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BOOK REVIEWS

Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida, 1732-1763. By Joyce E. Harman. (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1969. viii, 99 pp. Preface, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. \$3.00.)

The history of St. Augustine during the First Spanish Period, 1565-1763, is the story of struggle, deprivation, and precarious survival. Except for the short life of the Franciscan missionary system in the seventeenth century, colonial efforts in the peninsula and the Gulf coast north of New Spain suffered from indifferent support and seemed to be often frustrated by foreign and Indian intrigue and war. Spanish Florida in the eighteenth century endured in the form of three frontier *presidios* - Apalache, Pensacola, and St. Augustine. Following the founding of Charles Town and the inevitable attacks from South Carolina, 1702 - 1704, the last sixty years of the First Spanish Period were probably the most desperate and dismal in the settlement's existence.

After Governor James Moore and English soldiers from Carolina assaulted St. Augustine during the War of the Spanish Succession, the colony only subsisted until the conclusion of the Seven Years' War when Florida was transferred from Spanish to British rule. In the wake of Moore's destructive raids, the port-city lay in ruins, the Franciscan missionary system suffered irreparable devastation, and Anglo-Indian alliances disrupted colonial life for the next six decades. But, Spanish *San Agustín* persevered as an almost isolated seaport. It survived even when the Spanish crown seemed apathetic to the colony's existence, and carelessly permitted the *situado* (subsidy) payments to lapse years behind the city's everyday needs. Since the agrarian efforts at St. Augustine were generally unproductive the delays in subsidy payment forced the Florida governors to direct a credit economy which was founded upon the purchase of expensive and sometimes spoiled Cuban provisions at usurious interest charges. As a consequence, Spanish Florida only existed in the eighteenth century.

The Spaniards in St. Augustine ultimately endured that chaotic century with the help of supplies acquired in the British colonies. Although typically illicit or prohibited, Anglo-Spanish commerce in southeastern America supplemented the settlement's meager agrarian production and inconsistent subsidy from Cuba with shipments of foodstuffs. An impressive quantity of edible goods was transferred from the English colonies to St. Augustine as this informative little monograph graphically reveals to its readers. Such staples as bacon, beef, butter, cheese, flour, pork, and salt appeared conspicuously in the cargoes of vessels sailing south to Spanish Florida. *Trade and Privateering in Spanish Florida* therefore presents a fine portrait of St. Augustine's commerce in the last years of the colonial period.

Joyce E. Harman's work is well researched and includes statistical evidence and insights into intercolonial trade operations of the eighteenth century. Employing the papers of the British Public Record Office, American Colonial Shipping Records, the East Florida Papers, and the *South Carolina Gazette*, the author has narrated a fascinating story of Anglo-Spanish commerce in Florida. Although the monograph might have depended upon some other Spanish sources, e.g., the Stetson Collection photostats, it shows careful scholarship and the appropriate interpretation of all the archival materials under scrutiny. Miss Harman's book is also replete with maps, cargo manifests, and shipping records relating to trade between certain English ports and Spanish St. Augustine. Such a monograph must be considered a very useful contribution to the historiography of colonial Florida.

Southern Illinois University

ROBERT L. GOLD

Holmes Valley: A West Florida Cradle of Christianity. By Elba Wilson Carswell. (Bonifay: Central Press, 1969. 145 pp. Preface, map, illustrations, index, selected references. \$3.80.)

Anyone who might question that Holmes Valley was in fact "a West Florida cradle of Christianity" need only read Mr. Carswell's book to be otherwise convinced. The author has quoted liberally from the works of two early travelers, John Lee Williams, the surveyor-historian, and the Rt. Rev. Michael

Portier, first Vicar Apostolic of Alabama and the Floridas and Bishop of Mobile. Drawing on these works and other source material, the author has skillfully set the stage for a substantial accomplishment: a history of the churches of the area from their genesis to the present day. Contained within this six-chapter blend are interesting and informative observations on the Indians of the Florida Panhandle and beyond, and the author's own conclusions on the derivation of the names of Choctawhatchee and Holmes Valley. In the latter instance neither is quite what one would expect.

The remainder of this work is devoted largely to the earliest religious denominations in the community, their houses of worship - the Moss Hill Methodist and Ebenezer Baptist Churches of Holmes Valley - and to those who served and attended those churches. It does, however, touch on other denominations and other churches of the neighboring hills and valleys, including Orange Hill Baptist and the Presbyterian Church of Euchee Valley. Sharing in this historical recognition are the Orange Hill Male and Female Academy and the Knox Hill Academy.

Absence of footnotes may well be greeted with mixed emotions: disappointment by the scholar and relief by the casual reader. Yet a careful examination of the selected references suggests that the author left no page unturned in his search for historical accuracy. The illustrations and the index are excellent, and the latter contributes materially to this book as a research tool. Almost nine pages of names appear in the text, and unquestionably these are valuable to the historian and genealogist, yet these names would have been no less useful assembled and categorized in an appendix. It is no reflection on this work to say that the physical properties of the book leave something to be desired. Perhaps budgetary considerations dictated the use of typewritten, offset-printed text along with staple fasteners in the binding, neither of which contributes to ease of reading.

The author has filled a void in a subject and a region of the "other Florida," the history of which has been little-known and long-neglected. This book therefore deserves a place in the library of the Florida history scholar and the casual reader alike.

Tampa, Florida

JOHN D. WARE

Papers: Jacksonville Historical Society, Volume V. By Dena Snodgrass. (Jacksonville: Jacksonville Historical Society, 1969. iii, 120 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$3.00.)

