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Book Reviews

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Lincoln and the Emperors. By A. R. Tyrner-Tyrnauer. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1962. xvi, 176 pp. Introduction, Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$4.50.)

A. R. Tyrner-Tyrnauer, a Hungarian by birth and education and former foreign editor with International News Service, has written with some success a history of the diplomatic intercourse between Abraham Lincoln and the Emperors Franz Joseph of Austria and Napoleon III of France. The American Civil War serves as a dramatic backdrop. According to the author, Lincoln really fought two wars during the great conflict—one against the particularistic, semi-feudal slaveholders of the Old South, the other against the reactionary crowned heads of Europe who were conspiring through Archduke Maximilian in Mexico to establish a protectorate over that strife-torn country and use it as a base to undermine the United States, a country which symbolized the triumph of the nineteenth century liberal, republican ideal.

The hero of this drama of international intrigue was President Lincoln, who, to the author, personified the liberal American position in his role as liberator and equalitarian. The villains were Napoleon III and his wife Eugenie, leaders of the movement to secure European recognition of and ultimate intervention for the embattled Confederate States. Franz Joseph, eldest brother of Napoleon's ill-fated tool Maximilian, and Leopold, the cunning King of the Belgians, and father of Maximilian's wife Carlotta, were more than willing allies in this venture. The elaborate plots, petty jealousies, and personal suspicions of the European monarchists make the book fascinating reading.

Mr. Tyrner-Tyrnauer, however, is inclined to paint his subjects in either blacks or whites. Napoleon III, for instance, emerges as a reactionary who was constantly plotting to destroy the United States (and consequently American liberalism) by imposing a royalist regime in Mexico and by attempting to secure European intervention for the Confederacy. Napoleon's interest in the Mexican venture was certainly more imperialistic than idealistic. Mexico provided an important base for future French commercial exploitation, and much French capital was involved in the monarchist scheme. The *gloire* of the shaky Bonaparte dynasty also would be enhanced by the victory of French arms over the stubborn Mexican republicans. The United States had

been unmistakably hostile to foreign intervention in Latin American affairs ever since the Monroe administration, so it was only natural that Napoleon should support the Confederacy if for no other reason than "the enemy of my enemy is my friend."

The author sees Lincoln as the great liberal, the unswerving, idealistic republican, the champion against reactionary intervention in the hemisphere. He does not seem to grasp the fact that Lincoln, above all things, was a realist rather than an idealist. Foreign intervention in the western hemisphere, whether it came from a liberal or a reactionary source, would threaten the hegemony of the United States in American affairs. No president of the United States, liberal or conservative, could tolerate such a development. Lincoln as an American executive was acting as much through self-interest as through any idealistic motive.

Although the author is somewhat naive in his approach to American history and tends to oversimplify complex situations and personalities, he has performed a valuable service for future historians of the era. His book throws light on a previously untapped source of diplomatic material: that portion of the Hapsburg Archives in Vienna which contains the correspondence of Austrian diplomats in America during the 1860's.

JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

Florida State University

Civil War Naval Chronology, Part III: 1863. Edited by E. M. Eller. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963. iv, 196 pp. Illustrations. \$1.00.)

The year 1863 was an eventful one for the Union and the Confederate navies, what with the South experiencing its most successful year at sea, while the North was dividing its foe at the Mississippi River as a result of the fall of Vicksburg. The drama of that momentous year is presented day-by-day in this third volume of the U. S. Naval History Division's *Civil War Naval Chronology*, which supplements the two parts previously issued in 1962. All three parts are now available from the Government Printing Office in an attractive self-cover at modest price, with the final period of the naval portion of the conflict to be covered

in a volume to be expected this year. The last volume will include an index for all parts of the publication.

Admiral Eller and his research staff have maintained the high standards set by the previous two parts of their work, providing us with a concise, complete, and profusely illustrated compendium of the conflict afloat as it was waged by the Union and the Confederacy. The complete set of volumes will provide rewarding reading for the casually interested, and will constitute, indispensable additions to the libraries of those whose study goes deeper into the Civil War.

WILLIAM M. GOZA

Clearwater, Florida

The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913-1921. Edited by E. David Cronon. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963. x, 630 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$8.50.)

This is the first diary of a Cabinet member of Wilson's administration to be published and it is somewhat disappointing. There are many omissions. One looks, for example, in vain for any mention of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the subsequent resignation of William J. Bryan as secretary of state, or Lindley M. Garrison's resignation as secretary of war, or other cabinet resignations. Certainly, Josephus Daniels knew of these significant events and the issues involved. How much vital inside information he could have put into his personal record about these clashes of personnel and withdrawals is problematic but certainly something could have been added to our understanding of Wilson's official family during those eight momentous years.

