

Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume 62
Number 4 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Volume
62, Number 4*

Article 8

1983

Book Reviews

Florida Historical Society
membership@myfloridahistory.org



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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1983) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 62: No. 4, Article 8.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol62/iss4/8>

BOOK REVIEWS

Becalmed in the Mullet Latitudes, Al Burt's Florida. By Al Burt. (Port Salerno: Florida Classics Library, 1983. XVIII, 326 pp. Preface, introduction, your Florida scrapbook. \$15.95, \$10.95 paper.)

Al Burt, in his *Becalmed in the Mullet Latitudes*, a collection of essays from the *Miami Herald's Tropic Magazine*, uses a basic mix of history, geography, folklore, philosophy, and contemporary events to capture the flavors of Florida— not just one Florida, but seven mythical mini-states. They are all alike in many respects, but distinctively individualistic in others.

Into this basic mix, he stirs a dash of color, a thimbleful of nostalgia, a trace of humor, an occasional touch of suspense, and sometimes a tad of anticipation to round out the recipe. The net result is delightful entertainment, along with enriching information that reflects a kind of running history of the state.

The title of the 325-page book is descriptive of the several Floridas that lie within a mythical “Tropic of Cracker.” He describes that region as being a few degrees north of the Tropic of Cancer, “hiding like a pea in a con game, under one shell or another.” The mullet latitudes, the author contends, comprise Florida’s version of the becalming horse latitudes that encircle the earth between the tradewinds and the prevailing westerlies. They form the “spiritual home of the real Florida,” which lives, “like happiness, in one’s head and must be coaxed out.” “To conjure up that Florida requires as much philosophy as literal search,” Burt explains in an introductory essay. In the dissertations that follow, he shares with the reader in eloquently descriptive, often elegant, and sometimes poetic language the product of that philosophy and that search.

The essays, 100 in all, deal with Florida-flavored folkways, customs, traditions, historical highlights and footnotes, places, people, legends, and perhaps a few fantasies. They are grouped under *Floridians*, *Places*, *People*, *Reflections*, and *Home* chapter headings, perhaps to lead the reader along a logical route toward exercising a measure of imagination in finding a personal real Florida.

The mythical mini-states begin with *Florabama*, the “mullet and collard green” country where the people resemble Alabamans. The area is otherwise known as West Florida or the Panhandle. Then comes *Florgia*, extending from *Florabama* to the Atlantic and southward to Ocala. “It looks like Georgia, sounds like Georgia, and sometimes even acts like Georgia.” Next is *New Miami*, covering a belt across the middle of the state, powered by migration toward Disney World, in boom growth and strangers’ dollars.

South of *New Miami* is *Ridge*, down the center of the state where oranges grow robustly and where the residents treasure a gentler life than can be had on the coasts. Below *Ridge* is the state of *Okeechobee*, which has “the same attractive flavor of Old Florida as *Florabama*,” but without so many Alabamans. At the bottom of the peninsula, shaped like a U, is the richest and most hugely populated of the Floridas. Burt calls it the *Colonized Coast*, peopled by pilgrims from the Northeast, Midwest, the Caribbean, and, in fact, everywhere. Finally, there’s the *Conch Republic*, the beautiful and unique Florida keys, rounding out the seven little Floridas, “each worthy and lovable and peculiar, just like a family.” Burt, calling them the lucky seven, invites suggestions for a name. Then, with a subtle sense of humor surfacing for a punchline performance, he asks: “How about, *The United Flakes?*”

It is the kind of book that contains essays which can be read time and again, with each new reading refreshing a memory, conjuring up a new image, and stimulating thoughts that perhaps prompt a revision of an existing personal concept of the real Florida.

Chipley, Florida

E. W. CARSWELL

From Scratch Pads and Dreams: A Ten Year History of the University of North Florida. By Daniel L. Schafer. (Jacksonville: University of North Florida, 1982. xiii, 164 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, notes. \$17.95, \$7.95 paper.)

Most university histories are written after the institution has become hoary (or at least ivy covered) with age. “State Uni-

versity, the First Century” is the more usual title. Professor Daniel Schafer’s *From Scratch Pads and Dreams* has been written after the University of North Florida has been in existence only ten years. While a book written about a university after a single decade might be criticized by some as a premature effort, it may also be a good idea. Universities are always organizing unwieldy committees to undertake “self-studies” of the previous decade. Why not employ a historian to write a history of that decade? If Professor Schafer’s work is an example, the report would be far better written and much more valuable than any committee’s self-study.

Principle sources for Schafer’s book are oral. A certain amount of newspaper coverage and university documents aided him, but most of his material came from interviews. He talked to politicians, businessmen, administrators, and faculty members. If there is any criticism of his oral sources it is in his failure to include more UNF students on his list. One other source is, of course, the author’s memory. Schafer taught at the university for most of the period and was deeply involved in its development.

By far the most enjoyable part of the book to this reviewer (a native of Duval County) is the battle to establish the institution and to choose its site. Schafer has thoroughly explored the political background and writes clearly and entertainingly of the struggle to reach the point at which the “Scratch Pads and Dreams” could be broken out. His treatments of the Duval County struggle over the university’s site is also well done. The struggle between downtown Jacksonville and rural Duval County involved racial politics, community economic tensions, and personalities. The first three chapters move the reader into the book with vigor and seize his interest at once.

The construction of the UNF curriculum by President Thomas G. Carpenter and his aides, Drs. Roy L. Lassiter and Willard O. Ash, is carefully delineated. Curriculum development at UNF mirrored, to some extent, the academic climate of the time nationally. One of the most ambitious proposals was the Venture Studies Program. Strongly supported by Ash, Venture Studies aimed at producing a broadly-educated student. One of the central themes of the book is the gradual erosion of the

Venture Program and its replacement by more traditional approaches to learning.

From the first, UNF's administrators made every effort to pay close attention to the region in which the school was situated. Offerings resulted from studies of the problems of business, transportation, and education peculiar to northeast Florida. Close coordination with public school programs in UNF's five-county service region have been a "hallmark of the College."

Faculty hiring came at what Schafer calls "one of the most propitious times for hiring academics in the history of higher education in America." UNF administrators put together a faculty that was young, well qualified, and which included a significant percentage of minorities. It is also a faculty which has, to a great extent, remained at UNF throughout the initial decade. The final fifty pages trace major themes of development through UNF's first decade. University governance initially centered in a General Assembly which came under fire and was abandoned. The attempt to develop a campus life for a non-resident school so as to avoid the image of "North Florida Drive-In University" is pronounced a success. Faculty battles over teaching vs research are outlined with a picture emerging of early teaching emphasis gradually replaced by greater attention to research.

Also important in UNF's first decade were such themes as faculty unionization and the discontent caused by the state's refusal to fund higher education in an adequate manner. The latter created, what Schafer calls "a zany period in our brief history." The decade ends with UNF's struggle to prevent the "hungry Gator in Gainesville" from annexing the school. This culminated in Governor Bob Graham's veto of the merger bill "prompting a collective sigh of relief on the UNF campus."

Although the author was a part of his history, he never allows himself to intrude into his pages. Schafer has given us a valuable and interesting study of the life of a new university in the second half of the twentieth century.

Florida State University

JAMES P. JONES

The Papers of Henry Clay, Volume 7, Secretary of State, January 1, 1828-March 4, 1829. Edited by Robert Seager II. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982. xi, 777 pp. Preface, symbols & abbreviations, calendar of unpublished letters, name & subject index volume 7, subject index volumes 1-6. \$35.00.)

Volume 7 of *The Papers of Henry Clay* brings to an end the Kentuckian's tenure as secretary of state; it also marks the debut of a new editor, Robert Seager II. In preparing this volume for the press Seager made many editorial changes. For example, he decided to summarize much incoming mail, to use footnotes sparingly, and to exclude many documents "deemed marginal or peripheral to an understanding of Clay's ideas and activities." (Many of these items are listed in a "Calendar of Unpublished Letters"—with a subject classification code number assigned to each document. The calendar's utility, however, is limited because correspondents' names are not indexed.) As a result of Seager's space-saving and cost-saving innovations, the current volume, though it covers a longer period than each of the three previous volumes and contains an eighty-seven-page subject index to volumes one through six, is just a little over half as long as its immediate predecessor. The cost (\$35.00) remains the same.

By 1828 Clay was obviously tiring of his vexatious duties as secretary of state. Concerned about his health, he made a trip to Philadelphia in May for a medical examination by the renowned physicians Nathaniel Chapman and Philip Syng Physick. Despite their generally optimistic report about his overall condition (they recommended more travel and exercise), he detected only a slight improvement over the next few months and complained that his health was "far from being as good as I could wish." He had apparently decided to leave the State Department in 1829 regardless of the outcome of the presidential election of 1828.

Although Clay loyally supported the reelection of President John Quincy Adams and viewed his defeat by General Andrew Jackson as "a great calamity" for the nation, he personally accepted the outcome of that campaign with greater equanimity than might have been expected. "Since the event was known," he

wrote a friend in late November, "I have enjoyed a degree of composure, and a buoyancy of spirits, which I have not known for many weeks before." He would now be shortly relieved of a laborious office for which he was temperamentally unsuited. Besides, his own ego was not involved in the president's defeat, for he managed to convince himself that if "my name had been fairly before the public, instead of that of Mr. Adams, the result of the late contest would have been different." (He would have no such consolation four years later.)

