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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

Billion-Dollar Sandbar: A Biography of Miami Beach. By Polly Redford. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1970. 306 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, appendix, bibliography, notes and sources, index. \$6.95.)

About five years ago, says Polly Redford, Russell Pancoast, a Miami Beach pioneer and son-in-law of John S. Collins for whom the avenue at the beach was named, brought a big book of pictures and talked about them to members of the Coconut Grove Civic Club. His photographs and stories of mangroves, dredging, Flagler, Fisher, Lummus, the Brickells, Indians, Commodore Munroe, and other pioneers of Miami, Coconut Grove, and Miami Beach, gave Mrs. Redford a pungent desire to write about that desolate strip of billion-dollar sand - from the Indians to Jackie Gleason. The result is a documentary, "addressed to a hypothetical visitor to Miami Beach - the new leisure class that's on the move, inevitably, inexorably drawn to South Florida in its pursuit of happiness."

"Miami Beach," according to Mrs. Redford, "is the center of the pleasure industry, a place where prepackaged dreams automatically come true. And since the American Dream has for more than a century been one of leisure and affluence, Miami Beach has very sensibly dedicated itself to the proposition that all men should live like millionaires, if only for two weeks. And there more shoe salesmen than millionaires." "Miami Beach is the most unbelievable phenomena of the modern world!" *Billion-Dollar Sandbar* is, she says, a book about money.

Mrs. Redford proceeds with vigor to call her Indians, pioneers, gangsters, politicians, and in-betweens by name. Of the Tekesta clay pots - "Takesta, Tequeste, Tegesta, Tequesta"- she claims to have picked up broken pieces by the thousands along local beaches and creekbeds. "In our garage we have a basketful that we found on a little beach near Biscayne Bay, along with a human arm bone, and the remains of fish and sea turtle that the owner of the arm once ate."

Enhanced by her personal experiences that deal with history of South Florida and conservation, the primary subject of the book is Carl Fisher. A bonanza of Fisher Papers, moist and stuck together in a vault at the Historical Society of South Florida, were spread out and dried on the Redford lawn at Little Avenue in Coconut Grove. Fisher's second wife, Margaret, aware of his eventual place in history, although he was a pain to live with, saved "every scrap of paper - old photographs, business correspondence, town menus, check stubs, income tax forms, auditors' reports, personal letters, newspaper clippings, pictures of his early racing cars, letters from his mistresses, bankruptcy proceedings, telegrams from the elephant trainer, divorce papers of his first wife Jane, advertising copy, announcements of balloon races, family records, maps of Alton Beach, minutes of Lincoln Highway Association meetings, lists of books to read, medical reports, orders to bootleggers - no more uprorious life was ever so thoroughly documented." Carl Fisher rises and falls, just like it happened.

You will also untangle why Flagler made a deal with Julia Tuttle, why the Astors, Armours, Goulds, and Rockefellers stayed at the Royal Palm, why Miami in those years had it over Palm Beach, how Rosie Weiss established and influenced South Beach by her goodness and optimism, and how and when the gentiles became the minority. You will capture the spirit of Henry B. Lum, the near-forgotten man who started the whole thing at Miami Beach by running off the crocodiles in hopes of making a fortune on coconuts - "not alligators, but the American saltwater crocodile (*Crocodylus acutus*) now virtually extinct in the United States."

As an amused observed of people, a careful historian and good writer, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar*, Mrs. Redford's book will attract a wider audience than the hypothetical tourist. The sunburned shoe salesmen and the millionaires, however, who continue to find Miami Beach the phenomena of the modern world will like what they read about themselves.

Polly Redford's working title - *It's Been a Business To Do Pleasure With You*.

Coconut Grove, Florida

Kathryn Hall Proby

The Tampa of My Childhood, 1897-1907. By Susie Kelly Dean. (Tampa: Sylvia Dean Harbert, 1966. 53 pp. Introduction, illustrations. \$4.95; \$2.00 paper.)

On St. Andrews Bay, 1911-1917: A Sequel. By Susie Kelly Dean. (Tampa: Sylvia Dean Harbert, 1969. 67 pp. Preface, illustrations. \$4.95; \$2.00 paper.)

These two books share one thing in common: they portray the recollections of people, places, things, and experiences of a remarkably perceptive individual from her childhood to young adulthood, albeit in separate locales and necessarily of different years.

In the first of these two books Susie Kelly Dean describes in succinct manner the Tampa of some 15,000 persons immediately preceding and following the turn of the century. The streets—some deep with sand, some lighted by gas, others by electricity—along which horse-drawn carriages and wagons made their way; the blacksmith shop, livery stable, meat market, “racket” store, and other businesses and their proprietors of a bygone day: all are figuratively brought to life and identified by the author. With her parents she saw Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders as they drilled in preparation for Cuba and the capture of San Juan Hill. She recalls the day President McKinley was assassinated and the sadness of this tragedy. She recounts the names of many Tampanns who might also have shared these experiences. Few would be living today.

