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BOOK REVIEWS

Operation Drumbeat: The Dramatic True Story of Germany's First U-Boat Attacks Along the American Coast in World War II. By Michael Gannon. (New York: Harper and Row, 1990. xxii, 490 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, maps, photographs, afterward, notes, select bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

Three days after Pearl Harbor, Admiral Karl Donitz launched Operation Paukenschlag (Drumbeat), sending German submarines to the United States' east coast before the Americans could react to the Nazi declaration of war. He could muster only five U-boats for this bold attempt to overload the nascent American defense system. Donitz's strategy succeeded beyond reasonable expectations as the five U-boats sank twenty-five ships in twenty-six days. Although the United States Navy had advance information about Operation Drumbeat from British Intelligence, it did not employ the twenty-five destroyers available to it for anti-submarine use.

Kapitanleutnant (Lieutenant Commander) Reinhard Hardegen, commanding officer of the *U-123*, is the protagonist of University of Florida Professor Michael Gannon's narrative. Hardegen's exploits as a submarine skipper rival the best adventures ever created by Hollywood. A few examples should suffice. His first command was the *U-147*, a small coastal training submarine crewed by sailors on their first underseas voyage. Before his training was completed, he was ordered into the North Sea on an operational cruise where his green crew sunk the *Augvald* bound for England. On Hardegen's Drumbeat cruise he brought the *U-123* to the mouth of New York City's harbor where he marveled at the nonchalance of the Americans who kept the lights burning brightly. He had his photographer record this spectacular scene of Coney Island's parachute jump and ferris wheel silhouetted by the sky-glow backdrop. Three hours and forty minutes later he sank the tanker *Coimbra*. After all his torpedoes were expended, he intercepted the tanker *Pan Norway*. He surfaced for a two-hour dual between his deck gun and machine gun and the Norwegian machine guns. When the tanker finally sank, he led the neutral Swiss *Mount Aetna* back to rescue the survivors. Hardegen's feats come to life in Gannon's narrative.

Far more significant than a good story line is Gannon's thesis that Operation Drumbeat was the Atlantic's "Pearl Harbor," inflicting greater damage to ships, personnel, and the American war effort than the Japanese attack on December 7, 1941. Further, he probed for an answer as to why the United States Navy's anti-submarine defenses on the east coast were executed so dismally during the first six months of the war, and he builds a sound case that much of this defect may be laid to Admiral Ernest J. King, the chief of Naval Operations. This new and startling thesis, forty-five years after World War II, is a tightly reasoned argument based upon extensive research in German, British, and American archives, including some documents just recently declassified.

His research development is equally fascinating as he went from footnote to paragraph, to chapter, and finally to this book. Working on an earlier history of Florida, he wondered if he could find who had sunk the *Gulfamerica* off Jacksonville Beach, Florida, in April 1942. He located first the *U-123*, and then its commander. Gannon attended a reunion of the *U-123*'s crewmembers in Germany in 1985. He also conducted extensive interviews with Reinhard Hardegen at his home in Bremen, Germany, during 1985 and 1986. Assimilating and coordinating these interviews with official records in German, British, and United States archives led Gannon to the realization that his material was more than a chapter in a Florida history; it was a significant book in itself. This work is not just Florida or naval history, it is a major historical contribution to the conduct of World War II.

It is rare indeed for a history to have an interesting, even gripping narrative, while presenting a significant new interpretation based upon exhaustive research. Michael Gannon's *Operation Drumbeat* is such a book.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER

Confederate Florida: The Road to Olustee. By William H. Nulty. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xi, 273 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95.)

Florida was one of three frontier states in the Confederacy (Texas and Arkansas were the others). Geographical isolation,

sparse population, lack of industry, and the absence (for most of the war) of a rail connection to other states all combined to keep Florida on the periphery of the Civil War. In early 1862 the Confederate government all but abandoned Florida to concentrate its resources in more critical areas. Northern forces held several enclaves along the Florida coast, but for the most part the Yankees, too, were content to let the state alone. However, after Federal armies gained control of the Mississippi River in mid-1863, thereby cutting the Confederacy in half, Florida became of some importance as a source of beef cattle and other supplies for the Confederates.

Early in 1864 a Federal force moved west from Jacksonville into north Florida. On February 20 these Federals clashed with Confederate troops at Olustee, east of Lake City. After a nasty little fight, the Unionists retreated to Jacksonville. The Confederates—many of whom had been rushed south from Georgia to meet the invasion—returned to their old posts, and things in Florida pretty much settled down to await the end of the war.

William Nulty's *Confederate Florida* is a history of military operations in the state through the Battle of Olustee. Approximately 75 percent of the book is devoted to the Olustee campaign and battle. Despite its title, the book contains virtually nothing on the broader story of Florida and its people in the Confederacy.

Nulty's account is competently done, but it is unbalanced. The preponderance of northern sources ensured that Federal activities in the battle would be covered in far more detail than would those of the Confederates. The maps of the battle itself are helpful (showing artillery positions on them, however, would have enhanced their value since the "long arm" figures feature so prominently in Nulty's narrative). The general maps, on the other hand, are not detailed enough for the text. Where, for example, is Valdosta (mentioned several times in the text but not shown on any of the maps)?

Nulty's writing sometimes drags—especially when he simply summarizes one document after another. The text also suffers from the usual problems with pronouns (plural pronouns with singular antecedents). An occasional sentence jars the mind. ("Three large buildings were in flames as the raiders entered the town, who missed by fifteen minutes a train from Lake City which had picked up some government stores" p. 98.)

The most important contribution of Nulty's work will doubtless be his reassessment of Federal motives for undertaking the Olustee campaign. Most earlier writers had stressed the supposed connection of the campaign, the effort to set up a loyal government in Florida, and the 1864 presidential election in the United States. A loyal government in Florida would have provided convention support and three electoral votes for whichever politician controlled it.

Nulty downplays the political factors behind the campaign. He stresses instead such matters as supplies, recruits for black regiments, control of railroads, the need to open a port in the area, and the prestige that would come from restoring a state to the Union. His arguments are based on the wrong sources. He points out, for example, that Confederate leaders did not assign such a political motive to the invasion (p. 105). Nor did Nulty consult the papers of northern politicians. This is not to say that Nulty is wrong—only that the sources he used were not the ones where evidence of a political motive was likely to be found. Indeed, would clever politicians have left a written trail pointing to such a sordid reason for sending soldiers to die?

Decatur, Georgia

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492-1570. Edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Susan Milbrath, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989, 222 pp. Contributors, acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, maps, selected references, index, illustration credits. \$44.95 cloth; \$16.95 paper.)

This volume, latest in the series of Ripley P. Bullen Monographs in Anthropology and History, is published as an accompaniment to the Florida Museum of Natural History's traveling exhibit "First Encounters." Handsomely designed and illustrated, written in nontechnical language, it is ideal for the coffee tables of armchair archaeologists and historians. With these readers in mind, editors Jerald T. Milanich and Susan Milbrath devote the first chapter to the historical and cultural context of discovery and exploration. It is a useful historical summary

which doubles as an introduction to the volume, pointing out the importance of each contribution and setting it in place like a jewel.