From the time of its inception, the history of the "Cow Ford" (Jacksonville), at the "S" bend of the "River of Many Names" has been fairly well documented. The Jacksonville Historical Society in addition had published previously four volumes of papers. Now, to add both depth of detail and color to the substantial writings of the past comes Volume V. It contains an interesting selection of sixteen sketches about Jacksonville and vicinity by Miss Dena Snodgrass, chosen and revised from a series of forty-three published in the *Florida Times-Union*, 1963-1967. Those who know Miss Snodgrass and her background for this task will not be disappointed by this new and discerning compilation.

After the lead article on "The River of Many Names," the St. Johns, there are others to prick any fancy. There is a sketch on our redoubtable founder himself, Isaiah D. Hart, together with a reproduction of his signature. This worthy compiled an estate of some \$55,000 in personal property plus extensive land holdings, a considerable accomplishment for 1861. A letter from his son Ossian B. Hart, the first native born Florida governor, is the subject of another article. Away from his home in Tampa, where he practiced law, to settle his father's estate, he wrote to his wife. His letter penned from "Plantation" contains homey details and husbandly tenderness. No other personal letter of Ossian Hart is known to exist.

Fort George Island and the several fascinating residents it harbored over the years were the gist of other articles. Starting with the swash-buckling Don Juan McQueen, original Spanish land grantee, to Spanish American War hero Admiral Victor Blue whose family is still there, there has been a parade of colorful people. Most colorful perhaps were Zepheniah Kingsley and his wife Madegigine Jai who later moved to Haiti. A Kingsley granddaughter, Anna Matilda McNeill, was "Whistler's Mother" painted by the famous artist, James McNeill Whistler. The "clang of the trolley" signalled a reminder of Jacksonville people and politics in the 1900s. The early gunsmith and arms manufacturer, Calvin Oak, is appraised, and the Great House built

by Lewis Fleming in 1857 at Hibernia, and so beautifully restored by the Ralph Gibsons, is recalled. The trading posts of John Spalding along the St. Johns, visited by William Bartram in the 1770s are described.

The author is well known in Florida historical circles. As past-president of the Jacksonville and Florida Historical Societies, she has brought to this undertaking professional competence and knowledge. The value of the papers is considerably enhanced by the addition of footnotes, bibliography, and index. The latter is the work of Miss Audrey Broward. The footnotes deserve attention since they contain suggestions for research particularly on the Kingsleys and Fort George Island. James C. Craig is editor and wrote the preface. As most historians know, historical writing at the local level is often shamefully neglected. Jacksonville is fortunate to have this new series of historical vignettes by a working historian. The author of all these concerned with the production of the "papers" are deserving of praise and credit.

Jacksonville, Florida

O. Z. TYLER, JR.

El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. By Donald G. Castanien. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969. xi, 154 pp. Preface, chronology, notes, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

El Inca: The Life and Times of Garcilaso de la Vega. By John Grier Varner, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968. xiv, 413 pp. Preface, illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Dr. Castanien's study of the literary work of Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca (1539-1616), the Peru-born natural son of a Spanish conquistador and a first cousin of the last emperor of the Incas, is Volume LXI in Twayne's World Author Series. This series surveys the major national writers of the world and their works. Dr. Varner, on the other hand, has written a biography placing El Inca's life in context with contemporary events. Castanien presents a chapter each for the Peruvian background, the writer's life, his works, his reputation as a historian, and the meaning of his writings. El Inca's production consisted

of a 1590 translation of Leon Hebreo's Italian *Dialoghi d'amore*, *La Florida del Inca* (1605), the *Comentarios reales* (1609), and the *Historia general del Peru*, published posthumously in 1617.

Varner divides his biography into a prelude, two parts, and a postlude. The prelude tells about Peru before and during the Spanish conquest. Part One records El Inca's birth, his ancestry, and his life in Peru until he left for Spain in 1560, and part two narrates his residence near his father's relatives in Cordoba Province. The postlude covers the life of El Inca's natural son by a lowly Spanish woman, and the influence of the Peruvian's writings on events in his country 150 years later. Castanien attempts to ascertain the purpose behind El Inca's work and the motives for his interpretation of Indian and Spanish life in Florida and Peru. On the other side, Varner wants to relate El Inca and his work with the social and political events and personalities existing in Peru, Portugal, and Spain.

Castanien and Varner agree in their views of El Inca's work. With Indians and *mestizos* in a lower rung of a caste-conscious society, El Inca sought a sense of value for himself and the Peruvians. The translation aimed at showing that he and his compatriots possessed intellectual capacity. Indians were not as barbaric as reputed by Spanish writers and were worthy of conversion to Christianity. Spain owed this much to the natives of Florida, Peru, and the rest of the New World. He wanted to reveal the splended heritage of Peruvians by writing for the first time the history of Incaic civilization, and he proclaimed it to be equal to that of the Spanish except for the absence of Christianity. Peru's natives had undergone heavy tribulations in enriching Spain materially, and therefore they should use their natural abilities to demand their rights as human beings. This exhortation quickened the spirit that eventually brought political independence.