Her train trips to Harney and her grandfather’s farm, along with her early years of residence in the present downtown area of Tampa provide both rural and urban setting for her childhood recollections. After several years Susie Kelly moved to a new home and neighborhood of some fifteen or twenty houses on the west side of the Hillsborough River—Hyde Park was then considered the outskirts of town. Although she was a Protestant, she received her early education in the Convent of the Holy Names. She recalls with delight her recollections of these years.

The author relates other noteworthy events of the era: an all-day steamer ride to St. Petersburg, up the Manatee River to Ellenton and return to Tampa; rides by individuals and groups

in the open trolley cars; Sunday walks under the spreading live oaks of the Garrison; picnics at Ballast Point and Picnic Island off Port Tampa City; riding in the first or second Gasparilla parade; and the excitement of Tampa's first automobile. These are some of the highlights of the author's recollections of the town of her childhood.

If Tampa seemed at times provincial, what must have been the innermost thoughts of the teen-age Susie Dean as she arrived at Panama City, Florida, on a very hot day of August 1911? The final leg of her journey was the eighty-two miles from Dothan, Alabama, which took some eight hours aboard the wood-burning train known locally as the "Gallberry Special." Certain of these impressions she divulges as she begins her sequel. The author's listing of Panama City families reads like a who's who of the early settlers of this Panhandle town, if not of the entire bay area. Her references to certain establishments and early landmarks may be regarded in much the same light: the St. Andrews Bay Seminary in Cromanton, the steamer *Tarpon*, Bunker's Cove, the Magnolia Hotel, the Beach Drive to St. Andrews, and many more. In 1913, when Bay County was created, the author was present at the celebration in the city park in commemoration of the event.

It is hoped that this reviewer may be forgiven a brief personal reference. He was born and reared in St. Andrews, now part of Panama City, and has subsequently lived in Tampa for many years. Although of a later generation, he nevertheless shares with the author a first-hand knowledge of certain of her recollections of St. Andrews Bay. As an interested student of Florida history he has read much about the early days of Tampa; his knowledge of the author's observations of her childhood town is therefore of an acquired rather than of a direct nature, shared, none the less.

Religion and music have filled an important part of the life of Susie Kelly Dean, and her commitment to both are evident in her works. Her delightful little books are obviously a labor of love and deserve somewhat better organization and continuity, both geographic and chronological. Notwithstanding, they are highly readable and easily transport the mind of the reader to certain bygone days of Tampa and St. Andrews Bay,

Florida. Copies may be ordered from the author, Box 7372, Tampa 33603.

Tampa, Florida

John D. Ware

A Comparison of Formative Cultures in the Americas: Diffusion or the Psychic Unity of Man. By James A. Ford. *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, Vol. II. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969. xvi, 211 pp. Introduction, preface, postscript, tables, figures, charts, bibliography. \$7.75.)

James A. Ford died in 1968 in Gainesville, Florida, where he had been associated with the Florida State Museum. This important book, completed just before his death, is the culminating work of a productive and very imaginative scholar of American archaeology.

Ford's topic is the spread of the culture traits which led to the development of civilization in the New World. Specifically, he is concerned with the period from about 3,000 B. C. to approximately the time of Christ, "during which the elements of ceramics, ground stone tools, handmade figurines, and manioc and maize agriculture were being diffused and welded into the socioeconomic life of the people living in the region extending from Peru to the eastern United States." Ford endorses the interpretation of the archaeologists Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans that early Formative culture traits were brought by sea from Japan to the coast of Ecuador starting about 3,000 B.C. He traces from there a series of migrations and diffusions which spread these traits over much of America during the next 2,000 years.

Two important movements were into the southeastern United States directly from the southern Caribbean. The first took place about 2,400 B.C. It brought fiber-tempered pottery, which had been developed in northern Colombia, and certain pottery decorative elements ultimately of Ecuador origin to the Stallings Island archaeological complex of the Savannah River area of Georgia. Four centuries later, a similar colonization was responsible for the "Orange" culture complex of the St. Johns River, Florida.

Such early movements transmitted knowledge of ceramic manufacture and certain other traits, but they had little effect on the ancient "archaic" pattern of living in the areas to which the traits were introduced. As Ford sees it, the real impetus for culture change came shortly after 1,500 B.C. with the spread of a religio-political system demanding great public works. Accompanying and probably responsible for this system was maize agriculture, which had developed gradually in highland Mexico.

The significant features of the new religious and social system first appeared rather suddenly as the Olmec culture of the Mexican gulf coast. The brilliant Olmec culture set the pattern for the later civilizations of Mesoamerica. Direct contact with the Olmec seems to have triggered the Chavin culture of Peru, from which stemmed the civilizations of the central Andes. In North America, Olmec influence was responsible for the cultural development represented by the mounds at Poverty Point, Louisiana, and later by the Adena-Hopewell and derived cultures of eastern and central United States.

In presenting his case, Ford marshals a great amount of data on chronology and trait distributions, and makes detailed comparisons between archaeological complexes. The arguments are directed mainly to specialists in American archaeology; though lucidly written, the book is not intended for quick or easy reading. Ford's diffusionist thesis is highly controversial. Some archaeologists will reject it almost entirely; others will have varying degrees of specific disagreement. But nearly all will agree that Ford has made a powerful argument from the interconnection of American Formative cultures, and that his work lays down a challenge which will stimulate new thinking and new research directions in American archaeology.

