrote the text. He is the author of eight fiction books for children, but in *Thrills, Chills, & Spills* he demonstrates that he also has a knack for non-fiction creativity. By informalizing and humanizing the traits of his subjects, he entertains and captures his readers, at the same time delivering to them in an interesting manner the history he has to relate.

The Punnetts are meticulous researchers. They have studiously uncovered the early Daytona Beach story from both area and national sources, including interviews with early pilots and their descendents located all over the eastern United States. They also have located remarkably clear photographs of virtually every action, most of which will be completely new to present-day viewers. They will see what are probably the earliest surviving aerial photographs taken in Florida. The intriguing series of crash photographs clearly buttresses the choice of the title *Thrills, Chills, & Spills*. Every page contains a photograph or illustration. The eleven-inch wide pages allow the photographs to be of generous size, and they are well captioned.

The book also reveals that the beach was used by early aircraft designers as an ideal proving ground for aircraft testing. The world's first twin-engine airplane, flight-tested on the beach in 1910, is pictured in a photograph published for the first time. Several flying records also were set on this beach. Additionally, there is extensive coverage of the first woman to fly in Florida, Ruth Bancroft Law, the fifth woman to receive a pilot's license in the United States. She made her first flight from Daytona Beach in January 1913, and she also was the first woman to loop an airplane, performing the feat above the beach December 17, 1915. Other nationally famous pilots who flew from this beach were J. A. D. McCurdy, Clarence Chamberlin, Charles K.

Hamilton, Glenn Messer, William Brock, C. B. D. Collyer, and Daytona's own Ervin Ballough. The admired and respected Bill Lindley was based there from 1919 to 1930 and was in the midst of most of the action.

Thrills, Chills, & Spills breaks new ground in Florida aviation history. In my opinion, no other Florida city has produced a local aviation pictorial history that can match this one. The book's excellent physical layout, lively and informal text, and snappy captions make it an ideal model for anyone contemplating the production of a local photographic aviation history.

Jacksonville, Florida

JOHN P. INGLE, JR.

Florida Lighthouses. By Kevin M. McCarthy. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1990. 134 pp. Introduction, maps, table, illustrations, index. \$19.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper.)

Great American Lighthouses. By F. Ross Holland, Jr. (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1989. 346 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, photographic sources, index. \$16.95 paper.)

These two books on lighthouses cover the coastlines about as comprehensively as a casual reader with a special interest in Florida might desire.

Dr. McCarthy focuses on beacons in Florida individually, from Fernandina to Pensacola, providing historical background, sidelights on keepers and their families, literary references, and even ghost tales. His incisive text is enhanced by William L. Trotter's full-color paintings of each structure at its prime. And those wishing to visit any of the thirty sites in Florida will find detailed maps as well as written directions on how to reach them.

For a broader context on lighthouses generally, F. Ross Holland, Jr., traces development back to 300 B.C., when an open flame on the Tower at Pharos guided ships. It was fueled by wood, coal, bales of okum, and pitch. By the time Boston harbor beamed the first permanent light in the New World in 1716, oil lamps gave off the glow.

While Holland's volume delineates background on individual lighthouses coast to coast— and in Hawaii and Alaska as well— he concentrates only on those on, or eligible for, the Na-

tional Register of Historic Places. Thus, only twenty-two of Florida's sites are included, alphabetically, and they are split because of his sectional divisions into the Southeast and the Gulf of Mexico.

In his Florida book, McCarthy follows the coastline geographically from the Georgia line to the Keys, then northwestward to Pensacola. He personally visited every beacon he could reach, and he plumbed the National Archives for logbooks on all of them.

Some of the historical incidents relating to Florida's lighthouses are well known, such as the harrowing Second Seminole War ordeals of keepers besieged by Indians at Carysfort Reef and at Cape Florida; the role of Colonel Robert E. Lee in surveying Egmont Key at the mouth of Tampa Bay; and Lieutenant George E. Meade's activities in building innovative, storm-resistant structures in the Florida Keys. McCarthy also relates how the lights weathered or toppled in storms, sometimes aided rum-runners, and provided beams of hope to Cuban refugees. And he details how the presence of German submarines off the Florida coasts affected operations at several lighthouses during World War II.

McCarthy cites a number of literary references to Florida lighthouses—most numerous in Ernest Hemingway's 1947 novel, *To Have and Have Not*, and in his short story, "After the Storm" (1932). He apprises us also of James Fenimore Cooper's setting in his 1848 novel, *Jack Tier*, at Garden Key Lighthouse, and reminds us that Stephen Crane's *Open Boat* has a tie to the Ponce de Leon Inlet Lighthouse, then known as Mosquito Inlet. Lastly, Alexander Key's *Island Light* (1950) concerns Cape St. George Lighthouse at Apalachicola. *Florida Lighthouses* also tells of reputed ghosts at Key Largo's Carysfort Key Lighthouse and at Seahorse Key Lighthouse near Cedar Key.

With most lighthouses automated today, Ross Holland, Jr., asserts that the picturesque structures of the past serve little practical purpose. Smaller, lighter modern lights can beam just as well from a pole or a skeleton tower. Since *Great American Lighthouses* was published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Holland devotes a chapter to "Keeping the Lights" through restoration, conversion to other uses, and preserving them historically.

Tampa Tribune

LELAND M. HAWES, JR.

The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568. By Charles Hudson. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990. xii, 342 pp. Preface, photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, documents. \$39.95.)

Charles Hudson's study of the Juan Pardo expeditions will stand for many years as the premier scholarly account of an important episode in southern history. More than this, it is a model of a new genre of highly productive collaborations among cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, and linguists, focused upon current issues springing from the commemoration of the New World encounter.

This book's subject is the effort of Captain Juan Pardo to explore and pacify the interior of North America, starting from the Atlantic port town of Santa Elena in present-day South Carolina. Under orders from Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Pardo led two similar expeditions inland between 1566 and 1568. The first reached the foot of the Appalachians at the Indian town of Joara, where Pardo built and garrisoned a small fort. On the second expedition, Pardo retraced his steps and crossed the Appalachians into the Tennessee Valley, reaching territory controlled by the paramount chief of Coosa. Upon his return to Santa Elena, Pardo had built and garrisoned six small forts meant to defend the conquered territory.

As Hudson explains, the entire effort was a failure—yet another ill-conceived episode in a long string of Spanish misfortunes in La Florida beginning with Juan Ponce de León. Pardo's forts soon were overwhelmed by hostile Indians. From our vantage the mission seems quite absurd: he and his small force were instructed, among other duties, to establish a road to the silver mines in Zacatecas, in northwest Mexico. Such was the Spaniard's faulty geographical knowledge of the North American continent six decades after Columbus's discovery.

But to the modern student of Spanish-Indian encounters in southeastern North America, the documentary record left by the Pardo expeditions has great significance. This is largely due to the retrieval from obscurity of the so-called "Long Bandera" relation, which chronicles in obsessive detail the events of the second expedition. Nearly one-half of this book presents this and the other most pertinent documents in Spanish transcription, with carefully crafted English translations and annotations by Paul E. Hoffman. With the publication of this material the

Pardo expeditions take their rightful place alongside the better-known exploits of Narváez, de Soto, Luna, and Menéndez in the same region.