Castanien's and Varner's sources include most of the books and articles written in Spanish on El Inca during the last twenty years. These works provide new data to English readers. Varner searched also for archival material in Peru, Mexico, and Spain, particularly in Montilla (where El Inca resided) and Cordoba. The authors have performed brilliant accomplishments. Castanien probes analytically and critically into the writings of El Inca in a restrained style and reveals the extent

that El Inca's works mirrored the conflict of his life. Varner expresses himself in controlled poetic and majestic sweeps befitting his subject, and he creates a bigger-than-life portrait of the introverted El Inca. These books conquer and will hold a significant place in the literature on this first Peruvian historical writer.

LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument
St. Augustine, Florida

The Creek War of 1813 and 1814. By H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball. Edited by Frank L. Owsley, Jr. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1969. lvii, 331 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$8.00.)

War Cries on Horseback: The Story of the Indian Wars of the Great Plains. By Stephen Longstreet. (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970. xvii, 336 pp. Prologue, epilogue, list of further reading. \$7.95.)

The Creek War published in 1895 remains the only book on that important episode known to this reviewer. Professor Owsley, in his nine-page introduction to the new edition, indicates the book's principal strength and weakness: that it does a good job of presenting the Indian point of view, but that it is not a complete history of the war because of its scant coverage of the Georgia armies, and especially of Andrew Jackson's decisive campaign against the Creeks. The redmen, "the free and brave warriors of the great Creek nation" are presented in the romantic style. (p. 203)

Professor Owsley helps by including in his introduction short but pertinent biographies of the two authors. Those two gathered a good deal of their material through talks with survivors or their descendents. Their product therefore is rich in local lore, and it is especially useful in pinpointing on the ground, at least as the ground was in 1895, the places where important events occurred. The authors show traces of racism with regard to blacks, but not reds. Professor Owsley and the University of Alabama Press have performed a major service in making

this rare and singular work available to more scholars. At the same time they uncover the need for more recent scholarship upon the same subject.

Stephen Longstreet's *War Cries on Horseback* has nothing in common with *The Creek War* except Indian fighting and sympathy for the Indians. It is about the Plains Indians, whereas *The Creek War* is about the forest Indians. The two had to be fought in different ways. Longstreet cites Fairfax Downey's *Indian Fighting Army* in his inadequate bibliography, but not Paul I. Wellman, who has written effectively on the warfare against the Plain's Indians. He copies neither Downey nor Wellman; he conveys the brutality of Indian Campaigns better than any other writer I have read. His tools are a detached cynicism, which appears to respect neither folkmyths nor religion, and vivid, impressionistic phrases. In his account Americans often killed Indian women and children without mercy; in it certain Indian fighters, usually given respectable ratings, are categorized as psychopaths, obsessed with killing. Of Colonel Chivington after the massacre of the Cheyennes in 1864, which bears the Chivington name, he writes, "Pleased as King David bringing in the foreskins of the Philistines, the colonel returned to Denver with . . . a hundred fresh scalps." (p. 147) Another example of the vivid, impressionistic sentence is, "There was no mercy on either side in this brittle biting cold, a world of white blotched with red stains." (p. 173)

Longstreet indicts white Americans as the chief aggressors. He communicates no romantic illusions about the Indian fighting army. He rehabilitates General Custer as a man of parts, but says that like the rest of the army, officers and men, he was "sexually fond of Indian girls." He asserts that the main pleasure projects of frontier army life were drinking, gambling, and fornication, with a good deal of adultery thrown in. Our Indian wars offer a rare place where a writer can shown the United States' worst side without being labeled a Communist. Halbert and Ball present this worst side gently and in the diction of a more Romantic era, but Longstreet does it bluntly in the harsh diction of Naturalism.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON

Memoria Sobre las Negociaciones Entre Espana y los Estados Unidos de America. By Luis de Onis. Introduction by Jack D. L. Holmes. (Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrua Turanzas, 1969. xl, 226. Coleccion Chimalistac, map, appendices. Paper; ca. \$30.00.)

If Luis de Onis y Gonzalez was not the most important Spanish minister to the United States, he is certainly the best known. Although the United States refused to recognize him as minister from 1809 to 1815 because of the Napoleonic usurpation in Spain, Onis remained in the United States and defended his country's interests. He so ardently opposed the activities of agents from Spain's revolting American colonies that he was once implicated in an assassination attempt upon Manuel Torres, an agent from Colombia. Onis protested violation of United States neutrality by Latin American revolutionaries and influenced Congress to pass legislation to block loopholes in the law. Legal remedies proved unsuccessful. The most significant act in his career, however, was the negotiation of the famous Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819, by which the United States received the Floridas and won recognition of its claims to territory to the Pacific Ocean. Samuel Flagg Bemis has concluded that negotiation of the treaty "was the greatest diplomatic victory ever won by an American Secretary of State [John Quincy Adams]." If this claim can be made for Adams, Onis staked no less a claim for himself in his *Memoria*, since he saved for Spain the vast territory of Texas and the Southwest to California.

When the Florida purchase treaty first reached Spain it was favorably received, but opponents of ratification soon appeared complaining that Spain had given up too much. The principal obstacle to acceptance of the treaty, however, involved large land grants in Florida made to certain royal favorites after the deadline for such grants had expired. Under the terms of the treaty these grants would be null and void. Onis dismayed by the delay in approving the treaty published his *Memoria* in 1820. It contained a summary of the treaty negotiations in which Onis defended his actions, argued against the validity of the late land grants, and urged approval of the treaty. The *Memoria* also included a general treatise upon the United States and several appendices among which were a draft of the treaty and copies

of propaganda pamphlets written and published by Onis in the United States under the pseudonym of "Verus." A map by the French geographer, Adrien H. Brue, printed with the *Memoria* showed the demarcation line. The map of North America used by Adams and Onis during their negotiations, an 1818 edition by John Melish, was not included. Onis' *Memoria* helped convince the new Spanish *Cortes* of the value of the treaty. After due deliberation the *Cortes* nullified the questionable land grants and ratified the treaty. A few weeks later the King shorn of much of his power by the recent Liberal revolution added his signature. Obviously, without Spanish approval the treaty would have been lost. Therefore, if the Transcontinental Treaty as some call it was one of the most notable accomplishments of United States diplomacy, Luis de Onis deserves a lion's share of the credit for its successful conclusion, and his *Memoria* must be considered an exceptional document.