*Florida State Museum,
University of Florida*

William R. Bullard, Jr.

Militarists, Merchants, and Missionaries. Edited by Eugene R. Huck and Edward H. Moseley. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1970. xi, 172 pp. Introduction, appendix, notes, tables. 5.00.)

This work is an homenaje to a popular and distinguished

scholar and teacher, Dr. Alfred Barnaby Thomas, by his former students. Before retiring recently from the University of West Florida, Dr. Thomas had a long and fruitful teaching career at the universities of Oklahoma and Alabama. The sub-title of the book is *United States Expansion in Middle America*, but the topics included range more widely than the subtitle suggests.

Topics covered are "Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Georgia Country, 1670-1691"; "Anglo-Spanish Negotiations Involving Central America in 1783"; "The Religious Impact of the American Occupation of Mexico City, 1847-1848"; "The Forty-Niners in Panama"; "Southern Baptists in Cuba, 1886-1916"; "United States Conquest of the Mexican Market as Seen by British Officials in 1895-1905"; "Albert Edward Bishop and the Establishment of the Central American Mission in Guatemala, 1899-1922"; "The Role of Aviation in Mexican-United States Relations, 1912-1929"; "The Caribbean-Vital Link for Western Hemisphere Air Defense During World War II"; and, "Congress Investigates Puerto Rico, 1943-1944."

The subjects thus range from colonial international frictions to religious competition to commercial rivalries to twentieth-century aviation and Puerto Rican affairs, and they reflect the wide-ranging interests of the man in whose honor they have been published. Floridians will find the first essay, on Anglo-Spanish rivalry in the Georgia country, 1670-1691, by Fred Lamar Pearson, Jr., especially interesting, for seventeenth-century Georgia was part of Spanish Florida. The essay surveys Spanish and French activities in Florida, the Jesuit and Franciscan missionary efforts, and the contest for the friendship of the Indians. In 1666 a young doctor, Henry Woodward, went from Charleston to live among the Indians and learn their languages, and for a time he even served as physician to the town and garrison of St. Augustine. Woodward's knowledge of the Indians was vital to the English effort to compete for the fur trade. The Spanish countered by establishing a military post - Fort Apalachicola on the Chattahoochee river, but ordered it demolished in 1691. Though it had been built to undermine English influence, it resulted in the movement of the Apalachicola Indians toward Charleston and paved the way for English occupation of Georgia in the eighteenth century.

All of the essays are thoroughly researched and documented

in the style of Dr. Thomas's own voluminous publications and in the tradition of his own mentor on the Spanish Borderlands, Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton. It cannot be expected that every essay in so varied a collection will appeal equally to all readers, but every student of history should find something of interest to him.

Texas Christian University

Donald E. Worcester

Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley. Edited by John Francis McDermott. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969. xvi, 304 pp. Foreword, maps, illustrations, contributors, index. \$10.95.)

This collection of essays makes available the papers read at the 1967 conference on the "French in the Mississippi Valley," held at Edwardsville and St. Louis. The meeting was the third in a continuing series of conferences organized under the direction of Professor McDermott and sponsored by Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville. The first of these meetings was held in 1964 to celebrate the bicentennial of the founding of St. Louis; the second in 1965, on "The Frontier Re-examined," used Frederick Jackson Turner as its central theme. A fourth meeting in 1968 was devoted to "Travelers on the Western Frontier," and the last meeting, the fifth, in April 1970, dealt with "The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1763-1804." The papers from the first two meetings have already been published and those from the last two conferences will soon be in print.

Obviously, most of the essays from the third meeting deal with Frenchmen and their activities in the Mississippi Valley such as: Auguste Chouteau, the cofounder of St. Louis; the geographer, John Nicolas Nicollet; Louis William DuBourg, Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas; Jerome Phelypeaux, French secretary of state of the Ministry of Marine; the engineer, Francois Saucier of Mobile and Fort de Chartes, Illinois; and, Ignace Francois Broutin, engineer-of-the-king in Louisiana. Other French topics are about Fort Massac, the superior council in colonial Louisiana and Ste. Genevieve, Missouri.

Those interested in Spanish Louisiana will not be disappointed because of the attention focused on the 45,000-word

unpublished manuscript written by James Pitot in 1801-1802. A description of the manuscript, which covers the years 1796-1802, indicates that it should be of more than passing interest. Unfortunately, no information appeared about the prospects of seeing the Pitot memoir in print.

A number of the essays demonstrate that writing about French Louisiana frequently involves some discussion of the Spanish Floridas. The study of "Dauphin Island in the Franco-Spanish War, 1719-22," by Jack D. L. Holmes, provides a good account of the role Pensacola played during that war, including its occupation on two occasions by the French. The essay by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams on Iberville and the final discovery of the Mississippi River contains some data on Florida. McWilliams utilized the log of Juan Jordan de Reina from the Barroto-Romero expedition of 1686 to Apalachee, Pensacola, and the Gulf coast. He also used information from the Spanish voyage of 1693 on which Dr. Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora mapped Pensacola Bay. References to the Spanish Floridas also may be found in several of the other chapters.