In the twelve essays that follow— all but two of them appearing for the first time— scholars present the results of a decade of research. These fall into five areas of investigation. William F. Keegan, Kathleen A. Deagan, and Eugene Lyon bow goodhumoredly to the public demand for historical firsts with new information about Columbus's 1492 voyage, landfall, ships, and settlement, "La Navidad," on the northwest coast of Española. Charles R. Ewen and Maurice W. Williams report on the nearby sixteenth-century settlement of Puerto Real, also in present Haiti.

The knowledge about southeastern Indians to be obtained by tracking explorers continues to gain the attention of Charles Hudson, Chester B. DePratter, Marvin T. Smith, Jeffrey M. Mitchem, Emilia Kelley, and Charles Ewen, who analyze routes, camps, artifacts, and Indian towns to offer insights about the natives who faced down Pánfilo de Narváez, Hernando de Soto, and Tristán de Luna. Eugene Lyon presents Pedro Menéndez's grand design for "La Florida"; Edward Chaney and Kathleen Deagan bring things back to earth with a dose of St. Augustine archaeology. Susan Milbrath concludes the book with a change-of-pace chapter on early European images of America.

Separately, the essays are learned and interesting, each one representing a valuable contribution to the state of knowledge in its field. As a collection, however, they lack an organizing principle. There is no unifying theme that would explain, for example, the omissions of Chicora, Axacán, and Santa Elena, each of which has been the subject of recent research.

The editors' stated purpose, to tell the story of early Spanish contact, "focusing on the Caribbean explorations and settlements that were a prelude to the exploration and settlement of the United States" (p. 4), is ambiguous. Their second, implicit purpose, to remedy the oversight in United States history textbooks which ignore the three centuries when La Florida was "a part of Spain" (p. 4), unconsciously weakens the argument against Anglocentric history by conflating mother country with colony.

The title of the book introduces its own conceptual difficulties. "First encounters" and "explorations" are historical terms

that traditionally exclude settlement. The term "United States" applied to sixteenth-century North America is an anachronism. It moreover includes the Southwest, a region that does not figure in the book beyond the introduction. But we reach the point of diminishing returns. That not all the Europeans of the pre-1570 encounter were Spaniards— that a number of them were French corsairs— is, for example, a point that can wait to be made until after the Columbus Quincentenary.

The many illustrations in *First Encounters* are well chosen and carefully reproduced. The maps are models of clarity. The text is sprigged with little, distracting errors.

University of California at Irvine

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL

Hearth and Knapsack: The Ladley Letters, 1857-1880. Edited by Carl M. Becker and Ritchie Thomas. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988. xxiii, 414 pp. Introduction, epilogue, notes, appendices, maps, illustrations, index. \$24.95.)

Oscar Derostus Ladley was a twenty-four year old retail clerk from Yellow Springs, Ohio, who enlisted in the Sixteenth Ohio Volunteers for ninety days early in 1861. He saw brief service in western Virginia, and, despite his expressed bitterness toward officers and army life, reenlisted in the Seventy-Fifth Ohio Volunteers at the expiration of his term. This regiment saw action in the 1862 Valley campaign and at the battles of Second Bull Run, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg before it was transferred to the Department of the South. In March 1864, Ladley and his comrades were ordered to Florida, where in August the Seventy-Fifth Ohio was routed by Captain J. J. Dickison and his men at the Battle of Gainesville. In January 1865, the three-year enlistment of the unit expired, and Ladley and the remnants of his regiment were discharged. After two failed attempts to establish himself in business, Ladley re-entered the army in 1867. He soon was transferred to Fort Sully in the Dakota Territory and spent most of the rest of his life at various posts on the western frontier. Ladley died in January 1880, while participating in an expedition to subdue the Ute Indians in Colorado.

Throughout his adult life Ladley carried on a remarkable correspondence with his mother and two sisters. Those letters

form the backbone of the book *Hearth and Knapsack* and chronicle the pride, boredom, bravery, cowardice, successes, and failures of Ladley and his associates. For example, writing to his mother following the Battle of Gettysburg, Ladley reports: "It was a regular hand to hand fight. Our Brig (Ohio) had sworn never to turn so they stood but it was a dear stand to some of them. I have six men left[.]" His letters also pull no punches. Writing of an officer in his regiment, Ladley states: "Captain James W. Swope was requested to resign as that would save him the disgrace of being dismissed from the service. Charges were preferred aghainst him for cowardice in the face of the enemy."

Ladley's letters reveal a complex, enigmatic individual. He was an abject failure in business but advanced steadily from private to captain in the Union army. As superintendent in charge of distributing food to the Sioux Indians in the Dakota Territory, he was considered a friend by the Indians, while privately expressing loathing for them. His wartime letters reveal little hatred or contempt for Southerners, but a virtual phobia concerning the "dutch" (German immigrants) soldiers in the Federal service. Ladley also belittled his hometown of Yellow Springs, but continually begged his mother and sisters for news of local citizens and events.

Unfortunately, those readers whose interest is limited to Florida history may be disappointed by this book. It contains sixteen letters from the state which reveal a fascination with the state's tropical beauty, but provide little insight into conditions in northeast Florida. There is a brief description of a skirmish near Jacksonville and the capture of two blockade runners at New Smyrna, but Ladley was confined to a hospital with malaria during the Gainesville campaign, so his letters provide nothing but sketchy, second-hand information regarding that action.

Readers with broader interests will be treated to a fascinating collection of letters. The editors have contributed an excellent introduction and a helpful glossary of names appearing in the Ladley correspondence. The footnotes, however, are inadequate and buried in the back of the book. It is easy also to quibble over details (such as the uncontested assertion by Ladley that Dickison had 800 men at the Battle of Gainesville), but these minor problems should not deter the reader from mining the substantial wealth of information in this valuable book.

Rome, Georgia

ZACK C. WATERS

The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier. By Edward J. Cashin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989. xii, 360 pp. Preface, maps, epilogue, biographical sketches, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

For 200 years the infamous Thomas Brown has symbolized the treachery and rapine of the British in Revolutionary Georgia. The Revolution in the southern background was largely a story of atrocities—murders, rape, and pillage. In the folklore of the past, the winners—the patriots—conveniently overlooked the savage acts committed by those under their banner and exaggerated the war crimes committed by the losers: the British Regulars, the Hessians, and the Loyalists. Thomas Brown was one of the latter. Operating under the patronage of East Florida's Governor Patrick Tonyn, Brown organized the King's Rangers, a crack regiment of southern Loyalists. The Rangers helped check rebel advances into Florida; plundered thousands of head of rebel cattle to feed the soldiers and citizens of St. Augustine; and, under Brown's leadership, became one of His Majesty's most potent weapons in the southern theater of war from Florida to Ninety-Six, South Carolina.

Cashin proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the mythmakers and historians have been unkind in depicting Brown as the devil incarnate. In this well researched and persuasively argued book, Brown emerges as a gentleman of honor and duty who served his king well and who, for the most part, worked diligently as colonel of the King's Rangers and superintendent to the southern Indians to prevent the very kinds of atrocities that he has been accused of committing. Yet, Brown was no angel. At Augusta, Georgia, he hung rebel prisoners who had broken their parole, albeit, under the orders of his superior.

More than a biography of Brown, this book is a history of the Revolution in the southern backcountry and shows the interconnectedness of the war in Georgia with events in East Florida and the Indian country. Brown was one of the architects of the British southern strategy to coordinate Indian-backed Loyalist attacks in the backcountry with assaults by British Regulars along the Atlantic coast. Cashin argues that, rather than ideology, the deciding factor in determining the allegiance of many backcountry people was the British decision to employ Indians

in warfare. This alienated many white settlers who otherwise might have favored the king or remained neutral in the conflict.