Among the fruits of Hudson's study are these: for the first time it is possible to map Pardo's itinerary onto the landscape of the Carolinas and Tennessee with some degree of confidence. Already this exercise has led to a reassessment of the passage of de Soto, who visited some of the same towns. Importantly, Hudson uses this material to reconstruct political dynamics within two of the most important complex societies in the native Southeast: Cofitachequi and Coosa. Here, too, are found clues to the early history of the Cherokees and Catawbias and to the ethnic identity of peoples heretofore known only through archaeology. For example, a persistent archaeological debate over the ethnic affinities of Dallas culture in the Tennessee Valley seemingly is settled by this evidence. The Dallas people in the sixteenth century largely were Koasati speakers and were not the ancestors of the later Cherokee in the same localities. Such grist for the mill of archaeological reconstruction is a major contribution.

The book introduces us to such phenomena as the female chiefs of Guatari, reminiscent of the Lade of Cofitachequi in de Soto's time. Concerning the behavior of the native nobility, Hudson constructs a series of "sociograms" showing patterns of visitation and tribute payment among native chiefs of the Piedmont. We observe long-distance alliances in action as the paramount chief of Coosa rallies his allies to oust Pardo in a coordinated ambush. Hudson is quite thorough in wringing from these documents every item of ethnographic importance they contain.

Historians interested in the Spanish colonization of North America will not be less well rewarded. These adventures yield important insights into the truly continental ambitions of Menéndez.

This book will attract critics, as it purveys a "route" to be debated, but there will be no doubt about its overall success. For the historian, for the cultural anthropologist, and for the archaeologist, seldom have the boundaries between our disciplines been so engagingly transgressed. Would that we all had such facility with the purview of our scholarly brethren.

University of Alabama

VERNON JAMES KNIGHT, JR.

A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800. By Timothy Silver. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. xii, 204 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$39.50 cloth; \$10.95 paper.)

In 1983, William Cronon published a remarkable book, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, which traced the environmental history of colonial New England. Synthesizing a variety of sources from humanistic and scientific disciplines, Cronon examined the environmental impact of Native Americans and Anglo-Americans on the north-eastern forests. Now, seven years later, Timothy Silver has produced a companion volume that examines the environmental impact of Native Americans, Anglo-Americans, and Afro-Americans on the southeastern forests.

Silver's and Cronon's books are examples of the exciting work that is taking place within the new subfield of environmental history. This field has become the meeting ground of historians, ecologists, archaeologists, geographers, agronomists, and even epidemiologists, who reconstruct past environments and who trace the changes that human activities produced in these environments. Given the recent awareness of ecological problems in today's world, environmental history promises to become one of the most popular and sophisticated interdisciplinary fields in American history.

Continuing the interdisciplinary approach of environmental history, Silver drew on publications from such disciplines as ecology, geology, climatology, pedology, forestry, agronomy, geography, ethnohistory, and archaeology, as well as such historical subfields as economic, social, and medical history to trace the evolution of the southeastern forests over a three-century period. After describing the natural setting of the Southeast, he treats the Native American cultural adaptations to the land and demonstrated their impact on the forests through periodic burning. When the first English settlers arrived in the seventeenth century, they found an open woodland that had been created and maintained by fire. Silver considers the environmental impact of the English colonists who attempted unsuccessfully to reproduce their Old World agricultural practices in the southeastern woodlands. Adopting Native American land-clear-

ing techniques and crops, the English settlers succeeded in adapting to the new land. In addition to learning from Native Americans, the Anglo-Americans also adapted the agricultural techniques of their West African slaves to the new environment. Although Anglo-Americans and their African slaves finally created successful economic adaptations, they also had a deleterious impact on the environment, deforesting the land, promoting soil erosion, and introducing European and African diseases to the southeastern woodlands.

Synthesizing primary and secondary sources to create a readable, analytical narrative, Silver makes a worthy contribution to the growing bibliography on environmental history. Yet, he overlooked many recent publications on southeastern agricultural history which would have strengthened his work. In addition, he ignored Florida, which was an English colony from 1763 to 1783, and which attracted Anglo-American settlers during the Spanish colonial interlude in the late eighteenth century. Despite these flaws, however, Silver's text should prove useful to historians and other scholars who are researching southeastern environmental and cultural history.

Washington, DC

JOHN S. OTTO

The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal. By James H. Merrell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. xv, 381 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, photographs, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$32.50.)

James Merrell's examination of Catawba survival against overwhelming odds reconstructs a lost world, tracing Catawba patterns of existence during the three centuries after their encounter with Spanish Europeans. That these Piedmont residents survived testifies to their amazing resilience. That Professor Merrell has been able to recapture their universe from the documents, reflects not only his scholarly ability, but also his patience, diligence, and creativity. He has reexamined the sources, reading between the lines to find and delineate the Catawbas' expanded universe. Most assuredly, he has succeeded in adopting the "actors' point of view" (xi).

Faced with European intrusion, the Catawbas had several choices: resistance, relocation, submission, or coexistence. Largely eschewing confrontation, the Catawba peoples combined variations of coexistence and relocation. At first, argues the author, the Catawbas successfully manipulated the newcomers' desire for profit. Ultimately, whether trade was a "bond of peace" (as Merrell suggests in a 1989 essay) or a shackle of war, the Catawbas became dependent on manufactured goods. Despite their dependencies and the catastrophic impact of both disease and "demon rum," somehow the Catawbas SURVIVED, defying repeated predictions of their ruin.

Through Merrell's efforts, we meet not only Catawbas in general, but also memorable individuals such as Enoe Will, King Hagler, Peter Harris, and Sally New River. Their names alone suggest the powerful forces reshaping Catawba life. Enoe Will's dilemma comments as powerfully about marginality as Logan's plight; while Logan's peers only mocked, Will's threatened to poison him. In microcosm Enoe Will's problems plagued his nation throughout its existence. Trying to remain untouched by European culture seemed shortsighted, while accommodation might bring condemnation from neighboring traditionalists. Unfortunately, the Catawba always would be denied full admission to the society from which they borrowed. Evidently their own color blindness did not prepare them for the ethnocentrism of their neighbors, who would always look down on them, no matter how much the Catawbas acculturated.

Thanks to the author's retelling of the story, the Catawbas no longer appear as pawns, but have become active participants who pattern the trade according to their own wishes, demanding the alcohol which they desire. So described as conscious decision makers, they cease to be victims. Perhaps their most fortunate choice, which may have been more necessity than decision, was to back South Carolina's rebellion against Great Britain. No single act could have established their credibility or prolonged their survival. Native peoples who chose the British side were forever condemned, stripped of pride and place by the syllogism of victory: the losers lose spoils; the spoils are land; therefore, the losers lose their lands.

Truly, Merrell's prizewinning volume complements the earlier works of Douglas Brown, Stephen Baker, and Charles Hudson. Of course he draws from their combined achievements in

the fields of history, archaeology, anthropology, and ethnohistory. Thus armed, he adds his own creative vision to portray the Catawbas new world, not simply recounting the recorded past from literary or physical evidence but re-creating how the Catawbas chose to act in the face of the choices presented them.

Students of Florida history will be interested in Merrell's model study because of the clear similarities between the experiences of the Catawbas and the Seminoles. The relocations and cultural adaptations of the Seminoles, so aptly described by Charles Fairbanks and others, parallel in many ways the resilience and persistence of the Catawbas.

It is not a truism to describe this study as a scholarly paradigm. At the same time that we anticipate future works from James Merrell, other researchers should adopt his chart for exploring additional new worlds of the native American universe.

Marietta College

JAMES H. O'DONNELL III

Creek Indian History: A Historical Narrative of the Genealogy, Traditions and Downfall of the Ispocoga or Creek Indian Tribe of Indians. By George Stiggins. Introduction and notes by William Stokes Wyman. Edited by Virginia Pounds Brown. (Birmingham: Birmingham Public Library Press, 1989. 176 pp. Editor's introduction, Wyman's introduction, Wyman's and editor's notes, works cited in Wyman's notes, index. \$24.95.)