The reproduction of the *Memoria* under review is a copy of the 1820 Madrid edition. It appears as Volume XVII in the *Coleccion Chimalistac de Libros y Documentos Acerca de la Nueva Espana*, a valuable but limited and expensive set of books and documents published in Spain. In a very able introduction Professor Jack D. L. Holmes summarizes United States-Spanish diplomacy from the American Revolution to 1819. He also provides biographical sketches of Adams and Onis including a brief historiography of the *Memoria*. Equally important is the select bibliography added by Holmes which reveals the need for a good biography of Onis. The reprinting of the *Memoria* in 1969 was a fitting salute to the sesquicentennial anniversary of the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 and the acquisition of the Floridas by the United States.

University of West Florida

WILLIAM S. COKER

The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census. By Philip D. Curtin.
(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969. xix, 338 pp.
Preface, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This latest work by Philip D. Curtin not only substantially augments what has been called "the slim bibliography of the slave trade," but it is a *tour de force* in the application of the

techniques of quantitative analysis to an historical problem that has traditionally been the subject of vague generalities and conflicting conclusions by historians. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* is not a book for the casual reader; it will not prove particularly instructive to the mathematically unsophisticated. Rather, it is a volume that is designed to serve as a source-book of as accurate information on the "numbers" of the Atlantic slave trade as can be secured through research and interpretation of relevant statistical data. It is a pioneering effort to end the predilection among historians of the slave trade to copy over and over "the flimsy results of unsubstantial guesswork" and to pass on from generation to generation "the hesitant guesses of the past" as hard data (p. 11), by creating a "new synthesis"-new knowledge derived from the exploration and manipulation of existing knowledge (xviii).

Through the use of computer and quantitative methods, Curtin achieves an impersonal, scholarly, and detailed statistical reconstruction of Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, Danish, and Dutch slave-trading activities within the conceptual framework of distribution in time and space. "Time" ranges from the fifteenth into the nineteenth centuries. The concept of "space" centers upon the geography of the trade as revealed through determination of various sources and locations of procurement in Africa and areas of distribution in the New World. The data for analysis is drawn from what the author calls "the literature of the slave trade"-recognized monographic studies that have been based upon such sources as government documents, company records, property inventories, food consumption and trade goods accounts, plantation records, parish reports, customs house figures, and shipping records. This array of quantitative and quantifiable information produces the wealth of charts, statistical tables, maps, graphs, and diagrams that may either delight or confound the reader, but which give impressive support to the conclusions that Curtin presents in the chapter entitled, "Major Trends." For many, this is the chapter which will be the true substance of the entire book, for whether the reader has understood the techniques of analysis and the mathematical calculations involved, it is here that the results are translated into the hard data of the new synthesis. The results are the evidence that will occasion revision of long established opinions

and interpretations and suggest new research problems in the demographic and societal history of Africa. These results are the evidence that this book which is modestly subtitled . . . *A Census*, may well be . . . *The Census* of the Atlantic slave trade.

Florida A & M University

FRANCES J. STAFFORD

Correspondence of James K. Polk: Volume I, 1817-1832. Edited by Herbert Weaver and Paul H. Bergeron. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969. xxxviii, 610 pp. Preface, acknowledgements, bibliographical note, index. \$15.00.)

This is Volume One of a projected multi-volume collection of letters to and from James K. Polk. It covers the years 1817 through 1832, and it is truly an attractive beginning of a worthwhile project. The editors propose eventually to make available all Polk correspondence regardless of whether or not it has been previously published. This volume is impressive in its completeness, yet for the study of state and national affairs it may prove the least valuable of the proposed volumes. There is little extant family correspondence for this period - no letters from Polk's wife, only one from his mother, none from his sisters, and only a few from his brothers. These throw little light upon family affairs. Neither is there much material on state or national affairs. There are very few letters to or from national figures and even the few from Andrew Jackson are of minor importance.

Still this is an important volume and it probably proved the most difficult for the editors. It is history at the grassroots. If Polk did not truly consider himself the servant of his constituents they certainly considered themselves his sovereign. One constituent jokingly addressed him: "Thos. J. Porter one of the sovereign in and about the land of Duck [River] to his servant and friend James K. Polk Send greetings and enquiries for news." The numerous veterans of the Revolution and the War of 1812 who had settled in Middle Tennessee expected their congressman to secure pensions for them. Their sons and grandsons wanted federal jobs, the establishment of post offices and mail routes to serve their local communities, and newspapers from the outside. Polk should have considered himself fortunate

if he did not lose heavily from advancing money for scores of subscriptions to the *Washington Globe*, the *National Intelligencer*, and the *United States Telegraph*. After the break between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, however, few constituents wished to subscribe to the last. "I would take Duff Greens paper too," wrote one friend, "but he is such a hell fired rascal that I being myself a virgin in politicks . . . I am afraid he might beget me with bastard opinions."

