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## Book Reviews

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Osceola: The Unconquered Indian.* By William and Ellen Hartley. (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1973. 293 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. \$8.95.)

Mr. and Mrs. Hartley have produced a bold interpretation of Osceola. He was, they say, the master spirit of the Florida Indians during the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842, until his capture under a flag of truce on October 21, 1837. They attribute to him a large measure of military genius (pp. 137, 144), and imply that as long as he was able to continue to command, the Indians were winning the war. As a field general, he was, in their interpretation, the equal, if not the superior, of his white opponents. He succeeded in imposing enough discipline on his far-from-homogeneous fighting force to have his orders carried out promptly and exactly. He sometimes virtually drilled his warriors in modified white style (p.165); indeed, in front of General Gaines's besieged earthworks in March 1836 he carried out what amounted to a taunting military parade. It was the only one, the authors aver, I think correctly, in the history of Indian warfare (p.172). It goes without saying that discipline and drill were rare among Indian warrior bands.

In addition to his rare qualities as general and discipliner of the Florida Indians, the Hartleys ascribe to him splendid human qualities, even from the white point-of-view. "His physical strength was that of a Hercules or Samson" (p.17). On one occasion he agreed to wrestle a powerful Irishman, an enlisted man in the United States Army who outweighed him by thirty-five pounds. Osceola threw him easily in two straight falls. It is generally agreed among those who wrote about Osceola, either in his day or later, that he ordered the warriors to spare women and children. White officers were uniformly impressed by the gentility of his manner, notwithstanding that he could speak English only in monosyllables.

All in all, the Osceola in this volume is a fit hero for any people. He is the champion the Florida Indians already revere.

I do not mean to suggest that he is not the real Osceola. He may well be. He is perfectly plausible on historical grounds. But the writers seem to want him to emerge in this form. Remember that there are no written records generated by the Indians, so Osceola comes down in history as seen by the white man, and you have to read expectantly between the lines to reconstruct him in this stature.

Some of the techniques by which the Hartleys hold the interest of the "general reader" are forbidden to professional historians. They include a great deal of dialogue for which there is no historical record; the words have been placed in the speakers' mouths. Also, they have developed a bit of love interest, without which today some readers turn away. On the statements of one or two white men that Che-cho-ter, presumably Osceola's favorite wife, was uncommonly pretty, they construct a low-key tale of romance. They assert that after the war began in earnest Osceola ceased to smile for a long time. When Congress appropriated millions to drive the Indians out of Florida, they say Osceola learned of it very quickly. They apply the phrase "bad-smelling" to Sam Jones (Arpeika) (p.206) and the adjective "colorless" to General Jesup (p.203). The several techniques, or in some cases facts, mentioned in this paragraph embroider history, but they may not reconstruct it accurately.

The Hartleys' book is a useful addition to the serious literature about the Florida Indians. All students of Indians, students of warfare, and Florida history buffs will profit from reading it.

*University of Florida*

JOHN K. MAHON

*Big Cypress: A Changing Seminole Community.* By Merwyn S. Garbarino. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972. x, 132 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, conclusion, references, recommended readings. \$3.00.)

In recent years scholars in various disciplines who are seriously involved with the Seminole Tribe of Florida have felt the need for a comprehensive treatment of Indian life as it evolved on the reservations and adjacent regions in the years

since the turn of the century. This monograph by Professor Garbarino appears to be a significant step in the direction of developing such a picture. However, the author's caveat that "It is not intended as a complete history or ethnography of the Seminole Indians of Florida, but rather it is the story of one community of Seminole as they are living and changing in the mid-twentieth century" is well taken. The data fits nicely within the format of an anthropological case study and dutifully touches all bases— the life cycle, social and political structure, marriage, family and kinship system, etc.— to provide a general orientation to life at Big Cypress.

The narrative is strongest when it focuses on the political decision-making process which functions in conjunction with the tribal cattle program. This, not coincidentally, was the subject of Garbarino's 1966 doctoral dissertation. Nevertheless, one could wish for more than the sketchy treatment afforded schooling and religion on the reservation. The latter is dismissed in a mere three pages with hardly a mention of the major church schism which led to the establishment of two congregations on each Seminole reservation. Historians might also raise serious questions concerning Garbarino's account of the origin of the reservation and the Miccosuki-speaking group which occupies it today. My greatest complaint with the book, however, is not so much with its content as with the delay in bringing it before the public. Much of the data drawn from field work in the mid-1960s is already obsolete due to the rapid rate of acculturation of the Big Cypress people. It occurs to me that, given the built-in delay between completed research and publication, a study of this type might more profitably be planned as longitudinal research. Rather than cross-cutting Big Cypress culture at one point in time and predicting future changes, how much better to trace its progress from "chickee state" to a modern community, or to follow the cattle program from inception, through critical decisions, to ultimate economic viability or collapse. This admittedly betrays a historian's affinity for extended time frame narratives that tell a complete story, and it is not necessarily compatible with the anthropologist's need to study cultures in various stages of development as he finds them.

Anyone who has struggled in vain to place late nineteenth-

and early twentieth-century Seminole social-political organization into a recognizable framework (perhaps with too much reliance on the Creek model) can take some solace that a trained anthropologist like Garbarino finds that, "As customary patterns of social organization were impossible to maintain under the conditions of a half century of warfare, they were abandoned. Indeed in organizational terms it is often difficult to decide what is meant when reading about the 'Seminole.' Sometimes the word refers to one group at a particular time period, and sometimes to another people and/or another period." Even so, we must continue to probe the ways in which Seminole social-political-economic structures evolved in the post-removal Florida setting; only in this way can we come to understand how the contemporary Seminole have come to think and behave as they do, and thereby perhaps facilitate their period of cultural transition. Hopefully in the near future additional studies of the other Seminole groups, both on and off the reservations, will further expand our knowledge of these native people.

