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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida. By William E. McGoun. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993. vii, 140 pp. Introduction, figures, tables, bibliography, index. \$19.95, paper.)

Over the last twenty-five years there has been a flurry of archaeological research conducted in south Florida. Much of this research has been specialized in nature or, instead, narrowly focused on a single topic. This has had the effect of limiting access to the archaeology of this region. This is no longer a problem with the publication of William E. McGoun's *Prehistoric Peoples of South Florida*, a book which "is designed to be a scholarly dissertation for the specialist and a book that will be of interest to the lay public." To this end he has exceeded remarkably well: This book synthesizes all of the archaeological research into a very readable, concise summary of the prehistory of south Florida. However, this work is not merely a summary or review of previous research. It includes an important original contribution to Calusa political interactions with the Spanish.

In the introduction the author outlines the theoretical perspective he will use, opting for a culture historical approach, one which chronicles the events and changes in south Florida archaeology in terms of projectile point and ceramic styles. He also sees cultural continuity and tradition as a major theme in the prehistory of the area, repeatedly providing examples throughout the text. The culture areas within south Florida are mapped, and an archaeological chronology of the region is provided along with a discussion of some technical terms and how they will be used throughout the text. Unfortunately, he has reversed the definition of stage and period, but this is of little concern in the text. The first chapter provides an outstanding discussion of the Calusa and their interactions with the Spanish and other groups in south Florida. This is not merely a rehash of previous discussions but instead represents an original treatment and, in point of fact, is for me the strong point of the book. This is not to underplay the quality of the rest, but as a specialist in the area I found the discussion of the Calusa political activities extremely important. However, this chapter does have a

shortcoming. Although there is a map locating the protohistoric period sites, there is no map showing the locations of the various groups discussed in the text. This is not really a problem for the specialist, but it would have been a useful addition for the lay public.

The next chapter provides an excellent discussion, in historical fashion, of the discovery of Paleoindian occupation in Florida. I particularly liked the inclusion of the controversy over the antiquity of the Vero and Melbourne fossils and how more recent finds relate to this problem. An overview of Archaic occupation in south Florida in the third chapter includes a very useful discussion of reasons for the paucity of sites in the area, a function of archaeological invisibility, not just a lack of population. I particularly like the way the author reminds the reader of how different the landscape and shoreline of south Florida were during this time period. There is a useful discussion of the role of external contacts in shaping the cultures of south Florida during the Late Archaic and a conclusion that they were minimal, one with which I concur with. Chapter 4 introduces the cultural changes that appeared around 500 B.C. to include the Glades series ceramics and the earthwork developments seen in the interior, the significance of maize agriculture to south Florida, and the relationship of interior sites to the southwest coast. There is some unnecessary confusion here about classifying interior sites as Calusa. During the ethnohistoric period these interior groups were under the political control of the Calusa but were known as Mayaimi and were indeed probably culturally distinct. The penultimate chapter discusses the development of political complexity which is identified with the Calusa on the southwest Florida coast, the appearance of distinct regional styles of ceramic traditions, settlement and subsistence patterns, the cultural significance and chronological context of ceremonial artifacts found in south Florida, and political and trade ties within south Florida. The final chapter discusses the fate of the peoples of south Florida.

What impresses me about this book is how much factual information, presented in such a readable style, is packed into such a compact work. Each chapter is thoroughly researched with all of the opinions and interpretations comprehensively covered and, more importantly, accurately presented. The prehistory is discussed within the context of the dynamic environmental change that occurred in south Florida. This book is the best introduction to the archaeology of south Florida and is a must read for anyone

interested in the archaeology or ethnohistory of this area. Also, it is an excellent text for historians and a public interested in the pre-history of Florida who do not want to wade through a technical work. McGoun has written a masterful book which will appeal to a wide audience and provide an excellent understanding of the archaeology of south Florida.

University of Houston

RANDOLPH J. WIDMER

Juan Ponce de León, King Ferdinand, and the Fountain of Youth. By Anthony Q. Devereux. (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 1993. xiii, 216 pp. Preface, abbreviations, illustrations, maps, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$24.00.)

This book is "the first biography of Juan Ponce de León in English" (jacket cover). It begins with a brief discussion of the uncertain circumstances surrounding his birth, continues with his experiences in the West Indies beginning in 1502, reviews his explorations of Florida in 1513 and 1521 (including his search for the Fountain of Youth), and concludes with his death in 1521 and the efforts since then to create a Fountain of Youth. The main subtext is the relationships between Juan Ponce, King Ferdinand, and the Spanish court.

This biography is unabashedly pro-Juan Ponce. In his book *The Early Spanish Main* (University of California Press, 1966), Carl Sauer wrote that the motivation for Juan Ponce's expedition to Florida was that he had been kicked out of Puerto Rico for taking more than was his due. Devereux provides a contrasting viewpoint— a point of view that depicts Juan Ponce as a solid, upright citizen who was wrongly persecuted. His persecution derived in large measure from the political struggles between King Ferdinand and the descendants of Queen Isabela, who died in 1504. Being loyal to the king, Juan Ponce's fortunes fluctuated as oversight for the Indies passed back and forth between the king's and the queen's descendants. By focusing on a single individual, this book brings to light the complexities of communication between Spain and the Indies, the political machinations on both sides of the Atlantic, and the anarchy that prevailed in the Spanish conquest of the Indies.

It is clear that this book was a labor of love. However, sometimes a good editor is better than love. This is one of those times. While Devereux is to be commended for his extensive use of original sources, he is not selective enough with regard to the materials he includes. Furthermore, it is not always clear why certain information is important. The chronological organization of the text is broken by long tangential discussions, and the logic of particular arguments is unclear. As a result, the book is very difficult to read.

Despite problems of presentation, the book is a wealth of interesting information. There is a very good review of aspects of relations between the Spanish and Native Tainos, which demonstrates that these societies could peacefully coexist. Unlike other European New World colonies, food supplies were not scarce on Puerto Rico in the early years when Juan Ponce was captain general of the colony. The Tainos did not rebel until after Juan Ponce was replaced by Don Cristobal de Sotomayor. Moreover, the review of Juan Ponce's taxes provides an excellent accounting of the profits that a successful Spanish colonist could derive from his *encomienda*. Devereux also delves into the waters of rejuvenation. He notes that there were actually two independent Fountain of Youth stories (one Indian, one Eurasian), and he speculates that the crown supported Juan Ponce's search for the fountain because King Ferdinand was desperate to have a son by his second wife, Queen Germaine, a quest at which the king was not successful.

