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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

Land Into Water-Water Into Land: A History of Water Management in Florida. By Nelson M. Blake. (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1980. viii, 344 pp. Preface, introduction, photos, maps, illustrations, notes, index. \$19.95.)

Nelson Blake believes that “man has not so much adapted to nature as he has reordered nature to serve his own end.” In Florida, water has been considered an overabundant commodity to be routed off the land. From the first days two great internal improvement schemes have been promoted on the peninsula: a cross-Florida canal and swampland drainage. Only recently, after environmentalists had studied the state’s water supplies and wetlands ecosystems, have warnings been issued that nature’s delicately balanced methods are being thrown out of kilter by man’s tampering. The present struggle for water control between those favoring an engineering solution and those desiring non-structural engineering has led many to realize that water is “a treasure to be guarded.” Blake believes that this fundamental change in attitude is bound to protect and improve this precious resource.

The author of *Land Into Water* was Maxwell Professor of History at Syracuse University before he retired to Florida in 1973. He has authored or coauthored seven earlier works, including a study of urban water problems in the northeast. Thus it was logical for Professor Blake to study his adopted state’s water supply. His investigation was thorough and wide ranging. The result is an informative, well-researched book.

This volume is a detailed, almost encyclopedic, history of water management in Florida, yet the style is lively enough to keep the narrative moving. Professor Blake strengthens his thesis by tying Florida’s events to national trends and movements. Interestingly, he attributes the successful series of drainage schemes to the populist and the progressive movements which swept Florida between 1890 and 1920. Two devastating hurricanes in the 1920s demonstrated that neither private enterprise nor state endeavors could handle the massive engineering projects needed for flood control in south Florida. An appeal was made

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for federal aid, which soon was forthcoming. Recently, these engineering feats have brought charges that water quality has been impaired with the bypassing of nature's purification system of swamp and marsh lands.

Central to the new environmentalists of the 1960s and 1970s are the botanists and biologists who "emphasized the adaptive mechanisms of nature." This group would like to see a shift in Florida's land use from drainage to adaptation. If their scheme was employed, vegetable and sugar acreages would be converted to rice or other wetland crops, the marshlands would be restored, water levels allowed to return to normal heights, and suburban homes would be built on pilings, thus adapting man to nature.

Although Nelson Blake provides the same detailed accounting of the nineteenth-century plans and projects as he does of the twentieth-century endeavors, the reader is obviously caught up emotionally in the developer-engineering-environmental problems of today. His narrative of the stopping of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal and the Everglades jetport make exciting reading. The channelization of the Kissimmee River with its resultant eutrophication of Lake Okeechobee, the planned destruction of mangrove swamps by the Marco Island developers, the ecological destruction of Naples Bay by the Golden Gate Estates' extensive drainage canals all put the reader in the trenches of Florida's environmental war.

Unfortunately for the peruser of this book, Blake devoted so much of his effort to pointing out the evils of overdeveloped engineering that he neglected the fundamental cause for these projects in the first place—flood control. Floridians must decide how much of their floodplain, which is a good percentage of the state, should be inhabited or used for agricultural purposes, for the question of levees and canals versus swamp and marshland hinges upon that point.

Nevertheless, this book is a timely presentation of Florida's water management crisis. It provides a sound fundamental knowledge upon which one may begin the study of this problem. First and foremost, it is essential reading for Floridians, and it is recommended to all concerned Americans.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783. By Charles Royster. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979, xi, 452 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, acknowledgments, appendix, notes, index. \$19.50.)

Charles Royster has written an impressive book analysing how revolutionary ideals were translated into action in the Continental Army, the survival of which was the central political and personal problem of the Revolution. The national character of Americans-whom Royster identifies as revolutionaries-was defined and tested in the military crucible by soldiers and officers who saw themselves as "guardians of liberty" (p. 5) and, in the religious world of the revolutionaries, as instruments of God to preserve-self-government for the world in a struggle that "was the greatest test of the chosen people" (p. 9). Utilizing a broad range of printed sources, Royster builds his case that the American people succeeded only because a small number of men, idealistically motivated by a love of freedom and country, served in the Continental Army despite chronic material, physical, and psychological hardships. "The call to prove one's worth-in native courage, in love of freedom, in attainment of the promised future-lay at the heart of Continental Army service" (p. 161), Royster writes.

Throughout the text and in a special appendix, Royster effectively counters the assertions of some recent scholars, such as Mark E. Lender, Robert Gross, and John R. Sellers, that Continental Army enlisted men were strictly motivated by economic factors. Royster properly concludes that there is no evidence that poverty and revolutionary ideals were mutually exclusive. Among other pertinent points about the socioeconomic interpretation raised by Royster is why these impoverished men did not join the British army, which had greater material benefits than the American army, even when faced with almost certain death as prisoners of war. Although these men did not have material goods to lose by service in the army, they had their lives. "Considered as people rather than as socioeconomic entities, soldiers had as much to lose as anyone had; they chose to risk it and, in many instances, to lose it. The student of the American

Revolution must go beyond statistics to find out why" (p. 378).

Above all, Royster's book reasserts the centrality of the Continental Army in the American Revolution and fills a valuable corrective role for many recent studies of the period. For Royster the raising and maintenance of the Continental Army-carefully separated from the militia-was the dominant force in shaping national political institutions and a national American revolutionary character. While the Continental Army was the vehicle for public virtue during the *rage militaire* of the war's early years, it had become a focal point for division and suspicion by 1778. As the army became more professional and powerful, revolutionary civilians became more fearful of a threat to the republic from a standing army and its nationalist supporters than they were of defeat by Great Britain. But, Royster concludes, neither the army nor its officers would have supported a Cromwellian dictatorship because they were too freedom loving and were serving out of patriotism not self-interest.

The public's suspicious and often apathetic support for the army, leading to the hasty disbanding of the standing army, conformed to the army's belief that civilians had lost public virtue. The officers and enlisted men came to believe that they alone were responsible for not only military victory but the preservation of public virtue and the republic. On the other hand, most civilians felt that the army had "become a place for wartime professionals and luckless civilians. Its victories showed the strength of the nation, but service in it no longer embodied virtues to which many Americans even pretended to aspire" (pp. 326-27). By 1783 most Americans had "decided that they owed their independence less to their army than to the national virtue and courage that the soldiers partially and temporarily embodied" (pp. 329-30). The militia rather than the regular army received the full-blown plaudits of civilian revolutionaries.

The national debt incurred to support the Continental Army, and the need for a strong central government to pay it, symbolized the failure of national virtue to provide the resources to pay for the army that had provided victory, Royster argues. This division was an important and decisive element in post-war politics and the claims to revolutionary rewards. The army and other nationalists believed that, "Only the men who had

won the war could preserve the victory. Military virtues, social hierarchy, and strong government had become not the antitheses of revolutionary ideals but the necessary instruments for the nation's survival-instruments whose merits had been proven by the nationalists alone in the tests of war" (p. 341). Conversely, many civilians became convinced "that public virtue had won it. This belief underlay the reinterpretation of the war, in which civilians could portray themselves as the rescuers of the army at Valley Forge rather than the main cause of the army's hardship" (p. 351). A standing army and strong central government were therefore not only unneeded but dangerous.

There is little doubt where Royster's sympathies lie. And it is this bias which leads Royster to overemphasize the Continental Army as the focal point for all major psychological, economic, and political conflicts within the revolutionary aegis. The raising and maintenance of the Continental Army was the most important function of the Continental Congress, but it was not its only major concern. And within the individual states it was often only a tangential factor in the overall problems of creating a revolutionary government and defending it with militia in the absence of the Continental Army, or even repairing the damage when the Continental Army was defeated or moved on to preserve itself. Survival and freedom were the primary concerns of most Americans, whether loyalists or revolutionaries or neutrals, but the resolutions of their crises were often untouched by the Continental Army. Nevertheless, Royster's work must be considered an indispensable work in any serious effort to understand the American Revolution.

Library of Congress

GERARD W. GAWALT

The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress. By Jack N. Rakove. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. xvii, 484 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, notes, a note on primary sources, index. \$15.95.)

"One does not explain a revolution simply by recording its leaders' understanding of how it unfolded," Professor Rakove observes and thus warns us that he is not taking anything at

face value, including not only primary evidence but also some of the established interpretations of the American Revolution. For instance, Merrill Jensen's views that radicals ran the early Continental congresses and that the busybodies at the 1776 state conventions got their way in the Articles of Confederation are both rejected by Rakove in this penetrating, well-developed book that will provoke much inquiry into the role of the nation's lawmakers in the revolutionary process between 1774 and 1787. Rakove's delineation of the issues facing a frustrated Congress and his explanation of the difficulties that beset the national legislature, particularly between 1777 and 1786, clearly mark him as a young historian of considerable promise.