*Florida Atlantic University*

HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Aurelio Tío, "Historia del descubrimiento de La Florida y Beimeni o Yucatán," *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia*, II (June 1972), 1-285.

The author is an enterprising Puerto Rican historian; he is completely dedicated to elevating Juan Ponce de León to further heights in the pages of history. His numerous works all center around the figure of Ponce de León. One must admire the author's tenacity and availability of printing space in his publications for repeating constantly his arguments over the last two decades.

Tío has engaged in various academic debates with many scholars, and he feels disturbed that so far historians have failed to accept his enthusiastic de León claims. Basically these are: no Europeans arrived along the Florida coast before 1513; Ponce de León returned via the Mexican coast after his 1513 Florida

discovery; on this trip he not only discovered the Mexican coast but also the Gulf Stream; this stream should be named in honor of Ponce de León; he, his men, and his ship were the first ones to be spotted by the Aztec Emperor's officials; in 1516 he returned to the Central American and Mexican coasts where he discovered and named the port of San Juan Ulloa (Vera Cruz) later used by Cortés as the starting point for his Mexican conquest; and thus Ponce de León is the first discoverer of Mexico. On this 1516 trip, Tío claims, de León returned to Puerto Rico via Florida which means that the explorer made three trips to Florida (1513, 1516, 1521) instead of the two historically accepted journeys (1513, 1521). Tío also claims that the word "Bimini" applies to Yucatán which Ponce de León also discovered.

The evidence is mainly indirect and pieced together from various secondary and primary sources. The author has diligently searched everywhere to substantiate his claims, and I think he has a good case for debate. But he is his own worst enemy by repetitious statements, by overstatements, and the zest to make Ponce de León, at the expense of others, a superconqueror rivaled only by a Columbus, Pizarro, or Cortés. His works, including this one, are badly edited, verbose, and intermixed with extemporaneous material (for example, about Seminole Indians and Franciscan mission sites and the Mayan calendar). His bibliography, dealing with research studies of the period of Caribbean and Atlantic discoveries, is poor. Much emphasis for instance, is placed on the controversial but important Conte Freducci map, yet his bibliography ignores the various serious articles about this map.

Obviously there is much that scholars have not yet pieced together about Ponce de León. Tío has presented us with new possibilities which are of importance to early Florida history. His works should be better known and studied. He should have presented his case in a single, well-written, organized, and edited monograph, with one appendix containing the primary documentation as well as a complete as possible bibliography. As it is, his work will continue to be accepted by some scholars with

scepticism or it will be ignored. Using a Spanish word, it is *contraproducente*.

*University of South Florida*

C. W. ARNADE

*Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819.* By Warren L. Cook. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973. xiv, 620 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

This is a remarkable book. Soundly researched, well-written and attractively printed, it lives up to the publisher's judgment: "an outstanding addition to its Western Americana Series." Professor Cook, who teaches both history and anthropology at Castleton State College in Vermont, makes use of his expertise in portraying "Spanish interaction with the Indians, British, Russians, and Americans" along the Pacific Northwest coastal region.

The author traces the history of this region from the sixteenth-century Spanish explorations which sought the Northwest Passage through the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, which gave the United States its transcontinental jump. In general he agrees with historians such as J. Leitch Wright, in *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America*, in assessing the reasons for Spanish "Atrophy of Empire": Spain's "debilitating involvement in the crises of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars" (p. 532).

Florida historians would do well to study the synthesis of Professor Cook, for it reveals the causes for Spanish withdrawal in the Floridas, a contemporary area of controversy. "Until 1795," he points out, "British and American fur traders considered it the better part of wisdom to pay deference to the red and yellow banner flying over Santa Cruz de Nootka. . . . Spain yielded on the northwest coast because of decisions made in Madrid and Mexico City to protect the motherland." In similar fashion, Spain yielded to American demands in 1795 when Thomas Pinckney and Manuel de Godoy signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo. That treaty ignored the accomplishments of Spanish governors in Louisiana and the Floridas in defending their Frontiers against the encroachments of American settlers and

opened the flood gate which finally resulted in the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas.

In addition to his felicitous style, Professor Cook has provided historians with innumerable leads in his ample bibliography. Of particular value are the maps and the appendices, one of which lists "Extant Journals for Each Spanish Expedition, 1774-96" concerning the West Coast. There was not one, but three Nootka Sound Conventions, and these are included in the appendix (1790, 1793, and 1794).

Professor Cook spent the better part of two decades in researching this book, research which spanned the world from London to Santa Fé, from Madrid to Mexico City. He is quite at home with all the basic source materials, and he laces his historical and anthropological studies with selections from diaries and logs, most of which are unpublished.

If the historian of Spanish Florida is to become more than a provincial antiquarian he must become familiar with events which took place in other areas of the world, particularly in Spain's American Empire. No book could provide a better opportunity to place affairs in Florida history in proper perspective. On a scale of 1-10, this book has to rate a superlative 10!

*University of Alabama in Birmingham* JACK D. L. HOLMES

*Arms for Empire: A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763.* By Douglas Edward Leach. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1973. xiii, 566 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, glossary, bibliography, index. \$14.95.)