After the war, many of the Rangers and other southern Loyalists moved to St. Augustine where they intended to settle permanently. Upon Florida's transfer to Spanish authority, however, the expatriates were forced to leave. Cashin recounts, in one of the most interesting sections of the book, how Brown won the favor of Florida's new Spanish governor, Vizente Manuel de Zéspedes, so that years later he would be invited back to Florida as the Spanish superintendent of Indian affairs, an appointment of which the British government did not approve and which Brown did not accept. Upon leaving Florida, Brown and many other Loyalists settled first in the Bahamas and then moved to other islands in the West Indies, but their ties with Florida remained strong.

This book reminds the reader of the importance of personal connections and self-interest in determining the allegiance of individuals in a civil war—the American Revolution was very much a civil war, where vendettas and petty quarrels were as apt to determine loyalties as any other factor. Yet the Revolution was also a war of ideas in which brothers found themselves on opposite sides fighting for abstractions that gave meaning to their existence. The fact that Brown and other Loyalists later adopted the arguments of the American rebels in their own fight for political rights in the Bahamas should remind us of the transforming power of the ideas of the American Revolution.

Western Washington University

ALAN GALLAY

Nine Florida Stories by Marjory Stoneman Douglas. Edited by Kevin M. McCarthy. (Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press, 1990. xviii, 198 pp. Introduction, map, photograph. \$24.95.)

These nine stories by Marjory Stoneman Douglas first appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* in the first half of this century. Like the early work of many successful writers, the collection may never have found publication on its literary merit alone

had Mrs. Douglas not gained later prominence. Nevertheless, the stories are an interesting addition to the work of this multifaceted woman. The introduction provides biographical information and creates a context for the stories. Yet it also alerts the reader that this book is as much a historical as a literary document; a "picture of life in South Florida during the first half of this century."

In the first story, "Pineland," a reporter drives home the mother of a man who has just been hanged for bank-robbery and murder. She is a strong woman who works the land by herself, a theme that is repeated in "Bees in the Mango Bloom." The story is written in a formula described by McCarthy in the introduction. It is one of several "stories about a noble protagonist, with a little sex and few cuss words thrown in." McCarthy states that Mrs. Douglas abandoned this formula in subsequent stories, yet she clearly adheres to it in "A Bird In The Hand," which deals with the Florida land boom of the 1920s and the unlikely love affair of George Haynes, a young, idealistic man with Marxist notions about private property, and a hard-nosed real estate salesperson named Pomona Brown. Predictably, George recognizes the error of his Marxist thinking, buys a tract of wetland he has never seen, and vows to create a homestead where he and Pomona will live in capitalistic bliss ever after. Like an art deco hotel in Miami Beach, this story is a period piece that has not worn well with time.

After the second story I decided to relax, kick off my critical shoes, and enjoy the book for what it is: stories of "hurricanes and plane crashes, of kidnappers, escaped convicts, and smugglers."

"He Man" is an initiation story with ethos of Hemingway, not only for its setting in the Gulf Stream but because of the manly code by which its characters live. Ronny, the young protagonist, is initiated into manhood as a result of an airplane crash. "Twenty Minutes Late for Dinner" is another sea adventure story featuring smugglers, the coast guard, and the hero, Hobe, who is torn between love and duty. This might be one of the most successful stories in the book for its touches of irony that save it from heavy-handed characterization. "Plumes" is another story I found myself liking despite my better judgment. The story deals with the tragic world of the plume trade where hunters killed herons and egrets for their feathers. Mrs. Douglas

writes: "The night was soft, domed with the myriad dust of stars. Across the lake came occasionally the stir and squawk of uneasy fledglings." It is in writing about the land and its wildlife that Mrs. Douglas is most eloquent, and there are some wonderfully lyrical passages in "September— Remember," and "The Road to the Horizon," as well.

Although the characters in these stories are flat, nearly allegorical figures, the book helps fill the niche that the University Presses of Florida has created for itself. There is not much to interest the literary audience in *Nine Florida Stories*, but as a sample of the early fiction of a farsighted and articulate advocate for the environment, and a picture of life in early south Florida, the book is a worthy addition to the work of the remarkable Marjory Stoneman Douglas.

University of Central Florida

JONATHAN HARRINGTON

Public Faces-Private Lives: Women in South Florida, 1870s-1910s.

By Karen Davis. (Miami: Pickering Press, 1990. x, 195 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, bibliography, additional reading, index. \$12.95.)

Most of the history of south Florida is seen through the accomplishments of its movers and shakers— the Henry Flaglers, Colonel Bradleys, Frank Stranahans, and Ralph Munroes. Changing the camera angle, Karen Davis looks at it from a fresh point of view, focusing on early south Florida as seen through the eyes of the women who cooked the meals, washed the clothes, gave birth to the babies, taught the school children and, all too often, lived out their days in loneliness and isolation.

Davis has traced the everyday lives of pioneer women through their frank, sometimes racy, personal journals, papers, and letters. The voices that speak in *Public Faces— Private Lives* tell us of concerns not usually examined in historical works: "female problems"; swim suits, modest but dangerously bulky; bear fat as a substitute for butter; doctors too far away to care for sick or injured children; and the wearing away of a woman's youth from too many childbirths.

Birth control information was slow to reach the backwoods of south Florida. Della Keen wrote from Fort Pierce in 1894, to

a friend in the pinewoods scrub north of today's Miami: "Well, Mary I think that you have got enough of little ones. You shud not have so many and times so hard but I guess you are like I am. If you could stop you would if you could. I have not got but too now but I think there is something the matter now. I hope that I will never have another one. I rether be ded than to no that I was that way again. I dont think that I could ever stand it again."

There is a down-to-earth realism about these pioneer women. Mary tells about unemployment created as Flagler's railroad moved past her town and tells her friend in Miami, where the railroad is headed: "I hope it wont hurt that place like it has this." Marion Geer writes about arriving on the island that became Palm Beach with something less than boosterism: "Our 'Garden of Eden'. . . . Oh desolation! What a place to travel weary days and nights to find."

Mary Barr Munroe was a woman of culture, the daughter of a Scottish novelist, and the wife of a popular American author, Kirk Munroe. An insecure individual, she describes in her journal a March day in 1886 at her home in Coconut Grove: "A lonely day. I spent the morning mending and cleaning my clothes, ironing and reading— and the afternoon pretty much the same— I am so tired of the people, their troubles and care."

One who found little hardship was Emma Gilpin, who brought a moneyed background with her into pre-Flagler Palm Beach. Her account of the effect of Flagler on Palm Beach property values is a welcome addition to our knowledge of that colorful period. Interestingly enough, Flagler's arrival in 1894 drove the Gilpins, enthusiastic sailors, south to Coconut Grove. Emma did not like the flash of the Gilded Age. The Royal Poinciana Hotel was, to her, "ugly— a big barricade."

Karen Davis's readable story of these pioneer women fills in many blank spaces in the history of Florida at the turn of the century. "Without their written records," she writes in closing, "the reality of pioneer life would be flat, two-dimensional, and much harder to imagine."

