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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

BERRY BENSON'S CIVIL WAR BOOK: MEMOIRS OF A CONFEDERATE SCOUT AND SHARPSHOOTER, edited by Susan Williams Benson

SOLDIERING IN THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE: A PORTRAIT OF LIFE IN A CONFEDERATE ARMY, by Larry J. Daniel

reviewed by Stephen D. Engle

THIS WAR SO HORRIBLE: THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF HIRAM SMITH WILLIAMS, edited by Lewis N. Wynne and Robert Taylor

reviewed by Stephen D. Engle

ISABEL THE QUEEN: LIFE AND TIMES, by Peggy Liss

reviewed by Eugene Lyon

PONCE DE LEÓN AND THE DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA: THE MAN, THE MYTH, AND THE TRUTH, by Douglas T. Peck

reviewed by Jerald T. Milanich

GENERAL JAMES GRANT: SCOTTISH SOLDIER AND ROYAL GOVERNOR OF EAST FLORIDA, by Paul David Nelson

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DEERSKINS & DUFFELS: THE CREEK INDIAN TRADE WITH ANGLO-AMERICA, 1685-1815, by Kathryn E. Holland Braund

reviewed by John R. Finger

THE SEMINOLES OF FLORIDA, by James W. Covington

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM THE AGE OF JACKSON TO THE AGE OF LINCOLN, by Michael F. Holt

reviewed by Christopher Olsen

DOMESTIC NOVELISTS IN THE OLD SOUTH: DEFENDERS OF SOUTHERN CULTURE, by Elizabeth Moss

reviewed by Shirley A. Leckie

SOUTHERN WOMEN: HISTORIES AND IDENTITIES, edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Perdue

reviewed by Randall M. Miller

FAIR TO MIDDLEIN': THE ANTEBELLUM COTTON TRADE OF THE APALACHICOLA/CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER VALLEY, by Lynn Willoughby

reviewed by Harry P. Owens

IN THE HANDS OF PROVIDENCE: JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, by Alice Rains Trulock

reviewed by Robert A. Taylor

WHY THE SOUTH LOST, edited by Gabor S. Boritt

reviewed by Michael G. Schene

FREEDOM'S LAWMAKERS: A DIRECTORY OF BLACK OFFICEHOLDERS DURING RECONSTRUCTION, by Eric Foner

reviewed by Canter Brown, Jr.

WHISTLING DIXIE: A DICTIONARY OF SOUTHERN EXPRESSIONS, by Robert Hendrickson

reviewed by Jesse Earle Bowden

URBAN POLICY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA, edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl

reviewed by Jeffrey S. Adler

MIAMI: ARCHITECTURE OF THE TROPICS, edited by Maurice Culot and Jean-François Lejeune

reviewed by Donald W. Curl

FREE MEN IN THE AGE OF SERVITUDE: THREE GENERATIONS OF A BLACK FAMILY, by Lee H. Warner

reviewed by James M. Denham

CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER: THE ENDURING LEGACY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES, by Andrew Billingsley

reviewed by Lamy E. Rivers

CLAUDE KIRK AND THE POLITICS OF CONFRONTATION, by Edmund F. Kalina, Jr.

reviewed by Augustus Burns, III

Berry Benson's Civil War Book: Memoirs of a Confederate Scout and Sharpshooter. Edited by Susan Williams Benson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. xvii, 203 pp. Foreword, preface. \$19.95.)

Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee: A Portrait of Life in a Confederate Army. By Larry J. Daniel. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. xvi, 231 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50.)

This War So Horrible: The Civil War Diary of Hiram Smith Williams. Edited by Lewis N. Wynne and Robert Taylor. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xvii, 175 pp. Preface, introduction, maps, photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$21.95.)

In 1952 Bell I. Wiley wrote that the "Civil War affords an unusually good opportunity for the study of the plain people," since "absence from loved ones caused lowly folk who rarely took pen in hand during times of peace to write frequent and informative letters and to keep diaries, and thus to reveal themselves in rare fullness." Historians of the war have given credence to this notion, since the gauge used to determine where scholars are in their thinking is reflected in their analysis and interpretation of the thousands of works chronicling the minutiae of deeds and passions of those who fought. From their works emerge various interpretations revealing the "rare fullness" that excited Wiley. The recent surge of scholarship focusing on the rank-and-file soldier serves several purposes, but perhaps most importantly it tells us where historians of the period are in their analysis of the war.

While Civil War scholars have been slow to embrace the approach Wiley inaugurated over forty years ago, which emphasizes the rank-and-file soldier and the socialization of war, the usefulness of that approach is reflected in the three works

under review. These works illustrate how letters, diaries, and memoirs can serve as useful tools, especially if they are incorporated into larger considerations that may tell us something we did not already know. Perhaps what we have in the diary of Hiram Smith, Berry Benson's memoirs, and the common soldier of the Army of Tennessee is a part of the real, personal, and unconditional war that serves to remind us of what scholars of the period already sense— war is hell.

Herman M. Hattaway summed it up best when he characterized Berry Benson and perhaps many of the common soldiers of the war as “the stuff of which legends are made” (p. ix). Berry Benson, Confederate scout and sharpshooter, witnessed the first shot at Fort Sumter and fought with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia until its surrender at Appomattox Courthouse. He encountered considerable action, and his war was filled with the extremes of life and death. Although just eighteen years old when he joined the army, he was soon singled out as a talented marksman and fierce southern partisan, whose leadership abilities were put to quick use. He rose quickly to the rank of sergeant, and on several occasions he commanded his company. He participated in the battles of First Manassas, Seven Days, Sharpsburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Petersburg. His recollections, completed in 1878 and based on his— and partially his brother's— wartime diaries and letters, reflect a soldier thoroughly dedicated to the southern cause. Although he was plagued with numerous hardships— including having been captured twice— his curiosity, restless energy, and pluck overshadowed the physical deprivation, fatigue, and death inhabiting his surroundings. According to Hattaway, “Benson was so keenly aware of how bad things sometimes were that he found it believable— as he was told— that in the field some wretched Confederates had picked grains of corn out of horses' dung, washed them, and cooked them for food” (p. x). Although nearly one half of Benson's memoir is devoted to his numerous near-captures and the unfortunate occasions when he was captured, his highly illuminating story serves as a building block to the larger issues, such as the maturation of innocent youth into seasoned veteran in the span of a few short years.

In many ways Hiram Smith Williams shares with Benson a common experience in the Civil War, proving that the war was anything but romantic. As a recent arrival from New Jersey to

the South in 1859 and a member of the middle class without ties to the slaveholding aristocracy, Williams was certainly a unique Confederate. As a member of the 40th Alabama Volunteer Infantry, Williams was always looking for ways to improve his condition by recreating the world he left behind— a message social historians should find interesting, valuable, and useful. As a skilled craftsman, he offered his services to General Alexander P. Stewart's Pioneer Corps, which was responsible for completing various engineering tasks. As a member of the Pioneers, he frequently was called upon to build hospitals and to assist surgeons in the operating room. His descriptions of these scenes reflect a soldier increasingly questioning the war's legitimacy. In 1864 he was reassigned to the Army of Tennessee and participated in the Atlanta campaign as a member of the Pioneer unit. Late in the year he rejoined the 40th Alabama on duty in defense of Mobile harbor until March 1865 when he finally rejoined the Army of Tennessee in its attempt to stop William Sherman.

Upon his return to his company in February 1864, Williams assessed the damage of war and the loss of his comrades: "What a change from the company in which I first volunteered two years ago. . . . Their graves are scattered from Dog River all through Mississippi, at Columbus, Deer Creek, and Vicksburg, to this place. Such is war" (p. 27). Williams's longing for the war to end is reflected in his comparison of American civilization to that of the Greeks and Romans. "Are we better off to-day than the Romans or Greeks were two thousand years ago?" he writes, "Are we happier? No. And yet the happiness of mankind is the great bubble that we all grasp for, the philosopher's stone we have sought for ages" (p. 54). By May 1864 Williams had seen war "in all its horrid and distable qualities," and it was permanently impressed in his memory (p. 70).

As a skilled journalist, Williams used his literary skills to capture at length the harshness and humor of a soldier's life. Although he wrote for posterity— aware that his diary would be read by others— Williams still managed to capture the originality of war. Fortunately, the editors have allowed Williams to speak for himself with grace and eloquence and therefore have allowed him to bring the Civil War to life. His experience during the war was as common as it was distinctive. Although he was not involved in most of the combat experiences of the 40th Alabama, his significance, much like Benson's, rests not in what

he did as a soldier but rather how he felt about what he did as a soldier. For Williams, as with Benson, the real usefulness of their memoirs reaches beyond the historical facts that help to chronicle the military campaigns, since these letters go beyond the battlefield. They reveal, for example, that respect came with incidents large or small. Benson's memoir suggests that soldiers mourned more following the death of Stonewall Jackson than they did over the tragic outcome at Gettysburg (p. 39). Benson also reveals that courage was demonstrated not only on the battlefield but perhaps more so in the hospital, since soldiers were forced to come to grips with the alterations of their bodies, which ultimately necessitated an alteration of the mind.

Seeking "to discover exactly who were the men of the Army of Tennessee" (p. xii), Larry J. Daniel casts his net wide and integrates scores of letters, diaries, memoirs, and unit histories throughout his text to achieve a distinctive perception of the soldiers' real war. His meticulous and careful examination of these documents has served scholars of the common soldier and of the West well, since he provides a number of important insights into the Civil War's least understood fighting force. Inevitably, there is some comparison of the eastern and western Confederate soldiers, and this is among the many strengths of the book. Although he contends that eastern and western soldiers were more alike than not, he proceeds to lay out a number of principal differences. For example, he argues that the Army of Tennessee, unlike its eastern counterpart—Army of Northern Virginia—could not maintain its cohesiveness through confidence in leadership and battlefield victories. Instead, he argues, much like Thomas L. Connelly, that cohesiveness was achieved at the brigade or regimental level and by "punishments, a sense of commitment instilled through religious fervor, a bonding of the troops through shared suffering, and a certain perverse pride that arose from their common experiences of serving under losing generals" (pp. 148-49). He acknowledges, however, that this certainly did not explain a soldier's fighting motivation. A cursory glance at both Williams's and Benson's memoirs would indicate the degree to which soldiers fostered a certain passion for the cause, but beyond that there were other compelling reasons to fight.