It is true that only a few of the participants were professional historians by vocation, but that in no way detracts from the quality of the papers. The common denominator of the "mixed bag" of authors was a "strong interest in the history of French activities in the Mississippi Valley." All of the essays make solid contributions to the study of the great American watershed during a vital era.

University of West Florida

William S. Coker

The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution. By Wallace Brown. (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1969. xi, 302 pp. Preface, footnotes, index. \$7.95.)

As the subject of a single book, the Loyalists in the American Revolution pose vexing problems of emphasis, organization, and interpretation. In contrast with Claude H. Van Tyne's classic study of legal and administrative problems created by the Loyalists for both the British and Americans, William H. Nelson's graceful essays on the Loyalists' political ideas, and North Callahan's colorful anecdotes, Professor Brown has constructed from

a wide variety of personal testimony an impressionistic examination of the Loyalists' observations and experiences. *Impressionistic*, it should be stressed in this case, is not a pejorative term. Brown has found in Loyalist sources and has sought to convey without distortion—a kind of instinctive uncomplicated conservatism and desire for self-preservation which was not very heroic but was understandable and did gauge fairly well the degree and intensity of social dislocation during the Revolution. "We are at present all Whigs until the arrival of the King's troops," one of Brown's typical figures observed. A similar urbane melancholy appeared in Reverend Jacob Duche's resolution "to follow my countrymen as far only as virtue and the righteousness of their cause would permit me." Duche "drifted on," Brown related, "not really knowing where he stood or possibly too aware of the subtleties of the situation." (p. 76)

The same thing might be said of much of this book. Rather than pressing decisive judgments from his material, Brown makes his delicate indecision into an artistic device drawing together diverse and fragmentary Loyalist sources. For this book does not present an argument supported by massive evidence, but uses individual pieces of evidence to convey in deft little sketches the flitting, changing, disconcertingly spare moods and atmospheres which Loyalist sources reveal. Where the subject is fairly compact, as in chapters on motivation and exile experiences in England, the result of this method is highly evocative and sensitive. Background chapters on the pre-Revolutionary period are, for the most part, unconcerned with recent historical writing on ideology, social structure, and political culture and therefore more diffuse. Chapters on persecution and the war fall somewhere between these two levels of concentration and explanation. Overall, Brown treats the Loyalists as men of reason and instinct—minimizing the roles of religious or political belief, irrationality, conflicting emotional and rational stresses, and simplifying neatly the whole question of the structure of Loyalist thought and feeling. While it is a bit too neat and tidy for my taste, this reconstruction is quite craftsmanlike and lucid all the same.

A chapter on "Diaspora" ably synthesizes historical writing on the dispersal of Loyalists to Canada, British East and West Florida, the West Indies, and 1,000 former Negro slaves who settled in Sierra Leone. The book makes especially good use of

Charles L. Mowat's and Cecil Johnson's monographs on British East and West Florida, showing how these natural refuges fell to Spain in 1781-1782, and describing the second dispersal of Loyalists from the Floridas variously to the West Indies, Canada, England, and back to the United States. The entire discussion of the southward migration of Loyalist exiles to the Caribbean - a tale of dislocation, disease, and disintegration - contrasts in a fascinating way with Loyalist success and regeneration in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

Robert M. Calhoun

The South: Old and New Frontiers-Essays of Frank Lawrence Owsley. Edited by Harriet Chappell Owsley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970. xix, 284 pp. Acknowledgments, chronology, foreword, introduction, bibliography, index. \$8.00.)

This collection of fourteen previously published writings of the late Frank Owsley includes chapters from his books, articles, and book-essays. They range from the publication of his doctoral dissertation, *State Rights in the Confederacy*, in 1925, to the revision of *King Cotton Diplomacy* on which he was working at the time of his death in 1957. It is appropriate that his widow, Harriet Chappell Owsley, should edit *The South: Old and New Frontiers-Selected Essays of Frank Lawrence Owsley*, for she collaborated in her husband's scholarly pursuits and is a scholar in her own right. She has admirably fulfilled her purpose which is to present selections representing "the major fields of his research and writing."

The first two essays, "Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier" and "Plain Folk and their Role in Southern History," are reappraisals of the yeomen of the Old South to whom Owsley assigned greater importance than did earlier historians. There are selections from *State Rights in the Confederacy*, one of his more controversial books, and *King Cotton Diplomacy*, a classic economic interpretation of the Confederacy's failures in foreign affairs. Other of Professor Owsley's writings on the Civil War included in this volume are "Defeatism in the Confederacy" (first published in *The North Carolina*

Historical Review), "America and the Freedom of the Seas, 1861-1865," his contribution to the *festschrift* honoring William E. Dodd, and "The Fundamental Cause of the Civil War: Ego-centric Sectionalism," his provocative presidential address to the Southern Historical Association in which he argued that it was primarily the economic differences between the North and the South that pushed the South out of the Union. Although Owsley's contribution to *I'll Take My Stand* is omitted from this volume, included are "The Pillars of Agrarianism" and the presidential address mentioned above, both of which present his agrarian views. In "Democracy Unlimited," published post-humously, Owsley deplored the growing disregard for the natural rights philosophy embodied in the Constitution and the dangerous consequences threatening the American people. The last section of the book includes "A Southerner's View of Abraham Lincoln," originally an address to the Illinois Historical Association, and four exceptionally incisive book-essays. Appended is a complete bibliography of Owsley's writings, including book reviews.