Lighthouse Point, Florida

STUART B. MCIVER

George Wythe Randolph and the Confederate Elite. By George Green Shackelford. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988. xii, 235 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Readers of this journal are familiar with the rich biographical traditions of southern historiography. You will doubtless be disappointed in this book. The author rightfully has identified George Wythe Randolph as an individual worthy of biographical consideration. Randolph's genealogy is impressive if for no other reason than that he was Thomas Jefferson's grandson and Thomas Mann and Martha Jefferson Randolph's son. A youthful career in the navy, a formal education at the University of Virginia, and a successful Richmond law practice all helped position Randolph for leadership in the secession convention of Virginia and the Confederate government. He rose quickly in the ranks of the Confederate military with service at Yorktown. After Jefferson Davis experienced frustration with the service of Secretary of War Judah Benjamin, Randolph proved a judicious choice to succeed him. Randolph brought an engineer's sense of organization to the war department and instituted a number of improvements which helped supply the Confederate armies. The highlights of his career suggest that a biography of Randolph has great potential. It could serve to illustrate the story of a lesser official of the Confederacy, and, in keeping with similar biographies of Albert Gallatin and of Samuel Chase, could serve to explore the inner workings of Civil War-era politics. Shackelford's bibliography and notes suggest that the book is well researched and well grounded in the secondary literature. Unfortunately, the author does not take advantage of this, but rather tries to use the life of Randolph as a vehicle for studying the concept of a Confederate elite. The result is that biography is overcome by theory at times. This is not to suggest that the theory is inappropriate; there is good reason to think that a study of the Confederate elites would be a useful way to understand the inner workings of the war years. To accomplish this would require a closer look at the lives of a larger sample of Randolph's contemporaries. When biography prevails over theory, the reader is subjected to too many uncritical analyses which do more to praise the subject than they do to provide understanding. When the reader is through, one does know

much more of George Wythe Randolph; unfortunately, one is simply left wondering whether there might have been a better way of learning what he knows.

Georgia College

THOMAS F. ARMSTRONG

General A. P. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior. By James I. Robertson, Jr. (New York: Random House, 1987. xv, 382 pp. Acknowledgments, maps, photographs, notes, works cited, index. \$24.95.)

Ambrose Powell Hill often is cited as a military example of the so-called "Peter Principle." A competent officer in the antebellum United States army, he served in Mexico, Texas, Florida, and a variety of military posts before resigning to join the Confederate forces defending his native Virginia. An accomplished regimental commander and an even more skillful brigadier, Powell Hill became with his promotion to major general in May 1862 perhaps the best division commander in the Army of Northern Virginia. But corps-level command, to which he rose in 1863, proved ultimately to be beyond his capacity, as James I. Robertson, Jr., demonstrates with compassionate but thorough scrutiny in *General A. P. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior*.

Robertson's accomplishment owes much to his use of a wealth of previously untapped primary source material. This includes references to Hill in the letters of common soldiers, together with Hill family correspondence, some of Hill's own Mexican and Civil War letters, and a prewar diary. The author's judicious use of quotations provides the reader with insights into Hill's inner self, his passions and ambitions, his loneliness and frustrations. For this reason, if no other, Robertson's book surpasses William W. Hassler's *A. P. Hill: Lee's Forgotten General* (revised and reprinted, 1962).

Equally important, Robertson identifies for the first time the central tragedy in Hill's life, his contraction of venereal disease shortly before entering West Point. This painful by-product of youthful indiscretion not only thwarted Hill's first matrimonial plans, it progressively impaired his performance as a military commander. By early 1865, Hill was "increasingly lethargic" and

occasionally disoriented. "Being attentive and able to carry on a conversation was at times beyond his ability" (p. 310). Robertson describes Hill's slow degeneration so poignantly that the general's death, during a dangerous and perhaps subconsciously suicidal cross-country ride, reads like a release rather than a misfortune.

Some readers (including this reviewer) may disagree with Robertson on particular points of interpretation or presentation of character, but his objectivity is noteworthy. He portrays not only Hill, but also Robert E. Lee and the rest of the Confederate high command, as fallible human beings who often made mistakes. "Warrior" is an appropriate adjective for Hill. Proud and ambitious, he frequently lacked strength, and sometimes ability, but never courage.

Robertson devotes only a few pages to Hill's seven years of pre-war service in Florida, but students of the state's history will find them particularly interesting. From a post north of Tampa Bay, Hill enthusiastically, if inaccurately, quoted London playwright Douglas William Jerrold's famous remark about Australia in reference to Florida's soil: "earth is so kind here. You have only to tickle her with a hoe and she laughs with a harvest" (p. 21). Yet he compared the local mosquitoes to vampires and dreaded each year's approaching yellow fever season, without, of course, linking cause and effect. Hill considered the Seminoles, chased futilely by the army, "poor, lazy harmless devils" who should be left alone in the swampy land "no white man could, or would live in" (p. 24).

Well-written, thoroughly researched, and supported by excellent maps and illustrations, *General A. P. Hill* will appeal to scholars and the general reader alike.

Southwest Missouri State University WILLIAM GARRETT PISTON

Prison Life Among the Rebels: Recollections of a Union Chaplain.

Edited by Edward D. Jervy. (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1990. xiii, 94 pp. Preface, introduction, epilogue, notes, index. \$26.00 cloth; \$12.50 paper.)

Methodist minister Henry S. White became chaplain of the Rhode Island Heavy Artillery Regiment in January 1863. He

remained with its members until May 1864, when they were captured in North Carolina. Four months later White was released. He returned home and published eighteen letters about his military experiences in the *Zion's Herald*. It is not clear if White wrote the letters in prison or, more likely, after his release.

White's first letter, October 20, 1864, briefly recounts his capture and release and lists seven reasons why he felt the South soon would have to end the war. Later letters describe, in greater detail, his capture, the trek to Georgia, and the Confederate prison camps at Andersonville and Macon. There is nothing in them that would surprise any student of the war: prison conditions were wretched, rations inadequate, the southern economy nearly in ruins, and the prisoners spent much of their time talking of home or their plans to escape.

White's prose often stoops to patriotic bombast or sentimental piety. Once, when White questioned his own faith, he asked, "Was the gospel a vast and immutable truth? Was there a heaven, a God?" Faster than White could have thought those words, he affirmed his anticipated response: "Yes. I saw it all and rejoiced. The stars gilded diadem, a fragment of which I beheld above me, that rests on and adorns the august brow of the Infinite, the Omnipotent, as I closed my eyes seemed but a faint shadow, compared with the magnificence of reality that rose before me, as in faith's inspiration I looked out on that constellation of truths that is revealed in the word of God" (p. 52).

White's least admirable trait was his ready acceptance of the benefits his stature as a clergyman afforded him. Although he wrote that he regretted that he could not "preach Christ to those dear and dying men" (p. 42) at Andersonville (where he had stayed only a day), White made no effort to remain with prisoners any longer than he had to. He condemned local women, who "come and gather on the high grounds that overlook the stockade, and watch the inmates," but never saw himself as another interloper. When his profession offered him an early release, White did not try to remain with his men. Instead, he pompously concluded his last prison prayer service by assuring the men that although he would soon leave them behind, the chaplains "go out from among you, and the only pain we feel is that you are to be left behind; but one thing we can do— we can

pray for you. Now we may not meet again on the earth, but so many of you as will promise to try to meet us in heaven, please raise your right hands" (p. 77).