Although the book suffers from problems of organization and presentation, the hard-working reader will be rewarded with a wealth of interesting information about the life of Juan Ponce de León, about early Spanish relations with the Native Tainos, and about efforts to find the legendary waters of rejuvenation.

*Florida Museum of Natural History
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WILLIAM F. KEEGAN

Arrowheads and Spear Points in the Prehistoric Southeast: A Guide to Understanding Cultural Artifacts. By Linda Crawford Culberson. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. 119 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, glossary, appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.50, cloth; \$12.95, paper.)

This book has two titles and attempts to be two books. On the one hand, it is a manual for identifying stone projectile points (arrowheads and spear points), while on the other, it tries to place these artifacts within a culture-historical context. The intended audience is interested nonprofessionals who have collected (fortuitously or otherwise) prehistoric artifacts and who wish to understand the people and cultures that produced them. By integrating projectile point descriptions into a conventional culture history of the southeastern U.S., the reader is made to appreciate artifacts as sources of information rather than mere curios. To squeeze blood from a stone is no easy task, and the author is to be credited for a reasonably successful effort.

The book begins with a chapter on basic archaeological principles. Specialized concepts are defined, and methods used to classify artifacts and date archaeological sites are discussed. The explanations are accurate, concise, and free of professional jargon. Chapter 2 covers the current debate on the origins of the first Americans. Competing theories and multidisciplinary efforts to test them are presented simply and clearly. The remaining four chapters contain summaries of current knowledge regarding native lifeways in each of the major cultural periods recognized by southeastern archaeologists: Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, and Mississippian. Typical examples of the most common projectile points are illustrated and described, as are other components of prehistoric material culture. Stylistic and functional variability in artifacts through time are used as a way of illustrating how people adapt their technology in response to environmental change. In the process, the reader is provided with an explanation for why culture itself changes and evolves. The final section includes a glossary, a bibliography, and three appendices. One of these consists of a list of all the state archaeologists in the Southeast, presumably to encourage proper recording of archaeological sites once they are found.

There are only a few criticisms. While typographical errors are infrequent, the placement of the middle Woodland at 5000 B.C.

(p. 59) will surely raise a few eyebrows. The publication dates of several authors' works are consistently misprinted and do not match those in the bibliography, making it difficult to run down an interesting title. The artifact illustrations are well done, but the written descriptions are too brief to provide much assistance in identifying specific specimens. The emphasis is on ideal types with little consideration of the sources of typological variation. The effects of resharpening and recycling on tool morphology, for example, are barely discussed. As a result, serious use of the book for identification purposes is inhibited.

Although the culture-historical summaries are adequate, they do not always reflect current thinking. A single example will illustrate my point. An outdated view of cultural evolution leads to statements, such as the one on page fifty-one, in which Archaic populations are characterized as "increasingly territorial." Territoriality among hunter-gatherers is an adaptation to environmental conditions that may or may not be present in specific circumstances. By extending the generality to all Archaic groups, territoriality is portrayed as one step in an inevitable march towards cultural complexity. Such a view obscures cultural variability and misrepresents the evolutionary process.

These deficiencies do not negate the book's strong points. There is a need for intelligent, nontechnical books on archaeology and prehistory that are palatable to the tastes of the general public. While the book's information value is limited for anyone with more than a passing interest in the subject, it is a good primer for those who are just beginning to cultivate such an interest.

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ROBERT J. AUSTIN

To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A. By Deborah Dash Moore. (New York: Free Press, 1994. x, 358 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, photographs, illustrations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$22.95.)

Whether you're going to heaven or hell, according to southern folk wisdom, you still have to change planes in Atlanta— the not-quite undisputed capital of the New South. But if you are a Jew seeking paradise on earth, Deborah Dash Moore writes, the major

cities have been located elsewhere in the Sunbelt: Miami for those coming from the Northeast, Los Angeles for those also living in the Midwest. Those metropolises have admittedly remained considerably east of Eden, nor have they exempted their residents from the assorted pressures that the American way of life has imposed. But so magnetic has been this urban pull— attracting well over a million migrants and their progeny (about a fifth of American Jewry), and so seismic has been the shift from the Snowbelt of the earliest generations, that a prophet might assert: where Los Angeles and Miami are now, there the dominant impulses of communal life will be. To recount this transplantation would thus make a decisive contribution to an understanding of the contemporary Jewish experience and should interest the student of postwar Florida as well. But it is faint praise to hail *To the Golden Cities* as the best social history of Miami Jewry, since it is also the *only* serious history of that community.

Deborah Dash Moore's book highlights the similarities rather than the differences between a multiethnic southern city vulnerable to hurricanes and a much larger multiethnic western city vulnerable to nearly every other natural catastrophe. Such isomorphism may make little sense, for example, to southern regionalists, who would have put her sun-tanned settlers in the high cotton. But her approach is compelling when framed within Jewish history, which discloses a continuous sense of peoplehood and of minority status— attributes that have persisted, despite the corrosions of assimilation. The acids of Americanization have been especially powerful in these two sunbelt cities, which after all promised newcomers escape into fantasylands of leisure, comfort, and freedom. There, happiness could be more easily pursued and moral rules more readily suspended; and religion itself might become, like goods sold in international airports, duty-free. But Professor Moore's Jews are less party animals than they are builders of communal institutions, which managed to be sustained far removed in time and place from the more-austere world of our fathers and mothers. Her book traces the establishment of synagogues, the maintenance of liberal political strategies, the limited liaisons with other ethnic groups, the struggle against rather mild forms of anti-Semitism, the growth of rabbinical seminaries and of a religious retreat in southern California, and the orchestration of passionate philanthropic support for Israel. The research apparatus of *To the*

Golden Cities is admirable, its prose and formal design are clear and unobtrusive, and its tone is rather consistently upbeat.