Two introductions take up twenty pages of this handsome small volume, followed by 113 pages of George Stiggins's *Historical Narrative*, followed by thirty-three pages of notes on Stiggins's narrative prepared by William Stokes Wyman. Stiggins (1788-1845), half white and half Natchez, one of the tribe, wrote his history sometime in the 1830s. Although never published before, his work has been used by scholars. The manuscript which they used is in the Draper Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

William Stokes Wyman was important at the University of Alabama for fifty-six years, more than once in that time its president. He prepared his notes, included here, for a printing of Stiggins's *History* early in this century, but it never appeared.

Dates and other particulars which Stiggins left out have been added. Wyman concludes that Stiggins had little understanding of Creek beliefs, having himself lived mostly in white society. Stiggins's penchant clearly is white. He finds commendable Benjamin Hawkins's strategy to tame the "wild savage" and make of him a farmer. Tecumseh's attempt to draw all the Indians into a coalition to expel the white man from their land came from "mad motives." Stiggins was part of the white force expecting to defend Fort Mims, but he was absent on August 31, 1813, when hostile Creeks slaughtered the defenders.

Stiggins identifies seven tribes, speaking several different languages, that make up the Creek amalgam. Later scholars list as many as eleven tribes. He starts his history with the tribal myths of their origins. Long after these origins, prophets like Paddy Walsh (Welch), Josiah Francis, and Captain Isaacs lured the Creeks away from reason, and brought on a civil war, the Creek War of 1813-1814. At that event, Stiggins ends his narrative. His figures on numbers involved and casualties are the most reliable of all. Wars among Indians, he writes, were wars of extermination; it was honorable to kill and scalp women and children.

Stiggins describes the Creek government as a tyrannical oligarchy. James Adair, and later scholars, have modified this interpretation. Also, Stiggins's description of the place of women and the role of marriage differs from some other competent observers. His is the romantic view of William Weatherford, the Red Eagle, who was his brother-in-law. It is useful to have this contemporary account of the Creeks accessible in print.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON

Slave Law in the Americas. By Alan Watson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. xv, 179 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, index. \$25.00.)

Alan Watson, professor of law at the University of Georgia, is editor and chief translator of the *Digest of Justinian* and author of significant books, especially *The Making of the Civil Law* (1981),

Roman Slave Law (1987), and *Failure of the Legal Imagination* (1988). This study of comparative slave law in the Americas continues his record of distinguished scholarship. The book is brief and rather summary, almost abrupt, in its presentation, but is unique, overcoming formidable problems of language mastery, and highly valuable.

Watson shows the impact of legal traditions— Roman, English, French, Iberian— upon the forms of slavery in the English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies of the New World. The significance of the differences between racist and non-racist slave societies is elucidated. He believes: “Just as greed, not sadism or racism, is the main cause of enslavement, so the main cause of systematic ill-treatment is greed, not sadism or racism” (p. 136). This is, I think, true. Still the racism that characterized New World slavery intensified the cruelty of its slavery as compared with that of ancient Roman slavery. It is likely, too, that the compulsions of a global, capitalist market serviced by the more recent slavery also intensified its antihuman features, though consideration of such questions is not within Watson’s purpose.

He rejects, correctly, I believe, notions of the milder quality of South American slavery as compared with that in the Caribbean and North America. The paradox present in human beings considered as property in law and yet being in fact human— and its impact upon that law— forms a considerable part of the book. In that connection, Robert Cover’s *Justice Accused* (1975), which elucidates that paradox and shows its impact upon jurisprudence in the United States, might well have been noticed. Historians, as well as those interested in the sources and administration of law, will not want to miss this book.

University of California, Berkeley

HERBERT APTHEKER

The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier. By Alan Gally. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. xx, 282 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, tables, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

This is the story of an eighteenth-century man who rose in the world by his ability as a planter and business man in South

Carolina and Georgia. Many others made a similar success, but perhaps not as great as Jonathan Bryan.

Bryan was born in 1708 at Port Royal, South Carolina, to a father who was a planter and Indian trader. As a youth Bryan was a scout and soldier under Oglethorpe and helped his father in the Indian trade. He early became well acquainted with the South Carolina-Georgia area and showed his ability to pick good land. He and his surveyor brother, Hugh, became rice planters in the 1730s.

Hugh and Jonathan came under George Whitefield's religious influence in the 1740s especially his ideas about Christianizing slaves. The First African Baptist Church was founded in Savannah in 1791 by Andrew Bryan, a Bryan slave. The author states incorrectly that this was the first Baptist church in Georgia.

Bryan began his political service in the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly in 1740. By the 1740s the Bryans had diversified their economic activities by engaging in planting, cattle raising, lumbering, transportation, and filling government contracts. Hugh died in 1753.

Jonathan received his first Georgia land grant in 1750, the year slavery was legalized in the colony, and moved there with his family and many slaves in 1752. He was appointed to its original royal council in 1754, not 1755 as Gallay states. Bryan, says Gallay, served best in political affairs under Governor Henry Ellis but ignores his relations with Governor James Wright who came in 1760. Bryan helped in Indian relations, as apparently the Creek Indians trusted him.

Bryan eventually owned some 32,000 acres in Georgia and South Carolina and some 250 slaves. Most of his operating plantations were along the Savannah River in both colonies. He took advantage of his position on the council to get grants of good land. He frequently bought and sold land, usually with excellent profits. Bryan's political activities declined as he concentrated more on planting and land dealings in the 1760s.

Bryan made no public announcement about the Stamp Act of 1765, but he presided over a Savannah meeting objecting to the Townshend Acts in 1769. For this he was suspended from the council by London authorities and presented with a piece of plate by the Union Society, a Savannah organization.

Bryan was elected to the Georgia Commons House of Assembly in 1770, not 1771 as Gally says, and served until July 1773, when he was expelled for nonattendance. In the Commons House he usually voted with the American-Rights group.

In 1773 Bryan secured a ninety-nine year lease from the Creek Indians for 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 acres of land in East Florida. This land, the Apalachee Old Fields, was secured at a small rent, apparently because of what Bryan promised the Creeks he would do there. The outbreak of war in 1775 prevented Bryan from doing anything with the Florida land.

Bryan held office in Georgia's early state government and was captured by the British soon after the fall of Savannah in 1778. He was detained on a prison ship off Long Island, New York, until November 1780. Back in Georgia in August 1781, he was made a member of the Executive Council, worked to reestablish himself, and died in March 1788.

The book gives considerable space to general happenings in South Carolina and Georgia, but it shows little connection of Bryan with these events. Several errors in dates and facts have been pointed out above. Gally attributes to this reviewer's *The American Revolution in Georgia* a statement which the book does not make. This reviewer feels that some of his opinions are doubtful, certainly not proven in the book.

This is the fullest treatment of Bryan thus far written and gives a good picture of his rise economically and politically. Unfortunately, it is marred by too many errors.

University of Georgia

KENNETH COLEMAN

A Rebel Came Home: The Diary and Letters of Floride Clemson, 1863-66. Edited by Ernest Lander and Charles McGee. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961; revised edition, 1989. xvi, 189 pp. Family tree, preface, prologue, photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$22.95.)

This revised edition contains an updated prologue, but its primary importance is the addition of a section of letters from the diarist Floride Clemson (1842-1871), written in 1863 and covering her visit to her father's northern relatives. The book's epilogue remains essentially unchanged, as are the appendices.