It is in the identification of these often obscure and semi-literate petitioners that the editors have performed their most difficult and valuable service. Their success is almost unbelievable. As a native of the area once included in Polk's congressional district the reviewer is fascinated by the local history revealed in these letters from the grassroots. Professors Weaver and Bergeron should be complimented for a job well done.

University of Georgia

JOSEPH H. PARKS

The Early Jews of New Orleans. By Bertram W. Korn. (Waltham, Massachusetts: American Jewish Historical Society, 1969. xxi, 382 pp. Preface, chronology, illustrations, abbreviations, acknowledgements, index. \$12.50.)

This excellent volume should appeal to Jews interested in their American experience, students of the frontier, and to historians of the lower South. It is the first major documented study of Jewry in the Gulf coast area, concentrating on the years 1757-1850. Who were these Jews and why did they come to New Orleans, Pensacola, and other settlements of the region? Dr. Korn concludes, "They came from New York City, from Charleston, and from England, France, Holland and the German-speaking lands, drawn by the promise of wealth, success and personal fulfillment, driven, too, by personal failure or lack of opportunity in their old homes. . . . Some found permanent security, prosperity and fame; others ended in bankruptcy, defeat or death. Some made a high mark, wrote their names large in the economic and political life of the city; others left a bare record of their passage. Most of them were engaged in the hectic commercial pursuits of the city . . . but there was a

sprinkling of attorneys, medical men, cultural leaders. Drama there was in the lives of many, duels, divorces, public conflicts; others lived quietly. They were people, and people are always interesting. But they were Jews, too."

The author, Senior Rabbi of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia, is well-known for his classic study of Jews during the Civil War and for thought-provoking monographs on such New Orleans Jews as Judah Touro and Benjamin Levy. In this, his most notable contribution to date, he builds on his earlier research and combines an exhaustive search for documents in archives and private papers spread over several continents and numerous countries. He particularly employs the valuable Notarial Archives of New Orleans, and the Louisiana parish (county) church and public records, an exhaustive study of all New Orleans newspapers, cemetery files, and innumerable published and secondary sources. Readers are advised to use two bookmarks - one for the formidable array of detailed notes in the rear, which do not confine themselves to mere bibliographical references, but add to his narrative additional data of great value-and one for the scintillating narrative itself, characterized by the author's superb command of the English language and how to express his story with good humor and sympathy.

Dr. Korn refers to these Jews as his people and is generally sympathetic to them, although Judah Touro comes in for a strict berating because of his failure to support the early establishment of a synagogue in New Orleans-Temple Shanarai-Chasset was not officially organized until 1827. The author notes that prejudice against Jews in New Orleans was notable by its absence, particularly when compared with other areas of the United States. He explains this by saying that New Orleans Jews considered themselves as Jews second, but as Americans and New Orleanians *first*.

The volume is generally free from errors, although this reviewer noted several: Baton Rouge did *not* lack a military force of regular troops of the Louisiana Infantry Regiment (p. 107) ; the AGI, Cuba documents are in Sevilla, not Havana (p. 283) ; and West Florida Protestant marriage records *are* to be found, at least those concerning the Spanish Mobile District, 1780-1813 (p. 47). These nit-picking remarks do not detract

from a book that is destined to earn a permanent place in the historical annals of the Jews, Southern history, and the frontier.

University of Alabama in Birmingham JACK D. L. HOLMES

In Pirate Waters. By Richard Wheeler. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969. 191 pp. Preface, map, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

Nineteen year old Lieutenant David Porter, USN, relieved his faint-hearted captain of command in Haitian waters and successfully repelled twelve barges of picaroons attacking the sixty-foot schooner *Experiment* and her merchant convoy in January 1800. Because Porter succeeded and later gave credit to his commander, his act of insubordination was not officially acknowledged. This was the beginning of David Porter's career as a suppressor of pirates in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico. The picaroons, led by the mulatto general Andre Rigaud, were defeated by Haiti's liberator Toussaint L'Ouverture later in the year and they ceased to be a problem.

Master Commandant Porter became commander of the New Orleans station in 1808 with orders to suppress the Baratarians pirates led by the notorious Jean Laffite. Porter brought some of his captured prizes to the district court at New Orleans where the intimate connection between the Baratarians and local officials resulted in the pirates bringing suit against Porter for detaining their vessels! Eventually he won, but the proceedings frustrated him greatly.

Captain Porter returned to sea in 1822 as commander of the West India Squadron with orders to establish a base "at Thompson's Island, usually called Key West," in order to protect American merchantmen in the Caribbean. When two years later one of Porter's officers was briefly imprisoned by the alcalde of Foxardo, Puerto Rico, he led an armed force ashore where he demanded and received a public apology. Porter was court-martialed, found guilty, and given a six month suspension for this breach of international relations. Feeling that he had been disgraced, he resigned his commission, and, for the next three years, organized the new Republic of Mexico's navy. In 1829

President Andrew Jackson offered him a diplomatic post which he accepted, and his last twelve years were spent in Turkey where he died in 1843.

The author states this book is to "stir up a fresh breeze" for David Porter's reputation which has been becalmed, and, if so, this reviewer feels that Porter's work against piracy was too limited a portion of his life to do more than create a puff of wind. Whatever the author's avowed intention, it is apparent that he is using David Porter as a central theme around which to spin pirate yarns. The book is unencumbered by scholarly impedimenta, and, although there are many quotations, there are no footnotes. In addition, most of the works mentioned in the bibliography are published sources of a secondary nature so that in the final analysis the author has not produced anything new on piracy, but he does give the reader an enjoyable adventure narrative.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

Bourbonism and Agrarian Protest: Louisiana Politics, 1877-1900.