The last document in this volume is Clay's letter of resignation to President Adams on March 3, 1829. At that time his political future was uncertain; he would await his return to Kentucky before making any definite plans. Although he intended to refrain from criticizing the new Jackson administration until its course of action was clear, he obviously had no intention of retiring from public life. The remaining volumes of *The Papers of Henry Clay* will deal mainly with two interrelated aspects of his later career: his distinguished career in the United States Senate, where he basked in the warmth of the spotlight that was constantly aimed in his direction; and his deeply felt frustrations in the arena of presidential politics, where he saw the elusive prize he so earnestly coveted repeatedly won by men far less worthy (as he viewed it) to hold the highest office in the land.

University of Houston

EDWIN A. MILES

Liberty and Slavery: Southern Politics to 1860. By William J. Cooper, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983. viii, 309 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, notes, bibliographical note, index. \$17.95.)

William J. Cooper, Jr., professor of history at Louisiana State University and dean of its graduate school, has written a new volume which expands on his earlier *The South and the Politics of Slavery; 1828-1856*. The message of both volumes is the same: the primary object of antebellum southern politics was to preserve and defend slavery.

Professor Cooper's new book is much broader; it tells a more

complex story. Slavery and the plantation system and masses of independent, landholding farmers emerged in the South before the end of the seventeenth century soon after Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (led, according to Cooper, by Francis, not Nathaniel). The American Revolution made southern whites think more profoundly about their unique slave system. According to Cooper, living in an area where blacks were enslaved made whites unusually determined to protect their own liberty (to avoid any kind of enslavement); they saw any attack on black slavery as a threat to white liberty.

Thus, as the new American nation emerged, southern politicians devoted themselves primarily to "the politics of slavery." Jefferson's Republican party, with its emphasis on strict constitutional construction and state rights, was an effective national organization to protect slavery, and the South both supported and dominated it. Republican nationalism after the War of 1812 was a temporary aberration which was soon ended in the South by the dispute over slavery in Missouri and a depressed economy. The spirit of nineteenth-century democracy swept through the South just like the North, and most Southerners supported Andrew Jackson who was, after all, a Tennessee slaveholder.

However, the rise of the abolition movement in the North darkened the South's horizons. According to Cooper, not only did it threaten the liberty of southern whites by attacking slavery; it also offended their honor by describing slavery as immoral and unAmerican. The vigorous two-party system of the 1840s did not divert southern politicians from their primary mission; both Whigs and Democrats played "the politics of slavery." Northern efforts to restrict the expansion of slavery after the Mexican War and in the 1850s drove southern whites to more and more extreme positions. The South was prosperous and optimistic, but the triumph of Abraham Lincoln and his new Republicans in 1860 finally allowed the fire-eaters to carry most of the South out of the Union. Throughout Professor Cooper's story "the politics of slavery" dominated the South.

This is an interesting volume which is at least partially convincing. Certainly slavery was a major factor in antebellum southern politics, but this reviewer believes that the author exaggerates its importance, that other factors like expedience, emotion, local issues, leadership, and sheer chance played a sig-

nificant role too. Cooper's sophisticated study does not ignore such factors but does downplay them. Professor Cooper also describes regional differences within the South, but he does not give these differences enough emphasis, and he gives much less attention to major variations within individual southern states. He is familiar with the recent scholarship and seems especially receptive to some of the ideas of William W. Freehling and Bertram Wyatt-Brown. He has also exploited many primary sources, but a very restricted system of footnoting keeps the reader from fully appreciating his research in general. Clearly written and provocative, *Liberty and Slavery* is a solid work of scholarship.

University of Georgia

F. N. BONEY

The Ruling Race, A History of American Slaveholders. By James Oakes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. xix, 307 pp. Introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95.)

In *The Ruling Race*, James Oakes examines the diversity of American slaveholders and presents fresh evidence to refute what he calls the plantation legend that recognizes only the planter aristocracy and the role played by this small elite class in shaping the cultural destiny of the antebellum South. Instead, emphasis is placed upon the vast majority of slaveholders (400,000 by 1860) who were farmers and owned less than twenty slaves. Among them were Germans, French, Scotch-Irish, Creoles, Native Americans, and free Negroes. It was they, according to Oakes, who shaped the character of the South. The most politically effective among them were educated professionals—doctors, lawyers, and teachers (less than 30,000 in 1850) who pushed west with the cotton frontier to take advantage of unlimited economic opportunities offered in an environment characterized by innumerable health problems, land speculation, and litigation. These professionals amassed wealth and exerted influence upon the southern press and politics out of all proportion to their numbers.

Master-class pluralism and demographic mobility are stressed in describing the heterogeneity and movement of the slaveholding class. They frequently moved into and out of their class

while thousands of others among them had jobs that kept them away from their farms. The master-class relationship varied from one small slaveholder to the next. Oakes cites many examples to verify differing life-styles and treatment of bondsmen among this group. Racial attitudes, which upheld the inferiority of Negro slaves, were fixed during colonial times and were not altered significantly in the nineteenth century. However, classism among the slaveholders was altered as the southern economy pushed westward and democratic ideals encouraged liberal principles of equality.

Despite the efforts of proslavery apologists, evangelical protestantism carried with it an antislavery message. As a result, slaveholders harbored feelings of guilt, for they must behave in ways that conflicted with their religious convictions. This guilt was not so evident among the planter aristocracy; these elites remained paternalistic, upheld orthodox religious convictions, and were less concerned with egalitarian ideals. They lived in the older, more stable, and wealthiest plantation belts, were rooted in tradition and convinced of their superiority. They were less concerned with the southern gospel of wealth that characterized the desires of the majority of slaveholders— unlimited westward migration, an insatiable desire for slaves, and upward mobility.

Constitutional Unionists were the South's most vocal opposition group to secession in the late 1850s. These paternalistic masters based their opposition on traditionally Whig principles: nationalism to defend the Union and anti-democracy to attack secession. Their conservative, proslavery defense embraced the paternalist's conviction that the principles that held together the traditional family could be profitably applied to the relations of master and slave. Since paternalists accepted inequality as inevitable, they tended to recognize the humanity of their slaves. They associated democracy with secession and thought slavery would be better protected within the Union; they viewed the sectional crisis as the logical outcome of democratic government. The majority of these conservatives were opposed to secession for "secession symbolized all that had gone wrong with America and with the South. . . . Gentility had given way to crass materialism; paternalist ideology was distorted by racism; the rule of the elite had succumbed to the age of the 'common man.' "

Despite some factual errors (Monticello is in Jefferson County,

Florida; George J. Kollock never owned more than one plantation at one time; Zephaniah Kingsley was not a conservative), the author has skillfully exploited contemporary literature to create a most provocative study of the slaveholding class. His interpretations are challenging, and, though some may disagree with his conclusions, the book is a scholarly contribution and deserves high praise.

Georgia Southern College

JULIA FLOYD SMITH

Black Southerners, 1619-1869. By John B. Boles. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983. xi, 244 pp. Editor's preface, preface, introduction, graphs, bibliographical essay, index. \$24.00.)

"When I speak . . . of 'the South'," wrote James J. Kilpatrick in *The Southern Case for School Segregation* (1962), "what I mean is the white South, and more narrowly still, I mean the white adults of thirteen States who continue to share, in general, an attitude on race relations that has descended from attitudes of the 'Old South'." "There is of course a Negro South," the righteous diehard continued, "but it is mysterious and incomprehensible to most white men." For years too many writers of southern history shared this narrow dictum, consciously or unconsciously. But in the past several decades the walls of segregationist Jericho have come tumbling down, and numerous scholars have been working to reconstruct the past of a region whose struggles over integration date back to the sixteenth century. An Afro-American heritage that was once dismissed as insubstantial and foreign is now perceived as complex and central to the story of the South. "Properly speaking," John B. Boles states at the outset of his valuable new book, "*southerner* is a biracial term."

In saying this, Boles hardly acknowledges the full human variety of the region. But his readable overview performs the valuable task of consolidating new insights on the "Old South," many of them drawn from recent books on slavery that have been too large or specialized to engage general readers. Just as slaves on Louisiana sugar plantations deferred to the skilled

“boilers” among them, so historians value fellow workers who are able to boil down everything in the field to a clear and concentrated substance— not too thick or too thin. “I wanted to compress as much of the history of black southerners as I could into relatively few pages,” Boles explains, “making accessible to readers the fruit of the remarkably rich scholarship on blacks that has appeared during the last two decades.” In this useful distilling process, the author has succeeded admirably. Like other volumes in Kentucky’s “New Perspectives on the South” series, this survey offers an engaging introduction suitable for undergraduates, and it will no doubt be used widely in both southern history classes and black studies courses. Three chronological chapters treat race: slavery’s “Tentative Beginning” in North America, “The Crucial Eighteenth Century,” and “The Maturation of a Plantation System” after 1776. These are followed by three topical chapters discussing daily life (and death), the diversity of black experiences under slavery, and recent insights into “Community, Culture, and Rebellion.” A short final chapter surveys the crucial 1860s. Though the concise text has no footnotes and few illustrations from primary sources, an up-to-date bibliographical essay encourages readers to pursue specific topics in the recent literature.