But Moore's account of these institutional arrangements does not break dramatically with the patterns detected in other communities further north, and her portraits of rabbis, clubwomen, businessmen, apparatchiks, and visionaries hardly seem unfamiliar. Perhaps the effect of the Sunbelt setting—once the charms of the climate (and the benefits of air conditioning) are acknowledged—counts for less than the dynamic of American Jewish history itself. *To the Golden Cities* constitutes a rather modest environmental impact statement. Miami and Los Angeles are not, after all, unique fulfillments of the American (Jewish) Dream, but variations upon it, in which a sense of place has yielded to displacement and in which opportunities for upward as well as spatial mobility often threaten the stability and security of identity itself.

Brandeis University

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789: Volume 20, March 13-September 30, 1783. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerald W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993. xxx, 791 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. \$39.00.)

The letters of delegates of the Continental Congress immediately following negotiation of the Peace of Paris reveal deep and pervasive uncertainty about the durability of the republican experiment. Those troubled by the peace terms feared for the safety of the republic; those supportive of the pact feared the destabilizing effects of partisanship over foreign policy. "The separate and secret manner in which our Ministers had proceeded with respect to France & . . . the British Ministers," James Madison observed dryly, "affected different members of Congress differently." Several features of the treaty and its negotiation troubled some of the delegates. American envoys John Jay and Benjamin Franklin had become openly suspicious of the French and disregarded congressional instructions to clear all their actions with the French. Francophiles in Congress considered their actions treachery. On top of that, the humiliating provision that Congress would recommend restitution of confiscated estates "had the appearance of sacrificing

the dignity of Congress to the pride of the British king." The relegation of the Florida-U.S. border to a separate article, so that Britain might pursue retention of the Floridas in negotiations with Spain, seemed a dangerous ploy. But Stephen Higginson feared that "we have a junto here so completely enlisted in the French service and so closely attached to them by some invisible tie" who were incapable of detecting the French plan "to prevent our forming any commercial connection with any European power, other than Spain and Sweden— these courts being entirely under the French management. . . . Shall we give ourselves up to the Devil in this manner? Shall we neglect to avail ourselves of the advantages within our reach?"

The "Junto" of unhappy legislators, of whom Madison and Higginson wrote, apparently did not put their discontents in writing. Pro-British nationalists felt confident of the logic of their position and considered the written word to be the appropriate vehicle for vindicating national interest; pro-French opposition delegates, anxious about the loss of American virtue and fearful of Old World diplomatic intrigue, sought allies and confirmation through face-to-face communication.

But these letters do not leave the reader with only one side of the story. Because they were articulate, congressional nationalists left a vivid account of their understanding of the debate and intriguing clues about the state of mind of their opponents. Hamilton agonized over "the intemperate proceedings among people in [New York]." People simply could not understand, Hamilton complained, that British officials considered the "treaty as immediately obligatory," and they seemed unable to appreciate that Britain's "disposition to conciliate this country will outweigh the resentments which a breach of our engagements [continued confiscation of loyalist property] is likely to inspire." But British retention of forts on United States territory, Hamilton warned, placed the new nation in peril, so just as the British needed for the peace settlement to stick, so even more did Americans: "Let the case be stated fairly: Great Britain and America are two independent nations at war— the former in possession of considerable posts and districts of territory belonging to the latter— and also of the means of obstructing certain commercial advantages."

For Hamilton, that diplomatic challenge was the nation's first order of business. "Severity" toward former loyalists, whose talents and energies the nation would need, would be a self-defeating

course of action. If we fill Nova Scotia with embittered refugees, Hamilton asked, how will we then compete with Britain's Canadian colonies for a share of the North Atlantic fishing industry? "The question," he told New York Governor George Clinton, "is important to the interests of the state." Hamilton spoke what Isaac Kramnick calls "new language of statecraft"—the self-confident articulation of the rational purposes of the state which American nationalists acquired from European civil servants and which they imbued with republican civic discipline. In the tense months in mid-1783—before the Peace of Paris had been ratified or New York City had been evacuated by the British—that language carried a self-confidence barely masking nervous exhilaration.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

John Quincy Adams & American Global Empire. By William Earl Weeks. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992. ix, 238 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, epilogue, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.00.)

William Earl Weeks's *John Quincy Adams & American Global Empire* concentrates on the first two years of John Quincy Adams's tenure as secretary of state and his greatest diplomatic achievement—the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819. This book is, however, far more than a summary of the negotiations between Adams and the Spanish minister to the United States, Don Luis de Onís. Weeks's portrayal of Adams provides valuable insight into the character of this future president and the time period in which he lived.

Weeks describes Adams as a tragic figure caught in the transition from the Revolutionary era, which emphasized the importance of republican virtue for American public servants, and a time when blatant political ambition and intrigue became the norm. Despite Adams's familial influence, education, and experience, the exigencies of domestic and foreign affairs repeatedly forced him to repudiate republican values. Although Weeks offers several examples to substantiate this assertion, the two most convincing are Adams's Erving dispatch, in which he defends Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida, and Adams's letters published under the pseudonym "Phocion" in Washington D.C.'s *National Intelligencer*.

On both occasions, according to Weeks, Adams willingly lied, distorted the truth, and suppressed factual information to achieve his nation's foreign policy goals and to further his own political ambition. Weeks describes the Erving letter as "propaganda, designed to create a perception of reality wholly in conflict with fact" (p. 145). While Adams, thus, revealed his "undeniable ambition," entries in his diary indicate that these actions caused him considerable anguish. As Weeks concludes, "Adams fretted that his success as a statesman . . . was being attained at the cost of his personal integrity" (p. 170).

On balance, Weeks is complimentary of John Quincy Adams, whom he characterizes as "the greatest secretary of state in American history," and the Transcontinental Treaty, which he presents as "the first determined step in the creation of an American global empire" (p. 1). Weeks reminds the reader that the significance of the Adams-Onís Treaty was not the acquisition of the Floridas but rather the determination of a boundary between United States and Spanish territory that extended from the Gulf of Mexico all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It was Adams's ability to strengthen the American claim along the northwest coast that established the United States as a continental power and secured a base on the Pacific for the subsequent creation of an American global empire.

In his epilogue, Weeks briefly surveys Adams's return to governmental service in the 1830s and 1840s as a member of the House of Representatives. During that period Adams disavowed almost all of the policies he had advocated and implemented as secretary of state. This was most evident in his rejection of much of President James K. Polk's foreign policy. Ironically, according to Weeks, manifest destiny of the 1840s "was essentially the continuation, both in tactics and aims, of Adams's aggressive diplomacy of a quarter-century earlier" (p. 197).