We have never had a "luck" theory of American history, but Rakove comes close to offering one by suggesting that many of those who served in the Continental Congress were able, consistent craftsmen who were in the right place at the right time. The British blundered into serving up the very measures which the delegates could exploit, timing "their decisions to appear as responses to particular British provocations." A surge of popularity carried this strategy along until the ultra-conservatives were put to flight in 1776. Then delegates quibbled over a confederation plan, barely managed to keep an army in the field, and left most of the big problems (finance, supply, recruitment) in the hands of the states. Throughout "the 1770's Congress continued to scrape along, moving piecemeal from one partial expedient to another until, by late 1779, the war effort seemed on the verge of collapse." The committee system, an outgrowth of the resistance movement, provided what little backbone Congress could muster. Between a few hard-working members and Robert Morris's financial dealings, the young republic survived after the fortuitous events at Yorktown had provided some blessed relief.

Rakove's evidence supports the view that Jensen, James Henderson, and others have overstressed the power of devious factions in the Congress. Except for a few delegates such as John Dickinson and Thomas Burke, most members were incapable of broad theoretical propositions (and Burke gained a host of enemies for his troubles). Lacking sustained leadership and bedeviled by a constant turnover of delegates, Congress often took the expedient way out whenever confronted with money-raising

or other difficult problems, and thus there were no factions in the wings tugging for radical or conservative solutions. The result: a “process that repeatedly led the delegates to reach compromises and what might even be called a working consensus.” Yes—“consensus”—the word which caused such a stir in seminars and on panels not long ago, has come out of hiding and made respectable by Rakove’s research. Rakove sees the patriots’ consensus emerging after British ineptness provided the winning combination for the adventurers of 1776.

John Dickinson also makes a comeback. Rakove’s attention for this misunderstood patriot, taken in tandem with Paul H. Smith’s work in the expanded *Letters of Delegates* edition, shows how Dickinson had an intellectual’s share of misgivings about many things but would ultimately do the right thing. When called upon “to revise the Declaration on Taking Arms . . . he produced a text that was more severe than Thomas Jefferson’s original version.” He hammered away for a workable Articles of Confederation, and his ideas survived a nit-picking committee to set up a national government that did not impair the states’ right to conduct their local business while still placing some “limits on their sovereignty other than those required by the exigencies of war and diplomacy.” No mean achievement, and one that requires further explanation. (I hope Rakove will consider finishing what he has started so well by writing a full-blown Dickinson biography.)

In the latter chapters, Rakove exhibits a thorough understanding of the state of the union between 1783 and 1787. His downplaying of the so-called crisis mood preceding the Federal Convention is admirable, as is his insight on why the Federal Convention was able to do its work in merciful secrecy. My only quibble is with his style of writing, which in general is excellent, but would improve if variations on the verb “to surprise” were eschewed in his future works.

University of Virginia

ROBERT A. RUTLAND

The Madisons: A Biography. By Virginia Moore. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979. xviii, 568 pp. Cast of main characters, preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

Dr. Virginia Moore, poet and student of English and American literature, who won critical acclaim for her literary biographies, *The Life and Eager Death of Emily Bronte* and *The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' Search for Reality*, has moved beyond English literature into the related field of historical biography with her most recent work, *The Madisons: A Biography*. Perhaps, because her background is different from that of most biographers of American presidents, Dr. Moore has produced a volume that is unlike other studies of political figures both in approach and style. Rather than writing about James Madison, the statesman, with passing references to his wife, Dr. Moore has given us a biography of the Madison family in which Dolley Madison shares equal billing with her famous husband. In adopting this novel approach, Dr. Moore had several purposes in mind. She intended, primarily, to demonstrate that the wife of the fourth president had been more than the frivolous leader of Washington society portrayed by most historians, for, in the author's opinion, she had helped to shape the course of American political history through her influence on President Madison. Secondly, Dr. Moore hoped to reveal the personality of a Madison who was not the humorless, unemotional intellectual that his contemporaries and later historians have believed him to be. Finally, like all biographers of Madison, Dr. Moore attempted to prove that Madison has been under-rated as a wartime political leader.

Undoubtedly Dr. Moore was attracted to the Madisons because of their vividly contrasting personalities, which she saw as creating complementary parts of an unusually interesting family unit. In her view, Madison, the lonely, reserved scholar, benefitted enormously, on one hand, from Dolley Madison's exuberant, affectionate disposition. On the other, Dolley, who was far from stupid, acquired intellectual interests from the genius to whom she was married.

Although Dr. Moore was able to paint a sympathetic portrait of Madison, she was most successful in her treatment of Dolley Madison. Dolley's early life, first marriage, and courtship by James Madison are described by Dr. Moore with particular skill, and the author's account of Dolley Madison's struggle to save some of the valuables of the White House from destruction by the British during the War of 1812 grips the reader's attention.

As a result of this biography, future historians will surely treat Dolley Madison as one of the early American republic's great women. Unfortunately, Dr. Moore did not accomplish as much for the reputation of Dolley's husband.

Reaching out to a larger audience than the conventional biographer, Dr. Moore adopted an informal literary style that may be jarring to some readers. She employs short, unconnected paragraphs similar to those to be found in annals of the Middle Ages, and occasionally lapses into the use of slang. Seeking for dramatic effect, she inserted some startling descriptions. We learn, to cite a few examples, that Madison had "conservative blue eyes," and a "destiny-locked face," while Aaron Burr had a "cold, fickle face." A British naval officer on duty in Washington was "bird-brained," and Congress contained some "pistol-packing Kentuckians." Her principal error, however, was in devoting too much space in her book to superficial background information which added little to our understanding of the Madisons.

Historians will not find much to interest them in this popular biography of the Madison family, but non-professional readers who enjoy biography will find the book worth their while.

Florida State University

JOHN HEBRON MOORE

The Making of Tocqueville's Democracy in America. By James T. Schleifer. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980. xxv, 387 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$26.00.)

Professor Schleifer, who heads the history department at the College of New Rochelle, has produced a first-rate intellectual history, tracing in great detail and persuasively the sources for the ideas expressed in the four-volume master-work of de Tocqueville. His notes and selected bibliography consume seventy pages of closely-printed type and demonstrate not only study of relevant published material but mastery of the massive Tocqueville papers at Yale. The significant influence upon Tocqueville of comments and correspondence with English and American friends, such as John Stuart Mill, Joel Poinsett, John Latrobe,

and Jared Sparks, and notably the writings of Hamilton, Madison, and Joseph Story is carefully documented.

Since Tocqueville pondered so many of the basic questions in philosophy and political science—the nature of sovereignty, of democracy, centralized versus localized government, to name a few—Schleifer's tracing of these thought processes, while detailed, is never dull.

Occasionally, it is difficult to be sure where the author is describing Tocqueville's ideas and where Schleiffer is expressing his own. This includes some of the most dubious concepts and assertions to come from the Frenchman—such as democracy spawning industrialization, or the idea that actual majority rule prevailed in the pre-Civil War United States, or that it was this alleged majority rule which was responsible for the racial oppression in the United States, or that democracy in the United States actually made the “lower classes” in the United States those who possessed political power, or that social mobility was so great that no “rich class” actually existed here.

The most troublesome passage in this book comes, however, not from its author but from Professor George Wilson Pierson, who contributed its foreword. In the last paragraph of his remarks, Professor Pierson feels it necessary to tell readers not only that Tocqueville was a man of honor who valued the dignity of others, but that following the development of such a person's thought would be a rewarding experience for those “not obsessed with Freud or infected with the virus of Marxism.” Actually, more attention to the thinking of those two preeminent geniuses of modern history would have improved Schleifer's already fine book, but that a professor of history at this date will write about such figures in such terms is a tragic commentary on the least savory feature of academic life in this country.

San Jose, California

HERBERT APTHEKER

Chattel Slavery and Wage Slavery: The Anglo-American Context, 1830-1860. By Marcus Cunliffe. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1979. xix, 128 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, index. \$9.00.)

This slender volume contains expanded versions of Professor Cunliffe's Lamar Memorial Lectures presented at Mercer College in 1978. The study divides into three parts. The first deals with the evolution of perceptions of both chattel and wage slavery in Great Britain and the United States; the second is concerned with the employment of these perceptions within the context of Anglo-American relations; while the third examines the literary career of American Charles Edward Lester and the role that these particular perceptions played in that career.

The study then is one in the history of ideas and does not pretend to examine the economic structure of either type of "slavery." Nor, for that matter, does Cunliffe confront the slippery question of whether (and if so, to what extent) the British or northern working man might legitimately be subsumed under the slave rubric. He does, however, skillfully remind us of the importance of these themes during those three decades or so which encompassed the Anglo-American abolitionist campaign, and in so doing neatly advances some provocative theses.

One among these is his suggestion that American abolitionists-as well as their British cousins-proved peculiarly blind to the economic, not to mention the political and social, plight of the heavily exploited free laborer, and indeed refused to concede the existence of wage slavery in the United States. This, Cunliffe speculates, may have been by design. For, if the abolitionists had acknowledged "that so-called free enterprise might leave workers distinctly unfree. . . ," this acknowledgment could easily have "robbed abolitionism of its force" (p. 27).

