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BOOK REVIEWS

La idea colonial de Ponce de Leon: Un ensayo de interpretacion.

By Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois. (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Institute de Cultura Puertorriquena, 1960. 292 pp. Indice, documental.)

The author's purpose was to isolate and analyze the forces which impelled the conquistadores to perform their various feats, and to examine their ideas and attitudes toward mingling with other races. He chose Ponce de Leon, although Ponce was not one of the most spectacular of the Spanish adventurers, because there was ample documentation on him. Colonization in the sixteenth century, Ballesteros points out, was not the same as it had been in the time of the Phoenicians and Romans.

One factor to be considered was the variety of regional types of Spaniards at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a diversity already more than two centuries old. The ideals of the era were love of glory, a belief in strange and exotic novelties, and an apostolic Christianity. Castilians were also moved by the concepts of personal loyalty and honor.

It is strange that so little is known of Ponce's origins, but neither his birthplace nor his parents can be definitely substantiated. Apparently, he first went to the Indies as a young man, with neither wealth nor fame. In 1509, he returned to Spain seeking permission to conquer the island of San Juan (modern Puerto Rico), where he became governor. A basic duty of governors was, despite myth and legend, to establish centers of Spanish population in their domains.

Ponce's efforts in developing his colony were concentrated on mining, agriculture, and cattle-raising. Gold mining was limited by the availability of placer deposits. Native crops such as manioc were cultivated, and a multitude of Old World plants and fruits were introduced. Livestock was also introduced and easily acclimated.

In the final chapter, Ponce's concept of colony planting is discussed. His colony was not for merchants (Phoenician), but

for farmers and cattlemen (Roman). He wanted the Indians to live peacefully in their villages, unmolested and not enslaved. He had no utopian idea of creating a new society, but simply wished to reproduce, on a small scale, that of Castile. He had no grandiose dreams of vast wealth and huge kingdoms. It was in his lack of such dreams and schemes that he was original. He sought nothing more than a peaceful, self-supporting community of Spaniards and Indians. To men like Ponce de Leon, the Black Legend has little application.

DONALD E. WORCESTER

Texas Christian University

The Miami Metropolitan Experiment: Metropolitan Action Studies 2. By Edward Sofen. (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1963. xiv, 313 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, map. \$6.95.)

Boosterism is more than a tradition in Florida, it is an economic way of life that underlies the entrepreneurial activities of many of the state's political and social dominants. Its implied promise of windfall profits has attracted many a small operator as well. Nostrums promising temporal bliss in the form of sparkling communities inhabited by stalwart oldsters and radiant youngsters are peddled via billboard, T.V., and two-page spreads in slick magazines; promises of bigger and "cleaner" industry, fatter payrolls, and larger tax rolls are vended by sundry commission and consultant firms. The possibility of profit from speculation in land, especially in the vicinity of federally-financed space enterprises, is propounded with tub-thumping zeal by corporations and associations of varying legitimacy and integrity.

Question: Where will this enthusiasm end? Answer: In the laps of Florida's permanent residents and their elected representatives. It will be their task to find ways to create governments to attend to the needs and to represent the wishes of the incoming population responding to the allure - both fanciful and tangible - of this rapidly growing state. Moreover, these newcomers will have no local political affiliations or loyalties and often will have high expectations as to the varieties and quality of service to be expected from units of local government.

In the *Miami Metropolitan Experiment*, Edward Sofen describes and analyzes the response of a cluster of communities - geographical, political, and social - to this problem of effective government. He deals with their efforts to solve problems generated by rapid and largely unplanned growth; a problem heightened in the Miami area by the presence of a substantial bloc of civil servants apprehensive of change and of a number of political hopefuls seeking the support either of the "good government" group, or of those fearful of a powerful "central" government. In his appraisal, Dr. Sofen combines the historical and analytical methods of research. The product, though occasionally and necessarily-repetitive, provides an exhaustive "dossier" on the birth and formative years of Metro.