John Quincy Adams & American Global Empire is a valuable addition to the literature on antebellum foreign relations. It is based on an impressive number of primary and secondary sources, including governmental and private correspondence from both England and Spain. This international perspective is essential as it places the Spanish-American crisis in its proper context. One cannot understand the Spanish position during these negotiations without knowing Spain's relations with other European powers and her concern over the status of her colonial empire in the New World. A

series of maps helps the reader visualize the various boundary proposals and counter proposals offered by Adams and Onís.

Oklahoma State University

RICHARD C. ROHRS

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Volume 21, January-June 1845. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993. xix, 648 pp. Preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

This twenty-first volume of Calhoun papers is the fourth that deals with Calhoun's one-year stint as secretary of state by appointment of President John Tyler. Only about one-half of this volume, however, relates to the last three months in which he was at the State Department.

During this year the most important issues that Calhoun addressed were those related to the annexation of Texas and the proposed annexation of Oregon. The Texas treaty had gone down to defeat in the Senate, but he and the president accomplished annexation by joint resolution of both houses of Congress. Oregon remained an unsettled affair when the Tyler administration ended. Calhoun gave himself great credit for having managed the Texas affair and dismissed the likelihood of its leading to war with Mexico. In May 1845 he told a correspondent that war with Britain was more likely, because of differences over the disposition of Oregon (p. 528).

In February President-elect James K. Polk had told Calhoun that he would not be continued in the State Department, but he asked him to become United States minister in London. Calhoun declined the appointment and at the time put a cheerful face on things and expressed no disappointment. Yet as weeks passed, policy decisions and appointments made by Polk led Calhoun to write to his daughter, Anna Maria Clemson, that he could not have stayed in the Polk cabinet had he been asked "without coming at once to an open rupture with the administration under unfavorable circumstances" (p. 424). To R. M. T. Hunter he wrote more explicitly that he was not asked to stay at State because "I stood in the way of the restoration of the old [Andrew] Jackson Regime, both as to individuals & policy" (p. 449).

The editor of this volume notes that Florida was admitted to the Union on March 3 and that Andrew Jackson died on June 8, 1845, but the documents herein contain no reaction from Calhoun to either event, save a note that Florida would provide two more United States senators to favor the antitariff principles of international free trade (p. 470). In general, Florida matters occupy very little space in this volume. Calhoun's animosity to the British anti-slavery movement surfaced again in documents concerning the refusal of a Bahamian court to extradite runaway slaves charged with murder and robbery in Florida (pp. 217- 21, 262-63). In another document Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury dismissed St. Andrews Bay as a likely site for a navy base but suggested a survey of the Atlantic coast of Florida for a suitable location for a base and shipyard (p. 393). Toward the end of the volume is a letter from William P. DuVal reporting the electoral overthrow of the Whig party in Florida, expressing his surprise that Calhoun was not retained in the State Department, and hoping that Calhoun would return to the Senate (pp. 600-01). Numbers of other correspondents expressed dismay that he was not continued and urged his return to the Senate, including Daniel Huger who would in November resign his own seat to make way for Calhoun's return (pp. 443-44).

Though this volume is not of critical importance for historians writing Florida history, this series continues to be of great value for the study and writing of United States history. High editorial and publication standards continue to be upheld.

University of Florida

HERBERT J. DOHERTY

Benevolence Among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670-1860. By Barbara L. Bellows. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xvii, 217 pp. Preface, illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

As the homeless population grows in America's cities and with little scholarship on the South's urban poor and their relationship with the civic elite, this is a timely book.

In Charleston the motivations for public and private charity evolved over time. During the colonial period the vestrymen of St. Phillip's Church established a precedent for benevolence that

lasted for over 150 years. Recognizing that the social order depended on the unity of all whites in a town with a black-slave majority, they offered assistance to those indigents who exhibited appropriate humility. This benevolent paternalism, which linked private interests to public acts, manifested itself in the founding of the Female Domestic Missionary Society, the city's poorhouse, and the Charleston Orphan House.

When the rise of abolitionism and the increasing number of foreign immigrants threatened the traditional social, political, and economic relations based on caste and class, the civic elite turned to "pragmatic humanitarianism" (p. 108), which promoted the interests of white hirelings over African Americans. The patriarchs of the community used the Orphan House to educate and to inculcate moral and religious principles as well as class deference and racial superiority.

In the late 1850s Charlestonians inaugurated a plan of school reform that provided an educational system for all whites and reinforced racial unity. But Charlestonians were becoming divided between reformers who sought a national identity and accommodation with the growing white laboring class and conservatives who wished to reduce free blacks to servitude and to limit immigrants to a marginal existence. Even the reformers realized that only the preservation of slavery could perpetuate a democracy of white men. In the final analysis the reformers found it impossible to reconcile liberalism on behalf of the poor with their "peculiar institution."

With the rise of capitalism, Charleston responded like northern cities to the plight of the poor: the idle and unemployed should be confined to the workhouse breaking rocks, and the indigent should learn to help themselves. As unemployment, domestic violence, poverty, alcoholism, crime, and disease increased in the cities, Charleston, like other urban centers, expanded welfare services. But what distinguished Charleston's approach to assisting poor whites was the presence of large numbers of slaves.

Professor Bellows rejects "social control" theory as a motivation of the civic elite, since Charleston's middle class had no desire to coerce the poor but rather wished to get them off the dole. Yet she writes that in Charleston "inclinations persisted to use benevolence and charity as social controls" (p. 106). And the children in the Orphan House provided the city's patriarchs "a mighty lever over the personal morality of poor parents" (p. 121). But Bellows does ad-

mit that the civic elite were driven by "multiple imperatives of good works, political strategy, and tradition" (p. 134).

Despite the author's ambiguity over what motivated Charleston's civic elite to assist the poor, this is an important book. The attitudes of antebellum Charleston's middle class toward the indigent persist; the provisions they made for providing housing for the homeless and ill deserve consideration today. Bellows also provides a revealing look at the dark side of life at the bottom of urban southern society, especially among the women who were most frequently "beaten, battered, and broken by poverty" (p. 88). Charleston's unskilled poor whites fell into a cycle of poverty which they were unable to escape because of too few economic opportunities. The poor—black and white—still face the same problems.