By William Ivy Hair. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. viii, 305 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, appendix, essay on authorities, index. \$7.95.)

With a cosmopolitan urban center and a heritage of French culture, Louisiana has always seemed to be a slightly exotic southern state. According to William Ivy Hair, associate professor of history at Florida State University, however, Louisiana differs from other southern states only in degree, and Louisiana politics in the late nineteenth century fit nicely into the interpretive framework established by C. Vann Woodward two decades ago in *Origins of the New South*. It was a period dominated by a repressive and corrupt "Bourbon" oligarchy controlled by business interests and ineffectively challenged by successive waves of agrarian reformers culminating in the unsuccessful Populist third party movement of the 1890s. In *Bourbonism and Agrarian Protest*, Professor Hair deviates from the Woodward model only to argue, with great reason, that Louisiana's Bourbons were less than paternalistic in race relations, and that the period of their dominance was more corrupt,

oppressive, and violent in Louisiana than elsewhere. Such exceptionalism appears justified by the existence of the lottery, the thwarted black exodus of 1879, and the brutally suppressed sugar workers strike of 1887. Professor Hair narrates these stories in effective detail and pleasingly clear prose.

The author also does a number of other things very well. He is extremely sensitive to the thread of race relations and makes the most of the limited amount of traditional source material to achieve some understanding of how blacks were reacting to their declining status as the end of the century approached. Though such heavy reliance on newspapers can result in an unenlightening tendency to see the issues of the period in the same terms as contemporaries saw them, it can on occasion yield interesting material. The indications of biracialism in Louisiana's labor movement prior to 1900 are welcome additions to the growing body of similar evidence from elsewhere, and Professor Hair's discovery of the prevalence in Louisiana of rural anti-Semitism is fresh and will rekindle a smoldering dispute.

Other of Mr. Hair's findings are likely to be healthily controversial as well. While recognizing in the Populists both progressive and retrogressive tendencies, he stresses the former without explaining the apparent paradox of the coexistence of the two. The Populist bid for Negro support thus is termed a "brave and sincere effort to break down some of the awful barriers which lay between ordinary whites and blacks," but a good bit of the evidence (e.g. fusion with lily-white Republicans) would support the assertion that the Populists were just as racist as the Democrats or that at best their appeal for black votes was narrowly pragmatic. The idea that the desire of the Bourbons to avoid class warfare is a sufficient explanation of disfranchisement will probably not withstand the test of closer analysis.

But one of the strengths of this superior study in fact is that it suggests the direction of future scholarship. Some imaginative attention to the patrician reform forces that opposed the Bourbons in the 1880s, the urban progressives who began stirring in the 1890s, the aborted alliance between the Populists and urban reformers, and the lack of a Populist insurrection might expand and reshape our current conceptions of the history of the period. Though one cannot be sure until it is tried, a more

sophisticated quantitative analysis of election returns and legislative behavior, and a more rigorous definition and intellectual analysis of "Bourbonism" and its opposition, might increase our understanding of the political forces at work in the late nineteenth century. These are all matters for future investigation. Meanwhile, students of the Gilded Age, the South, and race relations should give Professor Hair's work a warm welcome.

Princeton University

SHELDON HACKNEY

Liberalism in the New South: Social Reformers and the Progressive Movement. By Hugh C. Bailey. (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1969. 290 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

Professor Bailey's argument is that progressivism was southern as well as national and that Southerners contributed to its national development. To do this he weaves his story primarily around five men: George Washington Cable, forerunner and last prominent pre-modern Southerner to seek full racial equality; Booker T. Washington who temporarily put aside equal rights in favor of improvement through accommodation; Walter Hines Page who hoped that industrialism and education would be the solvent; Edgar Gardner Murphy who wanted justice, education, and segregation; and Alexander J. McKelway who carried on the fight against child labor. Altogether, it is a case well made. Following the general pattern suggested by Professor Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., in his "Voices of Protest" article which appeared in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (LII, 1955), does not basically improve on what we know about many of his protagonists from existing biographical work, including his own excellent study of Edgar G. Murphy, but he effectively and informatively weaves them together. The book is a well researched and needed general account of the middle class leadership of southern welfare progressivism.

Bailey's primary concern is the rhetoric and analysis of the social argument. It is not, for the most part, concerned with personality, or the regulatory, organizational, economic, and political aspects of southern progressivism or with the southern contribution to congressional progressivism. By his measure,

the broadest goal of the reformers was to teach Southerners to escape from a poor, unproductive, isolated, provincial society which squandered its talents on self-deception and self-intimidation. It is difficult, however, to measure, inferentially, how much this was accomplished by limited state reforms and by national political influence in Washington. More usefully, Bailey underlines two basic tragedies of the era. These are that southern patricianism gravitated toward rather than transformed the mores of the new industrialism and that it was a bad bargain for everyone to trade a concern with Negro rights and power for advancement through dependency.

Overall, the book's strength is in dealing with the concrete, rather than the general, for there is a vagueness in the use of the concepts of progressivism, liberalism, conversion of the Bourbons, the role of New South industrialism, and in many of the sentences in which such terms appear. But it is a highly useful book that draws much together and points the way for further research.