While playing a moderator’s role, Boles still offers opinions of his own. For example, he believes other writers have exaggerated slavebreeding and miscegenation, while underestimating the slaves’ interaction with white churches and minimizing their role in the American Revolution. Despite the author’s search for consensus and his gift for understatement, each reader will no doubt take issue with some of the observations made on this brief trip through a thorny field. Can we be sure that by the 1620s “blacks occupied a distinctly inferior position” in the eyes of Virginia officials, or that planter profits hinged more on soil fertility than on wageless labor? Can class conflict among antebellum whites and armed uprisings among slaves both be dismissed as virtually nonexistent? One wants to ask the writer: for whom do black runaways during the Revolution represent a “problem”; to whom does “the desire to replace wartime slave losses and rebuild destroyed levees” constitute a “compelling need”; and from whose vantage point does the desire “of freedmen to gain an education” appear “almost pathetic”? Some of the most in-

triguing questions must be directed less to Boles than to the historians whose work he surveys. Why, for example, do we still know so little about Afro-Southerners before 1619, or about the social and cultural roles of black women? Students who read Boles should also absorb two provocative books not cited in his bibliography – *There is a River* by Vincent Harding and *The Flash of the Spirit* by Robert Farris Thompson– in forming conclusions about the first eight generations of black Southerners.

Duke University

PETER H. WOOD

Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915. By Louis R. Harlan. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983. xiv, 548 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$30.00.)

In this his second and final volume of his biography of Booker T. Washington, Louis Harlan has written a superb study of America's most famous black leader at the turn of the century. This particular volume covers Washington's career from 1901 to 1915 when he emerged as the principal spokesman for his race and served as special advisor to Presidents Roosevelt and Taft on minority concerns and political appointments. During this period Washington also forged his own political machine and continued his fund-raising efforts on behalf of Tuskegee and other black colleges.

In a carefully reasoned and balanced account, Harlan points out the central dilemma Washington's political philosophy posed for himself and black America: how to promote racial advancement while publicly accepting policies of segregation. Harlan readily acknowledges that Washington worked assiduously for black progress in higher education, government, and private industry. He concludes, however, that "the burden of his compromises and accommodations to a repressive system of white supremacy often vitiated his efforts to advance the interests of blacks, and indeed the history of black leadership in America illustrates the impossibility of reforming a system while at the same time accommodating to its institutions and spirit" (p. 337).

Washington's dilemma became readily apparent during Theodore Roosevelt's administration. The president gave Washington access to power by publicly dining with him and by allowing Washington to nominate black citizens for political office. With Roosevelt's blessing, Washington was able to build a very powerful Tuskegee Machine, which spread his influence to the North and Midwest. Having made his decision to serve as a political broker for Roosevelt in the black community, Washington was forced to accede to Roosevelt's policies which hampered racial progress, especially his dismissal of three black companies following the Brownsville riot in 1906.

Harlan portrays Washington as a very dignified, diplomatic, and fastidious figure who could also prove ruthless when confronting opposition. Not surprisingly, he and the organizers of the Niagara Movement, especially Monroe Trotter and W. E. B. DuBois, became bitter rivals. As Harlan notes, "the Niagara Movement proposed to clear the air by frank protest of injustice." Trotter and DuBois also denounced Washington's commitment to technical education and his conciliatory approach to the nation's racial problems. In retaliation Washington had friends spy on NAACP meetings and publish information which deliberately distorted DuBois's position.

Unfortunately for Washington, he lived to see his influence superseded and his policies fail. During 1912 Woodrow Wilson and his white advisers sanctioned the wholesale removal of black officeholders and gave their unofficial blessing to segregation. Despite Washington's dissatisfaction with Wilson, he was unwilling to condemn the president. As Harlan observes, Washington's response was fully consistent for one "schooled in slavery, trained to moderation, accustomed to compromise" (p. 322).

This study reflects the maturity of a scholar who has devoted himself to unraveling the complexities of Booker T. Washington's personality and understanding his Machiavellian politics. Harlan gives Washington credit for many notable achievements, but he also observes the weaknesses of the man and his philosophy. It is a tempered criticism throughout, and it makes the biography all the more convincing for being so.

University of Florida

DAVID R. COLBURN

Tried As By Fire: Southern Baptists and the Religious Controversies of the 1920s. By James J. Thompson, Jr. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1982. xv, 224 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, foreword, bibliographical note, index. \$13.95.)

While almost any book on the 14,000,000-member Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) deserves attention, a book as good as this merits careful reading and some savoring. James Thompson and Mercer University Press have produced a fine volume, carefully written with generous references and even footnotes at the bottom of the page (where, as any historian knows, they belong). *Tried As By Fire* is about Southern Baptistism's belated confrontation with modernity between 1919 and 1931. It opens with an ebulliently confident denomination capable of seeing its own image in the World War I victory, and closes some twelve years later with a chastened but more "realistic" church as much interested in survival as world domination. The intervening chapters are topical, documenting how Southern Baptists stumbled over and struggled with the Social Gospel, higher (Biblical) criticism, evolution, fundamentalism, and religious pluralism as represented by Roman Catholicism and Al Smith's 1928 presidential bid. In following each issue, Thompson capably delineates both the nuances of the conflicts and the variety of positions within the SBC. Although Thompson's analysis is always fair and responsible, his heart is clearly with the moderates—those too few souls who at once affirm the inherited faith and the requirements of civil discourse in the public arena, and whose leadership occasionally saves the denomination from wretched excess. Not surprisingly, Thompson is most critical of Southern Baptist fundamentalists' misanthropy—their tendencies to berate and belittle, to ridicule and to indulge in falsehood in their attempts to purge the denomination of those whose only sin was to remain calm and reasonable.

Where the book fails, it does so in the significant ways good books fail—by omission, by undeveloped insight, by not always following through. The focus may be a bit narrow; militant civil religion, post-war overconfidence, naive dreams of world evangelization and subsequent failure, financial distress, and self-doubt ran throughout American Protestantism during this

period. Thompson has neglected to suggest how Southern Baptists fit into this larger picture and how their story is or is not unique. Similarly, the fact of change (migration, urbanization, new technology) is invoked from time to time as a causal factor, but the extent and kinds of change faced by the Southern Baptist masses, and how that change reached and affected them, is never adequately discussed. If Southern Baptists were as rural as Thompson claims, why even mention urbanization as an explanatory category and why make note of nearly 1,000,000 new Baptist urbanites as Thompson does without exploring their experiences? How did these different population groups react to and influence the issues which Thompson explores?

Finally, one is left wondering what it was that held the SBC together in the midst of all the conflict. Thompson suggests that the Civil War had taught Southerners to adapt to change, but never pursues the point beyond bare suggestion. The references to "strong denominationalism" which are made are insufficient and really beg the question. The factionalism Southern Baptists suffered was more than an unfortunate impediment to the preaching of the Gospel to the world as Thompson suggests, but a struggle as to what that Gospel actually was. Insufficient attention to the experiences of Baptistism's various groups somehow also loses the common soul. *Tried As By Fire* is a fine book as far as it goes. One hopes James Thompson is inclined to go farther.

University of Florida

DENNIS E. OWEN

The New Religious Political Right in America. By Samuel S. Hill and Dennis E. Owen. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1982. 160 pp. Preface, notes. \$9.95.)

Conventional wisdom holds that the 1980 presidential election represented the triumph of political conservatism sweeping through the American electorate. Fed up with inflation, increased centralization of government, and cultural decay, voters took their protests to the polls, overwhelmingly defeated the incumbent, and in his place installed the most popular figure of the Republican party's right wing. Whether the victory of Ronald Reagan has rung the death knell of New Deal liberalism and

Democratic party domination remains debatable, but, there is already some indication that the coalition supporting the president is too fragile to sustain extended GOP control of national politics. One of the key elements behind Republican success in 1980, the New Religious Political Right (NRPR), is the subject of a critical assessment by two professors of religion at the University of Florida, Samuel S. Hill and Dennis E. Owen. The results of their study suggest that the NRPR is a shaky prop upon which to construct an enduring conservative movement in this country.

The NRPR is not an isolated or aberrant political phenomenon. On many occasions in American history political and religious conservatives have combined to stem what they perceived to be unwelcome signs of modernization. Troubled by threats to traditional culture in the face of rapid and often chaotic social change, the disgruntled have banded together to restore order in their lives and resurrect the halcyon days of yesteryear. The Know-Nothingism of antebellum days, the anti-evolution crusade of the 1920s, and the anti-communist persuasion of the 1950s revealed a dark strain in American political affairs which the eminent historian Richard Hofstadter called "the paranoid style." Its practitioners aimed to relieve social tensions by uncovering conspiracies, exorcising subversives, and imposing conformity. Although Hill and Owen do not employ Hofstadter's model, they do portray the NRPR in a similar manner. According to the authors, members of the politico-religious right, most specifically associated with Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, repelled by cultural depravity, are seeking to promote a regenerated society of happy nuclear families, clear sex roles, and a government based on Christian principles. Their vision of utopia has appealed most strongly to members of independent Protestant congregations, mainly Baptist, from the Midwest and South. Standing in their path and the target of their wrath is an assortment of secular humanists.