Those well-grounded in southern history doubtlessly have read these selections, but the book nevertheless affords a convenient reference work and will be especially useful in historiography classes. The student who is first introduced to Professor Owsley through its pages should be inspired to read further in his writing.

Whether or not one agrees with all of Owsley's conclusions, it must be recognized that the man was a courageous trailblazer who did not hesitate to research new fields and present conclusions that often challenged the theses of renowned historians. In turn, Owsley was challenged, and often for writing too sympathetically of the South. His response to this criticism is to be found in the introduction to "A Southerner's View of Abraham Lincoln," in which he explained the problems an historian invariably encounters when trying to be objective and warned his audience that he was looking at Lincoln "in a room with a Southern exposure." He often wrote in such a room, but he wrote with conviction and only after extensive research seemed to support his premise.

Winthrop College

Mary Elizabeth Massey

Black Abolitionists. By Benjamin Quarles. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. x, 310 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.75.)

Black Abolitionists is a worthy successor to Professor Quarles's penetrating study, *Lincoln and the Negro*. It is a work of scholarship and intelligence, and the subject is both timely and highly topical.

The main theme of the book is the involvement of the Negro in the crusade against slavery. The author deals with the Negro preachers, writers, and humanitarians who pioneered the abolitionist movement in conjunction with such towering white figures as William Lloyd Garrison and the Tappan brothers. Professor Quarles states that the Negro freedmen provided an appreciable part of the leadership in the movement and that they were also some of its most effective propagandists. Frederick Douglass is singled out as a leader of the black anti-slavery forces. His role as an author, speaker, and organizer of various abolitionist societies, as well as his work as a newspaper publisher, made him not only the premier black abolitionist of the era, but the peer of such leaders as Garrison, Wendell Phillips, the Grimkes, and the Tappans.

One of the most interesting aspects of the anti-slavery movement brought out by Professor Quarles is that its supporting societies were both integrated and segregated, the all black societies often being segregated at their own insistence. These organizations accepted financial aid from white sympathizers, but still wanted to wage their own private battles against the institution of slavery. The general interest in and support of freed Negroes for abolitionist activities is brought home by Professor Quarles when he cites that only one quarter of the 2,300 subscribers of the *Liberator* were white during the crucial early years of the newspaper.

Professor Quarles describes the role of Negro agitators abroad and records contemporary Negro reaction to the fugitive slave law and the electrifying news of John Brown's raid. The effect of Negro activity and opinion on antebellum political life is also carefully weighed. Benjamin Quarles is already one of the leading authorities of Afro-American history. This care-

fully researched and clearly written volume will do much to enhance further his fine reputation.

University of the South

Joseph D. Cushman

The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style. By David Brion Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970. ix, 97 pp. Acknowledgments, notes. \$4.00.)

American politics (like the politics of other democratic states) has often been characterized by over-heated exaggerations, ultra-morbid suspicions, and grandiosely conspiratorial fantasies. Taken together, these constitute a state of mind and a manner that Richard Hofstadter, in an essay in 1964, described as "the paranoid style in politics." Nearly three decades earlier Avery Craven and James G. Randall, without using the word "paranoid," had very clearly described a psychopathic state of mind built up in the antebellum era in both North and South—a state of mind that made many people in both sections altogether willing to believe and say the most monstrous things about each other. By 1861 these morbid suspicions, fears, and hatreds in the minds of Southerners made it unthinkable that they should remain in a Union that threatened their safety, their property, their culture, their way of life. Similar suspicions, fears, and hatreds in the minds of Northerners had created such a sense of alarm that it was unthinkable to them to allow Southerners to subvert the values of Christianity and democracy and to destroy the best government ever created by men. One of the most prominent features of this widespread paranoia was the belief, sedulously broadcast in the North, that slave-owners constituted a great conspiracy. These conspirators had already got control of the United States government, they were using that government to promote their own evil purposes, they intended to force slavery upon every state in the Union, and they were conspiring to enslave the whole world. This was the Slave Power - sinister, aggressive, demonic.