White's observations are worth reading, but they are not so unique or important to be republished twice. Most of his letters already have appeared in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Winter 1986) and *Civil War History* (March 1988). Jervey's brief introductory remarks and notes in *Prison Life Among the Rebels* have not varied much from what he had included in the two earlier versions. Readers still do not know much about White as a man or a civilian minister (later in life he was accused of financial improprieties), and Jervey does not explain what he means by labeling the *Zion's Herald* as "a fiercely independent Methodist newspaper." (*Civil War History* 34 (March 1988), 22). Jervey should be lauded for bringing to light White's letters, but no library, which already has these two journals in its collection, needs to add *Prison Life Among the Rebels*.

St. Bonaventure University

EDWARD K. ECKERT

The Union League Movement in the Deep South: Politics and Agricultural Change During Reconstruction. By Michael W. Fitzgerald. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. x, 283 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Dunningite historians generally portrayed the Union League as a significant and evil presence, while revisionists have either ignored or downplayed its importance. Professor Fitzgerald discredits both interpretations and proposes "to provide a more accurate historical account of the Union League as a political movement and also to illuminate the social impact of the Radical upsurge in Alabama and Mississippi" (p. 7).

Fitzgerald admirably demonstrates that the League's egalitarian rhetoric attracted large numbers of freedmen and that it achieved substantial political clout in some areas for a few years. Interestingly, the League's first members tended to be white unionists from north Alabama who also hated the large planters, and it was them, rather than northern orators, who often re-

cruited freedmen. Freedmen eagerly joined the League with its secret rituals, not because they were ignorant, as Dunningites charged, but because they desired autonomy and hoped that the League would help them achieve it. The League not only instructed former slaves in Republican politics, but also assisted them in securing needed Bureau relief, and veterans' bounties and generally supported them against the white establishment. When freedmen gained control of local leagues, however, and focused on more radical issues critical to the black community, factionalism frequently followed. In fact, the real position of the League's leadership was probably as unclear to freedmen as it is to the reader. Fitzgerald claims the League was "used to direct the freedmen toward a more moderate course than they might otherwise have taken" (p. 10), yet he also describes the League's organ, the *Great Republic*, as a "radical publication" (p. 61) and contends that "the League acted initially as a Radical caucus within the Republican party" (p. 72). Probably the national leadership was moderate, while some local leaders were more radical. Whatever the League's position, it was vigorously opposed by planters, and Fitzgerald sees the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama and Mississippi as a planter tool to destroy the League.

Fitzgerald's major thesis is that the League played an important role in the emergence of decentralized tenant farming. "In Alabama and Mississippi, the Union League focused labor force resistance to planter domination," the author stated, and it "represented both a political movement and an agrarian upsurge" (p. 6). Undoubtedly the League was a factor in black resistance to planter domination and the gang system of labor, but the case easily could be overstated. The League may have been more a vehicle for, rather than an initiator of, freedmen's movements since freedmen were restive under white domination before the League arrived. The League tapped, but did not create, black resistance to the agricultural system. For example, in Mississippi several plantation counties experienced little effective Republican organizing before mid-1869, yet freedmen already had demanded the right to sharecrop and rent land. Indeed, in some instances when leagues attempted to moderate black resistance they withdrew and formed their own local councils. Inadequate currency and the recognition that freedmen worked more effectively as sharecroppers and renters also contributed significantly to the breakup of the old style plantation.

Despite minor quibbles, Professor Fitzgerald has performed an important service in retrieving the lost history of the Union League in Alabama and Mississippi. His book is impressively researched, well organized, and clearly written. It is provocative and informative and will surely stimulate further research on the Union League in other southern states, including Florida.

Florida State University

JOE M. RICHARDSON

"With All and for the Good of All": The Emergence of Popular Nationalism in the Cuban Communities of the United States, 1848-1898. By Gerald E. Poyo. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989. xvii, 182 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$28.95.)

In this concise but complex volume Gerald Poyo traces "the process by which [Cuban] nationalism changed its character in the nineteenth century." The blueprint for "popular nationalism" in Latin America— which involved gaining economic as well as political control and "modifying socioeconomic relationships among classes, broadening political access, and celebrating indigenous cultural traditions"— was first mapped out by Cuban exiles in the 1880s and 1890s (p. xiv). Poyo begins his study several decades earlier to illustrate how the voices of liberal nationalists with their annexationist sympathies were drowned out as emigre cigar workers surged to the forefront of the independence struggle.

Using extensive materials from Cuba as well as United States archives, Poyo tells three distinct but intertwined stories: that of political and social developments in Cuba, of changing relations between Cuba and the United States, and of transformations in the class and racial composition of exile communities. The first two have been told in far more detail elsewhere, but the third has failed to receive sufficient attention from either Cuban or United States scholars. Here Poyo demonstrates the intimate interconnections throughout the nineteenth century between Cubans' desire to overthrow Spanish tyranny and United States politicians' imperial designs.

The greatest strength of this book lies in its finely detailed portrait of the complex and contentious character of exile com-

munities. Employing demographic and economic data in conjunction with emigre newspapers and political writings, Poyo traces the shift from an exile leadership “associated with the island’s wealthy and landholding elites” (p. 22) to one whose support was rooted in the multiracial working-class communities of Florida’s cigar cities. José Martí was successful as the architect of popular nationalism largely because he articulated a political vision in tune with the changing social composition of emigre enclaves. Poyo, however, illuminates the difficulties Martí faced, both from liberal nationalists who retained influence in New York and Washington, DC, and from anarchist agitators in Key West and Tampa. The latter viewed the struggle for independence on the island as secondary to that for workers’ control on the mainland.

“*With All and for the Good of All*” highlights the key conflicts that had to be overcome if Cubans were to succeed in mobilizing in line with Martí’s vision. Disputes between military and political leaders rooted in the failure of the Ten Years’ War, differences over the role of the United States as a powerful but unpredictable ally in the fight for independence, and tensions over the growing presence of Afro-Cubans and workers in insurgent ranks continually threatened to divide Cubans against themselves. Martí finally managed to forage sufficient unity among these divergent elements by 1895 to launch the final battle for *Cuba Libre*.

Poyo then shows how the tenuousness of his coalition allowed his vision to go astray at the moment of its imminent triumph. With Martí killed in action, liberal nationalists regained the political upperhand among exiles, a development that cigar workers failed to challenge in the interest of unity. While proclaiming support for complete independence, resurgent liberals encouraged United States intervention. In the end, popular nationalism failed to flourish as Cubans were forced to forge new political institutions and economic relations under the “protection” of the United States. When a later generation revitalized Martí’s vision and established their own version of popular nationalism, a wholly new community of Cuban exiles took refuge on North American shores.

Poyo has provided a carefully argued case study of the links between nationalist ideology and the social composition of its adherents. His work invites further examination of the social

relations within exile communities, and especially the role of women, blacks, and workers in the grassroots mobilization that supplied the material resources for rebellion. The rich source materials employed here certainly will help reconstruct this larger social history of Cuban emigres.

University of South Florida

NANCY A. HEWITT

Atlanta Life Insurance Company: Guardian of Black Economic Dignity. By Alexa Benson Henderson. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990. xvi, 251 pp. Preface, tables, photographs, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$31.95.)

In this excellent study, Alexa Benson Henderson, professor of history at Clark Atlanta University, tells the story of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company that started as a small insurance association in 1905 and is today the nation's largest black-controlled shareholder insurance company, with assets of more than \$100,000,000.