The authors are careful not to belittle their subjects by turning them into Menckenesque caricatures. They take the NRPR seriously and attribute much of its appeal to a form of civil religion which unites discontented Americans in worship of the holy trinity of God, Country, and Family. However, Hill and Owen conclude that the NRPR will fail to provide the stability

it seeks so assiduously. Totalitarian in both structure and doctrine and exhibiting little in the ways of reason and civility, the New Religious Political Right has generated more polarization than consensus. The writers take particular comfort in knowing that many fundamentalist and evangelical leaders— Billy Graham most prominently among them— refuse to endorse the well-publicized forays of the NRPR into politics as the guardian of a monolithic and infallible Christian viewpoint. As one Evangelical Lutheran opponent put it: “There is no Christian position; there are Christians who hold positions” (p. 82). Ultimately, the two professors of religion believe that the nation can overcome its spiritual malaise within a pluralistic context. Americans of diverse beliefs must rededicate themselves to solving their common problems by working together at the local community level.

Hill and Owen have written a judicious appraisal of a heated issue— the mixture of politics and religion. Although many of their conclusions remain tentative in the absence of additional data and the perspective of hindsight, to their credit the authors have presented sound hypotheses for future scholars to test. One suspects that time will show that Professors Hill and Owen have led us in the right direction.

University of South Florida

STEVEN F. LAWSON

Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. By Doug McAdam. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. viii, 304 pp. Preface, introduction, appendices, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

In this significant, interdisciplinary work, the author has clearly broken new ground in assessing theories of mass insurgency and in redefining the structure of political power in the United States. These are remarkable achievements in themselves, but McAdam has also provided a comprehensive empirical analysis of the black protest movement from its early origins in the late 1800s to its decline in the latter 1960s. While the book may be read as a useful historical treatise, it is, in reality, much more than that. Its true value lies in its development of new theoretical insights in the disciplines of sociology and political science.

The foremost objective of McAdam is to evaluate social movement theories in sociology. Toward that end, he defines and then debunks two prevailing perspectives, the classical and the resource mobilization models. Neither perspective adequately explains the emergence, development, and decline of the contemporary black movement. Instead, the author posits what he calls the "political process model." This theoretical perspective identifies three sets of factors that are believed to be crucial in the generation of social insurgency. The first is the level of organization within the minority community. The second factor is the minority group's assessment of the prospects for successful insurgency. McAdam refers to this crucial factor as "insurgent consciousness" or "cognitive liberation," and claims that before collective protest can begin, people must define their situations as unjust and subject to change through group action. The third and final factor is the political alignment of groups within the larger political environment, or what Eisinger calls the "structure of political opportunities" available to minority groups. Each of these factors is necessary, but not sufficient in itself, for insurgency to occur. Moreover, the political process model is dynamic, not static; it attempts to explain a social movement as a continuous process from generation to decline. Thus, over time these factors continue to shape the development of insurgency, but another factor becomes important. This is the social control response to the insurgents.

How well does the author's political process model explain the generation, development, and decline of the black movement? Quite well indeed, at least in broad, macro-level terms. As a result of social and economic changes beginning in the late 1800s, the political opportunities confronting blacks improved during the period from 1930 to 1954. This expansion of political opportunities contributed to a growing sense of political efficacy among blacks who began to define conditions as amenable to change. At the same time the growth of three institutions—black churches, black colleges, and the NAACP—afforded southern blacks the indigenous organizational strength necessary to mount and sustain a social movement. Moreover, the decline of the movement was also the product of changes in each of these major factors, plus the repressive response of the federal government.

McAdam's analysis of the black movement also redefines the structure of political power in this country. Finding the pluralist and elite models to be inadequate, the author modifies the elite view to grant excluded groups a measure of indigenous power that is usually denied them. Thus the conventional view of an elite comfortably in control of the political arena is replaced by the notion of the elite as a "harried group scrambling to manage or contain numerous challenges that arise to threaten the fundamental prerogatives of class rule" (p. 233).

This book is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on social movements in the United States. It is also a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the black protest movement from 1930 to 1970. It is well researched and nicely written, and will provide scholars in several disciplines with a variety of new insights well worth pondering.

University of Florida

JAMES BUTTON

The Selected Essays of T. Harry Williams. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. 276 pp. Biographical introduction by Estelle Williams, notes, bibliography. \$19.95.)

The biographical sketch that opens this volume is especially rewarding for those of us who knew T. Harry Williams only through his publications and his repute. Contributed by his widow, who was his co-worker in research and writing, and his fellow faculty member at Louisiana State University, it illuminates the scholarly activities and determination to excel that were central to T. Harry's life. Estelle Williams takes us into his classroom and work spaces from card table to his own library-studio building. She permits us to share his zest in the pursuit of history, the drama of his lectures, his fascination with men of power, his delight in the success his books enjoyed. She also gives us a tantalizing glimpse of this midwestern "Yankee" scholar's four-decade love affair with the South, one that apparently did not compromise his outsider's view of the region's racial mores. The volume ends with a comprehensive bibliography, presumably also attributable to his wife, that lists Williams's books,

articles, and contributions to books edited or written by others. It is an impressive record.

For more than 250 of its 276 pages this memorial volume allows T. Harry Williams to speak for himself, which he did uncommonly well. Together with a mastery of relevant historical data and an independent, sometimes iconoclastic, judgment he combined a writing style always lucid and frequently arresting. The fourteen selections chosen for inclusion date from 1939 to his death in 1979. They vary widely in character, ranging from the narrowly focused professional article to what he called his "bread and butter speech" on "That Strange Sad War." Some essays distill, or foretell, the interpretive essence of his major works: *Lincoln and the Radicals*, *Lincoln and His Generals*, *Huey Long*, and the uncompleted biography of Lyndon Johnson. Only three of the fourteen are here published for the first time. Two of these, one unfinished, were meant to be part of his *History of American Wars*, which appeared posthumously, fore-shortened to end in 1918. They deal with the 1918-1939 interlude between wars and with American involvement in World War II up to, and including, Pearl Harbor.

The third unpublished paper, entitled "Lyndon Johnson and the Art of Biography," is not a polished essay but rather an informal introduction to the Senior Scholars' Colloquia held at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in 1977. It is the most self-revealing selection in the volume. Here Williams presents briefly his version of the great man theory of history, his view that good may come of evil, his belief that the power hungry rebels of history such as Huey Long are created by an unyielding power establishment, his distaste for pronouncing moral judgment in writing historical biography. The latter is not altogether consistent with his sympathy for assaults upon class injustice, reformist or radical, a moral stance evident in his two presidential addresses, one to the Organization of American Historians in 1973 and the other to the Southern Historical Association in 1959. At the same time, he believed academic people too prone to be horrified by politicians' departures from "ideal and impossible" standards of morality and ethics (p. 206). There seems often to have been a hard-nosed quality about T. Harry's judgment that extended even to himself. He was willing to share publicly the suggestion made by some of his students that

the attraction he felt for men he considered the great power artists of history might mean that he himself coveted power.

Williams's standards for the writing of history can be found in his analysis of the virtues and weaknesses of Douglas Freeman's volumes on the Civil War. Among the former he counted Freeman's literary style, his fairness and honesty, his presentation of detail without getting lost in it, his consumption of voluminous difficult sources with critical judgment and exemplary detective work. As weaknesses he saw the priority Freeman gave to drama and artistry over explanation and Freeman's worshipful attitude toward his central figure (Lee) arising from "a Virginia gentleman writing about a Virginia gentleman" (pp. 192-93). T. Harry maintained that empathy for his subject, the ability to see through the latter's eyes, was essential for a biographer, but he also recognized an obligation to present a broader perspective.

The Selected Essays of T. Harry Williams suggests how great is our loss in not having the monumental biography of Lyndon Johnson that he planned or the perspective and lucidity that he might have brought to an account of the country's military stance in the nuclear age. It is also a reminder that T. Harry Williams importantly influenced the course of American historiography, not in one area but in three: Civil War and Reconstruction, military policy, and biography. The volume lacks a critical analysis of that influence. Hopefully, it may inspire one, together with an examination of his relationship to a changing South. The role of historians of the South in the South during the years of racial confrontation and readjustment is a tale still to be told. T. Harry's academic journey from the distaste evident in his writings of the 1940s for the racial radicalism of the 1860s to the embrace in his 1973 presidential address of the racial radicalism of the 1960s, at least of its southern version, would make an intriguing and meaningful chapter of that story.

Hunter College and Graduate School, CUNY LAWANDA COX

Dixie Dateline: A Journalistic Portrait of the Contemporary South. Edited by John B. Boles. (Houston: Rice University Studies, 1983. vii, 182 pp. Introduction, graph, bibliographical essay, notes on contributors. \$12.95.)