Sofen's contribution is of value to the student of urban affairs in two respects. First, he has presented a case study of clarity and detail. This will be of interest to those investigating the phenomenon of urban growth as it relates to the administration of public affairs and the development of viable political structure. Secondly, he presents a classic instance of purposeful political activity of the galaxy of voluntary agencies that became polarized around pro and anti-Metro points of view. In particular, Sofen traces the origins and development of a "junta" combining the news media, the Government Research Council (an arm of the Miami-Dade Chamber of Commerce), and the League of Women Voters. This group contributed materially to the action that created Metro, served as the focal point of the movements to defend Metro and its authorities, and generally represented that segment of the public that supported the governmental reforms that Metro represented to them.

In its handling of this matter of the pro-Metro coalition, Sofen's research provides valuable information bearing on the relation of voluntary organization activity to community structure. Recent research in this field suggests that in a politically unstructured situation the consensus and energetic sense of purpose brought to bear on local issues by well-coordinated and effectively-led voluntary groups can have a substantial effect on the direction of governmental policy and on the job security of elected and appointed officials. The *Miami Metropolitan Experiment* bears out this thesis, documents the process, and describes the phenomenon in very satisfactory fashion.

Metro is still an experiment. Its short career began inauspiciously with a marginal victory (215 votes) over its opponents. Its problems have ranged from unreasonable limitations on its taxing power to apparent administrative ineptitude on the part of some of its leaders. To date it has spent considerable energy in defeating three referendums and a battery of law suits aimed at reducing or eliminating its powers. In addition, we can expect continued debate over the meaning of the terms "purely local" authorities and "essentially metropolitan" authorities and their applications to the respective areas of responsibility of the county and of the various local governments. Moreover, Metro has become a scare word to many of Florida's citizens, a symbol of "The Administrative Juggernaut Crushing Individual Liberties." Metro's future is uncertain. Efforts have been made to secure a genuine test of public reaction to the plan. A major step in this direction was made with the passage, in the fall of 1963, of a constitutional amendment that provided for the election of a commissioner to assume the role of "county mayor."

Sofen's book contains much to commend it - to the sociologist, in its presentation of the dynamics of group organization, coalition, and conflict; to the psychologist, in those elements dealing with the emergence of dominant personalities in the various camps; to the public administrator, who is presented with classic contrasts in administrative techniques (and their political consequences); to the politician, who will be interested in the tactical maneuvers devised by the contenders; to the journalist, who will be impressed with this appraisal of the power of the press; to the historian, who will be interested in tracing the historical roots of the pattern of reaction of this community to proposed further centralization of governmental authority; and to the social psychologist, who at some point may seek to answer the question: Do those Floridians hostile to Metro dislike it because it symbolizes "creeping bureaucracy," relentless and unequivocal? Or, because it symbolizes the glitter, mass, and presumed sinfulness of Florida's largest city? Or, perhaps a bit of both?

WILLIAM W. YOUNG

University of South Florida

The Democratic South. By Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1963. xii, 110 pp. Foreword, preface, bibliography. \$2.50.)

Lionel Trilling says of the United States, "Liberalism is not only the dominant but the sole intellectual tradition." Failure to approximate this tradition is considered unpatriotic by educated Americans. This is especially true of the South, the region traditionally considered the most conservative. The southern academic intellectual assumes that it is his regional duty to redeem his section from this accusation. Mr. Grantham takes such a role in the Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures delivered at Mercer University in 1962. This is an amplification of what he has already said as a contributor to a book called *The Southerner As An American*. In mellifluous phrases decorated with the clichés of the liberals, he exploits a multitude of monographs to prove that the South has gradually redeemed itself from "the elaborate myth" of conservatism that cluttered its history even after it started being "progressive."

Mr. Grantham is careful not to ignore what his fellow researchers call "the many Souths." He modifies his conclusions by cautiously giving the opposite. He should have drowned half his cats to avoid being contradictory.