New insurance companies were common around the turn of the century as Americans increasingly looked upon life insurance as a necessity even though many of the policies were so small as to barely cover burial costs. Most of those new companies failed, and only a few are still in business today. The story of Atlanta Life is not simply that of a successful insurance venture because its founding and development were tied indelibly to race. Atlanta Life was founded by Alonzo Franklin Herndon who was born a slave in Walton County, Georgia, in 1858. By 1904 he was the proprietor of three Atlanta barber-shops including one at 66 Peachtree Street which was regarded as one of the largest and best equipped barber-shops in the country. Herndon was a careful businessman who invested his barbering profits in real estate, primarily in Atlanta and in Florida. Herndon was astute enough to sell the bulk of his Florida properties before the collapse of the land boom in 1926. Upon his death in 1927 Herndon's real estate holdings were valued at \$327,107. Herndon moved into insurance in 1905 when he purchased the Atlanta Benevolent Protective Association and renamed it Atlanta Mutual. It was more than another business

venture for Herndon as he hoped to provide a reliable insurance enterprise for blacks who often were victimized by unscrupulous insurance companies and their agents. Atlanta Mutual expanded by selling policies to new customers and by taking over weaker black-owned ventures such as Metropolitan Mutual Benefit Association and the Great Southern Home Industrial Association.

Besides the problems that any insurance company would have experienced in dealing with customers who were in the lowest economic groupings, Atlanta Life employees always had the special problems of the racial tensions found in the South during the early twentieth century. Henderson gives considerable coverage to the problems experienced by Atlanta Life agents who, as Henderson states, "walked on proverbial eggshells, a feat that sometimes required extraordinary wisdom and deft manners." But they succeeded. The company vigorously expanded during the 1920s when it moved into Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The Florida branches were set up in Jacksonville, Tampa, Pensacola, Gainesville, Palatka, and Orlando. The company survived the Depression decade of the 1930s and witnessed new growth in the 1940s. By 1950 the company operated in eleven states in the South and the Midwest.

A major change took place in 1977 when controlling stock in the business shifted from the Herndon family to the Herndon Foundation. Today the company is headquartered in a new, six-story, marble and glass structure on Auburn Avenue in the heart of Atlanta's historic black business district, reaffirming the company's identity with the black community.

Alexa Benson Henderson's study will be of value to scholars of both business and black history. It is well researched and well written. W. E. B. Du Bois described Alonzo Franklin Herndon as "an extraordinary man [who] illustrates at once the possibilities of American democracy and the deviltry of color prejudice." In the same way Henderson's book demonstrates that America is a land of racial prejudice, but it is also a land of opportunity.

Florida State University

EDWARD F. KEUCHEL

In Search of the New South: The Black Urban Experience in the 1970s and 1980s. Edited by Robert D. Bullard. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. x, 203 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, maps, tables, photographs, conclusion, notes, select bibliography, contributors, index. \$26.95.)

In the 1970s the emerging Sunbelt regions of the South and West captured the nation's attention. Journalists and scholars alike have expended a considerable amount of energy and ink in tracing the political, economic, and demographic dimensions of this newly conceptualized region. The booming Sunbelt cities, in particular, have come under scrutiny in the search for patterns of late twentieth-century urbanization, economic growth, and political and cultural change. Most of these studies have accepted growth as a positive attribute. From this perspective, gleaming new downtown office towers and endlessly sprawling suburbs reflected the dynamic qualities of Sunbelt urbanization and economic growth. But as this collection of original essays edited by sociologist Robert D. Bullard suggests, there are other, more neglected and less positive, aspects of the recent history of the Sunbelt cities.

One of the book's central themes is the degree to which blacks in the urban South have failed to share in the economic advance of the region over the past two decades. The irony in this conclusion, of course, is that these were the years of the civil rights revolution when official constraints on black political participation and economic advancement were eliminated. The new "New South" of the 1970s and 1980s, Bullard writes in the introduction, marketed itself "as a changed land where blacks could now share in the American Dream" (p. 2). Yet, as this study of six southern cities clearly demonstrates, blacks were not much better off, and by some measures were worse off, at the end of the 1980s than they were before the civil rights movement began.

The book consists of separately authored essays on blacks in Houston, New Orleans, Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, and Tampa, framed by introductory and concluding essays by Bullard. The authors are black academic social scientists who have lived and worked in the cities they analyzed. Each of the essays follows a standard format, beginning with a brief historical section, and then tracing population growth, residential patterns,

economic change, school desegregation, and political patterns as these subjects relate to the black communities of the six cities. Although the sources varied for each city, all of the authors have drawn heavily from census and other official data on population, housing, employment, and economic activity. This approach has the advantage of permitting the reader to make comparisons and draw parallels among the cities under consideration.

Each of the six cities has some unique characteristics. Taken collectively, however, the essays in this book demonstrate that these cities are remarkably similar in the recent evolution and present condition of their black communities. In the post-war era, whites in large numbers abandoned the central city for the suburbs, both in the North and the South. Of the cities considered here, blacks by 1980 had achieved a majority or close to a majority of central city population in New Orleans, Birmingham, Atlanta, and Memphis; in Tampa and Houston, blacks made up about a quarter of city population. Black population majorities led to black political control in Atlanta, New Orleans, and Birmingham in the 1970s. But white flight to the suburbs, an aging infrastructure and housing stock, business disinvestment, a dying retail trade, and a declining tax base meant that new black mayors had little left to govern, and fewer financial resources to do it with.

As a result of changing urban and economic structures in the post-industrial age, blacks in Bullard's six cities continue to fare poorly on most measures of economic and social well-being. Black communities everywhere in the South suffer segregated residential and schooling patterns, high rates of unemployment, and extremely poor rates of business participation. The growth of a black urban "underclass" is reflected in substandard housing, poverty-level incomes, low high-school completion rates, and rising delinquency and crime rates in the inner city. The changing "opportunity structure" of the new urban America has passed the black communities by, while "a growing black under-class is trapped in declining central cities" (p. 166). In the civil rights era, blacks put their faith in electoral gains, but it is clear from this book that political empowerment has done little to advance the economic or social position of blacks in the city. For most blacks, Bullard asserted, "the New South was nothing more than an extension of the Old South with only minor modifications" (p. 173).

The essay on Tampa, written by University of Florida urban planner Robert A. Catlin, provides a well-documented case in point. White residential shifts in the 1950s and after, along with urban renewal and expressway construction, resulted in the consolidation of numerous dispersed black neighborhoods into two large ghettoized communities, East Tampa and West Tampa. Residential segregation in Tampa has been compounded by an overcrowded and deteriorating housing stock, poor education, job discrimination, a weakly developed black business sector, high unemployment and poverty levels, poor community-police relations, and, not surprisingly, sporadic unrest and violence in the black community. As Catlin concludes, "little has changed in Tampa's black community over the last two decades" (p. 151).

In many ways, this is a sad and depressing book, but it provides a necessary and important perspective. In the largest sense, it reflects the real condition of urban America after two decades of social disinvestment. The authors say little about what might be done, but it is clear that any urban policy, if it is to be effective, must grapple with the issue of race.

Florida Atlantic University

RAYMOND A. MOHL

Poor but Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites. By Wayne Flynt. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xii, 469 pp. Preface, maps, charts, photographs, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

During the last half-century or so there has been an explosion of literature of the South, its people, and its problems. Scores of books and articles have been written on aspects of the South's economy after the Civil War, on race relations, on caste and class, on southern society, politics, and other major aspects of the southern experience. Few of these studies, however, match the high quality of Wayne Flynt's *Poor But Proud: Alabama's Poor Whites*. A logical and more detailed follow-up to the author's *Forgotten People, The South's Poor Whites* (1979), this is truly a superior book. There is probably no scholar in the United States who knows and understands the history of poor whites in the South as well as Professor Flynt.