Provocatively, eleven southern journalists sketch yet another broad-brush canvas of the South, with perceptive ideas ranging across the contemporary landscape. They focus on the lingering mystique of Old Dixie and the changed South, recycled as the nation's Sunbelt. They agree Dixie is both American and something different, and the southernness of these essays from a 1981 Tulane University symposium is a fresh search for the ever-elusive mysteries of the soul of the South, bridging Old and New—now permanently altered by skylines and freeways shadowing rural folkways and quaint landscapes in the haste of Sunbelt prosperity.

Again plowing old ground, yet fortified with southern newness, the investigators admit the “giant sphinx on the American land”—as one historian labels Dixie—so resists explication that its elusive definition becomes its intriguing attraction.

John B. Boles's incisive introduction is fresh intelligence on old southern questions and new vistas for understanding the most provocative and mysterious American region. He keynotes a parade of different and fresh voices, writing: “Southernness is now almost an intellectual construct, ‘the flesh made word,’ to borrow Ed Yoder's biblical quip. Having a distinctiveness to lose makes possible a recognition of loss, and that triggers a process of retrospection and nostalgia that bodes well to keep the South alive and thriving. The South will continue to exist, if only by an act of the will. After all, as Brandt Ayers has remarked, ‘they aren't having symposia in Phoenix to discuss the everlasting West.’ ”

Roy Reed writes affectionately and perceptively of southern folk and regional mores, linking the violence and simple religious faith with Dixie's values. Even in the urban South, he sees rural folkways lingering— an umbilical cord to the past, influencing values with folk culture amidst the highrises and urban sprawl of the South's boom cities. Yet Paul Delaney portrays blacks as double cursed despite lingering euphoria from the 1960s liberation. Even though Dixie race relations may have

caught up with the rest of America, he views the transformation as minimal, with blacks less hopeful about the future. The South has yet to produce any Harvards, writes John A. Crowl, but southern universities are closing the educational gap— and population and economic growth offer Dixie states potential for relative improvement if leaders have the will to demand it.

Wilmer C. Fields sees a more urban and cosmopolitan South gaining good and bad from the legacies of its traditional evangelical armlock with Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Yet he finds religious change following the pattern of societal and economic prosperity in the once-solid Bible Belt. Tracing valid reasons for southern deficiencies in the cultural arts sixty years ago, W. L. Taitte exudes pride in the South's culture boom in large, wealthy cities. He cites Dixie today as the region with the largest artist population in America. Urban affairs columnist Neal R. Peirce decries the sameness of American cities, even in the New South, but finds that the Charlestons and Savannahs— protective of architectural treasures— have been more successful in retaining charm while confronting Sunbelt growth and urban change.

Portraying the political revolution, Brandt Ayers traces the emergence of the black vote, election of Georgian Jimmy Carter, and the region's emerging presidential aspirants with national appeal. He concludes that candidates seeking to carry Dixie with both black and white votes must be attuned to the defining characteristics of the South as a region. Looking southwest, William K. Stevens evaluates an "oil patch" economy and culture fueled by oil and gas money and by substantial immigration. He cites the experience of Houston, now the world center of petroleum technology, an international port with one of the worlds largest medical centers. Trying to define the catchphrase, "Sunbelt," James R. Adams finds the region's economic development less than homogeneous; rather, at least three different economic subunits within the South. He assesses the indiscriminate use of the term as an erroneous portrayal, implying too great a causative factor to weather.

Pulitzer Prize winner Edward M. Yoder, Jr. waxes nostalgic about the loss of Dixie of recent memory; he suspects symposiums and collections such as this remain Lost Cause attempts by journalists and historians to "Dixefy Dixie." He echoes the C.

Vann Woodward thesis of southern difference: historical experience at variance with the nation's past and yet quite similar to the larger world's experience—making Southerners able to understand non-Americans and empathize with them, in ways beneficial both to America and its global neighbors. Hodding Carter notes that Southerners have seldom learned the lessons they should from their past: lessons less clear, and less accepted, than Southerners might believe. Yet he contends the South has a relevance not fully appreciated even by self-conscious Southerners— a reason why thoughtful people around the world are fascinated with things southern from Faulkner to folklore.

Tempered somewhat by some nostalgic yearning, the essayists see— and perhaps hope— that the past does have a future in a Dixie far removed from poverty, racism, cultural backwardness, and rural domination. Their ideas are stimulating, with no central focus or conclusion other than the southern mystique, with latitude for readers to apply their own interpretations.

Pensacola News-Journal

JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

With Shield and Sword: American Military Affairs, Colonial Times to the Present. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982. x, 462 pp. Preface, maps, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.50.)

Any author attempting to encapsulate the whole sweep of American military history in one volume must decide upon those aspects which he or she wishes to stress and stick close to them. Warren W. Hassler has chosen to “integrate military operations and policy with the personalities and characters of leading civilian and uniformed figures who have been protagonists in American armed endeavors” (p. ix). It is a worthy undertaking since few modern American military histories have concentrated on the impact, across the full course of that history, of the personalities of the leading figures. It is an approach which limits the development of the broad, underlying themes in that history, but no single volume history can avoid short-changing some aspect of the story.

The author, who is professor of history at Pennsylvania State

University, brings a breadth of knowledge and depth of study to the project which only a handful of historians can match. The author of several Civil War studies and a valuable account of the president as commander-in-chief, he has served as a visiting professor of military history at both West Point and the Army's Command and General Staff College.

Professor Hassler does not attempt to describe military campaigns in detail but to sketch them and demonstrate the effect of personality on the leadership of the opposing forces. The resulting story is one which will entrance many readers but may disturb those whose command of the outline of events is limited. It is written, of necessity, at headquarters level and does often recount the non-combat activities of the services. As might be expected, Professor Hassler devotes considerable attention to the roles played by the presidents and the land service secretaries in setting military policy. An outstanding example is his evaluation of Jefferson Davis as secretary of war.

The individual characterizations are short and incisive. They are, in the opinion of this reviewer, nearly always valid, and where we disagree, as in the case of Admiral George Dewey, there is a strong case for both sides. One pleasant aspect of *With Sword and Shield* is that Professor Hassler eschews the quick and superficial characterizations so often offered by less knowledgeable writers. This does not mean that all interpretations are favorable. One general-in-chief is described, quite accurately, as "sensitive about alleged conspiracies and slights to his honor, he was cantankerous, ambitious, and egotistical" (p. 216).

While Professor Hassler recounts the Navy story along with the Army one, and often does so with insight, he tends to betray his greater awareness of the personalities and activities on dry land. He fails, for instance, to discuss the impact of Admiral Ernest J. King on naval strategy in World War II or that of Commodore John Rodgers as head of the Board of Naval Commissioners. Nor does the account deal as adequately with the Navy's non-combat activities as it does with the Army's. Yet this complaint verges on carping for of all the recent "tri-service" histories this is clearly the best balanced. Despite an occasional stub of the editorial toe, the Navy and the Air Force do get substantial coverage; nevertheless, no careful reader will fail to

see that this is essentially an Army history. But then the bulk of American military history is Army history.

Professor Hassler has allocated just over half the book to the twentieth century. This means that World War II receives substantially more space than the Civil War. But as the book journeys into more recent times the coverage declines. The Korean and Vietnamese wars receive only limited discussion, and the assessments are clearly more tentative than they are for earlier periods. Many will disagree with the apportionment of coverage but that is a matter of judgment. From this reviewer's vantage point Professor Hassler's decisions have been judicious and thoughtful, whether or not I agree with them.

With Shield and Sword is written with conciseness and a careful choice of words which makes it a pleasure to read. It is a valuable book which corrects the tendency to dehumanize military history. It is a book which should be read by those who believe they understand the history of the American military and by those who wish to learn it.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

K. JACK BAUER

A Gallery of Southerners. By Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. xxi, 233 pp. Polemical preface to another gallery of Southerners, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$16.95.)

What Yogi Berra once explained about baseball— "90% of the game is half-mental"— has come to be applied to the study of southern history. Literary and cultural expression has given many scholars clues that disclose the past and destiny of the region, and no literary critic has illumined the mind of the South more frequently or more tenderly than Louis D. Rubin, Jr., who currently teaches at Chapel Hill. His latest collection of essays offers further testimony to his conviction that the distinctiveness of the region can be most radiantly explored through its fiction.

Unlike most of his earlier books, *A Gallery of Southerners* includes only southern writers of the twentieth century. Three of the essays are splendid; four are competent; and the remaining three are of very marginal value. All but two are reprinted.

Two of the strongest chapters shed light on the Great Depression. Both *Gone with the Wind* and *Absalom, Absalom!* were published in 1936, and Rubin's "Scarlett O'Hara and the Two Quentin Compsons" offers a shrewd comparison between Margaret Mitchell's spitfire heroine and Faulkner's ungentlemanly Thomas Sutpen. But Rubin also notes the differences between the two books, especially Faulkner's mordant attitude toward history itself. Equally compelling is Rubin's essay, "Trouble on the Land," which shows that during the 1930s when southern writing was at its perihelion, social consciousness and political protest did not sear the region's novelists. Praise should also be bestowed upon "Carson McCullers: The Aesthetic of Pain" for Rubin's elucidation of an art "constructed . . . out of the South, but not out of its history, its common myths, its public values and the failure to cherish them. What is southern in her books are the rhythms, the sense of brooding loneliness in a place saturated with time" (p. 150).