In sum, this book is an excellent starting point for further investigation of life at the bottom of the South's urban centers and the motivations of the civic elite in assisting indigent whites. It is highly recommended for students of southern history and America's social welfare system.

Georgia Southern University

WALTER J. FRASER, JR.

An Evening When Alone: Four Journals of Single Women in the South. Edited by Michael O'Brien. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993. xvi. 460 pp. Preface, introductions, editorial notes, photographs, genealogical charts, notes, index. \$35.00.)

An Evening When Alone is a significant contribution to antebellum southern history. It is the first volume of a series sponsored by the Southern Texts Society which will publish manuscript or rare printed materials relevant to southern cultural history. Michael O'Brien presents four rare journals of single women in the South in the period between 1827-1867. In addition, he provides a splendid introduction, editorial, genealogical charts, and notes to make this volume an exemplary work of its kind.

Scholarship in southern women's history is beginning to flourish. Anne Firor Scott's book *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* was the major pioneering work in the field, followed by the excellent works by Gerda Lerner, Jacqueline Jones, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Paula Giddings, Catherine Clinton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Carl Degler, Darlene Clark Hine, Bonnie Thornton Dill,

and Patricia Hill Collins. Biographies of southern suffragists have also begun to appear, but virtually no attention has been paid to single women in the South. Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller's book *Liberty, a Better Husband: Single Wornen In America— the Generation of 1780-1840* is one of the first interpretive works to address single women as a group. Thus, *An Evening When Alone* provides a rare glimpse into the lives of four very different single women. As O'Brien reminds us, single women, including widows and young unmarried women made up half of the adult white female population in Charleston in 1848. Figures are not available for the whole South, but O'Brien claims that it is reasonable to assume that before 1860 about one-fifth to one-quarter of all adult white southern women were unmarried for life (pp. 1-2).

The first diarist in this volume is Elizabeth Ruffin of Evergreen plantation in Virginia, whose two journals of 1827 convey a keen awareness of the reader. Eventually Elizabeth married her cousin Harrison Henry Cocke, a sailor and commodore who was often away on naval cruises in the Mediterranean or around Latin America. Elizabeth Ruffin's first journal begins on February 4, 1827, a day before her twentieth birthday when she lived on the Evergreen plantation, and her second journal chronicles her trip during July-September 1827 to northern resorts. She expresses her frustrations over her dependence on men on February 11, 1827: "Oh! the disadvantages we labor under, in not possessing the agreeable independence with the men; 'tis shameful, that all the superiority, authority and freedom in all things should by partial nature all be thrown in their scale; 'tis bad to be a woman in some things, but preferable in others, 'tho you may crow over me, and glory in the unlimited sphere of your actions and operations, I envy you not and would not change with you today (pp. 60-61)." Elizabeth Ruffin experienced the death of two of her six children and eventually contracted tuberculosis in 1849.

The next journal takes the reader to Selma plantation during 1835-1837. The identity of the author, a governess, is uncertain. She was in her early thirties and was beginning an independent career on a Mississippi plantation near Natchez. The plantation was owned and administered by a woman. The major theme of this journal is loneliness. The author writes in December 1836, "I can say that lonely I have been, lonely am I, and lonely I am likely to be for five months to come" (p. 130). She had come from Pittsburgh where she had been in love with a man, referred to as the

"Shadow," who had rejected her. Much of her journal pertains to her trying to regain her equilibrium after suffering bitter disappointment in love. She includes passionate, doleful poems in her journal, some in French, about her lost love.

The next journals were composed by Jane Caroline North of South Carolina between 1851-1852. North was a high society belle whose journals take the reader through Virginia and New York resorts, Boston, and Canada. She records her many flirtations, keeps track of compliments, and rates her suitors. When one young man, Stricker Coles, becomes quite ardent, she retreats. He says, "You know I love you Miss Carey you know your power." At this point she writes, "I thought it time to stop" (p. 169). She ended up marrying Charles Lockhart Pettigrew, her cousin, and having eight children.

By far the longest and most revealing journals are those of Ann Lewis Hardeman. Hardeman's journals comprise over half the volume. Hardeman struggles to raise her dead sister's six children within an extended family near Jackson, Mississippi. Her journals span the years from 1850-1867. Of the four women, Hardeman was least aware of possible future readers. She was deeply religious and suffered greatly from the deaths of her sister, her mother, and two of the children in the Civil War. One sees none of the wit of the belle or the erudition of the Selma diarist; Hardeman's only reading is the Bible. However, her journals provide a poignant view of an aging woman on the homefront during the Civil War.

Taken together one cannot generalize about the experiences of all single women in the antebellum South. However, certain themes emerge from the four women's journals, including an acceptance of the institution of slavery, a persistent sense of ennui among the more wealthy women, and the poor health of all four of the women. Whether married or single all of the women cared for children. These journals are tantalizing because of what the diarists say and don't say, raising many questions for future researchers. One is reminded of Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's brilliant study of the diary of a midwife in *The Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. Perhaps one of the women represented in this volume will attract the attention of other imaginative scholars.

An Evening When Alone should be of interest to scholars, students, and a general reading audience. The introduction is written in an engaging fashion, gives valuable biographical information regarding the four women, and places their journals in a larger his-

torical context. The addition of a preface containing biographical information before each of the journals would have added significantly to the volume. Overall *An Evening When Alone* conveys a fascinating glimpse into the intimate sphere and minds of four women in the antebellum South and enhances our knowledge of both southern women's history and the intellectual and cultural history of the South.

Eckerd College

CAROLYN JOHNSTON

The Second Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1993. xi, 210 pp. Introduction, maps, illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay, contributors. \$24.00, cloth; \$14.00, paper.)

These essays were presented at a 1991 conference at the Mont Alto Campus of Pennsylvania State University. (Papers from the 1990 conference, published as *The First Day at Gettysburg*, were reviewed in the April 1993 *Florida Historical Quarterly*.)