In no year are there half as many entries as there might have been. For the year 1915 there are only forty-five entries and approximately half of these could have been deleted because they say absolutely nothing. The years 1914 and 1916 are not represented in the diary at all. These were exciting years with an off-year Congressional election and the President's re-election among other important events. It is possible, as the editor states, that there were no diary entries for these years, but this reviewer refuses to accept this conclusion. If they were removed, why? Again, these Cabinet diaries are disappointing because Daniels,

at a later date, made additions to them and possibly some alterations.

In spite of shortcomings, these diaries have value. Many of the issues and problems of the day that were discussed in Cabinet meetings are mentioned. No attempt is made, however, to trace debate or to give the suggestions individuals may have contributed. There is little to show the votes taken in meetings. Included in these diaries are many anecdotes that Wilson related in Cabinet meetings which reveal a side of the President's personality not widely known. Moreover, Wilson could speak bluntly at times to the members of his official family. Insights into other well known persons of the era are found in the diaries. William Jennings Bryan, long time political friend of Daniels, suggested on December 17, 1919, the feasibility of settling the current problem with Mexico by taking as hostage Lower California and Magdalena Bay. On another occasion the aging Bryan confessed that his greatest mistake was urging the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, 1899. Significant statements by distinguished Americans, including Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, are included.

From the scholarly point of view the best part of this book is the editorship. Professor Cronon has done an excellent job of identifying hundreds of people, events, and places; he has carefully selected the illustrations; and has provided an accurate index.

GEORGE OSBORN

University of Florida

The Man Bilbo. By A. Wigfall Green. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xiii, 150 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$5.00.)

There is genuine literary flair in this brief but lively biographical essay on Theodore Bilbo and the Mississippi politics of his time. Without caricature, Professor Green of the University of Mississippi catches the Tobacco Road flavor of the state's politics in the early decades of this century: the personal political vendettas, the hurling of outrageous charges and counter-charges, the brandishing of pistols and the brutal maulings, the bribetaking and the corruption, the cloak-and-dagger detective shadow-

ing and counter-shadowing, the drinking and the wenching, the religious piety and the prohibition hypocrisy, the "Nigger" baiting and the racial exploitation, the political deals made by white politicians in the anonymity of Negro bawdy houses, a more nauseatingly sadistic lynching than anything found in Lillian Smith, and the bitter clash of mudsills and upper-crust.

Bilbo fitted naturally into this "fetid filth," to use the term of Mississippi's Senator, Hubert D. Stephens. Despite his diminutive size and nondescript appearance, Bilbo became the Prince of the Peckerwoods, the Bantam Gamecock, "the slickest little bastard" of them all-indeed, the Man. He had the gift of earthy, astringent speech, of telling quip, of impious caricature, which often degenerated into vulgarity, and sometimes into obscenity, particularly in his anti-Negro diatribes. He affected a garish garb, and with his red socks, red scarf, and red necktie ornamented with a diamond-studded horse-shoe pin, he glorified the Redneck. He tickled the fancy of his rustic followers by combining Baptist fervor and prohibition cant with a "hell-uv-a-fellow" reputation for strong drink and lewd women. That he survived the many physical attacks on his person (especially in the light of his physical cowardice) is amazing, and that he was never disbarred or impeached as the result of the numerous accusations made against his official honesty is well-nigh miraculous. Bilbo had a genius for turning assaults and charges against him into personal martyrdom.

However, the most important source of Bilbo's political strength was his consistent espousal of the cause of the poor whites against their exploiters, fancied and real. In the years 1910-1912, when Bilbo was rising to state-wide prominence, he was fortunate in being able to attach himself to the already well-organized and dominant wing in Mississippi politics, that of James K. Vardaman, and in having as his opponents the Le Roy Percy clan, self-proclaimed apostles of Southern culture, respectability, and the corporation, who openly held the poor whites in sublime contempt and made "snobocracy" ridiculous. Curiously enough, Senator John Sharp Williams and the elements in Mississippi politics he represented do not once appear in this essay.

Bilbo was one of the South's agrarian demagogues, one of its fire-eaters, its stormy petrels, and he must be judged in this light. He was obviously not so good or honest as a man as Vardaman,

but he was not such a rascal as South Carolina's Cole Blease. He did not accomplish as much as Ben Tillman in South Carolina or Jeff Davis in Arkansas, and emphatically not as much as Huey Long in Louisiana, but he accomplished more than Georgia's Tom Watson, who never held public office long enough for much constructive achievement. And unlike Gene Talmadge and "Pappy" O'Daniel, he did not exploit the votes of the poor whites and then join "the big mules" once he was in office. For in all fairness, it must be said that as Governor and as an ardent New Deal Senator in Washington, the Man faithfully served the interests of his People, the piney-wood poor-white folks of Mississippi, as he and they understood them.

WILLIAM G. CARLETON

University of Florida

Recent Southern Economic Development as Revealed by the Changing Structure of Employment. By Edgar S. Dunn, Jr. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, *University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences*. No. 14. 1962. 57 pp. Tables, appendix, notes. \$2.00.)