Daniel also suggests that "western troops often viewed the results of various battles from a perspective different from that of modern historians." Victory could be determined by how

many pieces of artillery were captured, who left the battlefield first, and the numbers of prisoners taken during the battle. Although he chronicles the hardships of the Army of Tennessee, many of which extended beyond the battlefield—morale, arms, camp life, medical care, discipline, religion, and fighting spirit—Daniel concludes by contending that perhaps the common feature of the army's solidarity, despite a lack of refinement that characterized other armies, such as the Army of Northern Virginia, was the soldiers' courage.

Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee goes far to satisfy those interested in what shaped and defined armies in the Civil War. Daniel's exhaustive research is impressive and his narrative rich in detail. By offering a view from the trenches, he is able to arrive at some definite conclusions as to who the men of the Army of Tennessee were and how they felt about soldiering. Although the portrait of army life for the western soldier that emerges is often a depressing one, readers will find that soldiers survived through courage and faith.

Scores of letters, diaries, and memoirs, essentially constituting the foundation for our understanding of the Civil War from the soldier's perspective, have seen the light of day since the war's close. The abundance of narratives emanating from those who participated in the war have highlighted for scholars the real war. But it is the observations and conclusions from these documents recording the "rare fullness" that serve as the cornerstone of scholarship. In this regard, all three works under review achieve distinction. Although *Soldiering in the Army of Tennessee* must stand in the ranks with similar works that focus on the common soldier in a specific army, it offers perceptive analysis and conclusions as to the "how" as well as the "why" men endured the conflict. Conversely, both *Berry Benson's Civil War Book* and *This War So Horrible: The Civil War Diary of Hiram Smith Williams* further our knowledge of the common soldier. And if, in any case, these works do not tell scholars much they did not already know about the nature of the Civil War, perhaps they may serve as points for departure for those historians seeking to bring the war into its proper political and social context.

Isabel the Queen: Life and Times. By Peggy Liss. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. x, 398 pp. Preface, prologue, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

Federico García Lorca has said, "In Spain the dead are more alive than the dead of any other country in the world." Indeed, to many Spaniards today, no long-dead person is more alive than Isabel of Castile. A freshet of books and articles about Isabel have recently appeared; Peggy Liss, a recognized Hispanic studies scholar, has written perhaps the best of the lot. This is a sensitive, balanced, and comprehensive biography of the Catholic queen, placing her life and deeds within their proper fifteenth-century context while fairly presenting both beneficial and harmful aspects of her reign.

In 1451 Isabel, the daughter of King John II, was born at Madrigal de las Altas Torres in the high plateau country of Old Castile. At that time the kingdom of Castile was disunited, as restless nobles rebelled against King Henry, Isabel's half-brother. Often left alone in the midst of turmoil, Isabel learned to rely upon God for strength and developed the qualities of patience, determination, and constancy.

Isabel married Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469 in an evident love match that had remarkable consequences for Spain. When both succeeded to their respective thrones, their kingdoms were also united. Isabel often hid her deeds within this royal partnership, but she was a dominant force in shaping the Church within Spain for national purposes. The royal pair also restrained the particularism of cities and grandees. By greatly augmenting royal revenues, they decreased the reliance of the crown upon the Cortes, thus advancing absolute monarchy. Isabel was the chief architect of this thorough, systematic consolidation of royal power.

Liss demonstrates that both Isabel and Ferdinand were responsible for the establishment of the Inquisition in Castile and Aragon. She also sees Isabel's support of the Inquisition as symptomatic of the reign, incorporating "crusade, personal salvation, apocalyptic hopes and fears, social control, royal power, and benefit to the royal treasury."

The greatest influence upon Isabel's life was the reconquest of Spain from the Moors. Its last phase, the Granada War, became her cause; she set herself the difficult task of assembling

and supplying the Castilian armies. Finally, in the watershed year of 1492, Granada surrendered. Then, after Columbus's voyages, Spain projected its reconquest energies onto a world stage. But, despite the triumphs of Spain at home and in the Indies, Isabel's last years were made tragic by the deaths of her son Juan, two daughters, and her grandson Miguel. Her daughter Juana slowly went insane.

Today, many condemn Isabel for her part in the expulsion of the Jews and Spain's conquests of the Native Americans. Peggy Liss fully and honestly describes the long history of European and Spanish anti-Semitism and how Isabel's Christian piety led her to the extreme act of expulsion of the Jews in 1492. After the Columbian voyages, Isabel and Ferdinand addressed the governing of the Spanish territories in the Americas. In the Indies the weaknesses of Castilian policy towards the Native Americans were soon revealed. All the queen's best intentions could not prevent the destruction of peoples unable to stand up to the Europeans' powerful weapons of cultural and military conquest. In the end, epidemic disease proved the most powerful weapon of all.

To Isabel, modern Spain owes its foundation. The Americas, including Florida, and the Pacific regions still bear her mark. This fine biography vividly depicts the life of the Catholic queen, a world-changing personality.

Center for Historic Research, Flagler College

EUGENE LYON

Ponce de León and the Discovery of Florida: The Man, the Myth, and the Truth. By Douglas T. Peck. (St. Paul, MN: Pogo Press, 1993. xiv, 87 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, photographs, maps, epilogue, bibliography, list of illustrations, index. \$16.45.)

Juan Ponce de León is a fine example of the relationship between modern Floridians and our Spanish heritage. We know a little, but not a lot, and much of what we do know is confused. For instance, everyone equates Juan Ponce with the search for the Fountain of Youth. But, as author Douglas Peck points out in this slender volume, that story is a post-Ponce myth. On the

other hand, few people realize that Juan Ponce explored portions of both the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of Florida in 1513 and that eight years later— a full century before Plymouth Rock— he attempted to establish a full-scale Spanish colony here. One way to remedy this educational deficit is through popular, readable books such as this.

A preliminary chapter provides background on Juan Ponce and sources of information and interpretations about his Florida expeditions. The only extant account of Juan Ponce's first voyage is a second-hand one recorded in the Spanish historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas's *Historia General*. Presumably (hopefully?) Herrera's account was derived from Juan Ponce's original log or report.

The heart of Peck's study lies in his second and third chapters, which reconstruct Ponce's route, pinpointing his Florida landfalls. Two short, final chapters cover Ponce's 1521 voyage and the Calusa Indians of the southwest Florida coast, among whom both of Juan Ponce's expeditions probably landed.

So where did Juan Ponce make landfall on the Atlantic coast? Was it south of Cape Canaveral, as Peck contends, or north of the Cape, as others have opined, or at St. Augustine, as a popular tourist attraction advertises? The answer is: we do not know. The Herrera account contains too few details. Worse, some historians working with the latitudes provided in that account agree that Juan Ponce's pilot reckoned some latitudes $1\frac{1}{2}$ degrees too far north. As a consequence many different conclusions can be drawn from the same set of data.

Will we ever be able to definitively track Ponce's Florida sea route? I doubt it, unless more documentary clues are found. But until that takes place, Juan Ponce buffs would do well to study transcriptions of two pertinent sixteenth-century sources published in the 1980s by the Naval Museum in Madrid. The first, the *Espejo de Chaves* (1983), compiled by the 1530s by Alonso de Chaves, the royal cosmographer, is both a guide to coastal locations in the Americas, including Florida and the Bahamas, and a textbook on how to navigate. One section covers the east and west coasts of Florida, and some of the latitudes given there reflect the same $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree latitude error found in Herrera's rendering of Ponce's log. Interestingly, in that section Juan Ponce's Rio de Corrientes and Cabo de Cruz (in Herrera they are the stream La Cruz and the Cabo de Corrientes) are

both north of Cape Canaveral, suggesting Ponce indeed made landfall well north of the cape.

The second source, published in 1985, is Juan de Escalante de Mendoza's *Itinerario de Navigation*, written in 1575 as a textbook for students learning navigation. Mastering the *Itinerario* and the pertinent parts of the *Espejo* would turn any modern historian or navigator into a sixteenth-century Spanish pilot who could greatly increase our knowledge of the Spanish geography of coastal Florida, not to mention the Bahamas, and help to solve the puzzle of Juan Ponce's initial voyage to Florida.

Florida Museum of Natural History

JERALD T. MILANICH

General James Grant: Scottish Soldier and Royal Governor of East Florida. By Paul David Nelson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xi, 207 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

James Grant has never received, until now, full biographical consideration. One reason for this unmerited neglect may be the awkwardness of mining the essential Grant papers in Ballindalloch Castle in remotest Banffshire. Paul Nelson has worked these papers extensively. He adds much interesting detail to, but essentially confirms, the verdict on Grant of historians Charles Mowat and Mark Boatner.

Grant was a hedonist, an autocrat, and totally feudal in his outlook. He saw nothing wrong with slavery. Without it, he believed Florida planters were bound to fail. As a member of parliament he voted against abolitionist legislation, even though he thus defied his patron, William Pitt the Younger, to whom he was usually subservient. In eighteenth-century Britain, currying favor with the great was all but unavoidable for professional progress. Like his counterpart George Johnstone, first governor of British West Florida, Grant advanced his career more through political and aristocratic "connexion" than through intrinsic merit.

Grant was an energetic and somewhat effective administrator but not a thinker. He was a reactionary. He is not to be associated with the contemporary Scottish Enlightenment, and

he had no sympathy for, and little understanding of, the arguments and aspirations of Americans before the Revolution.

What will probably most interest readers of *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, is Grant's governorship from 1764 to 1771 of the British colony of East Florida. He misread the gubernatorial role. Admittedly a correct reading in the turbulent 1760s could baffle almost anyone, but Grant was unusually insensitive in several directions. He was an imperialist who did not understand the workings of the British Empire. He did not, for instance, see that in Indian and military affairs his was not the highest authority, even in East Florida. The result was needless friction.

Neither did Grant understand Americans. As was his duty, he enforced the Stamp Act and levied the Townshend tariffs but could not imagine how there could be objections to them. It was also his duty to summon a representative assembly, but, suspicious of institutions that might nurture democratic notions among colonial subjects, he ignored his instructions on the topic. He would have been a disastrous governor of a more thickly settled province.