Mr. Grantham nobly defends his beloved region against the accusation of varying a great deal from the *American Creed*. He proves that even during the heyday of slavery the dream of human equality was widely cherished. He demonstrates that the monolithic image of the Solid South is inaccurate. The Whigs in the 1840's were formidable enemies of the Democrats. The closing of ranks under the Democrats in the crisis of the Civil War was accompanied by the rise of Unionist dissent that was a main cause of the failure of the Confederacy. Not all opposition to the White Supremacists during Reconstruction was made up of non-whites. It was only in what Mr. Grantham considers the dark period after 1890, that the post-war progress of the Negro slowed up. Even then there were progressives who implemented the direct primary and the education of all children. Then, the southern-born Woodrow Wilson put the section on the road to social progress like the rest of the world,

According to Mr. Grantham, even Negro-haters like James K.

Vardaman and Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi sponsored progressive legislation. Franklin D. Roosevelt gave new life to the section through the sponsoring of agriculture progress, urbanization, and increased rights to the Negro. The author gives evidence that "the New Departure" will soon bring about a condition in which the handicapped land of slavery and racial discrimination will approximate the attitude of the more progressive sections of the United States.

Mr. Grantham reverses the conception of the southern romantic novel. The good times were not in the past; the good times are coming in the present and future. The author presents much evidence to demonstrate this trend. But the new times of racial integration and democracy may not come as soon as the author predicts. He should have noted that the price the South is paying for industrialization is conquest by outside corporations. Jonathan Daniels, an observant North Carolinian, believes there is more social democracy in the agricultural section of his state than in the industrial Piedmont. Actually, if not in law, the two races are today further apart than in the years following the passage of the Jim Crow laws. The sum total of Negro membership in legislatures in the region below the Potomac is one member of the Georgia Senate.

FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS

Longwood College

The Everlasting South. By Francis Butler Simkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xiv, 103 pp. Foreword, preface. \$3.50.)

Francis Butler Simkins, a native of South Carolina, has studied and written of his native region for over thirty years; its customs and ideas are part of his bone and sinew. As Charles P. Roland remarks in his foreword, "probably a great majority of the common folk of the South" agree with Professor Simkins' point of view. Probably, also, those who do not agree would be in violent opposition.

Five essays, already published elsewhere, have been combined to make this book. Each discusses some aspect of southern

life and thought. The central theme is the fortress South, a region distinctive in culture and customs; it always has been and always will be different from the rest of the country. The author's opinions are neither an argument nor a justification; they are rather statements based on facts of southern existence as he has observed or studied them. There are neither footnotes nor bibliography, but other writings on the South are liberally mentioned.

The views of Professor Simkins may be summarized as follows: the ante-bellum South, the land of slavery and plantation, should be viewed in terms of its own values (as scholars do the Middle Ages) without assuming that it had "no justification" for being. Since 1865, efforts have been constant to force the South to accept alien values. The result has been a surface achievement. The South is still essentially aristocratic in its concepts not only as between races but also between classes of white people "who know their place and must act accordingly." The South is still essentially rural in outlook and custom; even its cities have a rural quality unshared by metropolitan areas elsewhere. The South is not a series of Main Streets.

Reconstruction days were not the horror they are usually painted. In aspects of life aside from politics, there was social stability and some constructive growth. Northern reformers with carpetbags in the 1860's and 1870's, made much less impression than northern reformers in the twentieth century riding in expensive cars and trying to instill into the Southerner a "preference for Northern concepts of civilization."

The color line was more clear after 1865, than during slavery days. This was especially true in church life where the freedmen "successfully asserted religious freedom and established independent churches." "Faith in the Biblical heritage is a factor second only to white supremacy as a means of conserving the ways of the South." This heritage is fundamentalist and orthodox; it is laymen-ridden rather than clergy-ridden. Southerners find it hard to understand people with no church affiliation; "climbing the social ladder by way of the church is a dynamic force in Southern life." Such factors tend to keep the popular churches in harmony with the conservative sentiments of most Southerners.