On July 1, 1863, Confederate and Federal troops blundered into each other west and north of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. After several hours of hard fighting, Union forces gave way and retreated to a very strong position on the hills and ridges to the south. There reinforcements joined them, and there on July 2 the Rebels attacked them. Both sides suffered heavy losses, but the Yankees held. The July 2 fighting produced several quarrels about the conduct of the battle, and for 130 years supporters and critics of this and that general have argued over their man's role in the battle.

These essays are based on thorough research in the vast Gettysburg literature, but they vary considerably in length and range in subject matter from a general at the head of an army down to the level of a division commander. None of them deal with the 700 or so Florida troops who took part in the battle or with the generals who commanded them.

Gary Gallagher takes on those who criticize Robert E. Lee for committing his army to an offensive battle, especially those who ascribe Lee's decision to assorted subconscious or psychological factors. Gallagher makes a strong case that while Lee's decision to fight offensively may have been wrong, it was not unreasonable or irrational.

Bob Krick plays Lee's ranking subordinate Lieutenant General James Longstreet who disagreed with his commander's approach and who, therefore, withheld his full cooperation. Longstreet has been both condemned and praised over the years, and Krick comes down squarely on the side of those who believe that, at least for July 2, the condemnation is fully warranted.

The three remaining essays deal with Federal generals. Glenn Robertson explores the role of Major General Daniel E. Sickles, whose decision to move his corps to an advanced position led to its being shattered by a Confederate attack. Robertson defends Sickles's decision but correctly faults his failure (refusal?) to coordinate his move with other units. It was the lack of concerted action that led to the destruction of Sickles's command.

Will Greene offers a detailed look at the role of Major General Henry Slocum and the XII Corps. The essay is too long (forty-nine pages of text; twelve pages of notes), over footnoted, and too concerned with low-level tactical details to fit into the theme of the book. Slocum and other XII Corps generals simply get lost in the minutiae. (As a detailed narrative of the corps's operations on July 2, the essay is fine.)

Scott Hartwig's account of Brigadier General John C. Caldwell's role sometimes borders on too detailed. Fortunately, however, Hartwig veers back to give a well-done evaluation of a division commander and his chief subordinates. At times Hartwig ventures beyond the events of July 2 to offer useful insights into the way a Civil War general had to manage a command in battle.

The essays by Gallagher and Krick, which deal with the overall conduct of the battle will probably be of greater interest to most readers than will the other, more specialized, accounts.

Decatur, Georgia

RICHARD M. McMURRY

The Civil War Reminiscences of Major Silas T. Grisamore C.S.A. Edited by Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993. xviii, 227 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, maps, bibliography, index. \$24.95.)

"Uncle Silas," the pseudonym of Silas T. Grisamore, wrote a series of articles for the *Louisiana Weekly Thibodaux Sentinel*, from December 1867 through April 1871, relating his experiences with the

18th Louisiana Infantry Regiment. As acting quartermaster, he directed his regiment's wagons on the march to Shiloh. Leaving the train, he joined his company in the battle and on the second day became acting company commander after his captain and the other lieutenants were wounded. During the retreat to Corinth he commanded his own men and the remnants of another company. But most of Grisamore's reminiscences deal with his duties as company, regiment, and finally brigade quartermaster.

Editor Bergeron notes in his preface that, in some instances, he moved material originally out of sequence to a more sequential position in Grisamore's reminiscences. The editor's endeavor was successful, for the narrative flows smoothly. Yet Bergeron provides an inordinate number of footnotes which distract the reader from Grisamore's story. For example, twenty-three of chapter one's 100 footnotes and thirty-six of chapter five's 122 footnotes cite the full names of men mentioned in Grisamore's text. Surely complete names, when known, could be provided in the index so as to reduce the interruptions to a reader concentrating on the text. Or again, chapter one's footnotes 40, 41, and 42 are from the same paragraph and cite the same source; could not they be merged into a single footnote? Finally, when Grisamore's dates are vague or incorrect, as in chapter three's footnote 2, could not brackets be inserted in the text to provide the correct date to relieve the reader from another interruption?

Although not Florida history, this is an interesting book about two aspects of the Civil War that are seldom studied: the role of a quartermaster in the field, and the Trans-Mississippi Department in southwest Louisiana. Grisamore wrote with humor, and his tongue-in-cheek comments about fellow officers demonstrate his ability to see through their charades. But basically he told of his trials, as the war continued, to locate the ever-diminishing stock of forage, sustenance, and military supplies needed to wage war.

One interesting anecdote told of the conclusion of the war. While encamped at Mansfield in the northern part of the state, daily news of the military disasters in the east reached the men. The troops, seeing little future for themselves, began to desert in increasing numbers, which burgeoned drastically when hundreds of Louisiana and Texas soldiers, paroled by the Federal cis-Mississippi armies began drifting through on their way home. When the news of General Robert E. Lee's surrender finally reached camp on April 20, 1865, all sense of organization evaporated.

Grisamore, who with his train was separated from his regiment, told of the almost universal pillage as departing soldiers confiscated all government property they could take. He had several hired wagons and civilian teamsters with him, but they were too few to protect their wagons and baggage during the 400-mile trip home. However, the nearby 26th Regiment had two companies recruited from south Louisiana. Grisamore joined forces with these men, and together the two groups headed south. Throughout the homeward journey he had to apply his wartime skills to find forage and sustenance for his men.

Major Grisamore's reminiscences do not offer any strategic impact nor any significant thesis on the war. "Uncle Silas" just recalled memories of his service to the Confederacy, which make enjoyable reading.

Jacksonville University

GEORGE E. BUKER, EMERITUS

Black Belt Scalawag: Charles Hays and the Southern Republicans in the Era of Reconstruction. By William Warren Rogers, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993. xiv, 179 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50.)

Three decades ago Allen Trelease rhetorically asked in the *Journal of Southern History*, "Who Were the Scalawags?" While other facets of Reconstruction-era history have been revised drastically in the years since, Trelease's question in great part has gone unanswered. Instead, consideration has continued to focus on white Conservatives and Carpetbaggers, with some—though not much—attention paid to the South's black leadership. The neglect has been so complete that, until publication of William Warren Rogers, Jr.'s, *Black Belt Scalawag*, we have possessed no monograph-length biography of a Deep South Radical. Fortunately, Rogers's pioneering effort, though perhaps dealing with an untypical Scalawag, provides us with a solid foundation upon which to begin building a better understanding of the roles and contributions of these men.