This critical effort to catch the southern accent in the voices of authors also informs lesser essays in this collection: a study of Faulkner's self-discovery as an artist, the emplacement of Thomas Wolfe as a product of the Piedmont, and an explication of a Flannery O'Connor short story as an echo of middle Georgia humor rather than as the rumination of a Pascal of the plain folk. Of special interest to historians is Rubin's assessment of Shelby Foote's three-volume history of the Civil War, a chapter which typifies the critic's strengths and limitations. For Rubin is informative on writers whose work may be somewhat neglected, even as he seems out of his depth when confronted with writers whose complexities ignite the theoretical pyrotechnics of more sophisticated critics. The essay on Foote displays an interest—but not an overemphasis—on biographical details that can help make sense of an oeuvre. The prose is crisp and modulated rather than forceful or dazzling. Even as Rubin candidly acknowledges his acquaintance with several of the authors discussed in this volume, he disconcertingly refers to the author of the Civil War trilogy as "Shelby." The spirit is almost unfailingly generous, tending toward the oleaginous. After comparing Foote to Tacitus, Gibbon, and Churchill, Rubin considers the Civil War opus "worthy to stand alongside the great works of narrative history. It seems unlikely to me that it will ever be superceded" (p. 196).

Conviviality is a virtue in a companion, but a critic who only writes about subjects he can admire risks the atrophy of necessary powers of discrimination.

This complacency of tone lacks compensatory charms in the weakest essays in the book— on Allen Tate, on Eudora Welty, and on Rubin himself (a memoir of his own relationship to a changing South). Graciously and genially, Rubin has taken his stand in a Dixie Land in whose distinctive future he has confidence and whose historical faults leave him largely indifferent. Even in the chapter on “Shelby Foote’s Civil War,” for example, the author gives very little attention to the tragic dimension of the Confederate struggle, which meant so bloody a war in so dubious a cause. Rubin’s historical curiosity is nevertheless rare enough among literary critics to be praiseworthy, even if it may keep him from being *au courant*. Apart from Walker Percy (b. 1916), the younger southern writers warming up in the bullpen are unmentioned. But in books like this, the mind of the South is properly engaged in understanding itself.

Brandeis University

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

Shadows of the Indian. By Raymond William Stedman. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982. xix, 281 pp. Foreword, preface, author’s note, acknowledgments, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, credits and permissions, general index, title index. \$24.95.)

Shadows of the Indian is yet another entry in the growing body of anti-stereotyping literature, and follows a well-worn trail initially blared by Indian writers such as Rupert Costo, Jeannette Henry, and their colleagues at the Indian Historian Press. Like so much of this genre, *Shadows* serves a valuable function in alerting us to the potential for stereotyping which exists in virtually every aspect of popular culture. It is less convincing when imputing deeper political and psychological motivations which underly the Indian images emerging in film and literature over the last century.

The author’s motivation for writing *Shadows* is highly personal. As a child he discerned a discrepancy between the Indians

he saw on the screen or read about in books, and the real-life Indian children with whom he played and the lives led by their families. As an adult he came to realize that the Indians depicted in movies and books had never existed anywhere except in the imagination. They were merely shadows of Indians. Moreover, "the illusory Indians were so authentic to most Americans that no alternate images were acceptable." Why? To find the answer meant exploring the origins of prevailing images of Indians in America. Eschewing a one-dimensional focus such as "Indians of the Movies," the study was extended to multiple areas of literature and popular culture to isolate the themes-and also underscore the pervasiveness of the stereotyping.

Shadows inadvertently proves the author's point that even the best intentioned writers can perpetuate subtle stereotypes. In a chapter entitled "La Belle Sauvage," we are offered the insight that "Semantics aside, many of the famous Indian princesses of fact and fiction were indeed the daughters of chieftains. Often, however, the designation was one of convention, like that of a Kentucky colonel." Is nothing sacred? The chapter on "Indian Talk" reveals that "Comfort with a style of speech never used by an Indian in real life should not be mistaken for authenticity—not even by Indian performers who sometimes fall into artificial patterns of speech in the same way that they put on Sioux head-dresses because that is the way 'everyone' assumes Indians dress." Are we to imply that Indians will do anything for a buck (no pun intended)? Even more unsettling is the observation that "For some reason only Osceola, who may or may not have had white forbears, came off consistently well in movies. Perhaps that was because he was not a western Indian." Now, really! Could it not have been recognition of the nobility of his cause rather than his being "Eastern Establishment?"

This is a beautifully produced volume, well researched and documented, but somewhat flawed in presentation. It is burdened with an erratic style that is disconcerting, switching back and forth as it does between glib plot descriptions and serious exploration of themes. Admittedly this is a personal pique, but it may annoy some readers. A more serious shortcoming, given the disconnectedness of the chapters, is lack of a strong summary statement.

In his foreword Indian lawyer/scholar Rennard Strickland

holds that *Shadows* makes two major points: "Most of the images of Indians are primarily inventions of non-Indians. This may be viewed as an attempt to define the Indian, and albeit indirectly, influence National Indian Policy." Furthermore, it shows that "understanding the popular image of the Indian at any time in history tells us a good deal about American culture during that period." I generally agree that Stedman makes several important points in *Shadows*; it is unfortunate that his thesis is often obscured by his prose.

Florida Atlantic University

HARRY A. KERSEY, JR.

Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961. By Larry W. Burt. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. x, 180 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

Federal Indian policy never has been particularly coherent. During the 1950s it became almost incomprehensible. Westerners who were interested in opening Indian trust lands to the private sector sought assistance from the Eisenhower administration, which committed itself to the termination of special status for Native Americans. For a brief time it became official policy to encourage Indians to adopt the majority culture by bringing down the apparatus which other generations had erected to shield them. A major effort was mounted to dismantle the reservation system, remove Indians from federal protection, and convert reservation land to private ownership. The results were chaotic and disruptive in some cases. Opposition from Indians and non-Indians alike grew quickly and effectively. The objectives of the administration and its western allies were never fully achieved.

The farthest-reaching consequences of this period derived not from the few material rearrangements of land and services, but from the fundamental changes that were worked in the political and governmental structures of numerous tribes. In order to prepare the various tribes for "termination," the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) under Commissioner Glenn Emmons moved to establish on reservations bodies of government that conformed closely to the type of representative democracy practiced by the non-Indian populace. Clan affiliation, age, gender, possession of a

medicine bundle, and other traditional determinants of leadership had no place in the reservation tribal councils created by the BIA. Consequently, "progressive" Indians (i.e. those who were Christian, English-speaking, property-owning or wage-earning) found their positions strengthened out of proportion to their numbers and at the expense of the traditionalists. It was this assault on tribalism, on institutions evolved naturally out of Native American culture, that left an enduring legacy.

Larry Burt has written an excellent account of the political maneuvering that surrounded the changes in Indian policy in the 1950s. In a chronologically-arranged narrative, he guides the reader through the philosophical and pragmatic foundations of termination rationale, the selection of a commissioner to implement the policy, and finally the adjustments made necessary by mounting criticism and resistance. If the account focuses primarily on a few western states and personalities, that is understandable; termination grew out of western interests and captured western attention to a degree not shared by the rest of the nation. Regrettably for readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, however, scant attention is given to Florida's Indians, whose current tribal organizations were born out of the events of that turbulent period.

Tribalism in Crisis is a thoughtful, balanced account of what must have been the most difficult period for Native Americans since the conclusion of the Indian wars, but it is not about Indians. State, regional, and national politics are the dominant themes. The voices are those of elected officials and bureaucrats, of spokesmen for the Indians and spokesmen for private enterprise. Nonetheless, the reader emerges from this detailed treatment of non-Indian activity with greatly enhanced understanding of one important impetus for the significant changes wrought in Native American society in the post-war period. This is a solid piece of work, of value to all who are interested in the recent history of the American Indian.

University of Nevada, Reno

R. T. KING

Ordinary People and Everyday Life. Edited by James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983. viii, 215 pp. Preface, photographs, notes, suggestions for additional reading, contributors, index. \$17.95.)

Ordinary People and Everyday Life, a terrible but apt title, is an extraordinarily good book. It originated out of a series of conferences the American Association for State and Local History sponsored in 1980 and 1981 to inform museum and historical agency professionals about the new social history and how they might better understand it and use it for their exhibits. University scholars, and some others knowledgeable about the new social history, talked at these AASLH gatherings, and editors James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams encouraged several of them to write up their lectures for this volume. Whether intended for a broader audience at first, I do not know. But what has come out in this volume will serve the purposes of a wide variety of teachers, scholars, and agency professionals.

The collection consists of nine essays on various facets of the new social history. In the first, Peter Stearns explains what the new social history is and how it differs from the old: it covers ordinary people and everyday life—hence the book's title. It deals with women, children, minorities, working class people, and often, local or community history. It examines people's sexual behavior, child rearing practices, family roles, health and medical practices, etc. The new social historians have brought vitality to their work, and the resultant insights have given us new perspectives on many aspects of the American past. Stearns's brief presentation (less than twenty pages of text) is the best introduction to the new social history that I have seen.