Grant's many years in parliament get only cursory attention in this biography, which rightly recognizes that he was primarily a soldier. His active military career lasted over forty years, from King George's War through the Revolution. Nelson rates him more highly as a strategist than as a tactician. In fact, on both counts, Grant's record is mixed. He was capable of shocking blunders (as before Fort Duquesne in 1758) and admirable victories (as at St. Lucia in 1778). His chief military flaw was to misinterpret intelligence. As commander of the New Jersey posts in 1776, his assessment of the Americans' capabilities resulted in their first substantial victory of the Revolution. It is a comment on the system within which Grant worked that neither this failure at Trenton, nor others in Pennsylvania, did more than slow his promotion.

Although Nelson tends to take Grant at his own valuation, he has written a useful book. That Grant boasted publicly that Americans could not fight has been called a myth. Nelson proves that to not only did he say it but also came to rue his stupid words. Nelson also provides much detail not found elsewhere, especially about Grant's significant, if not always successful, but unjustly neglected role in the American Revolution.

Grant was a “typical eighteenth-century loyal Scotsman” is Nelson’s conclusion. One has to wonder whether being a colonial governor and full general, both tiny, powerful minorities, did not exclude Grant from typicality.

Auburn University

ROBIN F. A. FABEL

Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815. By Kathryn E. Holland Braund. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993. xvi, 306 pp. Introduction, preface, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$37.50.)

In 1764 British Indian superintendent John Stuart described trade as “the original great tye” linking Native Americans and Europeans, and, in this welcome addition to the Indians of the Southeast series, Kathryn Braund assesses this tie between Euro-Americans and Muscogulges (Creeks) from its origins to the aftermath of the Creek War of 1813-1814. Going beyond Verner Crane and other scholars of the last two generations, Braund expertly discusses not only the rationale, structure, and operation of trade but, sensitive to recent ethnohistorical concerns, how it changed Creek society and shaped tribal destiny. Running throughout is a persistent paradox: the trade made Creeks powerful and dependent at the same time.

Deerskin was the basic Creek unit of exchange, more important by far than Indian slaves or stolen horses. In return, Europeans offered a variety of goods: firearms, tools, and woolen duffels and strouds. From the beginning, the British (often Scots) had an advantage over French and Spanish rivals because of entrepreneurial acumen, superior goods, and a well organized network linking London, Bristol, and Charleston through an extensive system of credit. From Charleston (and later Savannah) traders, packhorsemen, and other functionaries transported goods inland to Augusta and then along a series of trails to Upper and Lower Creek villages in Georgia and Alabama.

For a century the deerskin trade encouraged a misplaced Creek confidence. After all, they were arguably the largest southern “tribe” or “nation,” and their homeland, strategically

situated at the junction of competing European empires, abounded with whitetail deer. They also succeeded in playing the Europeans off against one another— a reflection of circumstances rather than conscious policy. And yet this “power” could not disguise a growing dependency on European goods. Indians as consumers were Indians at risk. John Stuart’s attempts after 1763 to protect native interests through a system of trade regulation failed, and unscrupulous traders continued to ply their clients with rum and credit, which resulted in Creek cessions of land to offset mounting debts.

As Braund carefully demonstrates, the trade brought many changes to Creek life— consumerism, a business-oriented class of metis (mixed bloods), heightened village factionalism, the loss of certain traditional crafts and manufactures, the genesis of the Florida Seminoles, and exposure to the perils of monopoly. Creek leaders sometimes responded to these pressures in creative ways, for example blending traditional clan-based retaliation with the demands of British law for individual culpability and punishment. So wedded to the dictates of trade were the Creeks that their allegiance to Britain or the colonies in the American Revolution depended in part on access to goods.

After the Revolution, the dwindling deerskin trade was largely confined to the British firm of Panton, Leslie, and Company, operating out of Spanish-controlled Pensacola. White Americans were now little interested in the business and instead focused their energies on acquiring Indian lands. For Braund, the period after 1783 is basically an epilogue, and trade had less impact on Creek society than the profound internal changes and white expansion that led to the Creek War. Her contention that economic factors were foremost in the war should be compared with Joel Martin’s emphasis on a Creek religious millenarian vision.

Braund has combined extensive research in British and American archives with an impressive overview of secondary literature and is at her best in describing how trade actually operated, from the mundane details of organization and production to the ways it reshaped Creek society. At times, however, she seems uncertain about her central paradox, about the degree to which the Creeks actually controlled— or even influenced— what was transpiring and the extent to which they were swept along (victimized?) by larger historical forces. It is fitting

when dealing with such an important topic to leave some ambiguities unresolved, some questions unanswered. That these remain in no way detracts from this fine book.

University of Tennessee

JOHN R. FINGER

The Seminoles of Florida By James W. Covington. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. x, 379 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95, cloth; \$18.95, paper.)

In 1957 Edwin C. McReynolds published *The Seminoles*, which included the Seminoles outside of Florida in Indian Territory. In 1973 Charles H. Fairbanks published *The Florida Seminole People*, an excellent historical/anthropological account, but too short— 100 pages— to tell the full story. Now comes James W. Covington with the first book-length account of the whole history of the Florida Seminoles from their Creek origins to the present.

He shows with special skill how the attempt of the United States to confine the Indians to a reservation after 1823 totally disrupted their lives and made them entirely dependent on the U.S. government. When that government failed to deliver subsistence, some Seminoles actually starved to death. Harassed by slave catchers— white and Indian— whipped when caught outside the reservation, under intense pressure to get out of Florida, they had no choice but to fight. Thus they began the Second Seminole War.

Covington presents facts concerning that war that have not been sufficiently stressed in the literature. One fact is that both Osceola and Coacoochee in late 1837 doubted the ability of their people to stand one more year of war. Another is that the control held by the Prophet over Seminole activity in 1838 exceeded the control that Osceola and Micanopy had been able to exert from 1835 to 1837. The third is that Osceola's bands consisted mainly of blacks. A final one is the power of hereditary leaders among the Seminoles, out of war as well as in it.

Covington documents the decline of the Seminole population from 5,000, when the United States gained control over

them, to less than 300 at the end of the Third Seminole War in 1858; then he traces the slow rise up to about 1,500 at present. The Indians had continually to adapt to white encroachments, and Covington excels in the difficult task of locating camps and bands at different times. He shows how fragmented the Seminoles actually were, using two languages, coming from diverse Creek sources, and lacking a common chief.

A familiar theme running through the history is the relentless pressure of the whites to acquire Indian land, slaves, and other property. An apt quotation by Micanopy conveys the tragic position of the Indians: "The white people will not rest or suffer us to do so. . . . These Negroes are ours and we will not consent to surrender them. [But] if you send and take our property. . . . by force we cannot help ourselves" (p. 62). Covington shows this theme to be partially reversed during the last 100 years, as white organizations—private and governmental—have undertaken to secure land once owned by the Seminoles for them to inhabit.

After the three wars, the Seminole story for nearly nine decades, while not especially dramatic, is one of survival and slow increase. This changed. "With the exception of the Second Seminole War," Covington states, "the post-World War II period produced perhaps the most startling changes ever felt by the Seminole community" (p.232). These changes included instituting suit under the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1934, a judgment in their favor, but no payment as of 1992. They include formal Seminole chartering under white direction in 1957 and federal recognition of the Miccosukees as a separate tribe in 1962. There was a rise from almost nothing in education, in public schools, reservation schools and even in colleges. Cattle programs expanded profitably; herds were made private in 1953. The Seminoles live now not in chickees but in concrete blockhouses. Most of them have become Christians. Health care is of rising importance. The tribe has made significant profits from selling cigarettes free of state tax. In 1979 they opened their first bingo hall, which has been highly profitable. Under the leadership of James Billis, beginning in 1984 the annual tribal income has increased from \$500,000 to more than \$10,000,000. These startling changes are covered in an insufficient space of only forty pages.

The Seminoles of Florida is indispensable to all persons interested in modern Indians (since the eighteenth century) of this state.

University of Florida

JOHN K. MAHON, emeritus

Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln. By Michael F. Holt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. ix, 365 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, graphs, index. \$35.00.)

For more than twenty years Michael Holt has been a leading historian of politics in antebellum America. This collection reprints nine essays that appeared between 1970 and 1990, and they should be read by any serious student of American politics unfamiliar with the author's important past contributions. There is also one new article, which will be part of a forthcoming book, that examines the disappearance of the Whig party. Most interesting, an extended introduction outlines the author's changing philosophy of how we ought to study political history.

The author, who was once a pioneer of the "new political history," which emphasized studying grass-roots voting behavior as essential to understanding political development and conflict, has now repudiated much of his earlier work and methodology. The story of politics, Holt now contends, "can most profitably be told from the perspective of political leaders, rather than voters." This is because "at most times the motives, decisions, and actions of officeholders and other politicians had greater impact in causing political change than did the values of voters" (p. 28). He advocates, then, a return to elite studies, political history essentially divorced from social history.

Voting, Holt now maintains, most often was a referendum on the actions of the party in power (its policy output) and not the function of how social, ethnic, or religious groups aligned within the electorate. Also, he proposes again the idea that men often voted in response to short-term fluctuations in the economy (much like their reaction to policy). This contention is central to the author's earlier work on the Antimasons, Know-Nothings, and the election of 1840. Mass voting behavior, particularly the level of turnout, would still have a place in Holt's political

history in order to reveal voters' attitude toward the system as a whole and to explain the periodic surges of antipartyism, also vital issues in his earlier work.

Holt makes further recommendations for the future of political history. He urges more attention to short-term, "chance" occurrences, especially among party leaders, that changed the course of political development. For example, he argues that the Whigs nominated Harrison in 1840 and Taylor in 1848 largely due to capricious events preceding the nominating conventions. Finally, the author vows to pay more attention to the political context in which parties operated. This consideration takes center stage in the book's one original essay about the Whigs' demise. Although the argument advanced here is not substantially different from *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, Holt has highlighted the importance of the organizational, political, and ideological context by comparing the Whigs' collapse to the Republicans in the 1970s and British Conservatives of the 1840s and 1850s—asking why these latter parties survived in the face of problems equal to those of the Whigs. Briefly, he concludes that the federal system with frequent election contests made it easier for a third party challenge in the 1850s than the 1970s. The American obsession with republicanism ensured a more vigorous public response (than in England) when the policy alternatives apparently disappeared between the major parties and they lost their purpose in the political system.