The old index, however, is more thorough and reliable. In all the reset pages typesetting errors are common, a fact perhaps explained by the large increase of titles from the South Carolina Press. After a decade of lean years, it is once again making welcome contributions; its titles are among the most interesting to be issued from an American press today. This reviewer, however, would advise more care in maintaining printing quality through attention to proofreading. To find this expensive undertaking carelessly marred in the last stage truly must be disheartening to everyone involved.

As to the importance of the diary itself, one will be impressed by its author's intelligence, toughness, and sensibleness. She was Calhoun's favorite granddaughter. Though she spent much of her youth in Europe and Washington, her sentiments are strongly southern. Though her northern-born father keeps her in Maryland during the war, she follows the southern news as best she can. She praises the Confederate soldiers' behavior in Pennsylvania. Her brother, to whom she is very close, becomes a Confederate enlistee. When at last back in Carolina in January 1865, she can write, "Today I heard for the first time, with joy, the prayers for the President, soldiers and people of the Confederacy." She is now twenty-three.

The diarist is devoted to her mother. She and her father, who often is absent on one ill-fated adventure or another, usually are at odds. She grieves over his displeasure with her, but carries on. She exhibits the Calhoun strength and seriousness. (When seven, she had taken Calhoun's motto for her own: "The Duties of Life Are Greater Than Life Itself.") Throughout the diary, there are many references to her grandfather, an ennobling, brooding spiritual presence in this young life. When Floride returns to Carolina, she joins her people in their darkest hour. "Charleston and Savannah are ground to the dust," she writes. "I pray God may have mercy on us, for they have none." In April, she notes, "We may expect raids now any day and God only knows how we are to bear it, for the country is starving now. . . . I suppose we will die of starvation." On May 1, 1865, she writes, "I had a good cry . . . on hearing that peace had been declared." Then come the Yankee bummers with their "knapsacks full of watches, trinkets, and rings," picking the starving country clean. She does not sleep for three nights at a time, with Yankees pilfering Pendleton as late as May 21, taking "much

silver." It is eye-opening that even so far off Sherman's path and over a month after Appomattox, the countryside in as remote an area as Pendleton was being combed and victimized. Of the half-starved ex-Confederate veterans she writes, "I feel so sorry for these exiles . . . in a conquered country, for such this is." She withstands her privations with a cool and grim ironic stance. Her pattern for behavior obviously is her aged grandmother Calhoun, dying of cancer, who takes the pillagings "very coolly, and I think improved under the excitement."

Into midsummer 1865 she reveals life on the homefront—off the path beaten by the historian. Of the new wave of Yankee conquerors she writes, "They say this is the worst secession hole they have seen, as they were not only treated with contempt but abuse, and swear vengeance against the whole community." She reports her brother's accounts of his years of imprisonment on "half-rations" at Johnson's Island, Sandusky, Ohio; of how "many died of starvation" there; and of how many Confederates actually were killed in cold blood by Yankee sentinels. But her brother continues that "the loss of hope was the most terrible thing" and that now, even worse, he "had no longer a country to defend."

In late July her church is forced to pray for the president and for the conquering government and "everyone has to take the oath. We are crushed indeed and humiliated." General Hampton visits them and declares, "Nothing kept him in this country but a desire to pay his debts." Then in October, in the teeth of adversity, the Charleston refugees in Pendleton manage to organize a great tournament of knights as in the old plantation days. Floride, as a "lady fair," wears red, white, and black, "the Confederate colors in mourning."

By late 1865 the country has become "unsafe" with theft and murder, and Floride is more angry and unvanquished than ever: "I had rather be kept as a territory than so disgraced" as to be "reconstructed" and forced back into the Union. By 1866 she increasingly tires of the privation and gloom and longs for her old friends, the glitter of Europe, and the social life of cities. She feels she is too young for her life to be over. She leaves Pendleton October 24, 1866—the day she writes her last diary entry—to make the rounds of her friends. She contracts pneumonia in the North in 1868, the illness from which she never recovers. She dies at the age of twenty-nine.

This diary is important for its details of domestic life during 1865 and 1866, for how it was to be a southern sympathizer outside one's country, and for its record of the Calhoun legacy as passed to his children and grandchildren. It is yet another indication of the southern woman's unvanquished spirit in the war, a story that lends credence to Sherman's famous quotation that he would bring all proud Carolina ladies to the washtub because it was they who kept the war going and most fiercely supported it. Floride Clemson clearly exemplifies this trait.

The misogyny of the Federal troops disturbingly shows in the overwhelming number of eyewitness accounts of the burning of the dwelling houses in Carolina, where women were singled out for verbal and physical abuse, especially black women who, on several documented occasions, were raped and murdered. At the least, gold earrings were torn from ears, clothes spoiled, beds and bedding if not burned, then urinated upon. It is a sad, little-told story of the war on civilians; and Floride's account, while not so sensational, runs parallel to the more tragic events of these years. A root-source of the legacy of southern bitterness clearly is pinpointed in this valuable diary from the homefront of a world that was indeed "being kicked to pieces" before civilian eyes.

University of Georgia

JAMES E. KIBLER, JR.

Civil War Soldiers. By Reid Mitchell. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989. xii, 274 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$8.95 paper.)

To the people of nineteenth-century America, the elephant was such an awesome sight that it evoked in those who saw it for the first time a wide spectrum of reaction, from abject terror to obsessive fascination. This phenomenon easily was transferred into the phrase "going to see the elephant" to sum up the effect of the impact of war upon the lives of private citizens caught up in the holocaust that was the American Civil War. Reid Mitchell, in a well-researched analysis of unpublished letters, diaries, and other primary sources, traces the impact of combat on the lives of ordinary soldiers, giving the reader an

insight into their experiences, motives, fears, concerns, and expectations; why they enlisted; how they saw their enemies; what they fought for; why they continued fighting; how they viewed slavery and blacks; and how they justified the damage they did.

Mitchell starts with the thesis that while both Union and Confederate soldiers shared common values, culture, and heritage, and had common reactions to events such as drill, discipline, and death, they did not share a common ideology. Both sides went to war in order to preserve their way of life against what they saw as an enemy that somehow was un-American, foreign, and savage. Some, by actually meeting the enemy in battle, hospitals, or prisoner-of-war camps, reevaluated their basic beliefs. The Union soldier invading the South expected to find a corrupt and foreign society and, seeing what they wanted to see, found "a region untidy and unindustrious, a white population untrustworthy, and a black population unworthy of freedom." They burned and pillaged at will. Southerners, handicapped by a host of disruptive internal problems such as states' rights, official inefficiency, incompetence, and corruption, nevertheless continued to fight because of loyalty to each other and their units, their distinctive world view, racial solidarity, and the fear of Yankee rule.

At the war's end, although one-tenth of the Union Army was black and while some Northerners were impressed with the fighting ability of such black units as the 54th Massachusetts, in general few accepted black equality and Northerners shirked their responsibility to ensure effective black citizenship. The South, at war's end, it appears, was ready to receive a more revolutionary reconstruction than eventually was imposed by northern leadership. The bitterness of defeat, however, gave rise to the consoling myth of the Lost Cause.

Civil War Soldiers offers further insight into the day-to-day experiences of the common soldier as portrayed by Bell Wiley's works, *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank*. Mitchell has done extensive research, utilizing the major collections of primary sources, and presents his findings in a lucidly written work that explores the human dimensions of war within the historical parameters of nineteenth-century America. Having "seen the elephant" at a different time and place, I can appreciate how well the author has captured the essence of the soldier's view of war.