A unified South relatively impervious to the rest of an otherwise unified country raises some questions. Is the United States, exclusive of the South, as unified in thought and custom as Professor Simkins regards it? Also, in view of modern communication, transportation, and shifting of population, will the South continue to be "Everlasting?"

KATHRYN ABBEY HANNA

Winter Park, Florida

Doomed Road of Empire: The Spanish Trail of Conquest.

Hodding Carter. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963. 408 pp. Map, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

This is a lucid narrative account of the history of the region between Saltillo, Mexico and Natchitoches on Red River. Inasmuch as those two points were joined by the old *camino real*, the royal road of New Spain, the tale is woven about that road as an axis. The book begins with the *entradas* of the first Spaniards, and moves by simple chronological sequence to end with the exploits of Zachary Taylor south of the Rio Grande. The length of this period militates against a tight organization of the work.

Besides its fast, clear style, this book, one of the American Trail Series, has other merits. It brings out clearly the essentially political character of this region, for it was an area the Spaniards felt forced to occupy - against the French - and to retain - against English and Americans. The role of the missions in supporting this Spanish occupation is pointed out and the reasons for their ultimate failure are clearly set forth. Chapters I through XII form more of a unit in themselves (descriptive of the area as a frontier caught in such an international squeeze) and are perhaps the most interesting. With Chapter XIII, "The Dilemma of General Wilkinson," the story of necessity becomes more episodic and reminiscent of other popular recitals.

This reviewer feels that with the chapter on the Alamo a serious stylistic error was committed (where the third person used in the bulk of the book shifts into the first person "we" of the 182 defenders of the Alamo). In the same chapter the strenuous waving of the Texas banner becomes a trifle ridiculous. This does not make for very dependable history.

The illustrations by Don Almquist are most appropriate and add richness to the book. The one map provided is barely adequate. The bibliography is good and points to a backing of real research. All in all this is a most readable book, informative for the public and certainly not useless to the historian.

BURR C. BRUNDAGE

Florida Presbyterian College

Royal Raiders, The Tories of the American Revolution. By North Callahan. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1963. 288 pp. Foreword, bibliography, notes, index. \$5.00.)

This attractive volume with its engaging title tells the story of the Tories or Loyalists in the American Revolution and their fratricidal strife with the Whigs. Several of its chapters deal with battles in which Tories play prominent parts such as Moore's Creek Bridge, Oriskany, and King's Mountain; others deal with struggles between Tories and Whigs in various localities; one traces the role of religion with emphasis on the activities of ministers on both sides; and a final chapter attempts to explain why Tories were not more successful in their efforts to sustain the authority of the king and preserve the unity of the British Empire.

This volume seems to have both its strong and weak points. The compressed type, the unusually stiff binding, and the placing of footnotes in the back of the book all make for slow, not to say laborious, reading. There is an extensive bibliography which might well have been developed into a bibliographical essay as the works listed vary greatly in worth; the book is copiously documented with an array of citations from contemporary documents and letters in such depositories as the British Public Record Office and the Clements Library, articles in current periodicals and newspapers, contemporary pamphlets and newspapers, the great printed collections of colonial and state documents, the earlier histories, such as Marshall's *Washington*, and from the works of later historians such as Charles M. Andrews and Lawrence Henry Gipson. Citations vary in format and though the character of the source is sometimes mentioned in the text, insufficient effort is

made to use sources critically. The style and form of the text leave something to be desired.

On the positive side, it should be said that one cannot read this account of the struggle of Tories and Whigs without being impressed that the American Revolution in some of its aspects at least was a terrible civil war characterized by atrocities and brutalities on both sides. Murder, arson, breach of faith, and hangings (some authorized by court action and some not) were the order of the day. It is small wonder that American negotiators in Paris in 1782, realized the impossibility of guaranteeing that confiscated Loyalist property would be restored and agreed instead that Congress would "earnestly recommend" such to the states, verbiage which sounded well but meant little.

Professor Callahan has demonstrated that the struggle of Loyalist and Patriot was a miserable business which reflected little credit to either side.