One has a sense of sadness when reading the author's lamentations about much of his earlier work, which was admired by so many readers. One hopes he has not thrown out all that was good with the little that may have been bad. And although an absolute judgment on Holt's new agenda must await his book, social and intellectual historians, as well as followers of the new political history, will likely meet it with much skepticism.

University of Florida

CHRISTOPHER OLSEN

Domestic Novelists in the Old South: Defenders of Southern Culture.

By Elizabeth Moss. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992. xii, 249 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

When dealing with nineteenth-century proslavery ideology, historians routinely examine the works of male writers, especially those of Thomas Dew and George Fitzhugh. Elizabeth Moss argues, however, that five female domestic novelists—Caroline Gilman, Caroline Hentz, Maria McIntosh, Mary Virginia Terhune, and Augusta Jane Evans—offered their own defense of the “true” South. Since these authors, publishing between the mid 1830s and 1866, reached a larger audience than male apologists, historical attention to their “original contribution to the proslavery ideology” is not only warranted; it is overdue.

These five novelists saw the South as “an ordered, harmonious society governed by the aristocratic code of noblesse oblige.” Faced with northern charges that slavery destroyed family life among both blacks and whites, they depicted the peculiar institution as “part of a larger system of reciprocal relationships that made southern society the moral superior of the individualistic North.” Unlike their male counterparts, however, these domestic writers eschewed scientific and sociological arguments. And, where the men emphasized the responsibilities of masters and advised women to accept subordination, the female novelists depicted women, especially plantation mistresses, as having a “redemptive” role to play in southern life.

Writing primarily for an upper-class audience, the five women advised household mistresses to eschew laziness, extravagance, and frivolity so they could serve as the virtuous mainstays of their households and communities. In that way, southern women could exert their influence to maintain their society rather than change it. (By contrast, northern domestic novelists encouraged women to use their influence to recast their society along more feminized lines.)

Moss analyzes the works of Gilman, Hentz, and McIntosh in the first generation, placing their writings in the context of earlier sectional strains. These three, nurtured on stories of the American Revolution, saw the South as endangered by an increasingly materialistic North. But where they sought sectional reconciliation, the later generation, represented by Terhune

and Evans, was less sanguine. They harbored more animosity towards Northerners, observing in them not only a dangerous materialism but, even worse, a disruptive individualism that led some to join the women's rights movement.

By analyzing the writings of the five authors in the context of both their lives and the developing sectional crisis, Moss adds to our understanding of an important and overlooked element of proslavery ideology. She also notes that, although few read their works today, their idealistic descriptions of the old South as a place governed by a responsible planter class which genuinely cared for appreciative slaves lived on in the postwar myth of the Lost Cause. Finally, the five novelists, while instructing southern women to embrace their domesticity, nonetheless, left behind strong female figures who, in turn, inspired later writers such as Ellen Glasgow and Margaret Mitchell.

Moss does not overlook the ironies inherent in their works. Although they sought sectional reconciliation, they perpetuated regional stereotypes that deepened hard feelings and helped lay "the intellectual foundations for civil war." Simultaneously, while instructing southern women to remain in the household, they themselves were professionals who needed and welcomed the income from their writings.

Nonetheless, after reading Moss's analysis of these authors, no one will ever again see southern women as passive bystanders during the ideological debate between antebellum North and South. The work has the added merits of being gracefully written, well grounded in primary sources, and enhanced by internal literary references within the text and additional footnoting. It will prove valuable to those studying the Old South and women's history. It will also appeal to scholars interested in literary, social, and cultural movements of the nineteenth century.

University of Central Florida

SHIRLEY A. LECKIE

Southern Women: Histories and Identities. Edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Perdue. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992. vi, 203 pp. Introduction, notes on contributors, index. \$29.95.)

This useful collection of essays derives from the inaugural Southern Conference for Women Historians held at Converse College in June 1988, a conclave that provided much of the

impetus for the now-burgeoning field of southern women's history. The book opens with Jacquelyn Dowd Hall's cogent historiographical survey of southern women's history, in which Hall warns against imposing any prescribed ideological structure of sisterhood on the southern past and urges instead attention to the many voices of black and white southern women. *Southern Women* gives us many voices more than any coherent argument for a particular casting of southern women's identities. In a bow to their intellectual forebears, who over the past quarter century have recovered so much of New England women's history and written it into the larger public record, the contributors to this volume invest much effort trying to locate southern women's place in public life and thought. A secondary theme, reflecting more-recent currents in women's historical writing and fully in keeping with a region of fictional Coldfields and real Eudora Welty's and so many other storytellers, is the way southern women remembered and controlled their own histories and identities through narrative.

The essays on public life range from Susan Westbury's valuable discovery of Virginia women's political awakening during Bacon's Rebellion, to an examination of women Loyalists in Revolutionary South Carolina, to case studies of the suffrage movements in Alabama and Galveston, Texas, to Roseanne Camacho's nuanced reading of the dualities of race and gender that informed Lillian Smith's writings. Such essays point to southern women's ability to mobilize publicly to protect their own interests, even as some such women invoked themes of women's supposed moral superiority to justify their advances into the public sphere, but the essays do not explain the uneven, even spasmodic, nature of southern women's political involvement. The lack of any discussion of women during the Civil War contributes to such an impression, but so too does the failure of the contributors and editors to try and stitch together patterns showing women's political identities evolving over time or in comparison with developments elsewhere, within and outside the South.

The secondary theme of identity-through-narrative includes three fascinating essays. In an excellent study of historical sleuthing, Kent Leslie relates the unusual story of Amanda America Dickson, a mulatto slave in Georgia who shared her white slaveholder father's property and values and retreated into a "make-believe" world of personal privilege rather than identify

with the larger black community. Leslie discovered Dickson through the recollections of Dickson's granddaughter, who told, and sometimes concocted, a tale of an almost autonomous Dickson in part to establish her own definitions of class and color boundaries. Cheryl Thurber tracks the evolution of the mammy myth from its inchoate antebellum beginnings to its mature form at the turn of the century when whites fashioned a myth of an asexual, loyal mammy to reassert their own cultural and social control over black images and even to justify lynching black men who, in whites' fevered imaginations, supposedly betrayed the trust between the races that the mammy myth exemplified. In the boldest and most disturbing of the essays, Darlene Clark Hine argues that southern black women, ever vulnerable to rape and physical threat, developed strategies of dissembling to conceal their true selves, even from their men. Although Hine cannot document fully her insistence that "many black women quit the South out of a desire to achieve personal autonomy" and to escape "sexual exploitation from inside and outside their families," her argument for noneconomic causes for migration demands close consideration in any future analysis of the "great" or any black migration. Hine also echoes Jacquelyn Hall in reminding us that there are many and competing identities, interests, and narratives. No monolithic southern woman ever existed, whatever her color, and not all the stories are, or will be, told.

Reading *Southern Women* recalled the remarks of those exslaves who confessed to WPA interviewers that they had given up writing the history of their lives because they would have to tell too much. Rather than tell too much, many other southern women left their histories alone. *Southern Women* insists those stories can no longer be forgotten or ignored. As yet, the recovery of southern women's history is an imperfect enterprise. The volume under review leaves many basic questions unasked, especially what made southern women southern and when, if at all, southern women became southern. It slights religion and family identities and issues in favor of public activities. But in their very diversity of subject and method, and in their uniform clarity of expression and urgency of purpose, the essays stand as an invitation to expand the scope of southern history to include women in the stories Southerners must tell about the south.

Saint Joseph's University, Philadelphia

RANDALL M. MILLER

Fair to Middlin': The Antebellum Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley. By Lynn Willoughby. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. xiii, 198 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95.)

Lynn Willoughby wanted to write a “primer on the mechanics of the . . . cotton trade” that “could be understood by the general public” (xii). She explains how the cotton trade of one isolated river valley became part of the integrated national economy and describes the port of Apalachicola as part of the international market economy. She concludes that the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River, although quite distinct from other river systems, was “a microcosm of the mechanics of the entire South’s cotton trade.” The distinctiveness of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee system challenges the claim of it being a “microcosm.”

Navigable southern rivers usually connected a port city, small communities in the hinterland, and a primary trading center at the fall line. Each river system developed a distinctive economy, but Willoughby, all too briefly, gave only a glance at Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans. The Apalachicola/Chattahoochee system included Columbus, Georgia, at the fall line, with Apalachicola on the Gulf of Mexico. Eufaula, Alabama, Fort Gaines and Albany, Georgia, represented some of the interior towns. The variety of businessmen operating in this cotton trade included country merchants, factors, cotton buyers, brokers, commission merchants, speculators, forwarding merchants, shipping merchants, and the related occupations of warehousemen, compress operators, weighers, and insurance agents. Although each occupation had a distinct function, their operations became blurred in succeeding chapters.

Apalachicola, the third-largest port on the Gulf of Mexico after Mobile and New Orleans, had few business connections with these larger ports. Apalachicola developed its distinctive characteristics as a port city with a small, permanent population and an itinerant and seasonal commercial population that caused the port to explode into a major business center as thousands of bales of cotton arrived from the hinterlands on river boats. About 40 percent of Apalachicola cotton went to foreign ports, and the remaining 60 percent went to domestic

ports on the east coast. Apalachicola, according to Willoughby, had stronger business connections to New York than to New Orleans.

Three chapters dealing with cotton money, cotton banks, and cotton financing illustrate some of the problems in the cotton trade. Three states with different money and banking laws complicated commerce in the Chattahoochee/Apalachicola river valley. The chapters on money, banking, and financial complexities are a bit repetitious and sometimes over explained. Nevertheless, they are the most rewarding ones for the reader who is trying to understand the cotton trade at the local level. Willoughby implies that while Columbus expanded as a manufacturing and commercial center, Apalachicola declined during the 1850s because the business community did not have a bank and could not provide adequate credit facilities.