He begins his book by defining poor whites in Alabama and describing how they failed to achieve the American dream of becoming independent landowners. He shows how the Civil War adversely affected poor white farmers and how that conflict helped to push more and more of them toward tenancy, usually sharecropping, and into off-farm jobs. The second part of the book deals with the main occupations where poor whites found employment in the post-Civil War years. These included mainly farming, textile mills, coal mines, lumbering, and iron working. The increase in farm tenancy among poor whites indicated that most of them experienced downward mobility and lived on the ragged edge of existence. Unfortunately, leaving the farm to work in the mills, mines, or forests did not substantially improve their living standards. For the most part, poor whites, including the children, worked long hours for meager wages. They lived in ramshackle housing and struggled against illiteracy and ill health. Tens of thousands of them received a bare living in return for a life-time of labor. In most cases there was little if any change in their condition between the 1880s and 1930s. This study shows clearly the high price these poor whites paid for the nation's economic development.

The book's third section deals with the society, culture, and politics of poor whites. Flynt shows that they were a proud, independent, neighborly, generous people who had a distinctive culture that they clung to with dogged tenacity. He discusses their family life, religion, education, folklore, social life, and politics, and shows how aspects of their culture, especially their music, finally extended to the entire nation. Poor whites were also racists, but not more so than most other southern whites. Their racism prohibited them from joining up with poverty-stricken blacks in an effort to control more of their own destiny through organization.

Part four provides an excellent chapter on Alabama's poor whites during the Great Depression of the 1930s and a concluding chapter on "the enduring legacy" of poverty. Indeed, the key and persistent element in the lives of these millions of whites over three generations was their poverty. Most poor whites had been mired in economic hardship for so long that the Great Depression could hardly worsen their condition. New Deal relief programs, however, brought some help to poor whites, but it was World War II and postwar economic growth that began to

bring about fundamental change in their ranks. Many poor whites found job opportunities in the factories, shipyards, and on military bases during World War II. Yet, despite remarkable economic development after the war in the South, many poor whites in Alabama remained outside the American mainstream, even as late as the 1980s.

Professor Flynt has provided a thorough and perceptive study of the lives and society of poor whites in Alabama. Many of his conclusions, however, can be applied to the condition of poor whites throughout the entire South during the years from the 1860s to the 1930s. His book is based on extensive research, including the manuscript census, state and federal documents, oral histories, newspapers, theses and dissertations, books and periodicals, and personal interviews.

Moreover, *Poor But Proud* is well written and full of human interest. Flynt has an unusual "feel" for his subject, possibly because some of his own ancestors were among Alabama's poor whites. Yet, he is objective and even-handed in his historical judgments and is not led astray by unproven philosophical theories and invalid assumptions. This should be the first book anyone reads who is interested in the South's poor whites.

University of Georgia, Emeritus

GILBERT C. FITE

Back to Birmingham: Richard Arrington, Jr., and His Times. By Jimmie Lewis Franklin. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xi, 363 pp. Preface, photographs, appendix, essay on sources, index. \$28.50.)

During the 1960s, there was so much racial violence in Birmingham, Alabama, that the city earned the nickname "Bombing-ham." It was a deeply segregated city and the site of one of the major civil rights campaigns. Less than two decades later, in 1979, Birmingham elected its first black mayor, Richard Arrington, Jr. As Jimmie Lewis Franklin, a professor of history at Vanderbilt University, shows, this remarkable event occurred not because of any major change in the attitudes of the city's white population but because of an increase in the black population and a change in its perception of its own political poten-

tial. Richard Arrington, Jr., not only benefited from increased black political power in Birmingham but also was instrumental in creating it.

Born in 1934, and raised in Livingston, Alabama, Richard, who was given the nickname "papa" as a child because of his unusual maturity, was educated in segregated schools and earned his graduate degree at the University of Oklahoma on a grant from the state of Alabama, whose white universities did not admit blacks. Returning to Alabama about a year after passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, he settled in Birmingham and taught at Miles College for about five years before accepting a position as executive director of the Alabama Center for Higher Education. He had no political aspirations.

By the 1970s the black population of Birmingham had increased, along with the possibility of translating those numbers into political power. But there was a serious vacuum in black leadership in Birmingham. The older leaders, who had been so vigorous during the civil rights movement, were now perceived by other blacks as too conservative. Prevailed upon in 1971 to run for the city council, Arrington was successful his first time out and was reelected in 1975.

During his second term, in 1977, Arrington organized the Jefferson County Citizens Coalition as a kind of "holding company" of organizations for black groups to "speak with one voice on issues that affected black people in Birmingham." The coalition managed to consolidate black political power to a remarkable degree and in later years was accused, with some reason, of blind allegiance to only black candidates. However, it accomplished Arrington's purpose, helping him to win election as mayor in 1979, and reelection in 1983 and 1987, each time with no more than 12 percent of the white vote.

Franklin's analysis of Arrington's first term is thorough and perceptive, especially as regards his first staff, his struggles with the predominantly white police force, and his abortive attempt to assemble enough land downtown to build the business center. Franklin covers the two succeeding terms in one galloping final chapter that is confusing and unsatisfying in its haste. Also unsatisfying is Franklin's decision to say almost nothing about Arrington's private life while he is discussing his political life and instead to devote a late chapter to a discussion of his two marriages, his children, his church membership, etc.

Despite these flaws, *Back to Birmingham* is a good political biography that benefits greatly from the close cooperation of its subject, who seems to have been more than willing to share his public life and political philosophy with the author. Arrington sees a close connection between general reform and racial change in southern politics and makes no apologies for the remarkable success of his umbrella political organization in consolidating black political power in Birmingham. As Franklin points out, the formation of the Jefferson County Citizens Coalition "had a direct connection to Arrington's idea of self-reliance. . . . If blacks in Birmingham appeared to follow Arrington's leadership and that of the coalition with a zeal that many whites could not comprehend, that attachment resulted from history and a philosophy of self-reliance, not from blind political ignorance."

While the Civil Rights acts and the Voting Rights Act of the 1960s established the potential for black political power in the South, a special kind of leadership was needed to realize that potential. Richard Arrington, Jr., clearly has provided that kind of leadership and has been the man for his times.

University of Florida

JIM HASKINS

With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow: Old-Time Fiddling in Alabama
By Joyce H. Cauthen. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989. xii, 282 pp. Preface, photographs, appendices, notes, sources cited, index. \$28.95.)

"The modernization of farming and the end of the Old New South [1920-1960] brought both benefits and great sorrow. This is little less than the folks who lived through the changes said themselves," observes Jack Temple Kirby as he begins his study of the demise of the rural South, *Rural Worlds Lost* (1987). And certainly, one of the principal elements of southern folk culture that vanished with the demise of the "old New South" was the "ole timey" music of that world. Throwbacks remain, of course, but they persevere as artifacts to be trotted out at folk festivals for the amusement of urban sophisticates from such megalopolises as Huntsville, Alabama, and Gainesville, Florida.