A second thesis is that freedom-proclaiming Americans were severely stung by British criticism of their Republic because it harbored chattel slavery. Their retaliation was the counterblast that wage slavery in England was a far greater evil than plantation slavery in America. However, and this is Cunliffe's point, the retaliation was mounted not just by slavery's southern defenders but by Americans north and south who "even up to the brink of secession . . . [were] more aware of things held in common than of an irreconcilable conflict" (p. 100).

This tendency of Northerners to defend anything American, including slavery, against the British is illustrated by the author in the life of Charles Lester, a New York abolitionist who none-

theless became persuaded that chattel slavery was in fact much more humane than British wage slavery and embarked on a literary career which often focused on precisely this theme.

The trio doubtless proved to be brilliant, thought provoking lectures, but lectures, of course, which were not intended to be exhaustive. Nonetheless, some readers may have difficulty with parts of the study such as the third portion which focuses on Lester—difficulty in part because Cunliffe fails to indicate how “typical” he believes his case study is, and in part because there is no attempt to gauge the impact on Americans of the writings of this relatively obscure individual.

Again, although it may be that hostility to Britain’s paternalistic, and quite possibly hypocritical, meddling may have provided some cohesiveness for individuals north and south of the Mason-Dixon line anxious to defend their republic, the study virtually ignores the chattel slavery/wage slavery aspect of the North-South dispute which did much to destroy that cohesiveness. On the other hand, with a British perspective, Cunliffe adds another dimension to the history of American abolitionism, and he does it with an elegance of style which makes the book enjoyable as well as instructive reading. Additionally, the study is well documented, contains many lengthy explanatory notes, and a satisfactory index.

Bowling Green State University

KENNETH F. KIPLE

Witnessing Slavery: The Development of Ante-bellum Slave Narratives. By Frances Smith Foster. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979. xi, 182 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

For years, historians of American slavery have debated the reliability and the usefulness of the antebellum slave narratives—accounts published by successful runaways describing their life under bondage and their eventual flight to freedom. Frances Smith Foster’s brief but excellent *Witnessing Slavery* will unquestionably give the present generation of scholars a better understanding of the complex problems involved in using these

narratives as source material for the study of slavery in the Old South. This was not her intent in writing this book, however. She is primarily interested in the development of the slave narrative as a black literary genre during the periods from 1760 to 1807 and, more importantly, from 1831 to 1865, when most of the fugitive accounts were published. Her emphasis throughout is on the narrative as a significant expression of black literary consciousness. As a consequence she is concerned with those aspects of the subject which relate directly to the slave narrative as literature: the evolution of the narrative as a literary form (especially plot and the repeated use of various themes and techniques); the myths embraced in and fostered by the fugitive accounts; and finally the ways in which the expectations of the primarily white, northern reading public helped to mold the essential character of the genre. Her approach is that of a literary historian, and she performs her task of describing the development of the narrative in solid, workmanlike fashion. Along the way she gives historians of the South's peculiar institution a good deal to think about.

"Slave narratives were didactic writings," she states in her preface, "created as a response to the specific needs of a specific society" (p. x). The purpose in the late colonial and early national period was to promote the abolition of the slave trade; the intent in the later antebellum years was to aid in the abolition of the institution of slavery itself. Because these accounts did have a clear intent and because the largely white readership seemed to expect certain things in these stories of slave life, the narratives developed into something approaching a nineteenth-century equivalent of the popular twentieth-century adventure novel. The slave's escape, for example, "follows as much a formula as a contemporary Western" (p. 122), and the emphasis on beatings, whippings, sexual assaults, and other forms of physical and psychological torture made the narratives "the pious pornography of their day" she notes (p. 20) in a phrase borrowed from historian Robin Winks. These books were meant, in short, not only to inform and instruct but also to entertain, titillate, and shock the reader. As she describes it, "the entire structure of the narratives was based on the image of the lonely wayfarer" (p. 135), struggling to overcome the brutal and fre-

quently lascivious oppression of the master and ultimately escaping from the nightmare of slavery largely by his or her own individual efforts. Themes that did not fit into this image (like the support received from parents, wives, husbands, or the general slave community—areas of slave life of great interest to present-day historians) were largely ignored in the narratives. Ephraim Peabody, a contemporary commentator on the narrative as a literary form, noted in 1849 that the fugitive accounts were “calculated to exert a very wide influence on public opinion” (p. 142). Discussion of things like the existence of the slave family, the nature of the slave community, or even the religious and folk culture of the quarters did not seem to serve this purpose. Nor, apparently, did a treatment of these subjects help sell books. “The nineteenth-century slave narratives had something for everybody,” Professor Foster writes (p. 143), but unfortunately, what the nineteenth-century reader wanted to know about was not always what the twentieth-century scholar is looking for.

Where does all of this leave the historian anxious to use these first-hand accounts of life under slavery as a research or a teaching tool? Where does it leave the general reader who picks up a copy of one of the many narratives now in print in order to learn something of what it was like to be a slave? These questions are not easily answered, but Professor Foster’s able literary study should help both the scholar and the non-academic reader approach these works with their eyes open. The two watch-words for both parties would seem to be caution and awareness: caution that what one is using is almost certainly not a fully-rounded picture of slave life, and awareness that the slave narratives did become something of a stock nineteenth-century literary form, replete with stereotyped racial images and figures, themes, incidents, and emphases tailored to meet the needs of the abolitionist cause and the cravings of the book-buying public.

Williams College

CHARLES B. DEW

The South and Three Sectional Crises. By Don E. Fehrenbacher. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980. xii, 81 pp. Preface, introduction, appendix, notes, index. \$8.95.)

Professor Fehrenbacher was a student of the late Avery Craven at the University of Chicago and has imbibed some of his teacher's moderation in his later years. One reviewer of his Pulitzer prize-winning book on the Dred Scott case has called him a master historian, and this reviewer is curious as to the qualities that make him a master historian. These three lectures, consisting of sixty-five pages, offers some clues. One is that he has a notable ability of analysis and of recognizing the essentials in an historical situation. Another is that he has an independent mind that frees him from the transitory modern schools of interpretation, yet he is well aware of the recent findings of scholars. Still another is that he has a superb command of the sources and evidences of his study.

In his study of three sectional crises here presented he has brought a new dimension. Instead of placing emphasis on the economic factors that modern historians have perhaps exaggerated, he has studied the emotional and irrational aspects of the growth of sectional hostility. The Missouri Compromise, he believes, frightened the South because of "the anti-slavery solidarity of so many Northern Republicans." However, the South really won this first significant clash because of the vote of nineteen northern members. The South learned that the threat of secession could be an effective weapon of defense, which they could apply in later struggles. The important conclusion of Professor Fehrenbacher's discussion of the Compromise is that the slaveholding South, despite admitting slavery to be an evil, had "by 1820 rejected the possibility of gradual emancipation and had committed itself to the *permanence* of Southern slavery."

In his essay on the Wilmot Proviso the author comes to grips with his thesis of the emotional and irrational aspects of the growth of southern sectionalism. The southern states made the expansion of slavery into a region unsuited for its establishment a point of honor. They threatened secession, for they held that to accept the Wilmot Proviso would mean sectional degradation for the South; it must have equality in the Union or it would leave the Union. It is this stand which Professor Fehrenbacher calls "the new fuse" to the growth of sectional anger against the North. The South was also stirred to anger by the North's violation of the Fugitive Slave Law though few slaves escaped.

Professor Fehrenbacher throughout his study is interested in the importance of symbols or symbolic acts to vindicate southern self-esteem. The South was shocked by the overwhelming northern support of the Proviso, yet in the end there was "a remarkable collapse of antislavery strength." Thus, the Compromise of 1850 "defused the accumulated charge of sectional hostility." The South had saved its honor.

In his last chapter the author observes that after the collapse of the Whig party the dominance of southern Democrats in the federal government led them to the disastrous blunder of enacting the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He denies that southern expansion was the cause (there was no strong pressure from home). They sought a symbolic victory without realizing the tremendous excitement in the North caused by that act. Even more foolish was the insistence on passing the Lecompton bill—both bills enacted as a point of honor. This reviewer is delighted in the author's interpretation of the South's bartering real gains to win a symbol, the point of honor. Honor was crucial in the secession movement, as well as in the decision to fight the North over a symbol, the holding of Fort Sumter. Professor Fehrenbacher, although he emphasizes these emotional factors, has written a strictly political study of the three crises. In a larger work he might have traced the factors, the cultural background, that led the South to insist on the point of honor in face of the demands of common sense and realism.