A chapter on "Cotton Men" adds a human dimension and helps to place the businessmen in perspective with the regional economy. A concluding chapter all too briefly comments on river transportation and credits the railroads in the valley as being a major factor in reducing the Apalachicola cotton trade. The author's analysis of railroads and the cotton trade supplants her previous emphasis on credit/banking as the cause for the decline of the port of Apalachicola.

Willoughby supplies a reasonable analysis of the mechanics of the cotton trade, but, by emphasizing the traders in the major towns, she gives only cursory treatment to two important facets. Small farmers, comprising 60 percent of the growers, relied on the local storekeeper. Yet the author devotes only four paragraphs to the country merchant. In a similar manner, steamboat owners and captains often served as more than transportation agents in the cotton trade. Although Willoughby emphasizes Apalachicola and international trade, the absence of references to the annual *Commerce and Navigation Reports* or to treasury department records is puzzling. A few minor errors do not seriously detract from the overall contribution of the work. *Fair to Middlin'* is, indeed, a primer for understanding the cotton trade of one river valley. Lynn Willoughby's study of the Apalachicola cotton trade is a welcome addition to the antebellum history of Florida and to southern economic history.

University of Mississippi

HARRY P. OWENS

In the Hands of Providence: Joshua L. Chamberlain and the American Civil War. By Alice Rains Trulock. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. xxii, 540 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

Over the past several decades Maine's Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain has become one of the most recognized, and compelling, figures of the American Civil War era. He was a central character in Michael Shaara's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Killer Angels* and also in Ken Burns's documentary *The Civil War*. Despite Chamberlain's own prolific writings on his wartime experiences, including the classic *Passing of the Armies*, however, there has yet to be a complete biography produced about him. The late Alice Rains Trulock has remedied this neglect in her book.

Lured away from his professorship at Bowdoin College by the coming of sectional war in 1861, Chamberlain joined the 20th Maine Infantry and was destined to lead it through some of the worst fighting of the conflict. A born soldier who relished martial life, he gained renown for the stand his regiment made on the rocky slopes of Little Round Top at Gettysburg in the face of overwhelming Confederate attacks. With ammunition all but exhausted, a last-minute bayonet charge led by Colonel Chamberlain himself cleared the field of Southerners and saved the day, and perhaps the war, for Union forces. For this action Congress awarded the scholar-warrior the Medal of Honor. Author Trulock retells the story of that fateful July day in Pennsylvania with considerable narrative skill, which makes a familiar tale seem new and original.

Chamberlain went on to brigade and division command in the Army of the Potomac and played a key role in U.S. Grant's 1864 Virginia campaign. After receiving a near-fatal wound before Petersburg, Chamberlain was honored with the only battlefield promotion to full brigadier general Grant ever issued to one of his officers during the Civil War. Based on his fine combat record, the Maine man was finally selected to take the official surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox. Here perhaps he made his greatest contribution to his country. By ordering his troops to salute the vanquished rebels for their bravery in both victory and defeat as they laid down their arms, he began the process of national reconciliation between North and South.

Students of Florida history will be particularly interested in Chamberlain's postwar career, since he made several trips to the sunny peninsula for his health and to seek financial opportunities. In 1882 he became president of the Florida West Coast Improvement Company and later of the Ocala and Silver Springs Company, as well as investing in railroads, hotels, and orange groves. Unfortunately, all of Chamberlain's Florida ventures proved unsuccessful, but he truly enjoyed the climate, and occasionally he piloted a steamer that ran between Cedar Key and Homosassa. Such pleasures faded as time and his six war wounds took their toll on Chamberlain's constitution. He finally died after years of constant pain in 1914.

Exhaustively researched, well written, and illustrated with many rare photographs, *In the Hands of Providence* is a standout in the crowded field of Civil War biography. The author wisely lets Chamberlain speak for himself by quoting extensively from his musings on the war, which was for him and other veterans the central event of their lives. Trulock has constructed a definitive and thoughtful study worthy of the man and his times.

Indian River Community College

ROBERT A. TAYLOR

Why the Confederacy Lost. Edited by Gabor S. Boritt. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. xii, 209 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, contributors, index. \$19.95.)

The Gettysburg Civil War Institute (CWI), Gettysburg College, has been a formative force in shaping the literature on the Civil War. For many years CWI has brought together some of the seminal Civil War scholars and provided them with a forum for advancing and refining their thoughts. The highly regarded centennial volume, *Why the North Won the Civil War*, was a product of this conference series. The 1991 meeting focused on the perennial subject of the military equation in analyzing why the Confederacy lost.

Gabor Boritt, professor of history at Gettysburg College and director of CWI, has edited this volume. In his "Introduction," Dr. Boritt tries to justify the book's military focus. He argues that scholars who study factors other than military cannot adequately explain why the Confederacy lost.

In the opening essay, the well known Civil War historian James McPherson obliquely disagrees with the view that military factors are the most compelling, stating, "Despite all the efforts to explain why the North won or why the South lost . . . we still do not have a consensus." McPherson states that most interpretations can be characterized as internal— limited to the Confederacy only, or external— factors affecting the progress of the war in both sections. This typology is usually employed to demonstrate that Union victory was inevitable, a conclusion that McPherson maintains is wrong. Rather, he states, it is only through the careful analysis of the contingency of individual events— military, political, and social— that one can begin to comprehend southern defeat.

Archer Jones, who contributed to a similar volume, *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (1986), illustrates the inextricable relationship between strategy and political needs. Jones believes that each side effectively employed and adapted military strategies to meet the exigencies of their respective domestic and international politics. He does maintain, though, that the "Confederate armies melted away not because men lacked supplies but because they and their families no longer had the political motivation to continue."

The issue of military leadership is addressed by Gary Gallagher, who published two books on this subject. He maintains that the generals— Grant, Sherman, and Lee— decided the course of the war. Gallagher argues that their success or failure influenced other factors— social, economic, and political. His essay is overly ambitious, and there are three distinct topics that could have been developed. Of these only the extended defense of Lee, which consumes more than one-half the article, is really given adequate coverage.

In the succeeding essay, the author of *Civil War Soldiers*, Reid Mitchell, stresses their importance. Richard Current had argued this point in his essay "God and the Strongest Battalions" (1960). Mitchell differs from Current, though, in stating that it was not overwhelming numbers that ensured victory, but the loss of Confederate will exacerbated by the growing "perseverance" of Union forces.

In the concluding article, Joseph Glatthaar has crafted a provocative essay on the crucial role of black soldiers. Dr. Glatthaar notes that nearly 190,000 blacks served in the Union army and

navy. Their contribution, Glatthaar insists, "helped to make the difference between victory and stalemate or defeat."

This volume will produce much discussion and argument among Civil War scholars. The decision to focus on military issues and exclude the voluminous scholarship on other subjects— economic, political, and particularly social— will generate much controversy. The essays themselves are provocative and will stimulate debate for some time. We are all grateful that CWI has brought fresh perspectives to an old subject.

National Park Service

MICHAEL G. SCHENE

Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction. By Eric Foner. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. xlv, 290 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, sources cited, illustrations, photographs, notes, indices. \$75.00.)

Old myths die hard, and, among them, has been the portrait of black Reconstruction-era officeholders as little more than a mass of illiterate and incapable tools in the hands of corrupt Carpetbaggers. Fortunately for Florida, the 1965 publication of Joe M. Richardson's *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877*, combined with Jerrell H. Shofner's 1974 *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*, proved the myth's lie insofar as this state is concerned. The fact of a similar regional experience was confirmed in careful detail in Eric Foner's prize-winning 1988 synthesis, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Business*.

Despite these and other efforts by historians over the past four decades, most black officeholders remain virtually unknown to us as individuals. Faced with that immense gap in our ability to understand them and their lives, Foner again has stepped forward to offer a substantial contribution. He has identified 1,465 individuals who served in southern public office during Reconstruction and provided biographical information on his subjects when readily available. Included also is a helpful, though brief, review of the historiography of black involvement in Reconstruction government and politics and a summary look at the magnitude of black officeholding, the backgrounds of

black officials, the paths by which blacks became politically involved, the trials and tribulations of their service, and the nature of their lives after politics. Numerous photographs and other likenesses enhance the volume.

Where so few resources are otherwise available, Foner's effort deserves praise. Readers may be somewhat surprised, though, by what is not included. Most importantly, the author's definition of Reconstruction is an extremely limited one. "To be included in *Freedom's Lawmakers*," he observes, "an individual must have held some office before the end of Reconstruction, a date that varies from state to state and that I define as the election that produced simultaneous Democratic control of both houses of the legislature and the governorship" (p. xiii). As a result more than half of the entries relate only to South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Fifty-eight Florida officials are mentioned, of whom forty-two were state legislators. Omitted are the additional forty or so men who served in the legislature between 1877 and 1889, but not before 1877. More than 150 other men who held local office in this state after 1876 likewise are neglected.

Within the limits he has set, Foner asserts that he has included a substantial majority of all black officials, including "all major state officials, members of constitutional conventions, and legislators" (p. xiii). If Florida's example is typical, he has not met his goal. At least eleven legislators are overlooked. They are: Lucien Fisher, Birch Gibson, Alfred Grant, Scipio Jasper, David Montgomery, Zach H. Morehead, George Nixon, Samuel Petty, R. A. Stearns, John N. Stokes, and John Sunday. Montgomery's omission especially is troubling as he very nearly became lieutenant governor in 1877. Eight local officers are listed, while 100 or more are not.

In a work of this magnitude, mistakes naturally will creep in, and no claim is made that this text is "completely accurate" (p. xiii). Florida users will note minor errors in that Joseph E. Lee's middle initial is misstated; Benjamin Thompson served in the legislature from Jefferson, not Columbia, County; and Charles Thompson held his legislative seat during 1873-75. George W. Witherspoon, a very prominent political and church leader, did not live until 1937. He died at Key West in December 1891.

This book is a good beginning at identifying and individualizing in a comprehensive manner the men who overcame

the shackles of slavery and racism to help govern themselves and their states during Reconstruction. This reviewer hopes that it will prompt renewed efforts toward completing this important task.

Florida State University

CANTER BROWN, JR.