In three interesting essays, delivered as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in 1969, Professor David Brion Davis of Yale has examined the origins, described the development, and analyzed the impact of this conspiratorial imagery. He says that "it was a fairly small group of men—scarcely over twenty-five

or thirty-who first delineated the Slave Power in speeches, articles, and books" (p. 62); yet he is not much concerned with these men as individuals. Eventually their propaganda had a powerful effect on the northern consciousness. Yet Professor Davis is not so much interested in the effects of this propaganda as in its complex manifestations, for he says correctly that there is "no means of knowing how many Northerners believed in the Slave Power Conspiracy, or with what sincerity or intensity" (p. 6). The South too had its paranoid style. For southern propagandists believed that abolitionists were malignant conspirators aiming at subverting all law, all order, all morality, and ready to "wrap the world in fire." A part of his second essay Professor Davis devotes to the ways in which Southerners depicted abolitionists as fanatic subversives scheming "to overthrow constitutional government by force and violence" (p. 47). These are exceptionally interesting essays, but they require close reading, and even that may not be sufficient to follow every turning of Professor Davis's path (e.g., pp. 26-30).

Emory University

James Rabun

Their Tattered Flags: The Epic of the Confederacy. By Frank E. Vandiver. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970. 362 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)

The author has written an engaging story of the Confederacy. His prose at times rises to heights and his battle accounts, from Sumter and Manassas to the last gasps at Appomattox, are brief and gripping. His admiration of the resolute but not always practical Jefferson Davis comes near to idolatry. Davis's critics are usually given short shrift. General Braxton Bragg, whom Davis had to kick upstairs after his lethargy following Chickamauga and failure at Chattanooga, is credited with having "shrewd strategic sense" (p. 275), when the manner in which Buell, Rosecrans, and Grant successively outmaneuvered him suggests he was about the poorest strategist of the war.

Still, the book has broad scope and ignores few aspects of the South's struggle for independence. A weakness-though the book was "long in the making" and has a formidable list of readers and helpers-is in inattentiveness to details. Lee is described as having gray eyes (p. 141) when they were decidedly brown. The

point is of some interest because Lee was one of the few great American leaders with brown eyes, which are not ordinarily associated with the leader type. (See E. Merton Coulter's *The Confederate States of America*, p. 349, reference to his "dark brown eyes," and Gamaliel Bradford's *Lee the American*, p. 23, quote of his "eyes hazel brown." The excellent Theodore Pine portrait shows them brown.)

Combat figures are at times woefully askew. Where the author says, "Twenty thousand were slain on the fields near Shiloh Church," (p. 125), the more realistic official figures are 1,754 Federals and 1,728 Confederate killed at Shiloh, an aggregate of 3,482. At Fredericksburg, "12,500 bluecoats lay dead or dying on the field" (p. 168), instead of the 1,284 actually killed. Johnston surrendered "his incredible 14,000" to Sherman (p. 306) whereas the number was above 30,000. The author's not infrequently cited source, Bruce Catton, puts it at 39,000. (*Never Call Retreat*, p. 465). Lee's effective infantry at Appomattox is given at 9,000 (p. 305), but Grant issued 28,221 paroles, which included 22,349 to Lee's infantry. Lee's army at Gettysburg is shrunk to 50,000 (p. 219) when his official campaign strength was 77,518; he had a minimum of 70,000 men on the field, and probably as many as 79,000. Stonewall Jackson was not felled by a Confederate picket at Chancellorsville (p. 201) but by a blast followed by sustained firing "with great rapidity" of the Eighteenth North Carolina, on battle line, not picket duty. The skirmishers and pickets in front of the battle line, composed of the Thirty-third North Carolina, allowed Jackson's party of about thirty horsemen to pass unmolested.

Andersonville prison was not "tucked remotely in the fastness of the Okefenokee Swamp" (p. 294), but was in Sumter County, southwest of Macon, on the western or opposite side of Georgia. The characterization of "Old Reliable" Lieutenant General William J. Hardee that he "shirked responsibility but coveted glory" (p. 276) does seem severe.

Professor Vandiver's book makes easy reading but should be perused guardedly. It does not replace the more solid contribution of E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America*, or some earlier accounts.

Fairview, North Carolina

Glenn Tucker

Their Words were Bullets: The Southern Press in War, Reconstruction, and Peace. By Hodding Carter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1970. x, 78 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$4.00.)

The burden of this brief survey of the southern press by the justly distinguished publisher of the Greenville (Mississippi) *Delta Democrat-Times* is that, with occasional and courageous exceptions, southern newspapers have failed to provide their section with genuine and disinterested leadership. Had Hodding Carter hailed from some other part of the country—North, East or West—he might have come to similar conclusions for, again with notable exceptions, the nation's press has lacked the spine or high-mindedness to perform the function which the framers of the First Amendment envisioned for it.

Carter's assessment of the southern press, originally delivered as a series of lectures at Mercer University, is necessarily sketchy, consisting of general observations and highlights. From antebellum days when they fanned the flames of sectional hatred, through Reconstruction when they "forgot that they were, in effect, the prisoners not only of military conquerors but of new ideas . . .," to modern times when the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions have produced a spate of defiance, southern newspapers have generally permitted emotion to outrun reason. It is an unhappy story, relieved, as Carter is careful to point out, by notable examples of editors who have faced realistically and responsibly the crises of the hour, seeking only the good of the South.

Through the entire work run the feelings of an editor who cares deeply, one who is himself in the midst of the battle. For this reason, perhaps, his observations on the recent past are the most absorbing and the most rewarding.