University of Florida

DAVID CHALMERS

Huey Long. By T. Harry Williams. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. viv, 907 pp. Preface, illustrations, epilogue, bibliographical essay, index. \$12.50.)

This biography is exhaustive in its coverage and definitive in its scholarship, and it is of a size usually reserved for famous national statesmen of long standing, including the more notable of the presidents. Yet Huey was only a one-term governor and a one-term senator of a state not usually conspicuous in national politics. While his reform program in Louisiana-paved roads, free bridges, better schools, free textbooks, an upgraded state university, more medical doctors, a charity hospital, severance taxes-was revolutionary for Louisiana, it had no such significance for most other parts of the United States. The program of Floyd B. Olson, who was governor of Minnesota at the time Long was governor of Louisiana, was more seminal in its suggestions of future agrarian and industrial reforms for a social-democratic society. Long had scarcely achieved his stride in national politics when he was assassinated.

Then why this voluminous biography? Is it because Huey symbolizes the southern agrarian demagogue? In understanding him, do we get a better grasp of the other stormy petrels of southern history? Long was certainly in the tradition of the southern fire-eaters, but he was not typical of them. He did not race-bait or ride to power on racism. He was not a Protestant fundamentalist. He became a favorite among the Catholic Cajuns. He counted many Jewish citizens among his closest personal and political friends. He was not a prohibitionist. Promises made to the "wool-hat boys" at the forks of the creek were kept. He was far more benefactor than exploiter. While all of this is important, it hardly seems to rate so detailed a biography.

Because of the sensational way he operated on the national stage, particularly the way he attracted to himself the non-Marxist radical forces impatient with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senator Long confidently believed that he was headed for the presidency and a great place in history. If the author does not actually accept Huey's personal version of his own destiny, he at least goes along with it sufficiently to make it the dramatic story of the last third portion of the book. There is no doubt that Long was aiming at a third party in 1936, one which would subtract enough strength from Roosevelt to elect the Republicans, thereby leaving the field to himself for a triumphant showdown with the bumbling GOP in 1940.

But is this not moonshine? After its smashing victories in the congressional elections of 1934, the Rooseveltian Democratic party stood at a pinnacle of power rare in American history, while the Republicans were demoralized and reached their lowest ebb since the time they had become a major national party. By 1934, Roosevelt himself had become a passionately beloved national hero. Even had Long corralled all the lunatic fringe opposition - the Epic planners of Upton Sinclair, the Coughlinites, the Townsendites - it is difficult to see how at best his third party could have captured more than two or three states in the lower Mississippi Valley and two or three of the northern plains states. Populist appeals were weaker than they had been in the 1890s; by the 1930s American voters were more middle class and sophisticated: and besides most of the Populist-minded had found their leader in Roosevelt. Also countering

Huey's undoubted political fertility was the widespread national image of him as dictator, vulgarian, and clown.

But had not Huey already made his mark? Was it not fear of him that caused Roosevelt to move sharply to the left in 1935 by espousing social security and national taxation as a means of redistributing wealth? Perhaps the puckish FDR was motivated in part by "stealing a march on Huey," but there is much evidence that this factor alone can scarcely account for the greater social emphasis in the Roosevelt program after 1935.

What seems more probable is that Long would have become even more of an isolationist and Roosevelt-hater as World War II approached. Then, viewing American involvement in war as a further concentrator of wealth, he probably would have become an American Firster; and after that, like his former subaltern Gerald L. K. Smith, a leader of the American right wing (not the same thing as European fascism), thus in his later career fighting many of those measures for which he had stood earlier. From such probable bitter frustration, Long and his historical reputation were saved by the timeliness and manner of his death.

Despite all this, Williams's monumental biography is more than justified, for it is a classic study of practical politics on all levels, particularly on the grass-roots level. This complex art-with its own set of values, its peculiar motivations, its gamesmanship, its professional tools and stratagems, its flexibility, posturings, ruthlessness, volatility, and violence - the author, unlike most academic historians, thoroughly understands. He handles it even more expertly than a Claude G. Bowers, an Albert J. Beveridge, a George Fort Milton, or a Theodore H. White. Louisiana, no less than a Greek city state of antiquity or an Italian Renaissance principality, was a fit microcosm for such a study. In Louisiana, there was piney-woods shrewdness and Latin finesse, individualistic red-neck "cussedness" and French paternalism, and a conflict of the deceptively genteel privileged classes from out of the past, the aggressive forces spawned by a raw new industrialism, and the belatedly aroused Populist aspirations of the masses. And all of these came out of a Louisiana tradition which delighted in smart political professionalism for its own sake.

In addition, Williams is every inch the professional historian. He has made invaluable use of his several hundred tape-recorded interviews with persons active in the politics of the Long era. There is a discerning analysis of the socio-economic situation in Louisiana which before Huey's time had broken the forces of Populism and Progressivism in that state. There is also a provocative discussion of the role of the mass leader in history and of the various types of popular "demagogues."

Again, an authentic personal profile of Long comes out of this study. In Williams's hands, the "Kingfish" emerges not as a tricky vulgarian but as a genius in the art of practical politics. Huey did many vulgar, ruthless, and cruel things; but his nimble, orderly mind and his considerable introspection raised him far above the vulgarian or the ordinary politician and caused him to ponder the perennial question of means and ends-what the politician must do which he does not believe, in order to achieve the things in which he does believe. However, the continued relentlessness of the anti-Long forces drove Huey to lose his appreciable detachment and objectivity; he pursued his Louisiana enemies after they had in fact become impotent; and he was concocting additional measures to centralize still more power in his state organization when his blood was spilled on the Marble Floor.