Rogers's subject, Charles Hays, seemingly was an unlikely candidate for the Scalawag mantle. Son of a pioneering Alabama planter family, he possessed over 100 slaves at the time of secession and served as an officer in the Confederate army. Unlike many of

his contemporaries, though, he accepted defeat, looked to the future, and blamed the Conservatives or Democrats "for not recognizing that 'the past is gone' " (p. 27).

Hays's Republican leanings emerged only with Congressional Reconstruction, and, even then, they were not set in concrete. He served in the Alabama constitutional convention and as a state senator, but his steps were cautious ones full of sympathy for his fellow defeated white Southerners. He refused, for example, to support legislation creating a black militia or attacking the Ku Klux Klan. His moderation continued to set the pattern for his legislative actions after his election to Congress in 1869 from the state's predominantly black Fourth District.

Since Hays came late to his Unionism and Republicanism, he only slowly grasped the threat posed by Conservative opposition to the freedmen and their white allies. But social ostracism and, more importantly, terror and violent partisanship opened his eyes, and by 1874 he had emerged as a full-blown Radical. In Congress he strongly supported enforcement acts and the Civil Rights Act of 1875, while he denounced Alabama terror in the celebrated and controversial Hays-Hawley letter published September 15, 1874, in the *Hartford [CT] Daily Courant*.

Hays, the Radical, desired only what to him was the simplest of things. "What we want," he told the House of Representatives, "is a fair chance to express ourselves at the ballot box" (p. 123). The chance already had been missed, however, as Congress adopted the more-passive stance that Hays recently had abandoned. Democrats triumphed in 1874 Alabama state elections. Hays, faced with financial problems, scandal, political weariness, and a new gerrymandered district, chose not to run for reelection in 1876. He died of Bright's disease three years later.

Rogers, while evidencing sympathy for his subject, explores the personal and political problems that beset this Deep South Scalawag as he watched his world disintegrate around him. Hays was "flawed," the author concludes but was not "the charlatan his political enemies described" (p. 138). Hays's commitment to the freedmen was genuine, and his devotion to them grew with time. In return, they never wavered in their support of this former Confederate slaveholder.

Black Belt Scalawag is a well researched and tightly written biography that makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the South during Reconstruction. As anyone who has worked on

the Scalawags readily will admit, original source materials are few and hard to come by. Because of this problem, there are gaps in Hays's story. This reviewer would have appreciated, for instance, an in depth treatment of the black leadership behind Hays. Nonetheless, Rogers has proven to us that, in good part, the obscurity of sources can be overcome and that the veil of obscurity that has lain over the Scalawags for over a century still can be lifted.

Florida A&M University

CANTER BROWN, JR.

Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930. By W. Fitzhugh Brundage. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press., 1993. xii, 375 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, figures, epilogue, appendices, notes, index. \$39.95, cloth; \$14.95, paper.)

Lynching in the New South is probably the finest, most detailed, richly complex, and sophisticated study of lynching in the region that has ever been published. In a particularly insightful analysis, W. Fitzhugh Brundage goes over the peaks (1880s and 1890s) and valleys (the twentieth century, especially since the 1920s) of lynchings during the course of half a century. By using Georgia and Virginia as representative extremes of greater and lesser violence, he shows how local traditions, socio-economic factors, and political values combined first to perpetuate, and later to undermine, one of the most horrific crimes associated with American "justice." In so doing, he reaches beyond, and modifies, many of the conclusions of the acknowledged major work in the field, Arthur Raper's *The Tragedy of Lynching*. Although Brundage agrees with Raper's conclusions that rural poverty, ignorance, and drunkenness often went hand-in-hand with many of the lynchings, he also shows that traditions, regional variations, and evolving socio-economic practices must be taken into consideration when studying the subject.

In an extremely detailed— and by the nature of the subject, gruesome— narrative, Brundage shows how enormous socio-economic frustrations and transformations in the South during the Gilded Age led to the highest numbers of lynchings ever recorded in this country. An overwhelming number of the victims were blacks who had, or who had been perceived to have, committed brutal crimes. Nonetheless, whites, in lesser numbers of course, charged with transgressing community mores were also strung up.

In Virginia, struggling to move from an agricultural to a more varied and industrial economy, conservative politicians, spokespersons, and newspaper editors combined with a peculiar sense of noblesse oblige to all but eliminate lynchings as a form of social control by the beginning of the twentieth century. In Georgia, on the other hand, especially in the Cotton Belt where staple crop agriculture and rigidly demarcated lines separated blacks and whites, as well as in the southernmost counties which were moving into a more agricultural economy, violence became an integral part of social control and labor relations.

Brundage's narrative contains more details than most readers may wish to follow, and his graphic examples of bodily mutilations, burnings, and lynchings reveal a level of brutality that is well known generally but absolutely stomach churning in their specifics. He is also quite good at analyzing how the political responses of the conservatives and elitists in Virginia were able to suppress lynching in Virginia by the early twentieth century while the protesters in Georgia, at first more halfhearted than ferocious, proved ineffectual until several decades later. A stronger and more entrenched political culture in Georgia, weak leaders, and deep-seated traditions in that state necessitated much greater efforts for change. After three decades of evolving protests, however, led by members of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynchings, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and some church congregations and ministers that began to speak out on the evils of lynchings, change began to occur by the 1920s. The influence of the NAACP speaking out and seeking federal enforcement of a weak civil rights law that had been passed a half-century earlier must also be acknowledged. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, New Deal agricultural policies forced the break up of old plantation agriculture, resulted in an exodus of tenants from the land, and stimulated the movement of hundreds of thousands of blacks to the North, thereby severely changing the socioeconomic conditions that allowed lynching to flourish.

Although there is nothing specifically about Florida in this volume, it is nonetheless well worth-reading for an insight into one of the South's most barbarous traditions.

University of Arizona

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN

The New Woman in Alabama: Social Reforms and Suffrage, 1890-1920.

