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## Book Reviews

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*Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard.* By John A. Carpenter. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964. viii, 377 pp. Illustration, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

This study of a diverse and interesting career is a valuable contribution to American biography. Within relatively few pages the author brings together, for the first time outside the subject's autobiography, the strands of a life that has influenced American military history, politics, education, and the Congregational Church. The result is the most complete picture to date of a man who, though he played a major role in American history, is comparatively little known. The author has organized and used a great volume of original material well. Howard's early life and Civil War career, his activities as head of the Freedmen's Bureau, and his subsequent career are all detailed.

The course of Howard's life is illustrated in his military career: his inexperience led to the collapse of his corps on Hooker's right wing at Chancellorsville; yet, a few weeks later, he selected the Union position at Gettysburg and received, along with Meade and Hooker, the thanks of Congress for the victory. Howard commanded one-half of Sherman's army in the Atlanta campaign, earning Sherman's admiration and praise, and he ended the war as a major commander.

Howard's background and his reputation as a Christian and humanitarian admirably fitted him for his work as head of the Freedmen's Bureau. The author rightly points out that the educational work of the bureau was its most lasting contribution. Howard's belief that the Negro had a capacity to learn and that he should have an education led to the beginning of his long climb out of the slavery of ignorance.

An outstanding feature of this biography is its portrayal of the growth of a man. Howard's heavy responsibilities, coupled with almost constant criticism, had a decisive effect. This immature young officer, often self-seeking, became almost a changed person as a result, and, though always torn by a struggle between pride and humility, was able, in his maturity, to control most of his less attractive qualities. The author manifests a great admiration for Howard but does not hesitate to point out his failings. The style is lucid, and interest is maintained throughout. This work

should accomplish its author's intent: that more people would come to appreciate Oliver Otis Howard.

RALPH PEEK

*University of Florida*

*Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965.* By David M. Chalmers. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1965. xii, 420 pp. Endpaper maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

For the historian of any organization, there is nothing more heartwarming than an approaching centennial or a resurgence of interest in his subject. Professor Chalmers had both of these factors to stimulate him to complete his study of the Ku Klux Klan, and he has produced what many readers will consider the best overall account of this movement published thus far.

Chalmers' emphasis is on the "modern" Klan. The first chapters carry the reader rapidly from 1865 to 1915, and the rest of the book deals with the more recent half century - the rebirth of the Klan on Stone Mountain in 1915, its rise and collapse in the twenties, the splintering of the organization, and the grotesque antics of the splinters in the last decade. Some of his accounts are sketchy, but here, as in no other single volume, one can see what marvels the Invisible Empire has wrought, in the nation as a whole and in state after state from Florida to Washington, from California to Maine.

Because the drama is presented on so many stages, there is a certain amount of both repetition and discontinuity in the material, but Chalmers has done an excellent job of presenting the tangled skein of events and intrigue. Three main threads appear over and over in the several developments. First, there is the struggle for power and control within each domain. Second, there is the use of the Klan as a cloak for violence; if the klaverns were sometimes built up by people with honorable motives, they were soon taken over by those who sought the anonymity of the sheet. Finally, it is noteworthy that in community after community, South as well as North, there were courageous citizens who denounced the Klan and its warped brand of Americanism. Chal-

mers has done history a service by identifying many of these persons; he also makes it clear that not all who opposed the Klan were heroes.

As he peruses this volume, it may occur to the reader to regret that such a book as this has not been available for years, or to wonder if the account might have been modified in any significant way if the author had waited to study the information coming out of the current congressional investigations, or to wish that the author had been able to find more solid documentation for some of the developments which are probably forever undocumentable. But his major reaction is much more likely to be one of gratification that Professor Chalmers has put together such a solid, readable, and inclusive account.

MAURICE M. VANCE

*Florida State University*

*The Negro in the South Since 1865: Selected Essays in American Negro History.* Edited by Charles E. Wynes (University of Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1965. 233 pp. Introduction, index. \$6.95.)

Most readers who will be interested in this book will already be familiar with these essays. Only one was written exclusively for inclusion in this work; the others have been selected from well-known journals.