CECIL JOHNSON

University of North Carolina

The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776. By Jack P. Greene. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1963. xi, 528 pp. Preface appendices, bibliographical essay, index. \$8.50.)

Over the past seven years Professor Jack P. Greene has produced a number of essays involving political conflicts in the southern colonies during the eighteenth century. The volume is now at hand - a very large book, in many respects worthy of its long gestation period. Mr. Greene contends that the provincial assemblies "sought to increase their authority at the expense of both the colonial executives and the London government . . . and [that] their quest for power became the most important single feature of colonial political and constitutional development, eventually comprising a significant element in the . . . dismemberment of the first British Empire." His purpose, therefore, is to analyze the reasons for and significance of the quest. Although the author

is specifically concerned with the lower houses in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, he believes his conclusions are equally applicable to the other nine colonies.

Greene attributes the emergence of the lower houses to their insistence upon certain fundamental powers in four areas: raising and distributing public revenue, regulating their own memberships, denying permanent salaries to royal officials, and acquiring a share in handling executive affairs. During most of the seventeenth century the lower houses played subordinate roles, groping for the power to tax, the right to sit separately from the upper house, and to initiate laws. Then came a transitional stage early in the eighteenth century when they could hold their own with the governors and councils. Very soon after that the lower houses initiated their bid for supremacy, culminating in the advent of revolution.

Mr. Greene's enterprise makes a number of contributions. Continual comparisons between the House of Commons and demands made by New World legislatures are very important to our understanding of the ideological and experiential gap that divided the Anglo-American community by 1775. The interesting chapter on public printers whets our appetite for a field still embryonic: the history of American professions. The author devotes deserved attention to a neglected source of colonial unrest: the general instruction of September 1767, forbidding governors to assent to laws "by which the number of the assembly shall be enlarged or diminished, the duration of it ascertained, the qualifications of the electors or the elected fixed or altered. . . ." The long appendices listing those men politically active in the southern colonies will be very useful to future students who attempt to assess the structure of politics in these four provinces. The book is copiously documented; its scholarly apparatus indicates a masterful coverage of the relevant sources, both in England and in this country. With its wealth of information it will be an invaluable reference work.

Unfortunately the wonderful clarity of Greene's presentation is achieved at the expense of overstatement. Points are repeated in summaries and the summaries are summarized. But the difficulty is more than repetitiousness. There is a problem of emphasis inherent in the book's title. The author believes the lower

houses were actively engaged in a "quest for power," a phrase that recurs frequently. But "quest" is an aggressive word meaning to go about in search of something. Yet the burden of evidence in these pages does not always support this view (cf. pp. 29, 36, 38, 44-45, 52, 65-66, 87, 155-56, 160, 204, 328, 357, 382, 398, 415, 436-42, 451). Many of the controversies that arose occurred as a result of what seemed encroachments on the rights of smaller replicas of the House of Commons. Tensions became apparent whenever Whitehall or Westminster became assertive, obliging the lower houses to offer "stubborn resistance . . . to preserve the political structures they had built over the previous century." This sort of holding action - however belligerent - is something less than an overt quest for power.

There are a few other instances of inconsistency or overstatement. Mr. Greene believes that, by 1763, the assemblies had achieved "the center of political authority and prestige," thereby supplanting the governors and councils - a questionably bold judgment, especially in the light of information on pp. 368, 374-75, and 440. On p. 379 the author suggests that the Americans were intellectually consistent throughout the Great Debate; but he correctly rejects this on p. 449.

Quest for Power significantly increases and clarifies our knowledge of American constitutional and institutional development. In terms of attitude and approach it reinforces three major studies produced between 1924 and 1943: *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* by C. M. Andrews, and monographs by two of his students, L. W. Labaree's *Royal Government in America* and M. P. Clarke's *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies*. It makes clear, also, the continuing need for research into the organization of political society and the nature of public life in the colonies. Only when this background is sketched in will we fully understand and appreciate the picture we now have of the emerging strength of the lower houses in the eighteenth century.

MICHAEL G. KAMMEN

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