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

The Union Cavalry in the Civil War. Volume I: From Fort Sumter to Gettysburg, 1861-1863. By Stephen Z. Starr (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. xiv, 507 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, maps, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Based on research in a wide variety of sources, Stephen Z. Starr has produced the first volume of a projected three-volume work, intended to cover the history of the Union cavalry from its less than impressive pre-war roots through four years of grow-

ing strength and effectiveness during the American Civil War. "Climax in Alabama," a chapter depicting the cavalry at its zenith shortly before the end of the war, introduces this ambitious study, as twenty-seven-year-old Major General James H. Wilson directs a dramatically successful campaign into the heart of the deep South.

The author quickly demonstrates that he intends to cut through the halo of myth and romance that has characterized the story of the cavalry, realistically reminding the reader, for example, that Wilson, never one to be bashful about claiming success, actually came close to losing an entire division in his first independent operation in Virginia. Furthermore, in his autobiography, Wilson wrote that his troopers had "fairly 'got the bulge on Forrest,' " in their first meeting with the famous Confederate commander, when in reality, Starr points out, Forrest was not even present until the fight to which Wilson referred was over.

A balanced, objective account is obviously the author's goal. This he achieves to a commendable degree, ultimately concluding that the Alabama campaign was a marked success and that "Wilson's reputation would be far higher, and deservedly so, if his Selma campaign had occurred earlier against more powerful opposition, and if it had not been overshadowed by the dramatic events in Virginia and North Carolina in the closing weeks of the war."

In succeeding chapters, Starr presents briefly the story of the cavalry before the Civil War, then details the raising, organizing, equipping, and training of the Union troopers. Often plagued with inadequate equipment, incompetent officers, and many men who knew nothing of either riding or caring for a horse-and sometimes "showed much more fear of their horses than they ever did afterward of the enemy"-the Union cavalry was no match for its Confederate counterpart in the first years of the war. While this conclusion has been generally accepted, Starr's extensive research establishes this fact beyond question.

For many readers the highlight of this volume will be the detailed, straightforward descriptions of the campaigns in which the cavalry engaged-such as the Peninsula, Second Bull Run, Antietam, Kelly's Ford, and, of course, Gettysburg. Starr's

analysis of an engagement, or a campaign, is usually interesting and sometimes challenges conventional interpretations. For instance, he successfully explodes the widely held idea that Kelly's Ford brought about a marvelous transformation in the Union cavalry. Convincingly, Starr argues that only partial success in a fight of brigade strength could hardly have inspired the entire Federal cavalry to the heights eventually reached. Starr also downplays the importance of John Buford's stand on the Chambersburg road at Gettysburg, which some have contended was the key to ultimate Union victory, concluding that "its effect on the outcome of the battle itself was minimal." Turning to the last day of Gettysburg, on the other hand, the author thinks that David Gregg perhaps played the crucial role among the cavalrymen, directing George Custer to ignore the orders of his immediate superior, and remain with Gregg. It was "a decision," Starr writes, "that probably saved him-and perhaps Meade-from a disastrous defeat." Such interpretations challenge the reader to deeper study.

The book is well researched in primary and secondary sources, clearly written, interesting, and often thought-provoking. The author has made a good beginning on an important subject.

David Lipscomb College

JAMES LEE McDONOUGH

The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 5, 1861-1862. Edited by Leroy P. Graf, Ralph W. Haskins, and Patricia P. Clark. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979. lxxii, 676 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, chronology, illustrations, notes, appendix, index. \$20.00.)

"The time has arrived, when treason must be made odious and traitors impoverished." That sounds like Andrew Johnson on taking over the presidency in April 1865. It is actually Johnson as military governor of Tennessee in July 1862, and it is a theme that he had repeated often from the beginning of the war. He was also saying that Tennessee was "not out of this Union. Reconstruction is not the proper term to apply to our work, for

the State is still an integral part of the great national unit and it is restoration to allegiance that we are striving for." This emphasis on "restoration," as distinct from "reconstruction," foreshadows the Johnson who, in the White House, was to turn against the Radicals.

The fifth volume of his papers, covering the twelve months from September 1861, through August 1862, is, like the preceding volumes, of interest primarily because of the direct or indirect light it casts on the character of the president-to-be. As the editors point out, this volume contains a higher proportion of items emanating from Johnson (about twenty-five per cent) than do its predecessors. There is less than usual of family or other private correspondence, but the man nevertheless reveals much of himself in statements and letters dealing with his official concerns, first as United States senator and then, from March 3, 1862, as military governor with the rank of brigadier general. The papers also have considerable value as sources for the history of the time. They are especially informative with regard to the Union's military problems in Kentucky and Tennessee, the plight of Tennessee Unionists, and the start of wartime reconstruction. They are uneven in their coverage, being much more voluminous for some periods and topics than for others. This reflects the variation in occasions for communicating by the written word and also in the chances for survival of the documents produced. In the Johnson papers there is no reference at all to his brief service as a member of the congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, nor is there anything that suggests the motives of President Lincoln in setting up the military governorship and appointing Johnson to it.

Once again the editors have done an exemplary job. They have been meticulous in transcribing documents and resourceful and thorough in identifying persons and clarifying allusions. They have also provided, in a biographical introduction, an admirable setting for the documentary record. The introduction offers, in addition to a summary of Johnson's career for the twelve months, some interesting speculation on the reasons for his appointment as military governor and also a thoughtful appraisal of his personality. "The sharply etched portrait of a grim presence, ambitious, violent, unforgiving, is overdrawn;

some of its lines need softening," the editors write. "That the Plebeian was inordinately ambitious is beyond cavil; that he could 'take and detest' seems undeniable. . . . Yet a closer examination of Johnson's career suggests that he was neither implacable and unforgiving nor incapable of giving and loving. Leaving aside his obvious devotion to his family, one detects in him a lifelong tendency to champion the underdog." Except for the underdog slave, of course.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro RICHARD N. CURRENT

The Presidency of Andrew Johnson. By Albert Castel. (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979. viii, 262 pp. Editor's preface, preface, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$15.00.)

This volume, part of the Kansas series on the American presidency, merits a prominent place among recent works on Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction. It is not a biography; the pre-presidential years receive only ten pages. It is a study of how Johnson used the apparatus of the presidency and how the office responded to the needs of the time. Unlike such authors as Michael Les Benedict, he is more concerned with whether Johnson "was good at using power than with whether he used it for the 'good.'" Castel hardly ignores the problem of race, but he believes that the period was far more complex than that single issue. Indeed, he suggests (p. 30): "Ideology and political considerations played a bigger role in molding Johnson's Reconstruction policy than did racial prejudice." The overall assessment of Johnson accounts him a strong president in a personal sense, a weak one institutionally, and on balance a failure. Yet Castel also understands many of Johnson's limitations, both of circumstances and background. He believes that Johnson was not guilty and should not have been impeached, but he also downplays the potential danger to the presidency of a conviction. Johnson's presidency collapsed only in highly unusual and non-recurring circumstances; further, presidential power would have grown much as it has since Reconstruction anyhow.

Among Castel's more specific evaluations: Johnson's pardon

policy reflected political necessity and the absence of a political following for non-Confederate Southerners; the president confused northern lack of interest in black equality at home with lack of interest in protection of black rights in the South; the Civil Rights veto was Johnson's greatest blunder because it opened the way for much that followed; 1866 was indeed the "critical year" because by its end Johnson had lost the chances for success he enjoyed at its start; Johnson was not solely or even principally to blame for southern rejection of the fourteenth amendment, because the South's course in 1865 suggested they might well have refused it in any event; Stanton merited removal from the Cabinet as early as the New Orleans riot, and Johnson erred in waiting so long to do it; Grant supported Republican Reconstruction in part to ensure his own election to the presidency, for which the success of Republican Reconstruction was necessary; Johnson blundered in his handling of the War Office in January 1868, including his accusations against Grant, but Grant deliberately pursued the quarrel to remove all Republican doubts about his suitability.

In the last chapter, entitled "Johnson Before the Bar of History," together with a bibliographical essay, Castel provides a thirty-five page review of prior scholarship that will prove interesting and useful both for scholars and for college audiences. He acknowledges having "benefited greatly" from the scholarship of such "neo-Radical" writers as Hans Trefousse, Michael Perman, and Benedict, but finds more "congenial and satisfactory" the work of a group he terms "conservative revisionists," including David Donald, William C. Harris, John Niven, and Martin Mantell.

There is much to enjoy and appreciate in this book—even-handed scholarship in which criticism of all participants rests on intelligent judgment of realities at the time, a straightforward narrative, a colorful and generally pleasing style. Yet there are also dimensions that might have been improved (besides a few small errors). This is an almost unrelievedly "official" story—perhaps not inherently wrong in view of the appropriate institutional emphasis. But a little more attention to the personal would have sharpened the man in the office. Additional treatment of non-Reconstruction issues would have been especially welcome.

There is some, mostly regarding economics and diplomacy, but not enough in view of the emphasis of most previous writers. Finally, the treatment of Johnson's pre-presidential career seems too brief in view of the effects of his unsatisfactory early experiences with executive power. On balance, however, Professor Castel has produced a well-researched volume reflecting a useful approach and mature evaluation. His aim was to explain and illuminate, and while not all historians of Reconstruction will agree with the results, he has carried out his aim with clarity and competence.