Orange Park, Florida

WILLIAM NULTY

Bloody Roads South: The Wilderness to Cold Harbor, May-June, 1864.

By Noah Andre Trudeau. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1989. viii, 354 pp. Preface, author's note, illustrations, maps, prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, casualties, index. \$19.95.)

Noah Andre Trudeau begins his new book by recognizing the basic truth that the American Civil War was not decided in 1863. Not at the Pennsylvania crossroads of Gettysburg, not at the Mississippi River fortress of Vicksburg, not even at the Tennessee rail hub of Chattanooga was the war's outcome determined. "At the beginning of 1864, North and South stood in weary stalemate," writes Trudeau. "For the North to end the war, it had to cut even more deeply into the South's resources, both material and psychological. For the South to end the war, it had to stymie the North's plans and count upon a war-weary Northern home front to force the conflict to the peace table" (p. vii). Thus the war in 1864 resulted in two great campaigns, one in Virginia and the other in Georgia; campaigns designed to keep continuous and unrelenting pressure on the South—pressure which finally broke the Confederacy. Trudeau has selected the former, the bloody, dramatic Virginia campaign as the subject of his impressive and very readable study.

The prologue begins, not surprisingly, by setting Grant against Lee—the two generals usually touted as the war's greatest—contrasting their marked differences of appearance and style and making the most of the inherent drama of the situation. From this introduction the author proceeds quickly to the confusion and horror of the Battle of the Wilderness. The strength of his account is the human stories about soldiers on each side and of various ranks. Trudeau does achieve, as the dust-jacket blurb asserts, "a suspenseful, episodic you-are-there narrative," which is based upon reminiscences, letters, and diaries. Some of these are published here for the first time while others are recognizable immediately to those familiar with the literature on this part of the war. But whether well known or new, the author weaves the sources into a satisfying narrative of the bloody and burning Wilderness engagement.

The same quality of narrative is sustained as Trudeau moves on to the fighting that swirled for some ten days about the little known (until then) crossroads at Spotsylvania. Appropriately,

he gives special attention to Emory Upton's famous assault and, of course, to the even better-known (perhaps legendary is a more fitting term) Bloody Angle. Then the fighting again moves southeastward to the North Anna River and, finally, to the regrettable and tragic Union assault at Cold Harbor. Altogether, the author is dealing with some forty days of the bloodiest fighting of the Civil War.

The dramatic events recounted, whether involving the famous or the unknown, should be sufficient to satisfy any appetite, however demanding. There is, for example, General James Longstreet being seriously wounded by Confederate fire very close to the same location where, a year earlier, General Stonewall Jackson was mortally wounded, also by Confederate fire. There are the varying but familiar "Lee to the rear" stories, as the Rebel soldiers attempt to prevent their commander from recklessly exposing himself to enemy fire. There are, too, the strange, even weird, occurrences that always touch a few of the common soldiers in battle, like Union Sergeant William Chambers who, early on the morning of June 3 at Cold Harbor, announced to whatever comrades were within hearing that "This is my birthday. I wonder what kind of present I will receive?" About five minutes later a Confederate rifle ball hit him in the arm, hardly the type of present for which he had hoped. Later, on that same day, a Federal regiment, advancing toward an Alabama unit, simply faded away except for its color-bearer who, unaware that no one followed him, steadily moved forward toward the Rebel line. Finally, some of the Alabamians shouted, "Go back! Go back! We'll kill you!" At last, seeing his predicament, the color-bearer turned and began to walk back, deliberately, in the direction from which he had come, the Confederates cheering him as he proceeded.

Clearly, this book has many fine qualities. Its major weakness, in the eyes of this reviewer, is the lack of sufficient tactical analysis. In this respect, perhaps Trudeau did his best work with Emory Upton's May 10 assault. The description of the massive assault at Cold Harbor, on the other hand, is somewhat disappointing because of the lack of detailed and critical analysis. The same is true of the "Mule Shoe" salient and others. This book also needed more and better maps.

Nevertheless, the positive aspects of *Bloody Roads South* assure that it will take its place as one of the significant works on the

Virginia fighting in May and early June 1864. It deserves to be placed alongside Catton's *A Stillness at Appomattox*, Dowdey's *Lee's Last Campaign*, Foote's third volume of *The Civil War*, Scott's book on the Wilderness, and Matter's on Spotsylvania as one of the half dozen or so best books available on the bloody Eastern theater in the spring of 1864.

Auburn University

JAMES L. MCDONOUGH

Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism. By George C. Rable. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989. xv, 391 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography of manuscript collections, index. \$29.95.)

What is the place of war in American history? How did it affect soldiers or the average Americans on the homefront? Did gender make a difference? Were the changes it induced permanent or temporary, evolutionary or revolutionary? These are the profound questions that social and cultural historians have begun to ask about American wars. Professor Rable breaks important new ground with this major study of the attitudes, actions, and consequences of southern white women's roles. While focused on the war years, he has useful material on the antebellum and Reconstruction eras and includes a wide range of material dealing with plantation mistresses, yeoman farm wives, and poor white women.

Rable shows the South had not been especially backward regarding married women's property rights laws; they were passed in almost all states after 1812. In the chapter "Defenders of the Faith," he chides historians who exaggerated the extent of antislavery sentiment among southern women; there was precious little. The war for control of cities, towns, and farmlands hit the civilian women close to home. Many could testify to the effects of artillery fire upon their neighborhoods. Emma Holmes of Charleston told of "the sharp scream or whiz through the air, and they [the shells] sounded exactly as if coming over the houses." Holmes recalled her emotions during the first minutes of the battle, "I was startled and much excited, but not frightened, but it produced a very solemn feeling" (p. 163).

Gender did make a difference. Rable finds that, from the beginning, women were more likely than men to understand how disunion would affect their families. Women doubted that secession could take place without a war or that the ensuing conflict would be short or relatively painless (p. 46). Rable examines the petitions women sent to state governments seeking discharges for their menfolk. Of 536 cases, 404 women pleaded economic reasons, 193 warned about the soldiers' health, and 117 sought protection for the family. The Yankee invasion affected women most directly. Defensively banding together in the absence of most of the men, they sought to help each other feed their families after the farms and plantations had been pillaged and plundered. After the war, white women found it even harder than men to give up slavery and the benefits that the peculiar institution had brought to them.

Whatever political, social, and economic upheavals were caused by the war, there was no domestic revolution. In the emergency women assumed many "male" roles. Yet at all times they were clear that this aberration was produced out of necessity and would last only "for the duration."

This book reflects extensive research in all southern states, including Florida, and relies on previously unused archival sources. It is both a gripping narrative and an analytical investigation which weaves together the complexities of gender, class, and race in the South. It will become the standard resource on the status and roles of mid-nineteenth-century southern women.

United States Military Academy

D'ANN CAMPBELL

The Disappearing South? Studies in Regional Change and Continuity.

Edited by Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xii, 224 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, tables, postscript, notes, selected bibliography, contributors, index. \$29.95.)

There are two axes of debate in this volume: change and continuity and distinctiveness and convergence. Using the work of V. O. Key, and thus the political South of mid-century, as the

benchmark, the contributors to this volume find varying degrees of change and continuity in the contemporary South's political institutions and behavior. The theme of distinctiveness vs. convergence is addressed less openly but is implicit in the continuity-change dichotomy. Thus, to the extent that southern politics retain older patterns, they would seem to continue to diverge from the national mainstream; and, to the extent that they have been changing, they would seem thus to be entering into that mainstream. This collection of essays, most of them based on papers presented in 1986, concludes with the sensible observation that change and continuity cannot be separated and that patterns of both tendencies are intertwined. The book is less clear on the question of distinctiveness-convergence since some of the evidence presented suggests that persistent divergence in southern politics is associated with patterns of behavioral and institutional change.