Elsie M. Lewis traces the Negroes' views on national politics from 1865 to 1900. At first they were strongly Republican, but disillusionment came quickly. Neither the party of Lincoln nor the right to vote, supposedly guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment, protected them in life and property. After 1877 Negroes were disgruntled because of the Republican party's failure to grant them patronage and protect their rights. Although most Negroes continued to think of themselves as Republicans, there were some attempts at fusion with white Populists and Democrats. It soon became obvious that no major party could afford them protection and guarantee their civil rights.

The transformation of Georgia's Tom Watson from liberal to reactionary is sketched by C. Vann Woodward. Watson, who once

denounced lynching and the Klan, was for a time held "almost as a savior" by Negroes. Yet when his views were used against him in politics, Watson became a leading exponent of racial bigotry. In an article on Lewis Harvie Blair, Charles E. Wynes indicates that Watson was not the only one to experience a reactionary conversion.

Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., proves that except in an indirect way the Negro was excluded from the benefits of the national progressive movement. Some of the strongest supporters of progressivism in the South were among the most rabid Negrophobes. Thomas Dixon, Jr., who "articulated the narrow white concept of progressive morality" is discussed by Max Bloomfield. John Hope Franklin points out that although most southern segregation practices were not written into law until the 1890s, segregated schools had existed since the beginning of southern public education. In providing separate facilities for Negroes, the South simply followed a policy common in the pre-Civil War North.

Increased interest led to notable progress in southern education between 1900 and World War I, but not for Negroes. A growing white concern for education combined with a reluctance to raise taxes resulted in an even greater financial discrimination between Negro and white institutions. Much of the new interest in education was promoted by the Southern Education Board. Louis R. Harlan tells how the race issue influenced the board's policies.

One of the most fascinating essays in this book is "Negro Cowboys" by Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones. More than 5,000 Negroes played a role in the cattleman's West - doing the same jobs as cowboys of other races and nationalities.

Although this collection is somewhat uneven, most of the essays are useful. Whether there was a need to collect them into a book is questionable. The editor said it was done because articles in scholarly journals tend to become obscure, to be read only by a few willing to search diligently for them. There may be those who will deny the necessity of rescuing these particular articles from oblivion since a majority of them are well known.

JOE M. RICHARDSON

*Florida State University*

*The Republican Party in Georgia: From Reconstruction through 1900.* By Olive Hall Shadgett. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964. x, 210 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

In the election of 1896 William McKinley polled a larger percentage of the votes cast in Georgia than any Republican candidate since 1872. But the hopes and expectations stimulated by that modest achievement emanated not from a rising Republican sun in the Empire State of the South but instead from the dwindling light of a body that had long been descending and would soon slip over the horizon. Despite the continued loyalty of a sizable number of Republican adherents, the party had been unable to provide any genuine competition to the dominant Democrats since 1876; its attempts to cooperate with Independent Democrats in the late 1870s and early 1880s enjoyed only limited success; and its ventures into fusion with the Populists were half-hearted and abortive. The party had been tom by factionalism for many years and its leaders were chronically preoccupied with federal patronage and convention politics. The state-wide adoption of the white primary by the Democratic party at the turn of the century was the final blow in the demoralization of the Republican party and the institutionalization of one-party politics in Georgia.

It is this sad chapter in Georgia politics that the author, a political scientist at Georgia State College, has written. After a brief survey of the Republican party during the period of Radical control and an account of its fall from power in the early seventies, she sketches the party's course in rough chronological fashion during the next quarter-century. Her focus is rather restricted, centering upon party organization and leadership, but her work is nevertheless a cogent and useful treatment of this aspect of Republicanism in Georgia. She deals dispassionately with an era of bitter controversy, and her analysis of party factionalism and the operation of patronage cliques is illuminating. She succeeds in integrating the functioning of the state party into the larger pattern of the national Republican administrations' "southern policies." On the other hand, Mrs. Shadgett throws little light on the political ecology of Republicanism, nor does she concern herself much with Republican activities at the local and

congressional levels. The role of former Whigs in Georgia's Republican party and the phenomenon of "presidential Republicanism" might have been examined more fully. And a more extended treatment of fusionism in its various forms would have enhanced the book's value. In part, no doubt, the author's failure to explore these and other aspects of her subject more thoroughly resulted from the paucity of sources at her disposal, particularly of manuscript collections. The University of Georgia Press has produced an attractive volume, but the press showed poor judgment in relegating the footnotes to the back of the book.