California State University, Northridge JAMES E. SEFTON

The Day of the Carpetbagger: Republican Rule in Mississippi.

By William C. Harris. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979. xiv, 760 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

The Day of the Carpetbagger is described on its dust jacket as "prodigiously researched," and so it is. It is also prodigiously long for so finite a subject. This massive examination of Mississippi life and politics during Republican Reconstruction (1867-1877) contains 723 pages of text, costs almost \$40.00 and weighs 1,501 grams (3.3 lbs.).

William C. Harris has produced a valuable contribution to Reconstruction historiography. The chief criticism which may be lodged against it is its length. The style is good, the documentation meticulous. *The Day of the Carpetbagger* also offers much more than a review of political activity. The author properly concerns himself with economics, social as well as race relations, public education, and indeed all aspects of life which affected public events. It is a shame that many potential readers will probably miss the valuable information and insights this book offers simply because it is so discouragingly huge and expensive. This reviewer can imagine the reaction of even a dedicated graduate student when handed *The Day of the Carpetbagger* as a suggested reading. What the typical undergraduate history major's reaction would be is too depressing to contemplate.

Surely this book will be considered the definitive study of

Mississippi during the years of Republican Reconstruction. Harris's earlier (1967) volume, *Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi*, provides a detailed look at the beginning of Reconstruction; this sequel study is even more comprehensive and it is doubtful that any scholar in the foreseeable future will replace William C. Harris as the authority on Mississippi affairs of the 1865-1877 era. The author properly notes his indebtedness to his "two able predecessors," James W. Garner (whose traditionalist Dunning-school *Reconstruction in Mississippi* was published in 1901), and Vernon Lane Wharton, a revisionist whose *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (1947) was a path-breaking work. Harris's two books supplant Garner, but not Wharton. In his preface to *The Day of the Carpetbagger*, Harris indicates that as far as black social and cultural history in Reconstruction Mississippi is concerned, the Wharton book is still the standard account. However, Harris does not ignore black Mississippi; he attempts, in his words, "to weave black activities into the general story of Reconstruction in the state." The tapestry he weaves shows many more white than black threads, but the role of blacks is given more attention than in most state studies of the period.

The Day of the Carpetbagger is a revisionist study, in that it denies the older, traditional white southern view that Reconstruction was a wicked attempt to humiliate the South and place it under the rule of corrupt outsiders and ignorant, newly-freed slaves. Yet Harris, a fair and careful scholar, does not glorify the Reconstruction experiment or place halos on those white or black politicians who held office in the state during the 1867-1877 years. That violent white racism was largely responsible for the overthrow of Reconstruction in Mississippi, Harris does not deny, but he points out that the failures and shortcomings of the Republican leadership was also responsible for the ultimate triumph of the Bourbon Democrats.

In this reviewer's judgment, *The Day of the Carpetbagger* could have been compressed to two-thirds of its published size without any loss of significant content. As it is, the book proves the old adage that there can be too much of a good thing.

Georgia College

WILLIAM I. HAIR

Louisiana's Black Heritage. By Robert R. MacDonald, John R. Kemp, and Edward F. Hass. (New Orleans: Louisiana State Museum, 1979, xv, 239 pp. Preface, contributors, notes, illustrations, selected bibliography. \$9.50.)

This collection of papers by scholars prominent in the areas of black history and Louisiana history was first presented at the Louisiana Black Heritage Symposium held by the Louisiana State Museum. The papers cover the period from Louisiana's early colonial history through the nineteenth century with only limited attention given to the twentieth century. Collectively the essays depict a major theme in black Louisiana history—that, due largely to its more pre-modern Latin heritage, Louisiana's pattern of race relations was unique among southern colonies and states, creating a relatively freer climate.

Two articles dealing with slavery in Louisiana find its development different from other southern states. Thomas Marc Fiehrer, in his essay on colonial history, notes that “the system of slavery and race relations that prevailed during the eighteenth century in the lower Mississippi Valley and along the Gulf Coast seems to deviate from the mode that typifies the rest of the Southern United States” (p. 3). Colonial bondage in Louisiana, he further points out, was “distinctly freer than that of the antebellum South.” Joe Grey Taylor's essay on slavery is more prone to fit Louisiana into a general southern pattern (through much of his paper, it is hardly apparent that he is discussing Louisiana specifically), but he also suggests the need to consider how Louisiana's Latin background made slavery unique in the state.

Fiehrer also considers the rise of a group virtually exclusive to Louisiana—the free persons of color. Charles Edward O'Neill's work on nineteenth-century black artists and writers, David C. Rankin's on Civil War leadership in New Orleans, and Doris Dorcas Carter's on the social role of black women deal primarily with this elite and unique group—some of whom, Rankin points out, were not even certain they had black ancestry. Roland McConnell, in an essay on the black Louisiana military, considers both slave and free. He also concludes that Louisiana was different, contending that military developments in the colony

and state were "unprecedented and unique in America."

Charles Vincent's work on blacks in Louisiana during the Civil War and Reconstruction and Joe M. Richardson's on the American Missionary Association and black education portray a part of Louisiana's black heritage more common to the rest of the South. Although his topic of education has elitist connotations, Richardson deals with education's impact on the masses, pointing out that "the bulk of Louisiana blacks were slaves and necessarily deficient in formal learning." Most of the essays, however, give only limited attention to this "bulk of Louisiana blacks" whose lives were more like those of other southern blacks.

The nature of this type of collection necessarily leaves a number of important questions unanswered. Although the book as a whole leaves the forceful impression that Louisiana's Latin heritage made it unique among southern states, there is limited analysis as to how true this was in various times and places. Most of the essays focus on New Orleans. How different was black life in the more rural areas? Did the Latin influence extend into northern Louisiana at all? Vincent's essay on the Civil War and Reconstruction is similar to revisionist accounts of other southern states. Had the Latin influence, so pronounced in the earlier period, largely dissipated after the war? Rankin's intriguing discussion of the free black elite's loss of status after the Civil War suggests that to some extent at least this was the case. Most important, a book claiming to be "Louisiana's Black Heritage" needs more attention to what life was like for the masses of Louisiana blacks.

As stated in the preface, "the conference [and therefore the resulting book] was never intended to be a definitive statement on the subject of black history in Louisiana, but to provoke thought and further research." In this aim, it has succeeded by demonstrating the need for a general history of black Louisianians. The book also makes its own valuable contribution by bringing together some of the best scholarly works on the topic. Note should be made of Clifton H. Johnson's essay on manuscript sources in Louisiana for the study of black history. This work, combined with a rather extensive bibliography, makes the book of particular value to future researchers. The book also contains over thirty photographs, most of them from the

Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin. Edited by Richard L. Bushman, Neil Harris, David Rothman, Barbara Miller Solomon, and Stephan Thernstrom. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979. xvii, 366 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography. \$15.00.)

Oscar Handlin's long career in historical scholarship has been remarkably diverse in its scope. Though he is perhaps best known for his work on immigration, he has ranged widely over the sweep of American history and has made important interpretative contributions to a number of major questions. Prolific in publication, he has shown a similar productivity in training gifted doctoral students. The publication of a volume commemorating these accomplishments—in this case by a cluster of Handlin's former Harvard students—can hardly come as a surprise.

The usual problem with volumes of this kind is that they lack any conceptual unity or thematic continuity. Though not completely free of this weakness, the volume is organized around two broad themes. The first focus is that of biography framed in the widest context of the person and the times. Arthur Mann, for example, uses the life story of Israel Zangwell to trace the shifting conceptions of the melting pot in America. Anne Prior Scott attempts to draw general conclusions about life, values, and social structure in colonial America by sketching the lives of three women (Jane Mecom, Elizabeth Drinker, and Eliza Pinckney). Moses Rischin's portrait of Marcus Lee Hansen not only tells us much about the developing historical profession but also reveals how America shaped its ethnic dimension. John Demos devotes much of his essay to the life of Goodwife Cole, an accused witch in Hampton, New Hampshire, to outline the larger implications of witchcraft in colonial New England. Finally, William Taylor uses the photos and life histories of

such pioneering photographers as Alfred Stieglitz and Lewis Hine to chart America's changing perceptions of city life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The second thread drawing these essays together is "the broad view of communities, political groups, and cultures struggling to adjust to great changes in their lives when they are uprooted from the traditional world." This theme is most strikingly illustrated in William McLoughlin's analysis of cultural regeneration accomplished by the Cherokee tribes in the period 1794-1809. In what is perhaps the best essay of the entire volume, McLoughlin documents how Cherokees encountered the loss of land, culture, and unity after the American Revolution. Instead of suffering extinction, they accepted the white man's ways, shaped a viable new culture, and experienced a rebirth. Shifting values also form the central focus of Richard Bushman's essay as he relates the eighteenth-century notion of "dependency" to the coming of the American Revolution. Rowland Berthoff performs a similar task in following the twisting paths traveled by the concept of civic virtue in America. The definition of this concept, Berthoff believes, explains much of why this nation has undergone cycles of Republican virtue, corruption, and reform.