Central to that “ole timey” music was the instrument known to classical music as the violin, but which in the music of the rural South always is called a fiddle. In the book at hand, as its title suggests, we always speak of the fiddle. It is Joyce Cauthen’s purpose, in this survey of Alabama fiddle music, to place both the masters of this folk art and the music they performed in historic context. She begins with an essay on “the Fiddle in Alabama history” and proceeds to discuss the state’s fiddle players of the first half of the twentieth century – both those who were known beyond their home communities (“brag fiddlers”) and those whose reputations were less exalted (“modest masters”).

Cauthen explains how the fiddle music of pre-World War II Alabama had insinuated itself into the culture of the state. She is especially insightful as she details the community celebrations— square dances and other social gatherings— at which fiddle music provided the only appropriate accompaniment. And her coverage of Alabama “brag fiddlers” is both enlightening and enjoyable. The book is highly episodic, but it is rich in anecdote and in its personal profiles of these rural Heifetzes, some of whom (the great Joe Lee for example) in another setting might well have been candidates for the concert stage.

With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow is a work whose title seems at first glance so narrow that only musicologists and sociologists who give it more than passing notice. If so, its dismissal by anyone interested in the cultural history of the “old New South” would be a mistake. Cauthen’s work is a valuable contribution to the genre that illuminates the culture of the rural South— a culture that has largely disappeared. The book is, in addition, a genuine pleasure to read.

University of Florida

AUGUSTUS BURNS

Race and History: Selected Essays, 1938-1988. By John Hope Franklin. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989. xi, 450 pp. Preface, notes, index. \$29.95.)

While John Hope Franklin was attending graduate school, the pre-eminent text in American history claimed that “Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears . . .

suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.' . . . The majority of slaves were . . . apparently happy." When Franklin arrived in Raleigh in 1939 to research a dissertation on free blacks in antebellum North Carolina, there was consternation in the state archives. Where could he sit? And would white assistants bring him the manuscripts that he needed? He got a private office and the service he needed, and for the subsequent half century he has occupied a special niche in "the world of the Negro scholar," which is "indescribably lonely. . . . He must, somehow, pursue truth down that lonely path while, at the same time, making certain that his conclusions are sanctioned by universal standards developed and maintained by those who frequently do not even recognize him."

Nevertheless, no black scholar ever has been accorded more professional honors than John Hope Franklin or came to personify more completely the field of Afro-American history—a subject in which he never took a single course, nor has taught in over three decades. Though his magisterial account of the black experience, *From Slavery to Freedom* (1st. ed., 1947) remains the standard against which all other syntheses are judged (including those with less Whiggish titles like *From Plantation to Ghetto*), Franklin paradoxically defines himself primarily as a regionalist: "My specialty is the history of the South, and that means I teach the history of blacks and whites." Because of its judiciously adversarial stance, *The Militant South* (1957) may indeed be his most intellectually engaging book. Though he has served as president of the Southern Historical Association, for example, the title of this handsome new collection of essays is more than a flag of convenience. For "race and history" nicely encapsulate the scholarly concerns of a lifetime.

Writing from a firmly egalitarian perspective that is liberal rather than radical, Franklin has been pivotal in detoxifying southern historiography of the racism that pervaded it for at least the first half of the twentieth century. The twenty-seven monographs and meditations in this volume are characteristic and distinctive, poised between the commonplace acceptance of white supremacy that Franklin helped to rout and the black separatism and activism that he has resisted in recent decades. (It is now virtually inconceivable for a black historian *not* to become an historian of blacks.) These instructive essays range from the very particular (such as portraits of a free black artisan

in North Carolina and of a congressman from Reconstruction Mississippi, the ex-slave John Roy Lynch) to general forays on statesmanship from the Framers to Lincoln, from incisive critiques of both Afro-American and southern historiography to considerations of the careers of a couple of black historians—George Washington Williams and Franklin himself. Written in stately prose, in which the irritant of bigotry—past and present—produces pearls of irony, these essays exemplify an assured and authoritative professionalism.

His oeuvre has required American historiography to be enlarged and revised without altering ways of thinking about history itself, or about the proper scope of the academy. Despite the momentous changes over the half century during which these essays were composed and presidential addresses delivered, it is impossible to find any dramatic shifts in Franklin's tone or focus or opinion. The warnings that he has issued—reprinted in *Race and History*—against undignified polemics and diatribes may reveal how powerful the temptations of advocacy have been in confronting the ongoing crises in civil rights. But though his passions have been banked, Franklin's voice can be heard above the rustle of index cards in a profession that often rewards monographs so deadly-dull that publishers should be required to notify next of kin. Scrupulous and skeptical, *Race and History* is about as good as academic history can get without the impetus of an animating idea. This anthology is the elegant legacy of an historian whose surname— in Middle English—means “free man.”

Brandeis University

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

The Urban South: A History. By Lawrence H. Larsen. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990. xiii, 199 pp. Editor's preface, preface, tables, illustrations, photographs, notes, essay on sources, index. \$23.00.)

Lawrence H. Larsen's *The Urban South: A History* renders a “new perspective” on the South through its urban history. Larsen details the existence of an urban component in the South since colonial days, how orderly growth determined its progress, and how special circumstances hindered the South from regain-

ing national parity. Crucial to understanding the historical development of southern cities, Larsen emphasizes that the 1880s and 1950s represent activist decades where major steps toward urban progress were taken and "modernization" resulted.

From the beginning, urban growth rested in steady expansion that was responsive to the region's needs. Colonial legislatures constructed urban societies that were compatible with agricultural traditions. However, in the antebellum period the cotton gin solidified cotton's stronghold upon the economy and state's rights sentiments ended any cooperation between northern and southern cities. Commercial conventions championed independence from the North through manufacturing. However, the lack of cooperation which would mock unity under the Confederacy triumphed against the commercial interests. After the Civil War sharecropping and limited resources pushed manufacturing supporters to welcome northern investment.

Southern cities made important decisions in the 1880s including a turning inward to establish services and consolidate existing resources, while encouraging northern investment. Henry Flagler opened Florida to further development and in the next decade invested huge sums in properties and railroads which facilitated rapid progress.

National events before the 1950s supplied the necessary circumstances for metropolitan progress. Railroads and tourism caused Florida cities like Gainesville and Tampa to experience 188 and 539 percent growth, respectively, from 1900 to 1930. A southern suspicion that northern interests ran Florida led regional boosters to welcome Texas and Oklahoma towns as having "southern sensibilities." As a member of the Sunbelt, Larsen notes, urban rather than agricultural values would determine southern success. In the 1930s despite the Depression, limited resources, and racial inequality, government assistance aided agricultural marketing which indirectly boosted urban well-being.

Race received necessary attention following World War II in the 1957 federal order demanding desegregation at Little Rock. Federal intervention foreshadowed order in the South making the area attractive to investment capital. The legal settlement of the racial question returned equal partnership with the nation to the South, but racial violence could erupt as proven by Miami and Tampa in the 1980s. With regard to losing southern iden-

tity, Larsen concludes that an everpresent urbanism would be complimented by an enduring regionalism.

Lawrence Larson does produce a new perspective on southern urbanization. He expertly utilizes local histories and federal documents in identifying emerging types of towns through the early 1900s. For those interested in exploring Dixie's progressive side, *The Urban South* offers a detailed account of the forces that shaped the region's urban history. Finally, those interested in Florida's expansion within the southern urbanization process also will be rewarded by Larsen's study.

Hillsborough Community College

KENT KASTER II