Historians and political scientists will profit from reading *The Republican Party in Georgia*. In completing this study Mrs. Shadgett has prepared herself for further work in the state's political history. Perhaps she will now shift her attention to the present scene and write a book on the development of the Republican party in Georgia during the last two decades.

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

*Vanderbilt University*

*Conservatives in the Progressive Era: the Taft Republicans of 1912.* By Norman M. Wilensky. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1965. vii, 75 pp. Preface. \$2.00.)

Professor Wilensky notes that the historians of the Progressive period have taken little cognizance of the Republican Old Guard machinations in 1911, which cleared the way for President Taft's renomination the next year. This behind-the-scenes activity is convincingly set forth in the first two chapters. It is significant in disclosing that Taft, supposedly inept, was capable of managerial shrewdness. The author makes extensive and judicious use of the previously inaccessible papers of Charles Dewey Hilles, secretary of the President and later chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Another theme, less ably treated, is that the regular and progressive Republicans split because of ideological differences. The author opens chapter three with statistics supposedly revealing that Richard Hofstadter and other historians are incorrect in stressing a status revolution as the key factor in the Republican schism of 1910-1912. The statistics divulge that there were no

important occupational or rural-urban differences between the regular and progressive Republicans. The difficulty here is that Hofstadter emphasized differences in corruption and the length of time that wealth had been in the family, which have little demonstrable relationship with occupation or place of residence. The statistical tables fail to establish that regular Republicans were not the corrupt "new rich" to whom Hofstadter refers.

The reviewer, however, is inclined to agree with Wilensky that the regular Republicans were not the "new rich." As the author states in scattered references to Taft, the President had trouble obtaining money from the wealthy in 1912, his wing of the party was no more corrupt than the progressive Theodore Roosevelt wing, and Taft himself came from an old-line aristocratic family in Ohio.

The author is mistaken in asserting that the Florida Republican party lacked internal dissension. There were at least three deeply divided factions in the party in 1911-1912. Such errors, however, do not detract from the usefulness of the book. It is a welcome addition to the literature of the Progressive Era.

GEORGE NORRIS GREEN

*Texas Woman's University*

*Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century.* By Kenneth K. Bailey. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964. x, 180 pp. Preface, bibliographical essay, index. \$3.75.)

Despite all the preoccupation of Southerners with their heritage, they have produced few competent studies of religion in the South. Kenneth K. Bailey's *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century* is a promise of studies to come in this field. That Southerners are beginning to subject the piety of the region to historical and critical scrutiny may be a sign that Christians may free themselves from the sectional captivity of the Church.

Although the main line of argument has been known by scholars for some time, Bailey continues to document and to bring into sharper focus the shape of that evangelical piety which has dominated the South. This piety was produced primarily by

three denominations - Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian. The South at the turn of the century was, according to the author, rural and homogeneous, little disturbed by immigration, industrialization, urbanization, and new intellectual currents. Extra-regional ecclesiastical ties were rare, and ecclesiastical isolation fostered intraregional accommodation between religion and society. Southern Christians were preoccupied with individual repentance, a dogged insistence on Biblical inerrancy, and a tendency toward overt expression of intense religious emotions.

In successive chapters Bailey deals with his themes. The South's failure in education is connected with the channelling of social concern in the support of the panacea, prohibition. Anti-intellectualism and fundamentalist rigidity were demonstrated in the heresy trials and anti-evolution crusades in the early decades of the century. The presidential campaign of 1928 was turned by southern clergy into a defense of prohibition and an offensive against the "menace" of Roman Catholicism. The depression which followed provided the crucible in which southern Christians began to take stock of their denominational isolation and individual piety. Although things began to change, Southerners, particularly the omnipresent and omnipotent Baptists, still take some pride in the fact that they are the "Bible-believing, Bible-loving" people of the nation. Resting heavily on C. Vann Woodward's generalizations in *The Burden of Southern History*, Bailey maintains that the Protestantism of the South has been scarred indelibly with the region's sense of failure in purpose and, until recently, its unusual poverty. He does not accept another of Woodward's tentative conclusions, however, that Southerners have shown little concern with the "social gospel." Bailey weaves throughout his narrative pronouncements of Christians on social affairs and suggests that this is an area in need of much more investigation. He would have found valuable support for his contention had he probed more thoroughly the writings of Presbyterians like Alexander J. McKelway, John J. Eagan, Walter Lingle, and Ernest Trice Thompson. In this connection the author does not treat with sufficient depth the connection between increased interest in social affairs by clergy and the gap which he maintains began to emerge during the 1928 campaign and then spread between rank-and-file communicants and leaders, especially after 1940.