Given Handlin's major reputation in immigration history, and the title of the volume, some readers might be disappointed that more space was not devoted to this field. Only two articles (Mann and Rischin) discuss the immigrant world, and they do not address either Handlin's interpretations or the challenges mounted to this view over the past fifteen years. Yet, this is a minor quibble. This eclectic collection is well-written, broadly researched, and intellectually sound.

University of Florida

GEORGE E. POZZETTA

The One and the Many: Reflections on the American Identity.

By Arthur Mann. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979. xiii, 209 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$12.95.)

Despite his obligatory chapter of alarm, "The Ungluing of America," which places white ethnic tribalism among the forces

which seemed to be dissolving the American sense of wholeness in the 1960s, Professor Mann's thoughtful and informative essay on American ethnicity offers a confidence in the strength of the American creed and institutions, that is seldom found among today's critics. The ethnic revival has combined a reassertion of group identity and the rediscovery of ethnicity by the media, government, foundations, and the academy. Its symbolic center was the Ethnic Heritage Studies Programs Act, passed by Congress in 1972. However, Mann argues that the "revival" has been greatly over-simplified and overstated. The "Joe, Archie Bunker, hardhat, plain fellow, middle American, lower-middle-class worker, blue-collar American, whitetowner" world is more characterized by a class and interest group concern over jobs, housing protection, schools, busing, and neighborhoods, than by ethnic nostalgia and the assertion of cultural distinctiveness made by the intellectuals who are its would-be leaders.

While "melting pot" are dirty words today, the traditional contending paths of Anglo-Saxon supremacy and cultural pluralism have historically served no better. The greater fluidity of the American experience has made ethnic identifications and boundaries less strong than in other multi-ethnic countries, such as the Soviet Union's conquest model and the federation model of Switzerland. American nationality has been more powerful than ethnic ties. Professor Mann accepts the traditional interpretation that American nationality has been based on a common ideology, centered on the belief in opportunity, individual rights, and citizen rule, in the cultural as well as the political sphere. The believers in Anglo-Saxon supremacy, the melting pot, cultural pluralism, and an ethnic revolt have all been wrong, Professor Mann argues. These include Michael Novak, as well as Madison Grant, Israel Zangwill, and Horace Kallen. Like the good progressives of the period on which he has spent most of his productive scholarly career, Professor Mann identifies with William James's sense of an everchanging world characterized by a basic individual freedom of cultural self-identification. Undisturbed by problems of race, economics, and a decline of authority and community in America, Arthur Mann finds that the ancient motto of *e pluribus unum* still holds.

University of Florida

DAVID CHALMERS

The People's Voice: The Orator in American Society. By Barnett Baskerville. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1979. 259 pp. Introduction, epilogue, notes, index. \$14.50.)

Professor Baskerville's book is not a history of American oratory, nor a chronicle of speakers and their speeches. It is, he tells us, "an inquiry into American attitudes toward orators and oratory and the reflections of these attitudes in speaking practices." Baskerville discusses the kinds of oratory that dominated the public rostrum in each period of history and how public opinion influenced the orator and the audience. Since his main business is with politics and political issues, he tends to avoid the pulpit and the courtroom. He is often as interested in the listeners as he is in the speakers. He writes in the introduction, "My principal concern is not with the appraisal of individual orators, but with the orator and his art and with audiences and eras as determinants of the orator's role."

The author begins the book with the famous orators of the Revolutionary period and ends with the tumultuous polemics of the second Roosevelt era. The last chapter deals with the contemporary scene where Baskerville laments the decline of eloquence. He believes that British parliamentary oratory reached its heights with Pitt, Fox, and Burke in the reign of George III, and that American congressional oratory had its counterpart during the years of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun in the decades before the Civil War. Oratory ripened into its highest form of artistic expression at this time, and the chapter which deals with this period is the finest in the book. The power and influence of these orators were enormous. As Emerson says, "the highest bribes of society are at his feet . . . all other fame must hush before his. He is the true potentate."

The antebellum orators spent weeks, months, and often lifetimes in preparation for their speeches. They read the Latin and Greek classics, as well as the great writers of their own tongue, to give their orations depth, energy, sonorousness, and refinement in vocabulary. The liberal use of quotations was proof of their labors. It was not uncommon for a speaker to memorize sixty to 100 pages of script and to take two to four hours, or even longer, to deliver it. Webster's "Reply to Hayne," for example,

lasted for two days.

The most famous congressional speech of this period was Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner's "The Crime Against Kansas" in which the erudite, but intemperate Sumner delivered a blistering, five-hour attack on the extension of slavery. The speech was written out ahead of time (113 pages in his *Works*), completely memorized, and set in type awaiting final correction before printing. The long-term effects of the polemic have been obscured by the sensational physical attack by Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina on his senatorial colleague; but the speech was printed in full by several newspapers and later pamphlet editions sold over 1,000,000 copies. The abolitionist poet, Whittier, pronounced it: "A grand and terrible philippic, worthy of the great occasion; the severe and awful truth which the sharp agony of the national crisis demanded." Senator Stephen A. Douglas, on the other hand, declared the speech lascivious and obscene, "unfit for decent young men to read."

Following the Civil War, the author rightly thinks that the quality of oratory began a marked decline as a result of the sordid materialism and corruption of the era. He sees, however, a partial revival of the art with the advent of William Jennings Bryan in the 1890s, followed by the spirited apostles of the Progressive Movement. To this reviewer, the chapters of the Roaring Twenties and the Depression are particularly perceptive. For instance, Baskerville catches the essence of Calvin Coolidge and his middle-class audiences with this extract from a seldom quoted speech: "The man who builds a factory, builds a temple; the man who works there, worships there."

The People's Voice is not the last word on the orator in American society, but it is timely and adequate. The connection that the author maintains between the speakers and their audiences throughout the book is one of its great strengths. Baskerville writes with a sense of history, a love of beautiful language, and an appreciation of wit, qualities that are sorely lacking in the public speaking of today. He seems implicitly to warn his readers that the contemporary cultural and educational institutions are not enough concerned with these essential

qualities. He is, however, somewhat hopeful about the future of oratory; this reviewer is not.

University of the South

JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

Clio Was a Woman: Studies in the History of American Women.

Edited by Mabel E. Deutrich and Virginia C. Purdy. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1980. xviii, 352 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, biographical sketches, appendix, index. \$19.95.)

In recent years there have been a plethora of conferences relating to women's history. This book documents one such meeting. It contains the papers and proceedings of the Conference on Women's History which was sponsored by the National Archives and held at Washington, D. C., April 1976.

Among those historians presenting papers or chairing panels at this meeting were Anne F. Scott, William H. Chafe, Joseph P. Lash, Clarke A. Chambers, and Linda K. Kerber. Conference sessions covered the following topics: History Resources Relating to Women; Women in the Pre-Federal Period; Emergence of the New Nation; World War I and the Great Depression; The Impact of World War II on Sex Roles; First Ladies; Visual Records; and Archives and Women's History.

Included in the proceedings are papers about black and white women in colonial America, the effects of reservation life on Cherokee Indian women, women in the military service, and women during the Depression years. There are also papers on Edith Bolling Wilson and Eleanor Roosevelt. A photographic essay, "American Women Through the Camera's Eye," provides a pleasing contrast to the written proceedings and will probably make the book more interesting to laymen.

Of particular interest to Florida readers is the paper by Elaine M. Smith of Alabama State University, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Youth Administration." It concentrates on Bethune's years in Washington and her contributions as director of the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration, a New Deal agency. The article is a

valuable addition to other works which record the career of this fascinating black Floridian.

All of the papers are of high calibre, but the most useful section is that which pertains to sources and archives relating to women's history. At the time of the conference it was reported that the National Archives under the guidance of Virginia Purdy, its women's history specialist and co-editor of this volume, was preparing a guide to sources on women in its own treasure trove of holdings. As the depository of the records of the national government, the vastness and variety of the Archives holdings are impressive. For example, it is noted that records pertaining to the Women's Bureau alone take up 885 running feet of stack area. In addition to the Archives' survey, Andrea Hinding, with a staff at the University of Minnesota, reported on a national survey they were conducting which, when finished, would determine what kinds and where unpublished sources relating to women are deposited. All major repositories in the states and territories will be surveyed. When concluded, the printed results of this survey of primary sources was supposed to fill multi-volumes.

Their results of these searches will provide historians and other scholars invaluable work tools. They will open up for examination many thousands of obscure and heretofore unknown sources about American women. Women's studies, the history profession's most dynamic new subject area, is richer because of the conference this book documents. It will also benefit immeasurably from the bibliographic surveys that are therein described.