"The Macmillan Wars of the United States" series, edited by Louis Morton, is proving to be a substantial contribution to military history. The latest volume to appear upholds the previous standards—Douglas Leach's bulky history of the colonial military experience and the colonial wars. It is certainly the fullest and probably the best one-volume account of the subject. In his preface the author states that he does not wish to present war as "a kind of glorious adventure" but as what it is, "one of humanity's most monstrous failures." His story emphasizes the grimmer aspects of war, as good military history should, but he



does not explain how the great imperial and Indian issues could have been resolved in any way other than war.

Beginning in conventional and logical fashion, Leach describes the military situation in which the colonists found themselves and the development of military institutions. Although he is retracing familiar ground, he moves with skill and grace; his account of a typical militia drill is particularly good. His conclusion on the militia is that the system "provided the necessary foundation for eventual military success, first against the hostile Indians, then against France and Spain, and finally against England herself." Then follows a chapter on the early Indian wars, with particular attention given to King Philip's War, "the first really extensive military conflict in American history." As an interesting sidelight to these struggles, Leach reveals that the reservation policy as a solution to white-Indian relations appeared as early as 1646.

His base of operations established, to employ military terminology, Leach moves to his main theme—the long struggle between Britain and her colonists against France and Spain for the colonial mastery of North America. In the first three wars neither England nor France was willing to commit much force to America, and most of the fighting was carried on by competing colonists. Leach rightly emphasizes that the invasions of Canada undertaken by the English colonists were by the standards of that time huge enterprises, involving the cooperation of several colonies, astonishing attempts in view of the limited resources of the colonies.

After the third war both England and France realized that the time was drawing near when they would have to fight to determine which would dominate America. "The modern concept of empire was beginning to take definite form, binding nation-states and their overseas dependencies together against the common threat of rival imperial systems," Leach writes. He recounts the preliminaries to the coming conflict, the clashes in the Ohio Valley, the expedition of George Washington, and Braddock's defeat. His account of Braddock's affair is vivid, but he fails to explain clearly the tactical disposition of the British or the tactical innovations that grew out of the experience. Two chapters are devoted to the last climactic con-

flict, the one known in American history as the French and Indian War. Leach gives large credit for the final English victory to the foresight and energy of William Pitt. "Pitt was the first European leader to view the continuing struggle among the powers in its full, worldwide dimension," he writes. Rating the commanders in America, Leach gives Jeffrey Amherst a mark of competence. Contrary to the conventional view, he accords low marks to Wolfe and Montcalm. Neither showed much originality or flexibility, he thinks; the plan for Wolfe's great triumph on the Plains of Abraham was suggested to him by subordinates. Whatever the apportionment of merit should be, England eventually won the war and America— and in so doing prepared the way to lose her colonies. Leach's last chapter is appropriately entitled "The Transition to Peace and Revolution."

In general Leach writes well. But it must be noted that again and again he succumbs to using the contemporary and awful "hopefully." It is to be hoped that academic writers will rise above this usage.

*Louisiana State University*

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

*British Travelers Among the Southern Indians, 1660-1763.* By J. Ralph Randolph. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973. xv, 183 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, maps, illustrations, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

Travel literature has always been an important source of historical data. This new volume presents an evaluation and abstract of accounts describing the southeastern Indians over a century of time, roughly from the beginnings of South Carolina to the critical peace treaty of 1763 transferring French territory east of the Mississippi river to British sovereignty. The geographical coverage extends from Maryland to Georgia.

Dr. Randolph has provided useful summary data about the visitors to the southern tribes whose excursions were made in behalf of the British government, missionary organizations, prospective land dealers, and Indian trading firms. He has limited his survey to travelers spending short intervals of time among

the Indians, excluding accounts of former captives and persons who had long periods of acquaintance with the native tribes. From his discussion, it is apparent that three accounts are particularly valuable: Robert Beverly II's history of late seventeenth-century Virginia; John Lawson's perceptive report of the Carolina Piedmont based on his experience as a surveyor, 1701-1708; and Henry Timberlake's description of the Cherokee in 1761-1762.

Although the overall information on the travelers is a fine introduction to the subject, the author's comments often whet the appetite of the curious reader. One wishes that some actual facts from the original manuscripts could have been included, particularly from accounts not readily available in printed form. It is interesting to learn, for example, that missionaries were known as "Sunday Men" among the Catawba because of the importance they attached to observance of the Sabbath Day. According to another report, Indian opposition to corporal punishment was a factor in the general reluctance to accept British schools and teachers. A few travelers recommended intermarriage between European immigrants and Native Americans.

Two sections, each containing sixteen illustrations, add an admirable contemporary atmosphere to this publication. The maps must be read with care in the absence of explanatory notes. The map of "Major trails in the Southeast circa 1700" includes Fort Henry, a base in Virginia for expeditions in 1671, Fort Toulouse, not built until 1717, and Fort Augusta, established in 1735. The map of "The Creek Country, circa 1700" presents similar problems of interpretation. This map includes Fort Prince George on the Keowee River, built in 1753, as well as Fort Loudon, erected on the Tennessee River in 1756. The Creek country data is entered on a base map inaccurately portraying the Atlantic and Gulf shorelines and river courses. The bibliography can assist scholars in search of special detailed data that might come from these sources.

*Ann Arbor, Michigan*

HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

*The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century.* By David D. Hall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972. xiii, 301 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

In this perhaps necessarily dry and pedantic volume Dr. Hall examines one of the less colorful groups of men in our colonial story: the New England Puritan ministers of the seventeenth century. More specifically, he examines the orthodox, official ministry of Massachusetts. Much of the ground covered here, as Hall acknowledges, has already been made familiar to us by Perry Miller, but the present writer has a particular purpose behind his own reconnaissance, namely, to discover if the Puritan ministry experienced in New World conditions the same liberalizing and democratizing changes— or “Americanization”— that Sidney Mead and others had traced in the histories of other Protestant ministries in North America.