Albion College

Julian S. Rammelkamp

The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking. By Paul M. Gaston. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. iii, 298, vi pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

This interesting and well-written book elaborates a minor

theme in Paul H. Buck's famous study of sectional reconciliation, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900*. Professor Gaston is concerned, at one level, with the program and ideas of those Southerners who advocated a New South during the last three decades of the nineteenth century; but at a deeper level he is interested in analyzing the New South creed as "a total mythic configuration with a history of its own." Thus he follows C. Vann Woodward and George B. Tindall in exploring what Tindall has called the "new frontier" in the history of the South, the study of southern mythology. Indeed, this volume is primarily a study of the social myth of the New South—the symbol that expressed the passage "from one kind of civilization to another."

The scheme of the work is ingenious. After discussing the birth of the New South idea, the author introduces his *dramatis personae*: a gallery of New South prophets ranging from Henry W. Grady to "Pig Iron" Kelley. He describes their rallying cry and analyzes the program they formulated for the realization of progress, prosperity, national reconciliation, and racial harmony. He shows the "vital nexus" they sought to establish between the Old and the New South through an interpretation of the past that was congenial to their new departure ideology but that also emphasized their "Southernness." One of Gaston's most important contributions is his treatment of the metamorphosis beginning in the 1880s that changed the New South image from a consciously-held creed describing what ought to be or would be to an unconsciously-held myth about what already existed. In evaluating the outcome and significance of the New South movement, he speaks of the combination of "wishful thinking and calculated opportunism" that animated its proponents. "Unable to bequeath to the next generation of Southerners a legacy of solid achievement," he writes, "the New South spokesmen gave them instead a solidly propounded and widely spread image of its success, a mythic view of their own times that was as removed from objective reality as the myth of the Old South" (p. 190). The last section of the book is an epilogue on "The Enduring Myth" which deals briefly with the New South mythology in the twentieth century. Here Gaston suggests the devastating impact the events of the Second Reconstruction have had upon the myth, whose racial aspects had long served the interests of the status quo.

The New South Creed is an instructive essay, both because of what it tells us about the realities and aspirations of Southerners-and other Americans-from 1870 to 1900, and because it represents a case study in the historical analysis of mythology. It is no disparagement of Gaston's achievement to say that, in some respects, his work has an unfinished character. The story of the 1890s appears somewhat truncated, and one wonders why more consideration was not given to the significant encounter between Populism and the New South movement. Although the author describes the New South program as the product of "a subtle interaction between national ideals and achievements on the one hand and regional aspirations and failures on the other," he does not do as much as he might in accounting for the growing acceptance of the New South creed in the North. He suggests the pervasiveness of the New South ideology in the years after the turn of the century, but he does not provide a systematic account of the development of the myth through time. Finally, despite his effort to understand the New South prophets and the period in which they lived, Gaston may not fully appreciate and convey the complexity of the human condition. Still, he has written an illuminating chapter in modern regional history, and he has made a notable contribution to our understanding of southern mythmaking.

Vanderbilt University

Dewey W. Grantham

New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880-1896. By Joy J. Jackson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969. xi, 355 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$8.50.)

Courageously setting out "to analyze a period in the city's life that has been largely neglected" and "to offer material which may be useful in placing New Orleans against the backdrop of the New South and in comparing it with other American cities in this era," Miss Jackson has done well. She devotes a considerable amount of the book to the local political factions jousting for control of the city, and in doing so presents an interesting description of the Ring, the dominant political clique, which sprang from the working class of New Orleans and which gave

rise to a group of professional politicians who relied on patronage to keep them in office. The Ring's political opponents, often calling themselves "reformers," came from the commercial and professional classes and advanced the cause of balanced and reduced budgets (usually calling for a reduction in city employees) and control of city departments by businessmen. Interestingly, neither faction had any serious interest in expanding city services at the cost of levying increased taxes. The resistance to taxes for public services both by the governed and the governors and the reliance upon private enterprise produced a sad result for the city.

Pointing to the results of Reconstruction, the author refers often to the "impecunious" city treasury which could not finance services necessary to the improvement of the city's living conditions. In this context, the story of the Louisiana State Lottery appears in one of its most complete forms. But it is the section of the book which describes the pathetic condition of municipal services that is likely to be most useful. The unhappy state of public health, education, and welfare had all of the characteristics of an unsanitary, disease-ridden medieval city in a tropical swamp. Without adequate provisions for sewerage, the city's gutters were open streams of filth; without effective garbage collection, the city was dotted with putrifying refuse; and without pure drinking water, thousands took "wiggle tails" for granted in their water or simply drank beer. The city's public schools were ill-supported and poorly attended, attributing to an illiteracy rate in New Orleans which was among the highest in the nation. With equally poor public support for hospitals and public medicine, the city's mortality rate was higher than other American cities of her size. One needs only examine this chronicle and the wealth of data included by Miss Jackson to understand why New Orleans slipped backward in the late nineteenth century from her historic place among America's great cities of an earlier period.