Texas A & M University

LINDA VANCE

Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom. By William H. Chafe. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. xii, 436 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, a note on sources, index. \$13.95.)

In the late 1950s, Greensboro, North Carolina, was frequently referred to by journalists as a "model" southern city

in which race relations had achieved a level of awareness and a harmony found in few other communities. Professor Chafe examines the historical accuracy of this contention by analyzing racial developments in the city since the turn of the century. In an effort to understand more completely the actions and perceptions of black activists and white civic leaders, Chafe has made extensive use of oral interviews. He has also placed events in Greensboro within the context of racial developments at the state level. The result is not only a book that presents a very detailed, humanistic portrait of race relations in a southern community, but also one that offers an analysis of southern race relations in microcosm.

Significantly, this is the first study of race relations in a southern city from 1900 to the present. More importantly, however, Chafe develops a hypothesis for southern race relations and raises numerous important questions about the nature of that relationship which will shape discussions of the civil rights movement for some time to come. Chafe contends that it was Greensboro's progressive white leadership (not Ku Klux Klansmen) who consistently and most effectively undermined efforts by civil rights activists to achieve racial progress. By agreeing to certain improvements in racial conditions, but by constantly opposing reforms that promised racial equality and unrestricted opportunity, white leaders stymied real racial progress. Chafe writes, "civility and the manner of reasonable discourse have been used as a primary means of channeling dissent, not through forbidding the articulation of racial ideas, but through controlling the framework in which they can be considered and discussed" (p. 349).

Greensboro leaders thus moved readily during the early years of the civil rights movement to regulate and control the pace of change while making it appear that they were embracing racial progress. Within this framework, Greensboro's white leadership, aided by state educational policies, managed to block significant school desegregation until 1971. At that time the city stood as one of only five school systems in North Carolina which had avoided compliance with federal desegregation guidelines.

Black leaders did not surrender readily to this effort by civic leaders to control the pace of racial change. In February

1960, North Carolina A & T students launched the sit-in movement which brought new meaning to the civil rights movement. Chafe believes that "the sit-in provided the only vehicle through which traditional patterns of white domination could be attacked." But, as Chafe constantly reminds the reader, white leaders in Greensboro did not surrender their "cherished traditions" readily, and "thus, it would be necessary again and again for black students and parents to take to the streets during the 1960's in order to seek change in the political and social structure."

The book's contributions to our understanding of racial developments since 1954 greatly surpass its few flaws. Two problems need to be mentioned, however. Chafe has a tendency to portray civil rights and black power advocates as rational, thoughtful people motivated by an interest in the common good, while white leaders are described in largely Machiavellian terms. I suspect that both groups acted in more complex ways and that such characterizations only lessen our understanding of racial developments in Greensboro. Secondly, Chafe's assertion that whites have largely co-opted the efforts of the civil rights movement without altering traditional racial patterns suffers from the absence of a sufficient historical perspective. Do we really know in 1981 that racial patterns in Greensboro have been largely unaffected by the civil rights activities of the 1960s? In another twenty or thirty years, it may become apparent that the civil rights movement led to dramatic, albeit gradual, change.

These criticisms aside, this study remains thoughtful, challenging, and insightful throughout. As with all important books, it often raises more questions than it answers. To Chafe's great credit, he has established a framework within which future discussions can be guided.

University of Florida

DAVID COLBURN

BOOK NOTES

Lantana, in Palm Beach County, is one of the many communities that has sprung up along the lower east coast of Florida since World War I. It was established in 1921. South Florida was virtually wilderness until the railroad arrived in the 1890s. The story of Lantana is told in a recently-published local history work by Mary Collar Linehan, president of the Palm Beach Historical Society. *Early Lantana, Her Neighbors And More* is the title. There were only ten people in all the Lake Worth area who gathered to celebrate Christmas 1873. They had come mainly from the mid-West seeking a salubrious climate. Mrs. Linehan's book, the first of a planned two-volume history of the area, provides information on the first white settlers who secured land under the terms of the Armed Occupation Act. She also describes the Indians, transportation facilities, mail delivery (including the activities of the Barefoot Mailman), agriculture, education, fishing, and major business activities. The Lymans founded Lantana. M. B. Lyman arrived in 1888, having sailed along the inside passage, with his wife, two small sons, and his mother on a sixteen-foot sailboat from Jacksonville. The Lyman house still stands in Palm Beach. They operated a schooner to Jacksonville and a general store and Indian trading post. The Seminoles called Mr. Lyman "White Chief" and his father, "Big White Chief." Other early arrivals were the Ernest, Boss, Brown, Forrey, and McCarley families. The history of Manalapan, South Palm Beach, Atlantis, and Boynton Beach are also included in Mrs. Linehan's book. There are many pictures, including those showing damage caused by the September 1928 hurricane. The book sells for \$14.95. Order from Byron Kennedy & Co., 2534 Terminal Drive S., St. Petersburg, Florida 33733.

Boca Raton, From Pioneer Days To the Fabulous Twenties, by Jacqueline Ashton, is a history of another interesting and important Florida east coast community. While Spaniards had made contact with the Indians living in the area as early as the sixteenth century, the first known white settler was Thomas Moore Rickards, Sr., who moved in with his family before the arrival of the

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railroad. He worked for the Florida East Coast Railroad, as a combination station agent, land developer, civil engineer, and surveyor. The Rickards established Boca as a farming community, and citrus, pineapples, and winter vegetables flourished there from the start. George Ashley Long, Frank Howard Chesebro, Mr. and Mrs. Bert B. Raulerson, and Perry Purdom were other early residents. Among the first settlers were a group of Japanese farmers, led by Joseph Sakai, who came to work on land provided by the Florida East Coast Railroad. They called their settlement Yamato. One of the farmers was George Morikami, who, in later years, became a major land holder in the area. Part of his estate was left to Palm Beach County, and it provided funds for the Morikami Japanese Museum. Addison Mizner, the famous architect, was active in Boca Raton during the 1920s. It was his plan to build a great resort, but the bursting of the Boom bubble and the 1926 hurricane halted most, but not all, of his grand design. Mrs. Ashton secured information for her book from diaries, letters, and oral history interviews. The book sells for \$9.95, and is available from Dedication Press, Box 2615, Boca Raton, Florida 33432.

Publication of *Into Tropical Florida; or, A Round Trip upon the St. Johns River* is the first venture of a new Florida publishing company, the Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company. This booklet, first issued by the DeBary-Baya Merchants' Line of Jacksonville in the 1880s, was designed for "tourists, invalids, and travelers." Jacksonville, Mandarin, Green Cove Springs, St. Augustine, Palatka, Lake George, Astor, Blue Springs, and Enterprise are among the stops along the St. Johns which are described, in narrative and with woodcuts. The hotel list showing 1880s rates is a curiosity. The St. James in Jacksonville, a first-class hostelry, could accommodate 300 guests, and it charged \$4.00 per day per room. Boarding houses in communities like Jacksonville and St. Augustine were less expensive and included three meals a day. They generally charged \$8.00 to \$15.00 a week, but some were even cheaper. In DeLand, a room and meals, either at the Floral Grove or the Drake House, was available for \$7.00 a week; at the Live Oak Cottage in Volusia, the price was \$5.00 a week. The last section of *Into Tropical Florida* contains ad-

vertisements promoting towns, railroads, steamship lines, real estate, groceries, whiskey, newspapers, dry goods, fertilizer, and banks. This reprint sells for \$5.95. Order from Box 3503, DeLand, Florida 32720. The Saint Johns-Oklawaha Rivers Trading Company has announced that two other publications are planned: *A Souvenir of the City of DeLand, Florida* (1902), and *Florida: Beauties of the East Coast* (1893).

Steamboating on the St. Johns, Some Travel Accounts and Various Steamboat Materials is by Edward A. Mueller of Jacksonville. It was published by the Kellersberger Fund of the South Brevard Historical Society, Melbourne, Florida, which has issued several earlier studies on Volusia County. Mr. Mueller is an authority on the history of steamboats and transportation on Florida rivers—the Suwannee, Kissimmee, Caloosahatchee, and the St. Johns and their tributaries. Steamboating began in Florida in 1829, and continued until the 1930s. The St. Johns River steamboats were generally coastal or river type, consisting of one or two decks, side wheels, and with accommodations for passengers and freight. The vessels usually had one stack, and the engines were located aft of the amidships. The *George Washington* out of Savannah was the first known steamboat to move along the St. Johns. The trip from Savannah to Jacksonville took thirty-four hours. Mueller has extracted his accounts from early books, newspapers, travel diaries, and letters. Many of the pictures are from Mr. Mueller's own collection. Order *Steamboating on the St. Johns* from the Kellersberger Fund, Box 5847, Florida Institute of Technology, Melbourne, Florida 32901; the price is \$12.95.