Part I, "Southern-National Political Convergence," contains essays by political scientists that examine specific areas in which drastic change has propelled southern politics into the national mainstream. Thus, for example, Merle and Earl Black show that southern representation, which once was concentrated in a few Congressional committees, now is distributed more widely, reflecting the more diverse economic and social realities of the contemporary South. Essays on the behavior of political elites and grass roots activists show that movement into the Republican party in the South by these groups has been following the patterns of national party membership. Stephen H. Wainscott's discussion of the aftermath of school desegregation suggests an increasing convergence of southern white attitudes toward race and civil rights with those of northern whites.

The limits of the change-continuity dichotomy crop up in a contribution on the ideology of southern politics. An essay by Edward G. Carmines and Harold W. Stanley depicts an increasingly polarized South, as old-line Democrats join the GOP. This shift, the authors note, provides further evidence that the South has at long last achieved a coherent two-party system. In the South, however, the weakness of the labor-liberal "left" so skews the ideological spectrum that the rightward alignment of the South's two-party system remains distinctive.

The essays in Part II focus on continuity in southern politics. Douglas G. Feig and Lyman A. Kellstedt, in separate essays,

stress the continuing importance of evangelical religion. John Theilmann and Allen Wilhite emphasize labor leaders' belief in the continuingly conservative character of southern politics as a key factor in their unwillingness to commit substantial resources to southern organizing and political action. Essays by Robert P. Steed and Laurence W. Moreland on public opinion and race, and Thomas F. Eamon on North Carolina electoral behavior in the 1970s and 1980s demonstrate the enduring salience of race in the attitudes and voting behavior of white Southerners.

Most of the essays present detailed statistical data drawn from original research and from regional and national survey centers. All of the essays exhibit an implicitly functionalist perspective and largely ignore substantive questions relating to class. Gender is nowhere considered. Race, of course, cannot be avoided, but African Americans appear only as objects and not as an integral part of the political South. An eleven-page Selected Bibliography provides useful citations, particularly helpful for historians seeking entry into the political science literature.

University of Florida

ROBERT H. ZIEGER

Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture, 1940 to the Present. By David R. Goldfield. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990. xviii, 321 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, photographs, map, bibliographical essay, index. \$24.95.)

Even though race has ceased to be the central theme of southern history, it has remained a preoccupation of southern historians, who must now wrestle with the discontinuities of the regional experience that the dramatic eclipse of racism exposed two decades ago. Could Ulrich B. Phillips have been wrong all along? Or, despite the recalcitrance of geography, is there no longer any distinctiveness to the Dixieland in which generations took their stand to live and die? David R. Goldfield's exploration of the past half-century suggests one resolution of this dilemma. He acknowledges the historic hegemony and orthodoxy of white racism, but he also stresses the communitarian and religious resources within southern culture that not only enable black

activists to resist bigotry but also sanctioned the reconciliation that both races accomplished after the legal victories of egalitarianism. The sense of a common heritage and terrain eased the shock of this tectonic shift from the Bible Belt to the Sunbelt, as a rambunctious, beleaguered, put-up-your-dukes order became a modernized and urbanized society bifurcated as much by class as by race.

Consider as a final tableau the spectacle of George Wallace, after winning a third of the black vote in the final Democratic primary of his career, sipping tea and eating cakes with Jesse Jackson on the balcony of the governor's mansion. In any saga in which the ending is so wildly unpredictable, its historian is tempted to make the beginning more coherent and unchanging than actually it was. To this temptation Goldfield does not yield. His early chapters show how the ancien régime already was cracking, though wider fissures in the system of Jim Crow seemed scarcely imaginable even after the New Deal had reduced black rural dependency and the Second World War had opened Southerners to a cosmopolitanism that stigmatized the primitive dogmas of race. The emergence of the civil rights movement, of course, is central to this account of regional transformation and constitutes material that is most familiar to scholars (which may be why Goldfield devotes only about three of his eleven chapters to it). Though drawing on Christian dreams of redemption and "the beloved community," the movement also deliberately provoked some white violence to draw national attention to injustice; the interest of the mass media and the intervention of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations rightly are emphasized in *Black, White, and Southern*. The importance of the Nobel laureate who directed the most famous campaigns is acknowledged, but Martin Luther King, Jr., by no means dominates these pages, which give good weight to those states (Mississippi and the Carolinas, though not Florida) where his direct influence was slight. The final third of the book treats the paradox of the contemporary polity, in which the achievements of "black power" have not included the erosion of black poverty, which in rural areas has remained tenacious.

Goldfield claims that he wrote this book after realizing how little the undergraduates at UNC-Charlotte, where he teaches, knew about the traditional cruelties and irrationalities of white supremacy that once defined their own parents' lives. Drawing

upon the vast scholarly literature on southern race relations over the past five decades, *Black, White, and Southern* deserves to be appreciated as an introduction to the subject rather than as a fresh interpretation of it. This overview is better as an analysis of the events that shattered the etiquette of Jim Crow than as an anatomy of "southern culture," which mostly is described in the form of obiter dicta. Both the progeny and the students of that culture should find appealing the author's attitude, which resembles J. J. Gittes's in the film *The Two Jakes*: "I don't want to live in the past. I just don't want to lose it."

Brandeis University

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

Carnival, American Style: Mardi Gras at New Orleans and Mobile. By Samuel Kinser. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. xxi, 415 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, photographs, illustrations, afterword, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

Gulf coast carnivals have been written about by authors ranging from taxicab drivers to social scientists, and accounts have spanned forms from informal and impressionistic articles, through Arthur Hardy's annual official *Mardi Gras Guide*, to scholarly monographs. Samuel Kinser, a professor of history at Northern Illinois University, brings to the subject special perspectives and reaches fresh insights. A specialist in Renaissance and early-modern French history, Kinser is familiar with European versions of carnival and the conceptual approaches of different disciplines. He takes his readers beyond the paradigms provided by anthropologists Max Gluckman and Edmund Leach and sociologist Robert Da Matta, which view carnival as "a set of rituals of 'reversal' or 'inversion' which turn the everyday world upside down," to the more inclusive model provided by Mikhail Bakhtin in his work on medieval society, which emphasizes "the engulfing quality of the carnivalesque no less than its inversion character" (p. xv). A firm believer in primary research, Kinser has participated in carnivals on different continents and uses his personal experiences to read carnivals' symbols and gestures. Putting on the robe of the semiotician, Kinser discerns "neighborly, popular, elite, and official" cultural codes

and deciphers the signals sent out in masking, body painting, and throwing flour and trinkets, among other practices.