Two generations of ministers figure here, the first being the Englishmen who immigrated to Massachusetts in the 1630s to preach the Calvinist understanding of Church and Scripture to the “saving remnant” of God’s people who found in New England another Canaan, where saints might live separate from the damned. The second generation was composed of men who received their education in New England and succeeded to the Puritan pulpits in the 1660s.

The first generation was thoroughly convinced that the covenanting, gathered church came prior to and as a requisite to the ministry. Thus, John Cotton, despite his ordination in the Church of England, would not exercise the powers of ministry until he was reordained by a covenanted congregation in New England; in fact, for that reason, he refused to baptize the son born to him on his Atlantic crossing in 1633.

The first official act of the Massachusetts Bay Company on settling in New England was to order houses built for the ministers. In the decades that followed, the respect and deference paid the Puritan divines caused them to have by mid-century a social status greatly exceeding that enjoyed by their profession in England. Hall recounts a story, probably apocryphal: A traveler passing through Rowley asked the Reverend Ezekial Rogers:

"Are you, Sir, the person who serves here?" To whom he replied, "I am, Sir, the person who rules here."

Their coequal rank in wealth and prestige with the magistrates gave often enough occasion, as might be imagined, for the ministers to clash with their civil counterparts when church-state interests clashed. To some degree this book is a study of the preachers' insistence, and success, in maintaining a separation of the "Two Kingdoms." The heart of the study, however, is Hall's finding that, as the century progressed—particularly after the "Cambridge Platform" of 1646—the Puritan ministry came increasingly to emphasize the objective, or "sacerdotal," character of their office, thus releasing it from complete dependency on the congregations. By the 1690s their "middleway" between covenant and sacred order, between pastorate and prophecy, marked a return to John Calvin's original description of a "faithful shepherd," and thus warrants the conclusion, which Hall makes, that the congregational side of Puritan ecclesiology did not in that century overwhelm the ministry with liberalizing, democratizing, "Americanizing" influences. Another historian, of the consensus school, might well have concluded on the basis of the same evidence, that the very achievement of the middle way was itself an eminent example of the liberal, democratic, and "American" genius.

*University of Florida*

MICHAEL V. GANNON

*For Want of a Nail . . . If Burgoyne Had Won at Saratoga.* By Robert Sobel. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1973. xii, 440 pp. Preface, map, charts, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

Robert Sobel has written a book which is part spoof, part critique of historical writing, and part exercise in counterfactual analysis. As the title suggests, he supposes that Burgoyne had won the Battle of Saratoga and crushed the Revolution. What would then have emerged, he suggests, was a powerful, Anglicized British North America in the eastern and central part of the continent. The unreconciled rebels had migrated into Mexico and founded a republic stretching from central America

to Alaska. The book is an elaborate political history of these two hypothetical nations from the 1780s to the present.

Behind its ponderous whimsicality, its elaborate bibliography of non-existent books, and its breezy, gossipy style, this book is a serious attempt to envision which forces in American life were so pervasive that a different outcome to the Revolution would have only heightened their power and impact. The division of the North American continent into Revolutionary and colonial nations would have brought out the worst in both British imperialism and American expansionism. Slavery would have continued in the United States of Mexico until the 1920s, and, though abolished in the Confederation of North America in the 1840s, freedmen and their descendants would have lived in squalor and degradation there until their dispersal to other parts of the world at government expense in the 1920s. The integrity of the government of the United States of Mexico— and ultimately the peace of the world— was jeopardized by the rise of a powerful industrial enterprise known as the Kramer Associates in California, a virtual state within a state.

The book therefore has several valuable uses. Readers of political history who are dissatisfied with amorphous reconstructions of campaigns, interest groups, and personalities will find that approach carried to an absurd extreme in this book; Sobel keeps a very straight face while reminding us that historians take themselves and their work too seriously. Students seeking a fresh perspective on the long course of American history will learn a good deal by questioning the plausibility of Sobel's conjectures.

*University of North Carolina at Greensboro* ROBERT M. CALHOON

*Political Parties Before the Constitution.* By Jackson Turner Main. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1973. xx, 481 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, tables, maps, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. \$15.95.)

This reviewer became a fan of Jackson Turner Main while a graduate student after reading his then newly-published book, *The Anti-Federalists, Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788.*

Since that time I have looked forward with interest to his historical contributions. This, his latest book, leaves me with very mixed emotions, for it is difficult to tell for whom it was written—the quantification specialist or the more traditionally-oriented researcher of American history. Readers can only be impressed by the mind-boggling amount of labor engaged in by Professor Main in order to produce this book: very extensive investigation of all the state assemblies prior to the Federal Constitution of 1787, determination of significant voting issues, roll-call analyses of such votes, uncovering biographical data about those recorded as having voted on those issues, establishment of hopefully determinant categories which might have influenced legislators to vote as they did, and reduction of this massive whole to statistical data enabling the author to program a computer which could show verifiable relationships and correlations regarding his data. All this seems to have been done with proper caution and with recognition of both the limitations and advantages of this form of research. An effort such as this can only be applauded.

Yet after finishing *Political Parties Before the Constitution*, I felt dissatisfied and recalled a recent comment by a colleague: “Just because someone invites me to dinner doesn’t mean that he has to take me into the kitchen to show me how the food was prepared.” This is perhaps the major fault of the book. I would have had the author reveal more of the meaning of his data and less about the process of handling it. Professor Main has been so eager to show the reader every facility available in his kitchen, the basic ingredients for every item of food, and each step in the preparation of the banquet that enjoyment of the meal itself has been diminished. Explanation of technique has been substituted for explication of materials.