Valuable footnotes and a helpful bibliographical essay enrich this presentation and indicate the richness of that picture which still lies covered in the minutes and magazines of various denominational bodies. In this treatment the author, has neglected two aspects of the picture. Failure to deal more thoroughly with the Protestant Episcopal Church has robbed the study of a "churchly" dimension, the comparative study of which might throw interesting light on the shape of Protestant dissent in the South. Moreover, Bailey has limited his treatment to "white" Protestantism. Failure to deal with the developments among independent Negro denominations may have robbed the study of a dimension absolutely necessary for an understanding of the subject. How has the presence of the Negro formed white Protestantism in its view of the Bible, theology, ecclesiology, and ethics? Far more important than this, how has the presence of the Negro shaped the nature of that evangelical piety which has been so wide spread in the South? Why has not the "gospel," so consistently proclaimed, freed the Southerner from his guilt and fear, filled him with forgiveness and love, and given to him the faith and hope to overcome his obsession with the Civil War and racial purity? Why has he balked in dealing constructively and creatively with his most obvious ethical and ecumenical responsibilities? Has the presence of the Negro made the difference?

These are questions which need further probing. Bailey's book is a very helpful beginning.

JAMES H. SMYLLIE

*Union Theological Seminary*

*The Growth and Decline of the Cuban Republic.* By Fulgencio Batista. Translated from the Spanish by Blas M. Racafort. (New York: Devin-Adair Company, 1964. xiv, 300 pp. Preface, appendices, index. \$6.50.)

Opening with Lincoln's maxim that "You can fool all the people some of the time . . .," this book suggests the art has not been lost. Intoning Rankian objectivity for a Miltonian grappling of Truth vs. Falsehood, Batista declares his purpose is "to present a truthful and factual account of the economic,

social and political development of Cuba during the quarter of a century between the overthrow of the Machado Administration in 1933 and the conquest of my country by Communist guile in 1959." The emphasis is on socio-economic development, and the book is divided into twenty-eight short chapters that deal somewhat abruptly with a wide variety of topics including medicine, hospitals, orphanages, fiscal and tax policies, banking, rural credit, trade, maritime, rail and air transport, electric power, land reform, the sugar industry, livestock, fishing, mining, tourism, housing, slum clearance, industrial development, and the labor movement. These chapters cover everything from the installation of an atomic reactor to the installation of parking meters, from the consumption of electricity to the consumption of rice, from fighting Gastroenteritis to fighting Castrocommunism, from promoting the Playa Azul to promoting poultry farming, from establishing the Blood Vessel Bank to establishing the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank. The format consists of a tedious cataloguing of endless legislative acts, whereby legislation is equated with implementation. The reader is led through a statistical maze of raw figures and percentages that are piled haphazardly on top of each other in a way to obscure rather than reveal any meaningful analysis. The documentation is very uneven, with some footnotes vague and others non-existent.

The thesis is clear and repetitive: under Batista Cuba achieved "peace, progress and freedom of the people," then it fell a victim to the forces of international communism that had long conspired to take over Cuba. Under Batista's guidance, Cuba had become a "progressive, forward-looking, socially conscious and democratic society," developed by "the creative forces of private enterprise . . . within the democratic framework of a free country with free institutions," that "recognized Christian morality as the standard which should govern all human relationships," and "had made great advances in science, culture, the arts, and social justice" while boasting of the most "advanced labor, educational and social welfare institutions" in Latin America. Batista's Cuba, threatened initially by communist agitation in the early 1930s and later by communist penetration during the Grau-Prio era, was finally brought down by a "carefully contrived campaign of hatred, violence and murder launched against Cuba" by the Soviet Union, which inspired and planned the