All of the other essays in the book are also quite brief and of uniformly high quality. Howard Rabinowitz explains how the new social history helps us understand topics like immigrant and minority migration patterns, community formation, and family structure. Elizabeth Pleck indicates how gender, biology, and work define women's history to a much greater extent than do biographies of great women like Catherine Beecher and Jane Addams. David Brody, in one of the book's really outstanding pieces, starts out with his own personal odyssey of how he became interested in labor history, then differentiates the old type

of labor chronicles with their emphasis on unions, hierarchies, and structure, and finally blends in the new, showing the connections among working class, family, and ethnic history. Sam Hays points out how the new social history grew out of political history, quantification, and voting behavior analysis. Barbara and Cary Carson are quite imaginative in their explanations of how everyday utensils and artifacts can be used to explore little-thought-about aspects of the past. Most of the essays include some historiographical analyses, but they are unobtrusive, blend well with the narrative, and are not of such a nature as to turn off those less well versed in any of the areas.

The editors, in particular, are to be commended. They obtained first-rate scholars to write about what they know and then, in a uniform format, had them add source notes and brief annotated bibliographies (long enough to help someone pursue the subject further but not too long as to make it impossible to read or make appropriate choices). Furthermore, the essays themselves are so well written that I must assume Gardner and Adams had a hand in making them so.

This collection should be in every library. Collectively they provide, as the Carsons note, "a general re-education in historical thinking" (p. 201). Graduate students can get an introduction to each of the topics, high school teachers and college instructors can use the essays to inform their classroom performances, and scholars can benefit from the insights of colleagues in areas where they have less familiarity. Finally, museum and historical agency professionals can use some of these materials when preparing new exhibits. The Carsons show, for example, how the simple utensils and artifacts of the common folk, like spoons, trays, chairs, and tables, can help stimulate viewers' imaginations and elucidate whole areas of the past that most people have never learned or thought about.

Gardner and Adams should be proud of their accomplishment. By originally organizing the conferences, selecting the participants, and now preparing this volume they have been of great service to several different audiences. The high quality of the essays will help thousands of intermediaries like teachers and agency professionals help explain what the new social history is to students and the public in general. Bravo, for a job well done.

University of Arizona

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN

BOOK NOTES

I Declare! is by Malcolm B. Johnson, retired editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat* and one of the best-known journalists in Florida and the South. He began his newspaper career in 1935 in Jacksonville, his hometown, and served for fourteen years in the Tallahassee Bureau of the Associated Press. "I Declare!" was the name of the front-page column which appeared in the *Democrat* for many years. It was Mr. Johnson's personal observations, culled, he notes, "from a privileged ringside seat at the political, social, civic, economic, and demographic events of Florida during the middle half of the 20th century." The *Democrat* gave Johnson the freedom to write about almost anything he wanted, and he did. All of the major politicians, and many minor ones, were either roasted or praised (some were both, if there was the need), and events which affected the citizens of Florida were described and evaluated. Of the nearly 4,000 columns which Johnson wrote, 166 are published in his book. Political anecdotes, information about plant and animal life, recipes, and much Florida history and folklore are included. The KKK, education, the legislature, newspapers, religion, reapportionment, politics, integration, bigotry, nature, and people of every race, color, religious creed, political persuasion, and temperament are subjects of Johnson's writings. He has a keen eye for the events around him and a talent for describing those events. Most of the proceeds from Johnson's book will go to Funders, Inc., which finances summer camp for needy young people. Order the book from *I Declare!*, Box 990, Tallahassee, FL 32302; the price is \$13.65.

Let Us Alone, by William R. Ervin, is a one-volume, easy-to-read history of Florida. It covers the period from the discovery of Florida and the settlement of St. Augustine through the Second Seminole War. Most of the emphasis is on people rather than political events and military engagements. Ervin, who has been active in Florida historical and military organizations, has included information about early Florida Indians and settlers. Arts and crafts, religion, housing, food, work patterns for free

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people, indentured servants, and slaves, and family activities are among the subjects covered. Ervin does not ignore political events— both domestic and international— which have affected Florida history. Indian-white conflict is discussed, and a number of official documents— treaties, proclamations, ordinances, and congressional resolutions— are reproduced. Illustrations are by Stephanie Kaye Ervin. The volume includes maps and a bibliography. Order from the author, 739 Indian Hill Drive, Port Orange, FL 32019. The price is \$12.95, plus \$1.55 for handling charges.

Fenton Garnett Davis Avant's book, *My Tallahassee*, was not completed when she died in 1980 at the age of ninety-two. Editing her manuscript became the responsibility of her son, David A, Avant, Jr., and he has done an admirable job. Mrs. Avant, better known as "Sister" Fenton, was born in Tallahassee in 1889. At that time Tallahassee had a population of less than 3,000. *My Tallahassee* is filled with the stories of Tallahassee's physical growth, but it also describes the people of Tallahassee, how they lived and worked and played. Mrs. Avant knew all of the socially and politically important people, but she was also friends of those who ran the stores, former slaves, family servants, county characters, and children. All of these are described, as well as members of her family. Mrs. Avant's book is a treasure-trove of social history. Her fourth grade teacher was Caroline Brevard, granddaughter of Governor Richard Keith Call, and she discusses her and her other teachers. Where people lived, how streets were named, and the games that children played are some of the topics she writes about. Described is the excitement of circus-time in Tallahassee and "gossip" about schools and churches. Henrietta's ginger cake recipe is also part of the book. Mrs. Avant was a talented artist and received her master's degree in Greek from the Florida State College for Women. *My Tallahassee* includes an introduction by William Warren Rogers of Florida State University and many early photographs, some of which are being published for the first time. Order from L'Avant Studios, Box 1711, 207 West Park Avenue, Tallahassee, FL 32302. The price is \$16.95 and \$1.50 for postage.

Although Cape Coral is a "new" Florida community, es-

tablished in the late 1950s, its roots go back to the Calusa Indians and the arrival of the Spanish on the lower Gulf coast in the sixteenth century. Betsy Zeiss has provided, in a collection of sketches, the social history of the area. *The Other Side of the River: Historical Cape Coral*, describes the activities of early pioneers like John Powell and his wife and daughters who arrived first in Key West in the 1860s, and then moved to Marco Island, to Fort Myers, and finally to New Prospect, the community which they founded on the shores of the Caloosahatchee River. Information on the Powell family came from interviews with Stella Powell Sadler. In fact, interviewing provided a major source of material for Mrs. Zeiss. It produced human interest items that would not otherwise have been available from printed records. Timbering, fishing, boating, land speculation and development, education, and the cattle industry are some of the subjects covered. There are also pictures and an index. *The Other Side of the River* sells for \$8.95 and may be ordered from the author, 107 S.W. 51 Terrace, Cape Coral, FL 33904.

The Photographs of Alvan S. Harper, Tallahassee, 1885-1910 was edited by Joan P. Morris, curator of the Florida Photographic Collection of the Florida State Archives, and Lee H. Warner, director of the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee. Mrs. Morris has written an introduction which provides information on Harper who resided in Tallahassee in 1884 and who operated a studio on South Monroe Street. Warner's essay, "Alvan Harper's Tallahassee," describes contemporary life in the city. Harper mainly took pictures in his studio, but he also went out into the town and surrounding countryside, and his photographs provide a rich panorama of what life was like for blacks and whites, rich and poor, children and adults, government officials and ordinary citizens. The Harper Collection consists of several hundred photographs of which this book reproduces a small but excellent selection. The book design is by Jak Dempsey. *The Photographs of Alvan S. Harper* is a Florida State University Press book, published by the University Presses of Florida; the price is \$30.00.

The Sun and the Shade, Florida Photography, 1885-1983, is the

catalog for an historical exhibition prepared by the Norton Gallery of Art, West Palm Beach. Included are representative works by Leonard Dakin, William Henry Jackson, Ralph Middleton Munroe, Alvan S. Harper, Max Mark, the Burgert Brothers, Gleason Waite Romer, Marion Post Wolcott, Walker Evans, Joseph Janney Steinmetz, Jerry N. Uelsmann, Gordon Richard Bruno, and Lennie Lyons-Bruno. Many of the pictures from the exhibit (several are in color) are reproduced in the catalog, together with a brief text on the lives and careers of the photographers. The exhibition has been shown in Jacksonville at the Cummer Gallery of Art. It will be at the Pensacola Museum of Art, July 1-August 1, 1984, and the Gallery of Fine Arts, Daytona Beach Community College, September 10-October 12, 1984. Order *The Sun and the Shade* from Norton Gallery & School of Art, 1451 South Olive Avenue, West Palm Beach, FL 33401. The price is \$9.95, plus \$1.00 for handling charges.