Kinser explores the impact of five crosscurrents on the origins, trends, and functions of Mardi Gras in Mobile and New Orleans. One, white society's winter festivities extending from Christmas to Lent. During the more clement season, and the lighter agricultural labor period of winter, planter and mercantile elites celebrated with banquets and balls. Masking and costuming provided contact between the sexes, races, and classes that otherwise would have been prohibited or restricted. Until the 1840s Mardi Gras was just one of many occasions, and Christmas and the Twelve Days were just as important as Carnival. Two, black society's adapting of African customs in order to preserve them. While white elites may have been motivated by Christian religious beliefs and seasonal business cycles in providing times and places for recreation, blacks utilized opportunities, like Sundays in Congo Square, to sing and dance, and maintain and adjust African traditions. Three, the Gulf Coast's proximity to and influence by Caribbean festivals. Slaves, free blacks, and whites brought ceremonial activities from Haiti, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Cuba to the Gulf Coast, where they were mixed and synthesized, and produced carnival figures such as the half-comic, half-threatening John Canoe. Fourth, the festive practices of Anglo-Americans migrating westward. Settlers to Alabama and Louisiana brought with them games and follies which acted as pressure valves for their tensions and fantasies. And finally, the commercialization of leisure time. Business and professional elites discovered that they could manage the pursuit of pleasure just as they administered their pursuit of profit. New Orleans began promoting itself in the early nineteenth century as *The City That Care Forgot*. In 1977 the Crescent City spent \$963,000 for advertising, police, sanitation, and other services as Carnival generated in two weeks \$50,000,000 in tourist business.

Carnival, American Style is based on a thorough excursion through secondary literature and contains copious illustrations of Mardi Gras invitations, advertisements, costumes, floats, parades, and balls from the nineteenth century through the twentieth. Kinser has culled his images, which include drawings done by Toan Le, from carnival bulletins and guidebooks, magazines and newspapers (primarily *Scribner's Monthly* and the

Mobile Weekly Register), and private collectors. Kinser filled in the visual gaps with commissioned work. Norman Magden's custom photographs from Mardi Gras in New Orleans in 1987 grace this volume.

There are other routes to learning about Carnival, besides trips through literature. Mardi Gras Indian tribes, such as the Wild Magnolias and Wild Tchoupitoulas, have joined with popular performers like "Willie Lee" Turbinton and the Neville Brothers to release on records chants, songs, and music. These popular records actually are audio resources which add to the tapes made earlier by Jelly Roll Morton and conserved in the Library of Congress. Filmmakers have captured constituencies and festivities in such movies as Maurice Martinez's *Black Indians of New Orleans* (1976), Les Blank's *Always For Pleasure* (1979), and Armand Ruhlman's *Fat Tuesday* (1981). And even Samuel Kinser acknowledges that nothing can duplicate the experience of actually being there. *Carnival, American Style* points the way for studies of other civic, ethnic, and commodity-based carnivals in Florida such as Tampa's La Verbena del Tabaco and Gasparilla Festival.

University of South Florida

ROBERT E. SNYDER

BOOK NOTES

Zora! Zora Neale Hurston: A Woman and Her Community was compiled and edited by N. Y. Nathiri, who has strong ties to Eatonville, Hurston's hometown. Nathiri, granddaughter of one of the community's early mayors, works closely with The Association to Preserve the Eatonville Community. This volume includes both previously published and new material on the community and Zora Neale Hurston. It provides information on the Hurston family and excerpts from a group interview with relatives—nieces and nephews—discussing their famous aunt. It traces the early history of Eatonville, believed to be the first incorporated town in the United States founded by blacks, and includes an essay by Alice Walker, the author of *The Color Purple*, who attended the first annual Zora Neale Hurston Festival of the Arts in January 1990. Many of the Hurston family pictures are printed here for the first time. *Zora!* was published by the Sentinel Communications Company, an affiliate of the *Orlando Sentinel*. It sells for \$24.95.

Annie, 1856-1928: A Lifetime of Letters is a collection of personal letters that trace the life of Annie Slade Brett of North Carolina and the lives of members of her family. She attended college in Murfreesboro and in 1881 married Dr. Benjamin Franklin Camp from Southhampton County, Virginia. The previous year Dr. Camp had moved with his two brothers to central Florida and established the community of Campville, fifteen miles east of Gainesville. They commenced a lumber manufacturing business, planted a citrus grove, and soon expanded their operations to include a brick plant, truck farming, and phosphate mining. The family moved to White Springs in 1896 where they erected a lumbering manufacturing plant and later established operations at Crystal River, Dunnellon, and Carrabelle. The earliest letter in the collection was written in 1856, and the last is one from Dr. Camp to his sister shortly after Annie's death in 1928. Most of the letters were written by Annie and her husband, father, sisters, and children. They describe their daily lives, activities, and views of the times in which they lived. A narrative connects the letters which further are amplified by notes at the end of

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each chapter. The volume was compiled by Franklin Camp Bacon in collaboration with John Council Camp. Photographs include one of the Camps' first home in Campville and near their place in White Springs. These houses remain in use as residences. Still active also is the Missionary Baptist Church that Dr. Camp built in White Springs. This book may be ordered from Frank Bacon, Publishing, 299 W. Lakeview Drive, N.E., Milledgeville, GA 31061. The price is \$22.50.

Tales of Old Brevard, by Georgiana Kjerulff, originally was published in 1970 and is volume two in the Local History Series of the Kellersberger Fund of the South Brevard Historical Society. It was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, October 1973, p. 186. The photographs are from the historical collection of Sterling Hawks, and the volume is illustrated by Katherine McLamb. The sketches are drawn from interviews, letters, journals, and unpublished manuscripts. This new edition sells for \$7.95, plus \$1.00 for postage. Order from the South Brevard Historical Society, Box 5847 FIT, Melbourne, FL 32901. The Society also will provide information about other available volumes in the Local History Series.

The Complete Guide to Life in Florida was compiled by Barbara Brumm LaFreniere and Edward F. LaFreniere. It provides information on environment, taxes, transportation, health care, major attractions, industries, education, weather, leisure activities, housing, population, and the cost of living in Florida. The information is presented for visitors and new and old-time residents. The *Guide* was published by Pineapple Press of Sarasota, and it sells for \$14.95.

Patchwork & Palmettos: Seminole-Miccosukee Folk Art Since 1820, by David M. Blackard, resulted from a 1990 exhibition sponsored by the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. The book examines the Seminole artistic tradition, past and present, and focuses on basketry, beework, silverwork, dollmaking, fingerweaving, appliquework, and patchwork. It lists and briefly describes the ninety-two objects included in the exhibition. There are many color and black and white photographs in the volume. It may be ordered from the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, P. O. Box 14043, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301; the price, \$13.95.

Colcorton was written in 1944 by Edith Pope of St. Augustine. Mrs. Pope's husband, State Senator Verle A. Pope, was an influential politician in Florida, and her father also was a state senator. Mrs. Pope, a friend of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, also wrote about rural Florida. Her book has been reprinted, with an introduction by Rita Mae Brown, by Penguin Books, New York, in its Plume American Women Writers series. The paperback sells for \$8.95.

Lakeland: A Pictorial History is by Hampton Dunn, president of the Florida Historical Society. It is a revised edition of Mr. Dunn's *Yesterday's Lakeland* which was published by the city of Lakeland in 1976 to celebrate the National Bicentennial. The narrative describes the history and growth of Lakeland from its nineteenth century origins to the present. The photographs also portray the changes in Lakeland from the 1880s, when the community looked like a western town with two-story buildings, wooden sidewalks, and unpaved streets. Lakeland is described as one of Florida's most beautiful cities. Mr. Dunn's original narrative is reprinted, and he has revised and expanded the pictorial section. *Lakeland* is published by the Donning Company and sells for \$25.00.