The result has been the publication of an extremely worthwhile book that I fear will not be read. It will be used in the way one relies upon a dictionary or encyclopedia, quoted from, selectively taught about, and assigned to graduate students, but thoroughgoing readers may well be confined to a rather narrow group of those caught up in the quantification of history. I am not certain that this was the author’s intent. The result is thus unfortunate for Main’s discoveries warrant better handling, Let

it be emphasized, however, that there is much useful information here for those willing to sift it out.

It is Jackson Main's contention (and one convincing, at least to me) that the predominant division of legislative "parties" during the 1780s in at least seven states may be understood in, terms of "localist" and "cosmopolitan" labels. He believes that "The agrarian-localists formed the core of the Jeffersonian Republican party, and the commercial-cosmopolitans merged into Federalism" (p. 406). Main's exposition of this thesis is set forth with clarity, and his meticulous research and careful analysis are apparent. And who, after all, would argue with an author who bases his views on computer print-outs from processed punch cards containing entries such as "484 03001 001 094 1 1" (p. 41)?

Some of the more readable portions of the book for the non-quantifier are: the Introduction, which gives a good discussion of the eighteenth century view of the role and working of "party"; chapter one, devoted to short depictions of the status of political blocs in various colonies prior to the outbreak of the Revolution (readers would benefit from extension of this brief fifteen page section); chapter three, which contains a good statement of the various issues upon which state legislatures took stands and which divided their members— courts, slavery, taxes, paper money, and so forth; and the last few pages of the book in which Main hurriedly sets forth his conclusions regarding "cosmopolitan" and "localist" party labels. Main includes a very brief bibliographical essay and, in an appendix, a short biographical listing of party leaders whom he found to be important. The index is adequate.

*Political Parties Before the Constitution* will be interesting for specialists in historical quantification and strangely frustrating for others.

*University of South Florida*

CECIL B. CURREY

*The Politics of a Literary Man: William Gilmore Simms.* By Jon L. Wakelyn. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1973. xiv, 306 pp. Illustration, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$10.00.)



In Professor Wakelyn's view, the young William Gilmore Simms was "rash, hasty, frequently violent, and sometimes unjust." Acquiring a reputation as a "brilliant but much too emotional newspaperman," he studied law and practiced it briefly but became principally identified as a novelist, poet, social critic, historian, and politician in about that order. Although Simms today is remembered chiefly as a writer of fiction and verse, this volume depicts him as devoting "a lifetime to the politics of literary propaganda in his obsession to create a united South."

The author has benefited from the correspondence of Simms, many other primary materials, and secondary ones of various kinds. The major Wakelyn contribution has to do with precisely what the title summarizes. And a valuable contribution it is—this year-by-year (sometimes month-by-month) recreation of the political interests and politics-connected activities of a then rather widely esteemed man of letters. Simms's close association with James Henry Hammond is, of course, developed in detail. But relationships with many other leaders, from John C. Calhoun to less able figures of later years, are not without their own fascinations.

At several stages, Simms served as editor or important editorial contributor to various newspapers and magazines. He was a public speaker of talent, the respected sponsor of cultural projects in South Carolina, an encourager of young southern writers, and something of a politician in his own right. In that last category, Simms's failures overwhelmingly outnumbered his few successes. Indeed, the novelist-poet was almost as remarkable in the characteristic of political tenacity-despite-the-odds as in his literary gifts.

There are numerous errors. Nathaniel Hawthorne was consul at Liverpool, not Manchester. Zachary Taylor never was victorious at Vera Cruz. John Pendleton Kennedy was not secretary of the navy when the Naval Academy was founded. Joseph G. Rayback, the historian, is not Joseph G. Raybeck (repeatedly misspelled). "Stress," "stressed," and "stressing" appear five times on a single page—approximately five times too often. In addition, I am doubtful concerning such statements about Simms as "His best work of art was his own public life." Despite its flaws, however, *The Politics of a Literary Man* is a generally meri-

central South until the late spring of 1863. The Confederacy's defeat was due to numerous factors, including the attempt to wage a defensive war.

The "Appendix: Some Potential Prewar Associations Among Confederate Leaders," is a computerized study of 605 members of the Confederacy and their prewar relationships, and the contacts they developed during the war through June 1862. Although interesting, the authors do not offer enough data to support their limited conclusions. The "Illustrated Diagrams" of military campaigns are confusing. The "Essay on Selected Sources" is comprehensive and useful, but the footnotes are clumsily arranged and inadequate. The format is attractive and the syntax is clear and concise.

Although *The Politics of Command* overstates the significance of the "Western Concentration Bloc," it is an important contribution to Confederate military history. It should appeal to students of the Confederacy, Civil War scholars, and professional military men.

*Cullowhee, North Carolina*

T. CONN BRYAN

*The War That Never Ended: The American Civil War.* By Robert Cruden. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973. x, 208 pp. Preface, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$5.95.)

In this slim volume Robert Cruden has proved himself an able synthesizer with a knack for selecting a catchy title. He realizes that this work is neither a definitive socio-economic study of the "nation's first total war," nor an exhaustive treatment of the conflict's impact on "blacks, soldiers, workers, businessmen, planters and farmers" upon whom the discussion centers. Although "the roles of rival governments" are woven into the account, the author does not concentrate "on political and military abstractions" (p. ix).