Whistling Dixie: A Dictionary of Southern Expressions. By Robert Hendrickson. (New York: Facts On File, 1993. xxxi, 251 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction. \$24.95.)

Robert Hendrickson gets down to a gnat's eyebrow, giving readers strong picturesque images, lyrical sounds, and imaginative humor that will tickle any word buffs funny bone. He plows fertile furrows of diverse southern dialects as if he were dropping goober peas and guano in new ground and wishing for a gully-washer.

Indeed, Hendrickson has a good ear for earthy Southspeak; he fills a croker sack with front-porch talk and crackerbarrel yarnspinning that would have pleased Mark Twain and sent Florida folklorist Will McLean into songbird splendor. His linguistic harvest is big enough to choke a shoat.

Whistling Dixie is the first of five volumes to come, comprising the Facts On File Encyclopedia of American Regionalisms, portending a more definitive reference of collected expressions for writers and researchers. Writers of southern literature will delight in this essential reference. Obviously some Southerners—indeed, native Floridians of the rural panhandle and the small-town peninsula—might be able to supplement this listing from personal experience—one of the author's aims as his language search continues.

For native Southerners, especially Floridians, his findings flood the mind with memory, nostalgia, and belly laughter. Nuggets on these pages flavor southern literature from William Faulkner to Eudora Welty to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings to Erskine Caldwell and newer generations of Dixie writers. It is a sweet magnolia of sayings, a plate of sweet potato pie, a gumbo of the tacky, titi, Tarheel talk, and genteel Charlestonian; the long drawl of whopper-jawed baccy spitters arguing stumphead qualities of sippin' whiskey. From Louisiana's lagniappe to the

light bread, white lightning and gopher-pulling of Florida panhandle. Among many gems: the Faulknerian “evening was already finding itself,” the expressive “looks like the bad end of bad luck,” and the low estimation of being “worth doodley squat.”

Along with residue from Scarlett O’Hara, Senator Claghorn, and Tobacco Road, you find Rawlings’ Florida Scrub, Jody’s flutter mill (*The Yearling*), along with the Florida river cooter and “Floridy” Cracker. Even a Florida room to catch the sun, which has become an architectural phrase across the state. Expressions coined and honed in more-agrarian times have not been entirely smothered by homogenizing television, the new regimen of political correctness, and especially urbanization of the pastoral South.

Hendrickson believes South Mouth is very much still vocal, detectable in regional accents from East Texas to the Carolinas, from the Virginia tidewater to the palmetto latitudes of Florida. While many expressions are archaic or snippets from southern literature—preserved by folklorists—others still decorate southern talk. He contends it is a reflection of regional pride that lingers despite the reality that urban clustering and late twentieth-century culture have diminished the earthiness of an earlier, mainly agricultural-base, region.

He shows a wide-open ear tuned to common speech and an immersion in the details of southern history from which that speech has sprung. This collection is for browsing, for pleasurable page turning, for serious researchers seeking phrases that portray southernisms of the past in a reflection of affectionate continuity. His well-phrased introductory essay establishes the origins of southern dialect, which springs from a variety of sources: Cajun, Creole, Gumbo, Gullah, and Conch. He says Southerners are proud of their accents and distinctive verbal expression. As a south Georgian says, “It’s the closest thang on God’s green earth to the King’s natchul English.” Linguists agree, since the North was settled by immigrants who learned English as a second language and were heavily dependent on the written word. By contrast, Southerners have always relied on the spoken word. In that respect, southern speech is closer to the native speech of England, and often Elizabethian England. Rooted in the spoken word, southern speech is a much more sensitive and effective medium of communication.

Dialect differs widely within regions, whether it is the pleasing softness of the Virginia Tidewater or the easy drawl of the South Carolina Low Country and the General Southern Lowland. Here more than 60,000,000 talk southern in sixteen states, from southeast Texas and Florida north to southern Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

Southern speech, Hendrickson says, is not endangered, despite increased American mobility and the same-speak of television. It is too widespread and deeply rooted in the past. He writes, "Who knows, perhaps the lazy or relaxed rhythms of Southern speech will even become the national mode within the next century or so." Now that's downright friendly that it could happen *raht cheer*. As sure as God made little green apples.

Pensacola News Journal

JESSE EARLE BOWDEN

Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America. Edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993. xii, 238 pp. Preface, contributors, index. \$39.00.)

Historians of urban policy have usually sought to explain the development of public policy. In *Urban Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, a group of scholars approaches the issue from a very different perspective, exploring the social effects of policy. They devote particular attention to analyzing the ways in which early and mid-twentieth-century policy decisions produced some of the problems of the modern city.

Like many collections, this volume grew out of a lecture series. Such roots account for the strengths and the shortcomings of the book. The contributors are first-rate scholars, and their essays cover important ground. But despite the high quality of the individual pieces, the volume lacks a unifying theme. Some of the essays offer assessments of the secondary-source literature on large topics. Others are based on original research and offer micro-level analyses. Moreover, two essays, though interesting, deal only indirectly with public policy.

Essays by Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl examine the human consequences of urban policy. In a superb review of the literature on the black ghetto, Hirsch emphasizes the role of

the government in facilitating and accelerating racial segregation. If the first ghetto arose largely as a result of the interaction among racial discrimination, market forces, and demographic changes, the second ghetto— as well as the modern ghetto— reflected the active hand of government policy. Zoning ordinances, slum clearance and renewal programs, federal housing policies that directed public funds away from poor and black neighborhoods and toward middle-class, white, suburban areas, and highway construction efforts permitted— and often ensured— increasing racial segregation. The modern urban crisis, Hirsch concludes, is a legacy of urban policy since the 1930s.

Mohl addresses a similar theme in his essay on highway construction in Miami. Interstate-95 displaced thousands of black Miamians and destroyed a vibrant black section of the city. Drawing from previously published work, but adding new detail and analysis, Mohl explains that many policy makers were more concerned with the completion of the highway project than with the social effects of the construction. Other influential Miamians seized the excuse of highway building either to profit from the displacement or to isolate the city's black population from commercial and white areas. Like Hirsch, Mohl emphasizes the ways in which private interests, notably real estate developers, influenced and distorted public policy. Far from endangering the interests of the business community, urban policy often became a tool of business leaders. The ghetto and racial conflict, in short, were effects of policy decisions.

The remaining essays present different and loosely related perspectives on urban policy. Michael B. Katz, in an essay that offers preliminary observations on a large research project, suggests ways in which the policies of early twentieth-century charity organizations affected poor New Yorkers. Katz notes the diversity and resilience of the urban poor. David R. Goldfield provides a brief survey of black political power in the urban South. Carl Abbott's essay explores the process of economic globalization as well as its effects. Interestingly, Abbott argues that local policy makers (rather than federal officials) usually forge responses to modern economic shifts. Thus, globalization presents unusual opportunities for local leaders to chart the economic futures of their cities. The volume concludes with Sam Bass Warner, Jr.'s, wide-ranging discussion of the environmental impact of urban society.

In short, this collection contains useful essays, though it lacks a unifying approach or theme. Nor does the book include an introduction that identifies common topics or definitions. Despite its limitations the volume offers a collection of highly intelligent essays on the modern city.

University of Florida

JEFFREY S. ADLER

Miami: Architecture of the Tropics. Edited by Maurice Culot and Jean-François Lejeune. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993. 190 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, photographs, illustrations. \$39.95, paper.)

This book is a product of an exhibition organized by the Foundation pour l'Architecture of Brussels and the University of Miami School of Architecture for the Center for the Fine Arts in Miami. The lavish photographs and drawings in this volume mirror rather closely the exhibition. The text, which seems to be a quest to discover the real Miami and its urbanistic context, contains a "Foreword" by Mark Ormond, director of the Center for the Fine Arts, and an introduction, entitled "Transatlantic," by Caroline Mierop, the curator of the exhibition. Maurice Culot, president of the Foundation pour l'Architecture, gives a very personal, impressionistic view of Miami and its history in the chapter "Blows to the Heart and Fleeting Impressions."

For the historian the most interesting chapter is the somewhat tongue-in-cheek work "The Three Traditions of Miami" by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, probably America's most innovative contemporary urban planners and both associated with the University of Miami School of Architecture. It is their claim that in its short history, Miami architecture has seen only three reoccurring stylistic traditions: the Cracker vernacular, the Mediterranean Revival, and "frivolous" modernism. The Cracker vernacular is the original wooden architecture of the area, with its broad protective overhangs and sheltering porches. That this style was so environmentally correct for the tropics meant that a new generation of architects in the 1950s and 1960s, most trained at the University of Florida School of Architecture, once more made it popular in south

Florida. The authors call this later work “contemporary Cracker.”

For Duany and Plater-Zyberk, the Mediterranean Revival began in Miami with F. Burrall Hoffman, Jr., and Vizcaya and became the style of choice in the 1920s. While the authors claim that the thick masonry walls and small openings for windows and doors made for less environmentally sound buildings than the Cracker style, they say that they were superb for air conditioning which is “the real climate of Miami now.” The authors forget that the best of the 1920s Mediterranean Revival buildings were designed with cross ventilation, broad loggias, grassy courtyards, tiled floors, and very high ceilings that kept them cool even in the hot Florida summers. While Duany and Plater-Zyberk say that postmodernism in Miami often takes the Mediterranean tradition for its form, which in turn causes “great damage to its reputation,” the exhibit was housed in the greatly admired Mediterranean-inspired postmodern Dade County Cultural Center, designed by Philip Johnson and John Burgee.

Duany and Plater-Zyberk say modernism began on Miami Beach in the 1930s with the Art Deco hotels of architects such as Henry Hohauser, V. H. Nellenbogen, and Russell Pancoast. The authors suggest it continued in the “Brasilia style,” with Morris Lapidus’s flamboyant hotels of the 1950s. Today, they say, the tradition is “spectacularly in the care of Arquitectonica.”

Duany and Plater-Zyberk say that supporters of the three traditions continue to argue about which is the true “style” for Miami. They suggest that the true style might be a hybrid of all three. While realizing that this could create an eclectic monster, they also understand that the tropical landscape will ultimately dispose of all mistakes.