Miami Beach: Photographs of an American Dream presents photographs taken in 1970 by David Scheinbaum who teaches art at the College of Santa Fe, New Mexico. At the time the photographs were taken, the 1970s, the south Miami Beach area comprised one of the largest Jewish communities in the world. Constituting a majority of the population in the area, these individuals mainly were Jewish emigres from northern cities. Mr. Scheinbaum's camera captures their daily lives in Miami—praying, sunning themselves, playing cards, drinking coffee, snoozing, talking to their friends, and perhaps dreaming of days when they were younger, healthier, and more independent. Introducing the volume is an insightful essay, "Images of Miami Beach," by Stephen M. Fain, professor of education at Florida International University. *Miami Beach* was published by Florida International University Press, Miami. The clothback sells for \$26.95; the paper, \$15.95.

Cruisin', The Dry Tortugas Archives is a collection of descriptions of the Tortugas, "the eleven rocky islets," sighted by Ponce de León as he and his crew sailed past the southeastern tip of Florida in May 1513. He named the islands Les Tortugas, according to the records, because his sailors were able to capture many sea turtles there. The islands were later called the Dry Tortugas because of the scarcity of fresh water. They are located approximately seventy miles west of Key West and are home for thousands of migratory birds and turtles. *Cruisin'* is by Jon and Susan M. Holtzworth, and it may be ordered from them at Pirates Cove #24, 1375 Pinellas Bayway, Tierra Verde, FL 33715. It sells for \$9.95.

Florida Folktales was edited by J. Russell Reaver. He divides this paperback volume into five sections: international folktales (animal tales and ordinary folktales); legends; tall tales and trickster stories; ghost tales and horror stories; and urban-belief tales. Mr. Reaver listened to many of the stories as told by older Floridians, who themselves had been told the narratives. He notes in his introduction, "[the folktales] form part of the remembered past in many sections of the state; many are directly quoted." A few people, like E. L. Rayes, had written down recollections, but mostly they are oral tales and legends. In his introduction, Reaver describes people that he met and explains how he came to hear their stories and tales. *Florida Folktales* was published by University of Florida Press, Gainesville, and it sells for \$19.50.

Colonel Grover Criswell's *1991 Compendium!* is much more than a catalogue that lists for sale antique paper money, old stocks and bonds, and autographs. With photographs of currency, state bonds, railroad bonds, exchange drafts, plantation tokens, scrip, and dozens of other items, and descriptions, Colonel Criswell presents a rich and colorful history. The items listed in his compendium are for sale, and some are handsomely priced. However, the majority are within the reach of small collectors with limited budgets, and Criswell is available to guide and counsel anyone who is starting a collection or adding to one. His *Compendium* includes postal history, army-navy-marine items (Revolutionary War through World War II); slavery materials; customs items; reference works (covering money, bonds, guns, stamps, history, ghosts, and cooking); and CSA coins, medals,

seals, and papers. The volume includes an article about Colonel Criswell reprinted from *Banknote Reporter* and *Numismatic News*. Order the *Compendium* from Criswell's Publications, Fort McCoy, FL 32637. It is free with an order for \$25.00.

Story of DeLand and Lake Helen Florida, by Helen Parce DeLand, was reprinted by the West Volusia Historical Society to commemorate the opening of the restored and refurbished Henry DeLand House, the Society's headquarters in DeLand. The author was the daughter of the city's founder, and she writes of her memories of the area. *Story of DeLand* was published in 1928. The reprint sells for \$20.00 and may be ordered from the West Volusia Historical Society, P. O. Box 733, DeLand, FL 32721.

The Volusia County Historical Commission has reprinted *Volusia County Past and Present* by T. E. Fitzgerald, prominent Daytona Beach newspaper editor and civic leader. *Volusia County* was first published in 1937. The reprint sells for \$25.00. It may be ordered from the Volusia County Historical Commission, 252 South Beach Street, Daytona Beach, FL 32214.

Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for establishing Colonys in America, by James Edward Oglethorpe, was edited by Rodney M. Baine and Phinizy Spalding. It was published by University of Georgia Press, Athens. This manuscript, which was written around 1731 as a pamphlet for potential donors to and settlers in Georgia, never was published. The manuscript was discovered in the Tampa-Hillsborough Library, where it incorrectly was ascribed to Benjamin Nartyn, first secretary to the Georgia Trustees. The manuscript is a quarto of 110 pages. The editors have left the preface, comprising nineteen manuscript pages, virtually untouched. However, the text, ninety-one manuscript pages, earlier had been revised considerably as though it were intended for publication. Two authors apparently contributed to the manuscript: the original work is in ink, and most of the revisions are in pencil. According to the evidence examined by the present editors, there is no reason to doubt Oglethorpe's original authorship. Professors Baine and Spalding detail their investigation in the introduction to this edition. *Some Account* is a blueprint of Oglethorpe's plans for Georgia. He was determined to avoid the

sort of corruption and speculation found in South Carolina and proposed innovations related to land use, slavery, Indian population, and other matters. *Some Account* sells for \$25.00.

A New Perspective: Southern Women's Cultural History from the Civil War to Civil Rights contains the papers delivered at a conference held in May 1988 at the National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC. The purpose of the conference was to examine contributions to the South in the 100-year period since 1860 and to plan future humanities programs for out-of-school adult audiences based on new research. Support for the symposium came from the southern state humanities councils. Ann Henderson, executive director of the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, played a leading role in the planning for the Washington conference. The Jessie Ball duPont Religious, Charitable, and Educational Fund also supported the symposium and publication. The papers were edited by Priscilla Cortelyou Little and Robert C. Vaughan. Nancy A. Hewitt of the University of South Florida presented a paper entitled, "Southern Women and Work," in which she examined the role that women played as mothers and wives of tobacco cigar workers in Ybor City and as workers themselves. Other paper presenters included Elizabeth Janeway, Nancy F. Cott, Jacqueline Jones, Jessie J. Poesch, Thadious M. Davis, Judith Lang Zaimont, Mary Brown Hinely, and Ann Firor Scott. *A New Perspective* was published by the Foundation for the Humanities, Charlottesville, Virginia; it sells for \$10.00.

The Creation of Modern Georgia, A Sociopolitical History of the State first was published in 1983. Numan V. Bartley, Coulter Professor of History at the University of Georgia, has enlarged and updated the book with two additional chapters. The revised edition places greater emphasis on the urbanization, industrialization, and diversification of twentieth-century Georgia. The paperback edition sells for \$12.95.

King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South, 1800-1925, by Harold D. Woodman, has been reprinted by the University of South Carolina Press in its Southern Classics Series. It is a study of the cotton factorage

system of the antebellum era and of the post-Civil War crop-lien system. The South continued to depend upon cotton after the Civil War, although the crop-lien system and the furnishing merchant had displaced the factorage system. Professor Woodman is in the Department of History at Purdue University. This book sells for \$29.95, hardback; \$24.95, paper.

Another reprint volume by the University of South Carolina Press is *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861, A Study in Political Thought* by Jesse T. Carpenter. This reprint volume carries a new introduction by John McCardell. It is also a volume in the Southern Classic Series for which John G. Sproat serves as general editor. The hardback volume is priced at \$29.95; the paper, \$14.95.

Note

Professor Alan Gally, Harvard University, reviewed *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* in the January 1991 issue of the *Quarterly* (pp. 369-70). A typesetter's error resulted in a transposition. The second sentence of the lead paragraph correctly should read: "The Revolution in the southern backcountry was largely a story of atrocities—murders, rape, and pillage."

Jesse Walter Dees, Jr., and Vivian Flannery Dees are the authors of "*Off the Beaten Path, The History of Cedar Key, Florida, 1843-1990*." Their names inadvertently were omitted from the review that appeared in the July 1990 issue of the *Quarterly* (pp. 124-25).