More than one-third of the book is devoted to tracing causative factors during the seventy-five years preceding the Civil War. Those historians who have spent a century explaining the single cause of the war may be surprised and frustrated by Professor Cruden's candor in stating that "no one really *knows*"

why the war came (p. 3), but no eyebrows will be raised when reading, "a basic cause of instability was slavery" (p. 39). The reader who expects to find either new information or original interpretation will be disappointed, for the author has relied entirely on published works.

Although a chapter is devoted to "The Black Man's War," Cruden is to be commended on including black history throughout the study. His conclusions lack profundity, however, as after quoting Frederick Douglass's statement that the war was a "revolution" for the Negro, the author comments that this "revolution was far from complete" when the war ended (p. 151), further noting that "the basic issue remains unresolved [and] . . . casts its shadow a century later" (p. 192). No one will argue the accuracy of this statement but some may question the appropriateness in a historical work of his conclusion: "Who knows, the present generation of young Americans, both white and black, may so contribute as to bring an end to the war that thus far has never ended" (p. 192). It is only in regard to the racial aspects of the subject that Cruden satisfactorily clarifies the "never-ending war," yet greater space is assigned other facets. One may see the implication in chapters concentrating on the soldiers, the poor, and the businessman but final conclusions as to how the book's title applies to them are left to the reader.

The book is exceptionally readable. Professor Cruden has a way with words, as when commenting on the importance of British-South antebellum relations he says, "When the Liverpool cotton market sneezed, the South caught cold" (p. 12). There are many instances, however, when his sources of information need to be clarified in the text or identified in additional footnotes. While some generalizations may be open to question, there are few errors in fact, one of the more startling being that "Farragut took Mobile" in September 1864. Control of the Bay passed into Union hands in August 1864, making it virtually useless as a port of entry for the Confederates, but the city did not fall until the following April. Although not wanting to dwell on minor errors, the reviewer reminds the author that the Confederate Secretary of Treasury was Christopher, not "Christian," Memminger (pp. 90, 205).

*The War That Never Ended* probably will be of greater

interest to the general reader than to the historian, but the latter may envy Cruden's ability to say so much so well in such a limited space.

*Winthrop College*

MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

*Black Bondage in the North.* By Edgar J. McManus. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973. xiii, 236 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. \$9.95.)

Professor McManus, who teaches at Queens College in New York City, has produced a good study of the slave trade and of slavery in New England and the middle colonies from the early seventeenth century until the end of the Revolution— when, for all practical purposes, chattel slavery in these areas was terminated.

He shows that the slave trade “became the hub of New England’s economy” (p. 10), and that it “contributed vitally to the commercial development of the Middle colonies” (p. 12). Slave labor itself, in this area, “made a vital contribution to the Northern economy”; indeed, it is declared with good evidence, that the enslaved “provided the basic working force that transformed shaky outposts of empire into areas of permanent settlement” (p. 17).

The significance of the slave trade has been well known, especially since Du Bois’s classic study published in 1896— and still, as Professor McManus writes in his bibliographical essay, “the best secondary source” (p. 221). But the consequential role of slavery itself in the northern society and economy is brought forward with new force in this book. One understands, for example, that in the 1750s the population of New York was thirteen per cent black slaves and that of New Jersey about eight per cent and Rhode Island some eleven per cent. Since practically all slaves worked, they constituted an even greater percentage of the producing population. It appears that all leading families— including Quakers— participated in either the trade or in the employment of slaves, and it was not unknown for individual owners to possess forty, fifty, or even sixty slaves.

Unlike the area south of the Mason-Dixon line, slaves in

the North could own and transfer property, could testify under oath in court, even against whites, were allowed legal marriage, and were permitted to learn to read and write. Nevertheless, as McManus emphasizes, "the bondsmen made it clear that they placed a high value on liberty" (p. 73); they did this through individual and collective resistance, here spelled out, and managed this despite the rigorous machinery of control, also here detailed.

In his preface, Professor McManus emphasizes that he seeks to present data only and that therefore he eschews "generalization or interpretation." Happily, this is not entirely true, for his work, in some cases even explicitly, contradicts theses associated with the names of Stanley Elkins and the late Frank Tannenbaum, in terms of the alleged reality of "Sambo" and the postulated significant difference between North American and Latin American slavery.

In addition to Du Bois, the author draws freely upon the earlier works of Arthur Zilversmith (1967), Edward Turner (1911), Lorenzo J. Greene (1942), Benjamin Quarles (1961), some of the writings of this reviewer, and his own study of slavery in New York (1966). However, much research in primary sources went into this book; one may say that with Leon Litwack's study of the free black population in the North and with this book by Professor McManus, the main outlines, at least, of black history in the North prior to the Civil War are finally available.

*The American Institute for  
Marxist Studies*

HERBERT APTHEKER

*The Booker T. Washington Papers: Volume I, The Autobiographical Writings.* Edited by Louis R. Harlan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. xl, 469 pp. Introduction, illustrations, index. \$15.00.)

*The Booker T. Washington Papers: Volume 2, 1860-89.* Edited by Louis R. Harlan. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. xl, 557 pp. Introduction, chronology, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

These volumes, the first in the extensive series of Washington correspondence, comprise both an autobiographical and a documentary record of the rise of Booker T. Washington as the leading Negro educator in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Volume 2 documents the rise of the Tuskegee Institute. The autobiographical volume includes a reprinting of *Up from Slavery* and extracts from five other sources of Booker T. Washington's writings. The version of *The Story of My Life and Work* (1915) includes the additional chapter on the National Business League. This material contains a more sophisticated view of Washington, his work, and his broad national contacts than does the more elementary *Up from Slavery*. These personal documents reveal the progress of an actor on the national scene. With intimate political, philosophical, and business contacts between the personality of the man who emerges in *Up from Slavery* and the one who appears in *Story of My Life and Work* there is a wide divergency of views. The latter work is a post-career book looking back from the vantage point of a tremendous perspective of experience.