In “Dream of Cities,” Jean-François Lejeune, also associated with the University of Miami School of Architecture, discusses urbanism in the last years of this century. Although he traces Miami’s urbanistic development, and tells of various plans for the city’s second century, Lejeune never defines what Americans really want in their cities. Most Americans are tired of suburban sprawl and mirrored-walled “edge cities” off expressway interchanges. On the other hand, if the “real war against suburban mediocrity must be waged in the trenches of private development” then Miami as well as the rest of Florida is in real trouble.

The final chapter, "Tropical Cocktail," contains brief introductions to pictorial essays on domestic architecture in Miami and the new developments of Seaside and Windsor, planned by Duany and Plater-Zyberk. This is a beautifully designed book with many striking color photographs. It is at its best, as was the exhibit, in detailing the contemporary work of the young architects of Miami. I even believe the photographic essays on Seaside and Windsor can be defended, though the purist might wonder why a book entitled *Miami: Architecture of the Tropics* features a village in the Florida panhandle and a development over a hundred miles up the coast from the Magic City.

Florida Atlantic University

DONALD W. CURL

Free Men in the Age of Servitude: Three Generations of a Black Family.

By Lee H. Warner. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992. 168 pp. Acknowledgments, introductions, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.00.)

Anyone who explores Tallahassee's historic district cannot help but be impressed with the work of George Proctor, a skilled craftsman who built several of the capitol city's oldest structures. Apprenticed as a carpenter in St. Augustine, Proctor migrated to Tallahassee with the first rush of settlers. Proctor's skills were in great demand in this free-wheeling frontier town. Borrowing, building, and speculating, Proctor prospered in the flush times of the 1820s and 1830s; that is, until the Panic of 1837 sent Proctor and others like him reeling. The life of George Proctor demonstrates the perilous nature of entrepreneurial activity in the early nineteenth century. Bucking boom and bust cycles in a time before federal loan programs and FDIC was difficult—but for a free black man in a slave society, it was well-nigh impossible.

George Proctor, his father Antonio, a military hero, and his son John, a Reconstruction politician, constitute three generations (1743-1944) of one of Florida's most remarkable families. Lee Warner, executive director of the Aslo Center for the Performing Arts in Sarasota, reconstructs their lives using deed books, court records, government documents, and newspapers. The task is difficult because the Proctors left no personal papers.

It is made even more so by the fact that generations of Tallahassee—white and black—have embellished their accomplishments—so much so that they constitute a fictional yet vivid folklore.

George Proctor moved with his aging father to Florida's new territorial capital with the first rush of settlers in the early 1820s. Through his own ability and the patronage of William Pope DuVal, James Westcott, and other prominent whites, Proctor contributed markedly to the town's physical growth. He borrowed, paid debts, sued, and was sued much as any other builder-businessman. And yet as the Panic neared, Proctor borrowed heavily to finance a series of new construction projects. He also borrowed to purchase a wife. When the collapse came, George was threatened with losing his family. Prominent whites intervened to prevent this ultimate humiliation. But as the economic situation worsened in Tallahassee, so did the ability of a free black to climb out of debt. George made the fateful decision to go to California to try and restore his finances. He never saw his family again. George's dreams of financial security and freedom for his family literally went up in smoke when a hotel he partially owned burned. Proctor's family was subsequently sold into slavery, albeit to owners who by all accounts treated them with compassion.

Ironically, John Proctor remembered his adolescence as the slave of a prominent Tallahassee storekeeper as some of the fondest years of his life. After the Civil War he joined Florida's ruling yet fractious Republican party. His career as assemblyman and federal officeholder exemplified the political opportunities available for blacks in the era. But black participation in politics was short lived. By the 1880s Proctor and others like him fell victim to the restoration of white political control sweeping the South. Though he lived to be 100, Proctor's political career was over at the age of forty.

Warner develops several themes which tie this work together. First, white patronage played a large role in the Proctor's prosperity. Second, the Proctors thrived best in towns which were in their earliest stages of development. The fluid, flexible, impermanent nature of St. Augustine in the Second Spanish Period, early territorial and Reconstruction Tallahassee, and Sonoma, California, during the Gold Rush fitted this requirement. This was the sort of environment in which talent was

more important than tradition, skill more important than status. As these towns matured, the opportunities for free blacks lessened. Racial prejudice against blacks certainly existed, but it was not of the sort blacks experienced in later years.

Lee Warner should be commended for his attempt to illuminate the lives of this remarkable family. His work with county records demonstrates that it is possible to reconstruct the lives of those he calls the "inarticulate." His description of early Tallahassee, especially the building trade in the new territorial capital, is superb. Some, however, may disagree with his assertion that Tallahassee society in the 1830s and 1850s differed as markedly as he contends. Others may question the contention that Southerners fought the "civil war in the name of slavery" (p. 63). These minor criticisms aside, Warner's work is a welcome addition to Florida history, black history, and family history.

Florida Southern College

JAMES M. DENHAM

Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Enduring Legacy of African-American Families. By Andrew Billingsley (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992. 442 pp. Foreword, introduction, tables, figures, notes, selected bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$27.50.)

Andrew Billingsley has written extensively on the black family for more than two decades. In his latest effort, *Climbing Jacob's Ladder*, he continues his preoccupation with the subject in a new and well researched analysis of the multi-dimensional nature of African-American family structures and relationships. He presents eighteen chapters of discussion and statistical data that focus on the origins, development, and metamorphosis of the black family in this country from the time of slavery to the present.

The arguments that Billingsley posits in attacking the myths and misconceptions that presently surround the institution of the black family command the reader's attention and respect. For example, he contends that the black family is not disappearing but continues to adapt to the social, political, and economic changes taking place in American society and the world today. Using primary and secondary sources that span the last thirty

years, he focuses on lower-, middle-, and upper-class black families and the impact of economic conditions as primary determinants of their viability and stability. Billingsley comes to grips with the idea held by certain social scientists that black single-parent families are inherently unstable. He rejects the notion that one may judge the stability of the black family by comparing it to families from other racial and ethnic groups in America. Citing specific cases of single parents, the author describes how they have provided for the necessities of life for their children, with the assistance of both extended and augmented families.

In seeking to advance further discussion of the multi-faceted nature of the black family in America, Billingsley has produced a provocative study, as well as a skillful analysis of recent scholarship on the subject. A major contribution lies in the author's ability to explain clearly and simply the various social forces shaping, molding, and changing the overall composition of the black family today. He not only states the problems, he proposes what might be done to ameliorate them.

This work will be of value to students, scholars, general readers, and policy makers interested in understanding the complexities of the black family in American society today.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

Claude Kirk and the Politics of Confrontation. By Edmund F. Kallina, Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. ix, 253 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth; \$18.95, paper.)

In this very readable monograph, historian Edmund Kallina, Jr., sets himself a formidable task: to salvage the historical reputation of the maverick one-term (1967-1971) governor Claude Roy Kirk, Jr., Florida's first Republican chief executive in the state's modern history. That Kallina is only partially successful in this forbidding attempt at historical resuscitation does not seriously diminish the value of the work he has here undertaken.

Kirk's historical reputation, embellished by both memory and pen since he left office twenty-two years ago, has been that

of a political loudmouth who made a big noise, accomplished little in his four-year term, and, having become a public embarrassment to the state's voters, was dispatched by them at the earliest possible opportunity—when he stood for reelection in 1970.

Such a view, Kallina asserts, is woefully wide of the mark. "In the four years he governed," writes the author, "the most sweeping changes in the history of twentieth-century Florida took place, most notably the radical transformation of Florida's government and politics." "Aided by forces both external and internal to the state," Kallina claims, "Kirk led what amounted to a revolution." These are strong words, and the achievements that Kallina cites as proof of this putative "revolution" do not justify his claim. They do persuade, however, that Kirk's record as governor is much more credible than his critics have ever conceded.

The changes that Kallina heralds, and which build the case for Kirk's redemption, can be briefly cited: a new state constitution that enlarged gubernatorial authority and significantly strengthened the powers of the legislature. Representatives to Tallahassee now would meet annually, with support staff that dwarfed pre-1968 support levels. In addition, as Kallina observes: "A massive reorganization took place within state agencies and bureaus. At the insistence of the governor [Kirk] some legislators and other reformers, state government became more open, more rational, more professional, and more responsible." Certainly, to the degree that the changes occurred, Kirk deserves some of the notice for having assisted in effecting them. That the massive bureaucratization of state government that followed has well served the citizens of the state is a much more arguable proposition. Hence, if this is the case on which the Kirk recovery depends, the case is not altogether persuasive. As Kallina himself observes, Florida's less than successful efforts to address the quality of its public education, its ever-mounting incidence of violent crime (which Kirk, to his credit, did try to address), and its administration of social and health services, much criticized, all raise disturbing questions, not only about Kirk's term as governor but the administrations of those who followed him. Kallina also argues that Kirk was the first modern governor to address the environmental problems brought on by Florida's rapid growth, and he cites Kirk's willingness to bring

environmentalist Nat Reed into service as proof of his commitment to conservation and preservation.

Claude Kirk had political skills that he used to great advantage following his surprise victory over Robert King High in 1966. He was a quick study, colorful, with a ready wit. Plain spoken and flamboyant, he was an amusing public figure. Confronted with a series of crises— most notably a statewide teachers strike in 1968— he responded with tactics that confounded his adversaries. Inheriting a Republican party that in victory was deeply divided, he did little to bind up the party's wounds and, in effect, by his fractious actions assisted the Democrats' return to power. Repudiated by voters in 1970, he disappeared as a serious force in Florida politics, having had a brief but sensational moment in the florida sunshine. It is his good fortune that he has fallen into the hands of a capable scholar who has done much to recoup Kirk's misbegotten legacy, even if the recovery is incomplete. Readers will enjoy this foray into Florida's recent past.

University of Florida

AUGUSTUS BURNS, III

BOOK NOTES

Michael Gannon's best-selling *A Short History of Florida* is available in a paperback edition. Generously illustrated and engagingly written, the volume leads readers from an examination of the indigenous tribes of Florida in the pre-Columbian era to a consideration of contemporary issues and concerns. It can be ordered from the University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611 for \$9.95.