But there is more. A chapter is devoted to business and commercial enterprises of the city during "the Gilded Age," pointing out the various factors contributing to her decline in relative importance to other cities despite commercial growth. Then there is a chapter which attempts a brief description of the cultural patterns of the city, but unfortunately focuses on

incipient trends which emerged after 1896. Then the author analyzes sources and growth of the "Image of Romantic Old New Orleans and the Growth of the Carnival Traditions" which give G. W. Cable, Grace King, Lafcadio Hearn, among other literary and journalistic contributors, some responsibility for the romantic image which overemphasizes certain facets of the full picture of the city. And, of course, the history of Mardi Gras is given to round out the description.

The book comes to a close with the victory of a true reform group in the city election of 1896, which advances the concept of city ownership of utilities and increased responsibilities for services to improve the quality of life and living in the city. It is ironic that the reform group came to power at the same time as Negroes were disfranchised in the state. In many other ways, the book argues that 1896 was a significant watershed in the city's history.

Miss Jackson has given us a valuable contribution to the slowly growing field of southern urban history. She obviously engaged in prodigious research as evidenced by substantial notes and bibliography of other histories, official reports, manuscript sources, popular journalism, and theses and dissertations. The book survives the difficult problems of topical versus chronological organization, although barely at times, and despite spots of dissertation-like style and documentation, emerges as accomplishing its purpose.

University of Wisconsin

Durward Long

In Pursuit of American History: Research and Training in the United States. By Walter Rundell, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. xv, 445 pp. Foreword, preface, appendices, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

Professor Rundell has offered a study of graduate training in American history which will be reevaluating to students and rewarding to professors. As never previously done, the strengths and weaknesses of graduate training in the United States are systematically analyzed.

The data generated for this study is the outcome of a two-year Survey on the Use of Original Sources in Graduate History Training, inaugurated by the National Historical Publications

Commission, supported by the Ford Foundation, and directed by Professor Rundell. He relies on interview and questionnaire answers from over 500 professors, plus comparative answers from librarians, archivists, and graduate students. The study sets forth its own research method, which is exemplar and particularly appropriate, for the author concludes that inadequate methodological preparation is one of the significant weaknesses in Ph.D. training across the country. Apparently students are not as content to accept methods of research by osmosis as professors are to "osmose." Student emphasis on this weakness is reinforced by archivists and librarians who lament graduate students' ignorance of documentary finding aids. The solution to this second weakness is subsumed under the solutions to the first. Presently, methodological training within topical seminars has an edge in the country's offerings.

Analysis of the uses of different types of records for dissertations is the core of this study. Professor Rundell reveals wherein printed sources are considered adequate and wherein local, genealogical, museum, legal, and other sources remain relatively untapped. He has pointed out other major problems that need professional attention. These include lack of communication between academic and non-academic historians, too difficult access to original documents, and, as his history of university research libraries reveals, how closely history departments have to be tied to libraries that are becoming major research centers. His findings and his recommendations are equally valuable.

Professor Rundell has offered a unique contribution which can prompt improvement of the history profession. His book is indispensable for any professor self-conscious in his attempts to guide graduate students. Contrary to recent rumors, history will not die out with this book held in hand. Incidentally, dust jackets also need proofreading. I watched the author get his Ph.D. not at Yale but at The American University.

University of West Florida

ERNEST F. DIBBLE

Prefaces to History. By Bruce Catton. (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1970. 230 pp. Preface. \$6.00.)

The problem of selection has always plagued historians in

their attempt to record the past. In his newest publication, *Prefaces to History*, Bruce Catton has again demonstrated his wise judgment. Included are several of Catton's prefaces to other historical works - *Prince Napoleon in America*, *The Battle of Gettysburg*, and *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* - and some of his shorter but brilliant essays, especially from *American Heritage*.

After an illuminating preface to his *The Army of the Potomac* trilogy, Catton begins on a very positive note. He calls the first section an introduction to "John Brown's Body," because to Catton, this spirited poem by Stephen Vincent Benet best describes in a single work the Civil War years and its impact upon the emotions and human spirit of that generation. His main theme is equality for all, and now that the Civil War centennial celebrations are over, "it is time we got on with it." The second section, "History as Literature," is the strongest part of the book, because it expresses why Catton is the most widely-read Civil War author. He believes that "history is more art than science," and that it is very important for an historian "to use the skills of that art," because "good history is literature." Digressing on a variety of subjects - U.S.S. *Indianapolis*, canoes, baseball, and the state of Michigan, Catton's final section is entitled "Our American Heritage." His theme is that curiosity and diversity made America a great nation.

The only criticism is that he is repetitious. He repeats the importance of Frank Haskell, the modern war thesis, the Civil War as the watershed in American history, the generalship of Robert E. Lee, and General William T. Sherman's views of war correspondents. Catton's final essay has a very nostalgic ring to me, since I am also a native Michigander, although I do not believe that the best way to enter Michigan is through Detroit. I also think that Babe Ruth fans would object to Ty Cobb being called the greatest baseball player.

The major contribution of this scholarly work is that all young historians who must get involved in the game of "publish or perish" can receive valuable advice and assistance from a master historian.

University of West Florida

ROBERT C. HARRIS