Castro movement from the very beginning, partly to divert strategic Cuban metals from the Free World to the Soviet bloc. The communist propaganda for the vilification of Batista was "insidiously" mouthed by "ultra-liberals" and "dupes of world communism," including such "socialist" writers as Arthur Schlesinger, Robert J. Alexander, Herbert Matthews, Nathan Goodwin, and exile leaders like Dr. Jose Miro Cardona, and accepted by the U. S. State Department, which cannot escape responsibility for the disaster that overtook Cuba. The only commendable men in Batista's book are his biographers Edmund Chester and Emil Ludwig and U. S. ambassadors Earl E. T. Smith and Spruille Braden. At times it seems that *A Sergeant Named Batista* has followed Alice through the Looking-glass.

ROBERT A. NAYLOR

*University of Virginia*

*Religion, Revolution, and Reform: New Forces for Change in Latin America.* Edited by William V. D'Antonio and Frederick B. Pike. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964. x, 276 pp. Introduction, notes. \$5.95.)

Professor Frederick Pike has written a closely reasoned *Introduction* to this collection of papers delivered by distinguished collaborators at the Notre Dame Conference on Religion and Social Change in Latin America. He also presents a cogent summary of the main points developed by the other authors. He explores the challenge of simultaneous social reform and economic development, both within a democratic context. This is no mean feat. He faces frankly the unhappy reality that Latin American churchmen are not as free to speak out on national issues as are ministers or priests in the United States, because of the past bitterness and continuing strength of anti-clericalism. Another serious pitfall confronting Catholic reformers who attempt to lead their compatriots toward economic and social change is the previously enunciated doctrine that the sufferings from poverty in this world will store up merit for the hereafter. Inasmuch as an improved life on this earth is part of the revolution of expectations to which so many millions of Latin Americans have

pledged themselves, to wrench away from this earlier dogma is likewise no easy matter.

Candid evaluations of the role of the Catholic Church in the past and the present are brought out in the consideration of growing Protestantism, the unconvertible cynics and atheists, and the active Communists, who, together create a formidable adversary to the Church in an area long thought to be its private monopoly. Ways and means, therefore, are advanced by the contributing authors, that the Church should adopt at this moment of truth.

Eduardo Frei Montalva, winner of the Presidency of Chile as the leader of the Christian Democratic Party-and its electoral allies-holds that "only through reforms in land tenure, tax, educational, and other systems can all obstacles be removed to permit authentic participation of the people in civic affairs." For this, democratic planning is necessary in order to mobilize all the nation's resources of management, labor, and educational apparatus - with the addition of outside financing. This concise rehearsal of the contents of the Alliance for Progress, President Frei intones without so much as a mention of the Alliance.

Professor Quirks thesis in "Religion and the Mexican Social Revolution" is that while both the Church and the State wanted to control Mexican society, neither was willing to share the control. "It was a clash of incompatible and mutually exclusive ideologies, not of politicians:" hence the prolonged intensity of the struggle. Arthur P. Whitaker observes that the encyclical of John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra* asserts the right and duty of the Church to take a lead in the solution of social problems. In his own opinion this can hardly be kept apart from political action in modern society. The hierarchy, he adds, has tried hard to stand above the political melee.

Dr. Simon Hanson in, "Economic Difficulties of Social Reform," pleads that attention be directed to what he calls the "great issues," i.e. the population explosion, overly extravagant promises to the masses, and the Latin distrust of foreign investments. The co-editor, Professor D'Antonio writes the concluding chapter, largely devoted to the question of family planning. He asserts that married couples have it in their own power to build big or small families, and that "this is a matter of their own consciences, and nobody else's business."

The absence of an index, in view of the variety of authors who crisscross the Hemisphere and its problems, is a serious gap. Six pages of footnotes follow one chapter, while several chapters have none. At least four authors discuss Mexico, but many countries are ignored entirely. The book is forthright, informative, and free from the usual euphemisms. The volume's title inevitably makes it comprehensive rather than cohesive.

WILLARD F. BARBER

*University of Maryland*