Despite its progress in many sectors of economic life, the southern region of the United States is still lagging behind the North in economic growth rates. Dr. Dunn's study identifies the changes in the economic structure of the South as they have occurred in the last two decades and analyzes the reasons for the relative lag. It also attempts to draw conclusions as to the future prospects for the region.

The analysis is mainly based on relationships between employment shares of the South and the United States' total. These shares, Professor Dunn finds, have relatively declined, thus showing that the South grew at a slower rate than the remainder of the country. This relative lag of the South is explained by two elements. One is an adverse "business-mix." The industrial composition of the area is concentrated in slow-growing sectors of the national economy, such as agriculture and manufacturing of staples. The other element of relative decline is a competitive loss of major industrial sectors caused by shifts of certain industries to other areas, loss of access to import and export, loss of relative access to markets, changes in technology, and others.

The author traces the major components of agriculture, manufacturing, and trades in their various implications for the progress of the South. Losses in the cotton economy have not been sufficiently balanced by gains of animal products to maintain the region's overall position in agricultural employment. In manufacturing, competitive gains were experienced. Inward shifts in textiles, food products, and miscellaneous industries such as stone, clay, glass, and printing favored the South, but because of declines in other sectors the author believes that the competitive position of the South will not continue to improve markedly during the next twenty years.

Professor Dunn's study reveals all too clearly the weakness of the regional concept. The South, as other major regions of the United States, is heterogeneous in composition. Some states, such as Florida and Texas, have experienced fast growth. The author fully understands this and draws his conclusions mainly for the deep South and the Appalachian subregion. However, in this manner, much of the meaning of regional analysis is lost. After all, most other regions have fast and slow growing subregions, and many of the author's findings would equally apply to the prairie states or the New England states.

The South as a whole has actually experienced very little relative declines in population and employment. Therefore, Dr. Dunn's conclusions apply in full only to the agricultural segments of the region. One might also be skeptical as to the conclusions as far as they concern industry, because they are based on employment. Since in the past years, due to automation and other innovations, employment has not increased in line with gross industrial product, employment is an inadequate yardstick of a region's industrial progress. One may venture the guess that most industries in the South have relatively high labor input and that the lag of the South is rather underestimated in Dr. Dunn's study.

PROFESSOR EMERITUS REINHOLD P. WOLFF

University of Miami

Change in the Contemporary South. Edited by Allan P. Sindler. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963. x, 247 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, tables, graphs, index. \$7.50.)

The, contemporary South, the vast area extending from the industrialized Carolinas to the irrigated and mechanized cotton fields of West Texas, is the scene of great cultural, economic, political and educational changes. This very interesting book contains eight informative and provocative papers relating to the theme of a conference held at Duke University, "The Impact of Political and Legal Change in the Postwar South." These papers are followed by an excellent epilogue by Professor Allan Sindler.

We of the South who have been at the ringside of these historic changes have a special interest in the theme and the book. Those citizens of our nation who have not been so situated have varying impressions and ideas of the rapid transition. The papers and epilogue are interesting, biographical, interpretative, and most informative. They vividly portray the cultural, economic, legal, political, and racial problems of the South. The editor in the epilogue strikes the keynote theme by each contributor that "The South is not of a piece in its reactions to the forces of change."

It is apparent that any change discussed in the book affects the other areas of development. Professor Thomas D. Clark in his discussion of "cultural change" writes, "No sharper break with the past has occurred in any phase of the South than in the field of architecture." He stresses the impact of industrialism which, in his words, "has brought other stubborn demands," and says that "traditions, established patterns of culture, and even history may not live in the face of demands of this leviathan."

Perhaps no phase has undergone more rapid changes than "race relations" since World War II. Neither has the law remained static. We have witnessed in a decade the first civil rights legislation in eighty-two years, and the 1954 reversal by the United States Supreme Court of its "separate but equal" doctrine (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896) in the famous education case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 1954.

John P. Frank, formerly of Yale University, in his excellent paper, "Legal Developments in Race Relations 1945-1962," points out that "In the seventeen years since World War II, the law has cut new channels." He first asks an appropriate question, "How

have the institutions of law met the new demands put upon them?" His short answer: "Magnificently." Recent events have confirmed his summary: "If the progress has been slow, the strain has been great."

No discussion of the various issues would be complete without a review of "Negro Voter Registration" in the South. This subject is thoroughly discussed by Professors Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro of the University of North Carolina, who conclude, "The vote may be the key which unlocks the door of full citizenship and social and economic equality for Southern Negroes." But the goal of substantial voter registration by Negroes in all southern states is not a reality. Progress is notable in some cities and areas, but much remains to be done. Martin Luther King put it this way, "The most significant step Negroes can take is in the direction of the voting booths."

ROBERT G. STOREY

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