University of Florida

WILLIAM G. CARLETON

The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950's. By Numan V. Bartley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. ix, 390 pp. Preface, illustrations, essay on authorities, index. \$10.00.)

It was only yesterday-but already the decade of the 1950s is taking shape as history. Professor Bartley of the Georgia Institute of Technology, has produced a readable book on the response throughout the South to the 1954 school desegregation decision. Dr. Bartley's study will appeal to the general reader as well as to historians.

Events in Arkansas and Virginia are stressed; the coverage of Florida is relatively unsatisfactory. The struggles in Florida over interposition and school closing measures are sketched, but the

boldness and scope of the leadership of Governor LeRoy Collins is not adequately assessed. There is no discussion of Florida's pioneering biracial commissions, or of the Collins plan for joint federal-state desegregation panels. Such Florida figures as Farris Bryant and Haydon Burns, though mentioned in the text, are not listed in the index. More attention to Florida might have disclosed that the business community and the press could be stronger bulwarks of moderation than the impression given by the author.

Some newcomers to Florida may be surprised to find the Collins administration portrayed in terms of "business conservatism." In this characterization, Bartley follows William C. Havard and Loren P. Beth in their *The Politics of Mis-Representation: Rural-Urban Conflict in the Florida Legislature*. This approach is closer to the truth than the caricature of "Liberal LeRoy" drawn by Collins' opponents in the 1968 U. S. Senate campaign, yet it is not quite the whole truth. Some misclassification takes place when the bulk of southern leaders are divided into the categories of "neo-Bourbon," "neo-Populist," and "business-conservative." Since the old Populists sometimes turned more racist than the old Bourbons, and the latter were often the "business-conservative" proponents of a New South, it is questionable how much the resurrection of these labels clarifies the trends of the 1950s. Whatever may be said about the terminology, however, Bartley clearly shows that massive resistance was more a conscious creation by leaders than an inevitable response from the Southern white masses.

Bartley relied heavily upon the summaries of the Southern Education Reporting Service and the newspaper files of the Southern Regional Council. More material will become available over the years through dissertation research and the opening of private papers. But until much sifting has been done, this book will be our most useful and balanced summary of a crucial era. Dealing as it does with a past that is far from dead, the book does not pull its punches. Both the author and the publishers deserve commendation for courage and scholarly integrity.

Florida Southern College

ROBERT H. AKERMAN

Wild Refuge: Story of National Wildlife Refuges. By George Laycock. (Garden City: Natural History Press, 1969. 151 pp. Appendix, index. \$3.50.)

A Florida "first" launched the United States upon its nationwide project to give wildlife, which was being crowded out by progress, a chance to survive. In the process several disappearing species were saved from extinction. The national program began with the creation in 1903 of the Pelican National Wildlife Refuge, about midway along Florida's east coast. There now are more than 200 such refuges, thirty in Florida. They are in every state and the Aleutians and embrace more than 28,000,000 acres of land and water. It is the world's largest system of wildlife refuges.

With an easy and engaging clarity of expression, lightly touching the dramatic and reflecting the authority of experience and careful research, Laycock tells how this conservation and rehabilitation project evolved to rescue varieties of wildlife ranging from birds to moose and bison. The author works out his theses by taking his readers (beginning at Pelican Island) to fifteen of the refuges. In each chapter he introduces the area, its wildlife crisis, how it was overcome, and gives an insight into the life-conduct and habits of its animals: Clumsy pelicans do not look as if they have practiced diving for a million years; elk, seldom tame, have learned that people treat them well in winter; antelopes, fastest of runners, do not stand to fight; the trumpeter swan is the largest waterfowl anywhere. In the Klamath Basin on the California-Oregon border (71,000 acres) where as many as 5,000,000 wild ducks settle on the Pacific Flyway the manager raises tons of barley to keep the birds from depleting the profitable barley and rice fields of neighboring farmers.

Laycock does not preach, yet a reading will change an innate vandal to a conservationist and heighten the fervor of the stalwart. There are forty superb photograph reproductions, many of them by the author.

Miami, Florida

JOHN D. PENNEKAMP

The National Register of Historic Places, 1969. By United States Department of Interior. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office. xiv, 352 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, index, illustrations. \$5.25.)

This is the first biennial compilation in book form of *The National Register of Historic Places*. It was compiled in the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Department of the Interior, and all photographs used are from the National Park Service. Future listings in this *National Register* will be made through additions to the National Park Service by acts of Congress, designations as National Historic Landmarks by the secretary of the interior, and by "nominations through appropriate channels by the several states." The arrangement of the historic landmarks is by state and territory, listed alphabetically. There is also an index complete with cross references, where the name of each individual landmark can be found. The section on "Notes on Arrangement and Terminology of Entries" is also quite helpful in the use of the book.

Floridians, of course, will be most interested in the entries from their own state. Florida has fourteen entries listed, ranging from Fort San Carlos de Barrancas in Pensacola to Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas. There are excellent photographs of Fort Matanzas, Fort Jefferson, and Fort Carlos de Barrancas. Though the emphasis is on Spanish Florida, there are two twentieth century entries, the Ernest Hemingway House in Key West and the Pelican Island National Wildlife Refuge in Indian River county. *The National Register of Historic Places* is a fine reference tool, and it is hoped that it will continue to be issued biennially.

MARGARET L. CHAPMAN

University of South Florida Library