In his later writings Washington made clear restatements of much of the Protestant ethic— of the belief that “luck” is only another name for hard work. In his opinion, any individual could succeed in any enterprise on which he set his heart if he was willing to pay the price in hard work, and work meant “being willing to put forth the severest effort when there is no one to see or applaud.”

In Booker T. Washington's case plenty of people saw and applauded. Louis Harlan's introduction and prefatory note in volume 1 give in succinct fashion a sense of the background against which the autobiographical materials were written and published. Volume 1 constitutes not only a highly personal view of the subject, but also a significant view of the cross-currents of Negro education, of southern education in general, and of American business, philosophy, and politics to 1911.

One can readily agree with Professor Harlan's conclusion that, “Booker T. Washington's life and views found clearer expression in his private papers than in his deliberately conventionalized public writings and utterances,” Volume 2 of this series of the papers covers the years, 1860-1889. Obviously, as

the years passed, his papers became more meaningful and mature. Yet meaningful in the sense of being fuller and with more perspective, not in the elementary sense of describing rather primitive beginnings of an educational experiment and philosophy.

The great mass of Booker T. Washington's papers are work-a-day, revealing the minute details of trying to operate a school and a new approach to Negro education on a financial and philosophical shoestring. Publication of these papers constitutes a kind of milestone in the general national historical publication program. *The Booker T. Washington Papers* fall well outside of the statesman-politician category of papers published thus far.

The editor is to be commended, not for the absolute completeness of the papers, but for his craftsmanlike selectivity. The documentation and identification is adequate, leaving something to be done by the user of the papers. This two-volume series represents a good start in what should be a notable series of papers. The selectivity and editing should place this project higher on the scale than its twelfth place as designated by the National Historical Publication Commission. If the editor maintains his objectivity—demonstrated throughout the selections from more than 1,000,000 items—in future volumes, he will have performed a valid service indeed for many investigators of racial, educational, and political history.

*Lexington, Kentucky*

THOMAS D. CLARK

*L. Q. C. Lamar, Pragmatic Patriot.* By James B. Murphy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. 294 pp. Prologue, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

This latest addition to the Southern Biography series presumably grew out of Professor Murphy's doctoral dissertation at Louisiana State University. His research is meticulous and his style is clear, but his narrative is entirely too brief. A person whose public career was as extended, as varied, and as illustrious as that of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar deserved a more detailed biography than he has been accorded in just 274 pages.

Born into a distinguished Georgia planter family, Lamar was educated at Emory and studied law in an uncle's office in Macon. During his early years as a lawyer he migrated to Mississippi, but returned to Georgia several times before finally becoming a Mississippian. Following the tradition of many attorneys, he entered state politics. After serving briefly in the Georgia legislature, he subsequently was elected as a congressman in Mississippi.

In the national House of Representatives Lamar voted against any restrictions on slavery; by 1859 he was shouting for secession. In his role as delegate, he presented the secession ordinance to the Mississippi Convention in 1861. After serving in an insignificant position in Europe during the war, he became a judge advocate. Lamar held several jobs before returning to Congress in 1872. His eulogy of Charles Sumner in 1874 made him a national figure. Professor Murphy correctly contends that Lamar's influence was largely responsible for Mississippi returning to the Democratic fold in 1875-1876. He supported the Compromise of 1877.

Lamar soon began a career in the United States Senate. Although he was urged to vote for the remonetization of silver by the Mississippi legislature, he refused to do so. He favored federal subsidization and the expansion of the economy. After Grover Cleveland's election in 1884, Lamar became Secretary of the Interior. Here he served effectively until 1888 when he was appointed associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. He entered the court as one of the oldest and least prepared judges in our history. As judge he favored a federally stimulated economy and aggressively supported states' rights as he viewed them. He died in 1893 after suffering ill health for years. Lamar worked effectively for the South's full restoration to the Union; he was indeed a pragmatic patriot.

*University of Florida*

GEORGE OSBORN

*Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895-1968.* By I. A. Newby. (Columbia: University of South Carolina press, 1973. xiii, 388 pp. Preface, bibliographical essay, index. \$9.95.)



Professor Newby has compellingly described and analyzed the intellectual and social currents most directly touching the lives of South Carolina blacks since 1895. The central theme of black Carolina history, according to Newby, revolves around powerlessness and repression and efforts either to overcome or adapt to those conditions. Repression produced ignorance, poverty, and debility. Powerlessness created subservience and dependency. In short, one central fact in black Carolina history has been white racism. Racism touched every facet of black life. Race was used to define the black man's role, inhibit his advancement, thwart his hopes, and limit his horizons. Blacks were isolated, worked, and exploited as a racial group. Much of black public and civic life was consumed in racial causes. Even diversions were largely efforts to escape the consequences of racial discrimination.

Professor Newby graphically portrays the position of blacks between 1895 and World War II. "Every standard of good government, public probity, civilization itself, was on occasion violated in the cause of white supremacy." The judiciary and police were perverted to racial ends. Black schools were either poor or nonexistent. Blacks lived at a subsistence level and were constantly subjected to insults and humiliations. Criminally violent white mobs were not uncommon. The political, economic, and educational systems were designed to keep blacks powerless, dependent, impoverished, and in ignorance. The social system sought to make "good Negroes" of blacks and to convince them that they were inferior, a chronic problem not only for whites, but for themselves. Surprisingly, black Carolinians never succumbed to white racism. They had a vitality, a stamina, an adaptiveness, a record of perseverance, optimism, and determination that prevented their being completely defeated. They endured, they toiled, they aspired, and today they can claim much of the credit for the transformation in their status.