Osceola County has been home for Alma Phillips Hetherington and her family for many years, and it is the focus of her book *The River of the Long Water*. Mrs. Hetherington taught school in Okeechobee and Kenansville, and she has written articles on Florida history for the *St. Cloud News*, *Kissimmee Gazette*, and the *Orlando Sentinel Star*. *The River of the Long Water* describes the early pioneers and the settlement of St. Cloud, Kissimmee, Narcoossee, Whittier, Basinger, Lokosee, Runnymead, Kenansville, Campbell Station, Intercession City, Holopaw, and Deer Park. Mrs. Hetherington writes about the people who lived and contributed to the Osceola County area, and therein lies the value

of her book and others like it which deal with state and local history. There is information in her study, gathered from newspapers, documents, and manuscripts, and through talking with dozens of individuals, which is nowhere else available. Researchers like Mrs. Hetherington render great service to the history profession; they do important spade work and also write interesting history. Mrs. Hetherington's book includes many photographs, some of which are being published here for the first time. There is an index. *The River of the Long Water* was published by the Mickler House Publishers, Chuluota, Florida; it sells for \$17.95.

Biscuits And 'Taters, A History of Cattle Ranching in Manatee County, by Joe G. Warner, describes early settlers like Jacob Summerlin, William H. Whitaker, William Wyatt, and Sam Mitchell, who played major roles in developing the cattle industry in Florida. Mr. Warner is himself descended from W. S. Warner, founder of Palma Sola. The chapters describing the marks and brands associated with the ranches are among the most interesting. Warner lists 1,036 brands recorded in Manatee County. The cow-hunt, the ships which carried the cattle to Key West, the Bahamas, and Cuba, and to other markets, and some of the problems and dangers associated with the industry such as the weather, screw-worms, and rattlesnakes are also discussed. Mr. Warner examined published and unpublished records in Hillsborough and Manatee counties, and secured information from interviews with longtime residents of the area for his study. Many of the pictures are from his private collection. *Biscuits And 'Taters* was published by Great Outdoors Publishing Company, St. Petersburg, Florida, and it sells for \$4.95.

Almost everyone associates John Muir, the great naturalist, with the middle and far west. The California Historical Society recently voted him the most important figure in California history. The fact is Muir twice visited Florida; once as part of his famous 1,000-mile walk from Louisville, Kentucky, to the Gulf of Mexico in 1867. Crossing the Cumberland Mountains, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, Muir reached Savannah, and from there took a boat to Fernandina. Following the railroad-walking along the tracks and right-of-way-he reached Cedar Key in eight days, and worked in a sawmill there while awaiting a ship to take him on the next

leg of his journey. When he became sick, the mill owner and his family took care of him for several months. During his convalescence, Muir sailed a small boat among the Florida off-shore islands. In 1898 Muir returned to Florida to reestablish contact with members of the Hodgson family that had treated him so kindly. These Florida episodes are described in his journals and in the *Life and Adventures of John Muir* by James Mitchell Clarke. This reprint volume was published by Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, and it sells for \$7.95.

Herbert Eugene Bolton, The Historian and the Man is a short biography of the prominent historian, cartographer, ethnographer, teacher, and writer. Lawrence Kinnaird who has written the foreword to this biography of Bolton describes him as the "most innovative and versatile historian of America." Bolton's *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* is to be found in almost every research library in the United States and abroad, together with copies of his other important works. While Bolton was not the first American historian to use foreign archives, he was a pioneer in acquainting researchers with the riches of these resources in Mexico and Spain. This biography of Professor Bolton is by John Francis Bannon who is himself a distinguished scholar of the Spanish Southwest and the Spanish Borderlands. Published by the University of Arizona Press, the paperback volume sells for \$8.95.

Jerome Tiger was a full blooded Creek-Seminole Indian artist who died in 1967, at the age of twenty-six. He grew up in Oklahoma, and became a high school dropout, a fighter, and a laborer. He is best known, however, for his paintings, watercolors, and pencil sketches. They have earned him a reputation as a noted Indian artist. Indians are the main subjects of his works, and more than 300 of his sketches and paintings, many in full color, are reproduced in *The Life and Art of Jerome Tiger, War to Peace, Death to Life*, by Peggy Tiger (his wife) and Molly Babcock. The first part of the book, "War to Peace," is a narrative of Jerome Tiger's life; the second part includes comments by artists, critics, and friends, describing Tiger and his work. Jerome Tiger received his first award in 1961, and other prizes and honors quickly followed. His pictures hang today in a number of museums and in

many private collections. *The Life and Art of Jerome Tiger* was published by the University of Oklahoma Press, and it sells for \$39.95.

Deep South are the memories and observations of Erskine Caldwell as he grew up in the deep South in the early years of the twentieth century. His father, Ira Sylvester Caldwell, was an Associate Reform Presbyterian ordained minister, and because of him, Erskine Caldwell was exposed to a wide spectrum of interesting, even weird, characters, many of whom later appeared in his stories and books. *Deep South* is filled with some of Caldwell's best vignettes and yarns. *Deep South* was first published in 1966. The University of Georgia Press has reprinted it now as a paperback volume in its Brown Thrasher Books series. This new edition carries a foreword by Guy Owen. The book sells for \$5.95.

Individuals interested in the archeology of Alabama will find in John A. Walthall's *Prehistoric Indians of the Southeast, Archaeology of Alabama and the Middle South* (1980) the definitive overview. This volume describes the history of archeology in the state, natural environment, and the succession of aboriginal artifact assemblages associated with the various Indian cultures from as early as 10,000 B.C. until European contact. It contains a wealth of archeological data and many illustrations. It is available from the University of Alabama Press, Box 2877, University, Alabama 35486, for \$22.50.

Volume XIX (1980) in West Georgia College's *Studies in the Social Sciences* is a collection of eight articles reporting on aspects of that institution's six-year program of archeological investigations on Sapelo Island, Georgia. *Sapelo Papers: Researches in the History and Prehistory of Sapelo Island, Georgia*, includes studies on aboriginal sites (ranging from 2,000 B.C. until Spanish contact), post-1733 English colonization, and the plantations of the nineteenth century. The volume may be purchased for \$4.00 from John C. Upchurch, general editor, Department of Geography, West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia 30117.

Observations on the Colony of Louisiana from 1796 to 1802 is by James Pitot, a naturalized American businessman who was liv-

ing in New Orleans during the final years of Spanish control of Louisiana. Pitot was critical of Spain for neglecting Louisiana in favor of her more valuable properties in Mexico and Central America. Aware of the territorial ambitions of the United States, he predicted that the United States would realize the importance of Louisiana, particularly New Orleans, and would acquire that territory. Pitot actively participated in affairs in New Orleans, and his writings provide information on religion, Indian trade, race relations, and geography. He also describes the topography, particularly as it relates to lower Louisiana. There is much information in this book concerning Pensacola and West Florida, making it valuable for the Florida historian. Originally written in French, *Observations* was translated by Henry C. Pitot. This edition, with a foreword by Robert D. Bush, was published for the Historic New Orleans Collection by the Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge. It sells for \$14.95.

The Image of Progress, a collection of Alabama photographs covering the period of 1872-1917, is the work of Melton A. McLaurin and Michael V. Thomason. Most of the photographs are from original negatives or from copy negatives made from original prints. They are mainly from collections at Auburn University, and in Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Birmingham, and Dothan, Alabama. The pictures of blacks and whites working, living, and playing in the cities, towns, and villages of Alabama from Reconstruction to World War I are excellent, and so are the narrative descriptions which accompany the photographs. Published by the University of Alabama Press, *Image of Progress* sells for \$19.95.

Jamestown, 1544-1699 by Carl Bridenbaugh, was published by Oxford University Press, New York. It describes the first 150-years of the first permanent English settlement in the New World. Jamestown was established in 1607, forty-two years after the beginnings of St. Augustine in Spanish Florida. Professor Bridenbaugh's book, which was written for the general reader, focuses mainly on the people-red, white, black-who lived on or near Jamestown Island. There had once been an Indian village on the site of the settlement, and the Spanish had once landed near

there. Pedro Menéndez, commanding two Spanish ships returning to Spain from Havana in 1561, entered what is now Chesapeake Bay. Later the Spanish tried to establish a mission there, but the venture ended in tragedy with the Jesuit priests being massacred by the Indians. *Jamestown* touches on the main events that occurred until 1699, when Governor Nicholson and the Assembly transferred the seat of the government of Virginia to Middle Plantation. The book sells for \$12.95.

For some thirty years, from 1880 until about 1910, Adolph F. Bandelier researched and described in his writings southwestern archeology and ethnology. After his death in 1914, little was heard of his work, and the plan to publish his daily journal never developed. In 1964, Father Ernest J. Burrus rediscovered Bandelier's *The Discovery of New Mexico by the Franciscan Monk, Friar Marcos de Niza in 1539*. This history of Marcos and the Seven Cities of Cibola has been translated from the French and has been edited with an introduction and notes by Madeleine Turrell Rodack. This English translation is published by the University of Arizona Press, Tucson, and it sells for \$10.95.