The Bartram School of Jacksonville is one of the best-known private preparatory schools for women in Florida. Founded in 1934, Bartram is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. The publication of the history of the institution is one of the special events planned for the occasion. Lula F. Miller, assistant director of Bartram from the time it opened, is the editor of *Perspectives, Fifty Years of Bartram School, 1934-1984*. Questionnaires were sent out to teachers, administrators, and former students, and their memoirs provided Mrs. Miller and her history committee the information it needed to compile *Perspectives*. Olga Pratt was the first director, and Glynlea, a rented house, was the first school. There were twenty-four girls, ages eleven to fifteen, in the initial class. Six women graduated three years later, and when all were accepted to prestigious colleges and universities, the founders felt that their hard work had begun paying off. *Perspectives* costs \$12.50, and may be ordered from the Bartram School, 2264 Bartram Road, Jacksonville, FL.

Music of Florida Historic Sites: A Research Project by the School of Music of the Florida State University, by Deane L. Root, developed out of conversations that Professor Robert L. Smith of Florida State University had with James Stevenson, chief of Interpretive Services, Division of Recreation and Parks, Florida

Department of Natural Resources. The purpose was to "investigate and describe the varied musical activities that form part of the cultural life of the inhabitants of Florida." Two historic sites were selected for research-Fort Clinch on Amelia Island (Nassau County), and the Kingsley Plantation on Fort George Island (Duval County). Documents were examined to extract information, however detailed, of any kind of music—singing, playing, dancing—relating to Fort Clinch and Kingsley, and people associated with these sites and the surrounding area. Sources included letters and diaries, government reports and documents, newspapers, and courthouse records. It was found that there was music aplenty on the Florida frontier. Pianos, violins, and other musical instruments were brought in, and people played to entertain themselves and others. The blacks had their own special music, including spirituals and work songs, and on the plantations they were often invited to sing and perform for white visitors. Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple, on his visit to the South in the winter of 1843-1844, described street singing in St. Augustine, slave singing on a plantation near Reids Bluff, Florida, and piano playing aboard the lumber freighter, *Tecumseh*, out of the St. Marys River. Fiddle playing and fife and drum music were reported by many Florida visitors, and there was at least one dancing teacher, Mr. Tarteem, in Florida. The Spanish dance and the waltz were very popular. Troops stationed in Florida during the Second Seminole War were sometimes entertained with parties and dances. During the Civil War, Confederate and Federal military units had glee clubs, and regimental bands, and there were public performances which included concerts, minstrel shows, and military balls. Some of the popular southern songs played and sung were "Faded Flowers," "Who Will Care for Mother Now," "Annie Laurie," "Lorena," and "Oh I'm a Good Old Rebel." This music research report includes a bibliography. Copies are available to Florida libraries and official institutions; individuals may purchase copies for \$6.00. For information write Dr. Smith, School of Music, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306.

The Lamplighters: Black Farm and Home Demonstration Agents in Florida, 1915-1965, by Barbara R. Cotton, was published by the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation

with Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. Operating out of Tallahassee, and working cooperatively with FAMU for fifty years, black farm and home demonstration agents provided practical assistance for the enhancement of living conditions of rural black Floridians. As early as 1899 Farmers Institutes were held throughout Florida, and after the Florida Experiment Station was established on the campus of the Florida Agricultural College in Lake City, even more information became available for Florida farmers, black and white. The State Normal College for Colored Students (later Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University) was founded in 1887 in Tallahassee by an act of the Florida legislature. In 1902, it began sponsoring Farmers Institutes for black farmers. When the Florida Cooperative Extensive Service was established at the University of Florida in 1915 under authority of the Smith-Lever Act, one of its six projects was devoted to work among blacks. Farm makers and homemakers clubs were established in Gadsden, Jefferson, and Jackson counties "for the purpose of teaching practical agriculture and home economics to Negro boys and girls." In 1917 clubs were established in Washington, Alachua, Marion, and Leon counties. A. A. Turner, who had worked at Tuskegee Institute with Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, was appointed special agent in charge of the clubs for black youths. A home demonstration program was added in 1917. The varied activities and responsibilities of the black farm and home demonstration agents and the activities of the 4-H clubs are areas described by Dr. Cotton in her study. It is based on manuscripts, reports, interviews, and published data. The volume includes graphs, pictures, and a bibliography. There is also an introduction by Wayne Rasmussen, chief, Agricultural History Branch, United States Department of Agriculture. Order copies from Professor Cotton, FAMU, Tallahassee, FL 32307.

A Guide to Genealogical Resources in Escambia County was published by the Pensacola Historical Society. Its editor is Dicy V. Bowman. It includes articles describing and listing holdings in various libraries and depositories in Escambia County which are pertinent to genealogical and historical research. These include "Pensacola Historical Museum," by Sandra Johnson; "West Florida Regional Library," by Dolly Pollard; "John C.

Pace Library, University of West Florida," by Dean DeBolt; "Genealogical Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," by Sid Thomas; "Escambia County Court House," by Leora Sutton; and "Vital Records," by Dicy V. Bowman. There is also a list of Escambia County cemeteries, churches, and synagogues. Information on how, when, and under what conditions libraries and collections can be used is furnished. Order from the Pensacola Historical Society, 405 South Adams Street, Pensacola, FL 32501; the price is \$2.85.

Florida Statistical Abstract is a publication of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Florida. Frances W. Terhune was editor of the seventeenth (1983) edition. It provides comprehensive economic and demographic information about Florida. The volume is divided into five sections: human resources, physical resources and industries, services, public resources and administration, and economic and social trends. Population, housing, vital statistics and health, income and wealth, agriculture, construction, transportation, power and energy, trade, tourism and recreation, health, education, and cultural services, courts and law enforcement, and the quality of life are some of the topics about which statistical information and data is furnished. There are maps, a guide to sources, an index to census tables appearing in previous abstracts, and an index to the 1983 edition. The *Abstract* was published by the University Presses of Florida, Gainesville, and the paper edition sells for \$17.00.

When Ulysses S. Grant arrived in Florida in January of 1880, he was preparing to offer himself to the country as a third-term candidate for president. Frank H. Taylor was a member of the Grant entourage, and he accompanied the former president on a trip lasting approximately three months to Florida, Cuba, and Mexico. Taylor's responsibility was to sketch newsworthy aspects of the journey. His sketches and accompanying notes became the basis for wood engravings and texts published in *Harper's Weekly*, the best-known illustrated magazine of its time. Because of a series of fortuitous events this collection of nineteenth-century brush drawings and watercolors was acquired by the University of Florida's Gallery. In January 1984 the pictures were exhibited

for the first time at the University of Florida. The University of Florida Press published a catalog. "A Stately Picturesque Dream" for the exhibition. It reproduces the pictures, including many Florida scenes. There is an interpretative essay by Nancy L. Gustke and a brief foreword by Samuel Proctor. The catalog is available from the University Presses of Florida, 15 N.W. 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32603; the price is \$7.50.

The World's First Airline, The St. Petersburg-Tampa Airboat Line by Gay Blair White, was reviewed in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, July 1982, pp. 111-12. A second edition was published by the Aero Medical Consultants, Inc., for the Florida Aviation Historical Society and the Pinellas County Museum at Heritage Park. It was edited by Warren J. Brown. The new edition provides additional material and pictures. The price is \$5.00, plus \$1.00 for postage and handling. Order from Aero Medical Consultants, 10912 Hamlin Boulevard West, Largo, FL 33544.

Ulrich B. Phillips received the Justin Winsor Prize from the American Historical Association when he published *Georgia and State Rights* in 1902. The volume was the result of both his master's thesis from the University of Georgia and his Ph.D. dissertation from Columbia University. Phillip's writings were distinctive from other southern historians of his time. Much influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner, he wrote about the antebellum South without too much emphasis on the Civil War. He emphasized class structure, sectional politics, and economic conflict. Long out of print, a new edition of *Georgia and State Rights*, with an introduction by John Herbert Roper, has been published by Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia. It sells for \$14.95.

Letters From Alabama, (U.S.), Chiefly Relating to Natural History is the journal of Philip Henry Gosse, a young Englishman who in 1838 was in Alabama. He recorded his observations and experiences and his reactions to the people that he met, and he prepared a series of "letters" which were published in 1855 in a periodical. Four years later they were collected into a book. Gosse had a good eye for detail, and he was interested both in people and in nature. His letters provide us with important in-

formation about both. The book has been out of print for many years, but through the efforts of Virginia Van der Veer Hamilton, University of Alabama in Birmingham, a new volume is available. It has been annotated by Daniel D. Jones and Ken R. Marion, both professors in the Department of Biology, University of Alabama in Birmingham. Overbook House, Box 7688, Mountainbrook, AL 35253, is the publisher, and the volume sells for \$12.95 paper.

Two new volumes that will be of value to genealogists and historians are by Lillian Kranitz-Sanders. The first is *A Handbook on Tape Recording Grass Roots America, Guidelines for Family and Community History*. The second is *A Handbook on Tape Recording Jewish Roots, Guidelines for Family and Community History*. Mrs. Kranitz-Sanders became interested in oral history as a result of her search for her own roots. By interviewing members of her family, she secured information that was otherwise unavailable. In her manuals, she discusses the preparation of research questionnaires, mechanics of interviewing, techniques of interviewing, processing of tapes, organizing oral history projects, and training interviewers. Included in the bibliographies are books relating to immigration and ethnic groups. Both manuals are available from Turning Point Press, Box 33113, Kansas City, Missouri.