Newby traces the familiar story of black protest, white intransigence, and of the dramatic changes in the last two decades. But he ends the book on a grim note. While blacks in South Carolina can look back and see signs of progress, they can also see continuing inequality. Public policy is still more concerned with neutralizing than with helping them realize their ambi-

tions. Newby fears that there is real danger that black frustration may result in open conflict with white racism.

*Black Carolinians* is an excellently written and valuable addition to the literature of black history and the South.

*Florida State University*

JOE M. RICHARDSON

*Southerners and Other Americans.* By Grady McWhiney. (New York: Basic Books, 1973, xi, 206 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, tables, index. \$7.95.)

There are twelve chapters in this well-written volume. Six of these have been published earlier in leading historical journals. To this reviewer the best chapters are the new ones, especially Chapter I, "Late Antebellum Americans," Chapter IV, "Ulysses S. Grant's Pre-Civil War Military Education," Chapter X, "The Meaning of Emancipation," and Chapter XII, "Black History or Propaganda." "Real differences," Professor McWhiney points out, "have existed between North and South for at least 200 years." But he adds, "too often— and for various reasons— these differences have either been exaggerated or rationalized." And here he sets about exposing some of these myths— the myth that the Civil War was an "irrepressible conflict" between fundamentally opposed Cavalier and Yankee civilizations; the southern myth that the Ku Klux Klan terrorised superstitious blacks through ghostly disguises rather than its criminal acts; the black myths that would remove southern myths with an equal disregard for the truth; and above all, "the great myth that somehow the South escaped the intellectual forces which shaped American thought and action."

In laying these and other myths to rest, Professor McWhiney, who is a Southerner, rescues the South from the exaggerations and rationalizations that have for more than two centuries kept Southerners and "other Americans" from understanding each other. The author maintains that one of the great myths of American history is that when the Civil War began Southerners were fundamentally different from Northerners. For more than a century people have been trying to reform the South, and much of this reformist spirit is evident in writing about the section. Authors had to get right with prevailing opinion: those

who failed to damn white Southerners or to denounce Dixie's backwardness, meanness, and racism were usually dismissed as apologists for the South. Nor has the danger of distortion passed. In recent years the growing separation between blacks and whites has added suspicion and hostility to the already difficult task of understanding what motivated the people of both races.

Throughout this provocative volume, the author has attempted to correct some errors that had crept into our thinking about races and sections. Blacks were less credulous than some historians had supposed, and white Northerners—when it was advantageous—exploited Negroes as readily as did white Southerners. The evidence indicates that differences between races and sections were no more pronounced than similarities.

Another myth that the author lays to rest is that the Whig party in Alabama was the party of the planter and slaveholder. In the state as a whole it may have been true that more large planters were Whigs than Democrats. But if the men they sent to Congress and to the state legislature are any indication, the Whigs were no more exclusively the "silk stocking" party in Alabama than the Democracy was exclusively the party of the "common man."

One of the great myths of history is that somehow the South escaped the intellectual forces that shaped American thought and action. Democracy and progress found no supporters in the Old South, it is alleged. Such assertions distort the past. Democracy developed in the South as it did in other parts of America. Southerners were likewise as devoted as all other Americans to progress, especially material progress. The Radical Reconstruction experiment failed for a number of reasons, but foremost was northern disillusionment with blacks. By the time the Reconstruction experiment ended Southerners were again thoroughly Americanized. Every southern state was controlled by businessmen or by the friends of business.

In Chapter XII "Black History or Propaganda?" the author suggests that a historian cannot be both a propagandist and a scholar; the two are incompatible. Where propaganda is apparent, scholarship is not. The propagandist, certain that he has acquired the truth, goes out to preach and convert. He has no desire to understand the past, only to use it. He wants

disciples, not students; he wants people to think as he does rather than to think for themselves. In the words of Thomas A. Bailey, "too many so-called historians are really 'hysterians.'"

The major weakness of black history is not the subject but the aims of its practitioners. To substitute black legends for white legends is no improvement. The "super Negro" thesis is just as ridiculous and just as dangerous as the "inferior Negro" thesis. Many of the new history books, especially those designed for use in the schools, mention only the advancements of Negroes. In a 190-page book entitled *Teacher's Guide to American Negro History* "a basic handbook for schools and libraries," the author noted no fewer than fourteen errors of fact or interpretation. The first of these errors is the implication that most of the 8,000,000 white people who lived in the South in 1860 were poor whites. Errors number two, three, and four are contained in a single sentence, which reads in part: "the South had become a backward agricultural region, devoid of industry, literature, and democracy." Error number five is the statement "the slaveholders made the law and selected congressmen, teachers, ministers, editors, and sheriffs." Errors number six, seven, eight, and nine are all found in one paragraph. These errors are the unqualified assertions that slaves "had no rights any white person was bound to respect," that slaves ate a "poor" diet, were housed in "primitive" shelters, and were overworked. Errors ten, eleven, and twelve all relate to the free Negroes of the Old South, all of whom are described as abolitionists. Errors thirteen and fourteen are relatively simple matters.

The trend in black history is all too apparent. Louis E. Lomax warns that Negro teachers are being indoctrinated into advocating black power. So are the white teachers. Propaganda has no legitimate place in the writing and teaching of history. Scholars and teachers should take six words of advice from the blacks militants "tell it the way it was."

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* HUGH T. LEFLER