Marjory Stoneman Douglas holds the deserved title of the nation's first lady of conservation because of her lifelong commitment to saving the Everglades. In commemoration of her 100th birthday in 1990, Pineapple Press has published Douglas's autobiography, *Voice of the River*, in a new paperback edition. John Rothchild edited 200 hours of taped memoirs to add a lengthy introduction to this account of her life. The volume can be obtained from the press at P. O. Drawer 16008, Sarasota, FL 34239 for \$17.95, cloth; \$9.95, paper.

Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region, edited by Raymond A. Mohl, has been republished in a paperback edition by the University of Georgia Press. Mohl has contributed an essay on immigrants in Miami, and Raymond Arsenault's classic essay on the impact of air conditioning on the development of the region (notably including Florida) is reprinted in this collection. Many of the other ten essays deal with events and issues in Florida. The book may be purchased from the press at 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602 for \$14.95.

The University Press of Florida has reprinted *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882-1936*, by Robert P. Ingalls of the University of South Florida. Ingalls's work centers on antiunion vigilantism directed by the city's elites against the cigar makers of Tampa's Ybor City—skilled workers who were largely Latin, foreign born, class conscious, and militant. It can be obtained from the press at 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611 for \$16.95.

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A Grammar and Dictionary of the Timucua Language, by Julian Granberry, examines the language of the extinct seventeenth-century Timucua people of central Alabama and north and central Florida. Taken from surviving contemporary records, this book describes the grammar and lexicon of the language and traces the origins of these largely forgotten people. It can be obtained from the University of Alabama Press, P. O. Box 870380, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0380 for \$19.95. The press has also published a paperback edition of *Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs*, a lively examination of the humor of nineteenth-century Alabama through the writings of journalist Johnson Jones Hooper. It is an acknowledged classic of frontier humor of this period and is available for \$14.95.

In *Courage in Persona: The Autobiography of Thomas A. Wright, Sr.*, a longtime Gainesville civil rights leader and Baptist preacher adds his story to the growing body of post-World War II African-American autobiography. Wright was born in Covington, Georgia; raised in Boynton Beach, Florida; and educated at Florida Memorial College and Howard University Divinity School. Upon graduating from the latter in 1954, he was hired as pastor of St. Mary's Baptist Church in St. Augustine. Civil rights activism began soon after, and as a result of such activities Wright eventually was pressured into leaving the city. In 1962 he and his family moved to Gainesville where he spent seventeen years as the head of the local NAACP branch. Primarily intended as an inspirational text, Wright's autobiography will nonetheless interest historians for its insights into the quest for racial equality in two Florida cities. *Courage in Persona* can be ordered from the author, 2505 NE 8th Avenue, Gainesville, FL 32601. The price is \$12.00.

Not Slave, Not Free: The African American Economic Experience Since the Civil War, by Jay R. Mandle, focuses on the economic roles played by African Americans since emancipation. The bulk of the work centers on the way in which African Americans were intertwined in the rural, agricultural southern economy prior to World War II. Other sections of the book discuss the postwar migrations from the South and the problems and opportunities encountered in America's cities. Mandle concludes that an acceleration in the economic growth of the United States requires a substantial gain in African-American education. The

volume can be ordered from Duke University Press, 6697 College Station, Durham, NC 27708 for \$29.95, cloth; \$12.95, paper.

Pineapple Press, P. O. Drawer 16008, Sarasota, FL 34239, has brought out two volumes of interest to readers. Florida's "book culture" is the subject of Kevin M. McCarthy's *The Book Lover's Guide to Florida*. The volume includes discussions of authors and their works and also careful descriptions of literary sites (covered in each section in geographic order to facilitate the volume's use as a travel guide). A principal purpose of the book is to explore the rich and ongoing history of Florida's literary culture. It can be ordered for \$27.95, cloth and \$18.95, paper.

The second volume is *African Americans in Florida*, by Maxine D. Jones and Kevin M. McCarthy. This heavily illustrated, folio-sized volume traces the history of African Americans in Florida from the arrival of Estevanico the Black, a member of the exploration party of Panfilo de Narvaez in 1528, to the present. The book highlights the lives of fifty notable African Americans representing all walks of life and varieties of accomplishments. The authors have also supplied a detailed description of the 141 sites on the Florida Black Heritage Trail which mark contributions to the state's history and culture. It is available in a cloth edition, \$24.95, and paperback, \$17.95.

Tampa's Julius J. Gordon has continued his documentary studies of nineteenth-century southwest Florida by issuing his *Afro-Americans of Hillsborough County, Florida, 1870-1890*. The volume offers references to blacks gleaned from census schedules, newspaper entries, county records, city directories, cemetery books, and other sources. Information is arranged alphabetically by name. Appendices contain, among other things, abstracts from the Tampa *Florida Peninsular* (1855-1871), a schedule of birth places of blacks in Florida, schedules of family relationships, lists of slaves reclaimed from the Seminoles (c. 1837), and Hillsborough County's 1860 census schedules for slaves. The volume is fully indexed and includes numerous illustrations. Gordon's documentary series has already proved invaluable for researchers in southwest Florida history and geneal-

ogy, and this work maintains the high standards of his earlier efforts. It may be obtained by contacting the author at 215 West Grand Central Avenue #708, Tampa, FL 33606-1992. [Reviewed by Canter Brown, Jr., Florida State University.]

In October 1968 Jacksonville and Duval County, Florida, became one government, abolishing duplicative functions and widespread political corruption while saving millions of dollars in the process. Before consolidation the city and county were in a state of political crisis, and community needs were not being met. Consolidation effectively addressed the most pressing problems of this situation. The entire process is fully explored in a revised version of Richard Martin's study, *A Quiet Revolution: The Consolidation of Jacksonville and Duval County and the Dynamics of Urban Political Reform*. The volume is available from White Publishing Company, 1650 Prudential Drive, Suite 300, Jacksonville, FL 32207 at a cost of \$15.00.

Brightly Burns the Flame: The Story of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Ft. Pierce, Florida, by Robert D. Tylander, was issued at the centennial celebration of St. Andrew's Church. The volume consists principally of various memories, newsclips, and diary entries of parishioners. They reveal the range of activities and interests of the church membership. It can be ordered from St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, 210 S. Indian River Drive, Fort Pierce, FL 34950 for \$18.50.

In November 1752 a hurricane swept over Santa Rosa Island and obliterated a small Spanish outpost located there, burying it under white sand for two centuries. In the early 1960s archaeologists discovered the site, calling it the "most important archaeology discovery in the history of the Southeast United States." Dr. Hale Smith of Florida State University conducted a major excavation of the site in 1964, which yielded numerous artifacts and a more accurate understanding of early Spanish settlement. The full story of this dig is contained in *The Excavation of Santa Rosa Pensacola: An Insider's Account*, by Leora M. Sutton. The volume can be ordered from Patagonia Press, P. O. Box 284, Bagdad, FL 32530 for \$6.85. The same press has also published *The Mobile Cadets, 1845-1945: A Century of Honor and Fidelity*, edited by William S. Coker. This volume covers the col-

orful history of the Mobile Cadets, a military company first organized in Mobile, Alabama, in 1845. The bulk of the text comes from an anonymous manuscript history of the unit which covers the period 1845-1874. The volume contains a number of illustrations and can be ordered for the price of \$17.50.

Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community, by James Oliver Horton, is an inquiry into the historical forces that unified and divided free African Americans in the pre-Civil War North. The book documents the complexity of antebellum African-American communities and provides the opportunity to compare experiences in northern locations with what is known about free blacks in the South. It can be ordered from Smithsonian Institution Press, 470 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 700, Washington, DC for \$39.95, cloth; \$15.95, paper.

Edwin Forbes's *Thirty Years After* is one of the most remarkable firsthand accounts of the Civil War ever published. Originally issued in 1890—thus the title—the book has now been reissued in a lavish, oversized facsimile edition. It is both a pictorial and written record of the daily experience of war, and it stands as a classic publication for several reasons. The volume contains hundreds of etchings of Civil War scenes along with twenty equestrian portraits of Union generals such as Grant, Sherman, and Custer. It can be ordered from Louisiana State University Press, P. O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894 for \$65.00.

A Bibliography of Florida: Volume I: 1507-1845, by James A. and Lana D. Servies, is the first in a series of volumes that, when completed, will describe the printed literature of Florida from the earliest times through the close of World War II. Entries are grouped in chronological sequence according to the year of original publication. Almost every entry is fully annotated; particular attention is given to such specific Florida content as biographical sketches, portraits, maps, illustrations, travel narratives, and other features. The first volume consists of 3,106 entries, and it is fully indexed. It is available from King and Queen Books, P. O. Box 15062, Pensacola, FL 32514-0062 for \$165.00.

Vic Knight's Florida is a sprightly collection of trivia and insight into the state's past. A tenth-generation native, the author rambles through Florida's five-hundred-year history to dispel numerous myths and bring to light fascinating aspects of folklore and culture, all done with "a healthy dose of humor." It can be ordered from Pelican Publishing Company, 1101 Monroe Street, P. O. Box 189, Gretna, LA 70053 for \$16.95.

The history of Fort Myers from the perspective of its earliest pioneers is contained in *Early Fort Myers: Tales of Two Sisters*, by Alberta Colcord Barnes and Nell Colcord Weidenbach. A generous picture section complements the full rendition of the people, events, and issues that dominated the founding of Fort Myers. Order the volume from the Southwest Florida Historical Society, 10091 McGregor Boulevard, Fort Myers, FL 33901 for \$12.95.

The sixth edition of *The Complete Guide to Florida Foundations, 1994*, the only comprehensive source of information about grant-making foundations operating in the State of Florida, is now available. The volume includes detailed profiles of over 1,500 grant programs available to nonprofit organizations, educational institutions, government entities, and individuals in Florida. Copies can be ordered from Alice N. Culbreath, Managing Editor, 9350 South Dixie Highway, Suite 1560, Department F-6, Miami, FL 33156; (305) 670-2203.

My Dear Mother and Sisters: Civil War Letters of Capt. A. B. Mulligan, 1861-1865, compiled and edited by Olin Fulmer Hutchinson, Jr., documents the war career and family history of a deeply committed Confederate officer. The core of the volume consists of 259 letters that give an account of Captain Mulligan's life and military experiences. It is available directly from the author at 4706 Cheviot Road, Charlotte, NC 28269 for \$22.30.