By Mary Martha Thomas. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992. viii, 269 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

This book, Mary Martha Thomas's *The New Woman in Alabama*, marks an interesting and important juncture in the field of U.S. women's history— a juncture characterized by a (finally!) irrepressible, although still not fully articulated, awareness on the part of white feminists that the existing historiography on women's reform movements inadequately addresses issues of race. To its credit, *The New Woman in Alabama* recontextualizes the debates over woman suffrage in such a way as to show how "the driving force behind the first stage of the suffrage campaign in the South was not a desire for women's rights . . . [but] a desire to guarantee white supremacy" (p. 121). Thus, Thomas informs us, Alabama suffragist leader Pattie Jacobs, knowing that many of her state's legislators feared that a federal woman suffrage amendment would reopen questions of black suffrage, white supremacy, and states' rights, framed her support of a federal amendment in the following way: "If this amendment is adopted it in no wise regulates or interferes with any existing qualification (except sex). . . . It is a fallacy to contend that to prohibit discrimination on account of sex would involve the race problem" (p. 177). As Thomas realizes, many whites, Northerners as well as Southerners, believed that the votes of white women might be used to counter the black vote, and some white leaders, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, made no bones about mobilizing support for woman suffrage on such overtly racist grounds. Although Thomas is mostly concerned with demonstrating that her Alabama suffragists refrained from such explicitly racist arguments, the important point to grasp is that the history of woman suffrage (and women's social reform movements more generally) cannot be considered apart from questions of race— and not just in the South, but throughout the country as a whole.

To my disappointment, Thomas does not use this insight to challenge our understanding of national or northern progressivism. Instead her intent is to prove that Alabama women had a progressive movement too. To this end, Thomas treats a broad range of reform activities, grouping them in nine chapters according to their institutional form: temperance unions (1880s); white women's clubs (1890s); black women's clubs (1890s); movement to

abolish child labor (1900-1920); white suffrage movement (1890-1920, four chapters); and a final chapter entitled "Alabama Women in the 1920s." Unfortunately, this organizational scheme does not permit Thomas to make exciting use of her research, although she has turned up many new and interesting details about important Alabama reformers, including Julia Tutwiler, Martha Spencer, Elizabeth Johnston, Lura Craighead, Lillian Orr, Nellie Murdock, Lillian Bowron, Ellen Hildreth, Pattie Jacobs, Margaret Murray Washington, and Adela Hunt Logan. For the most part, however, this book marshals its evidence to reinforce a reigning paradigm in U.S. women's history. These Alabama "New Women," Thomas argues, "followed in the footsteps of women nationwide," helping to create an ideology of "municipal housekeeping" that enabled them to gain access to political life without seeming to abandon or contradict their domestic values (pp. 4-5, 219). Thomas carefully positions herself within this paradigm, citing influential historiography from the 1970s and 1980s including Ellen DuBois's "The Radicalism of Woman Suffrage" (1975) and *Feminism and Suffrage* (1978); Karen Blair's *The Club Woman as Feminist* (1980); Ruth Bordin's *Woman and Temperance* (1981); Paula Giddings's *When and Where I Enter* (1984); and Nancy F. Cott's *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (1987). However, Thomas does not draw upon Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household* (1988), Hazel Carby's *Reconstructing Womanhood* (1987), or Lori Ginzberg's *Women and the Work of Benevolence* (1990), works that might have enabled a more critical reading of northern "progressive" reform.

Readers desiring the kind of detailed documentation that Thomas offers will find this book useful, but those looking for a revised understanding of women's progressivism may find this book disappointing. Despite its own evidence to the contrary, *The New Woman in Alabama* reiterates the dominant framework into which most historians have cast women's reform—a framework that mistakenly tends to speak in universalizing terms of "women's" reform movements and to characterize them as interracial in their potential appeal, if not in their actual composition.

University of Florida

LOUISE M. NEWMAN

Howard Kester and the Struggle for Social Justice in the South, 1904-1977.

By Robert F. Martin. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991. xv, 200 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

Throughout his career as an activist and teacher, Howard Kester saw himself fundamentally as a prophet, calling on the people of the South to recognize their social responsibilities. A Christian whose faith led him to fight for the region's downtrodden, he "prodded the conscience of the South" (p. 162). Chiefly active from the 1920s through the 1950s, Kester embraced a host of liberal causes. He investigated lynchings for the NAACP, worked with the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and called for interracial student and religious cooperation through such organizations as the YMCA and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Born and educated in Virginia, Kester early on began his quest for "a meaningful way to serve both his region and his God" (p. 4).

Kester's "pilgrimage" took him from "conservative Christian paternalism, to evangelical liberalism, to neoorthodox Christian socialism, and finally to an ill-defined religious liberalism" (p. 1). Conventionally reckoned, Kester's career was not marked by success. Not gifted as an organizer, he found it difficult to work in harness with others. Prophets, Robert Martin reminds us, can be tenacious in their convictions. The last decades of Kester's life were increasingly frustrating, as the South changed in ways he seemed unable to grasp. Martin argues, however, that Kester merits our attention as a man whose vision of interracial accord helped lay the foundation for future reformers.

The core of this biography is Kester's struggle to place his battles for social justice within a Christian framework; real reform, he believed, must address "the needs of both the spirit and the body" (p. 117). Frustrated with the plight of Arkansas sharecroppers and Tennessee miners, Kester was, for a time, attracted to socialism, running for Congress from Tennessee on the Socialist ticket in 1932. But Kester soon began to drift away from materialistic explanations of the South's problems. To Kester, society was an organic community; education and religion were the tools to change the hearts and social order of the region. No permanent reform could occur without "a spirit of Christian fraternity which transcended racial or class distinctions" (p. 160). To a later generation, Kester's ideas often seemed naive and outdated. In Martin's poignant ac-

count, Kester was a man who believed that souls rather than the class struggle should be the battleground for southern reformers.

Generally convincing and genuinely engaging, the biography could nevertheless have been a stronger work. With only 162 pages of text, Martin is sometimes unable to develop his arguments fully. Often, he relies too uncritically on Kester's own accounts and recollections of events, leaving one to wonder how others viewed them. And at times Martin drifts into the biographer's danger of letting the subject's vocabulary and analysis become his or her own. No "life and times" biography, this brief study will leave many readers wishing for a broader treatment of the context of Kester's work, given the important people and organizations with whom he worked—Reinhold Neibuhr, Alva Taylor and H. L. Mitchell among them.

In this, the first biography of Kester, Robert Martin expands our knowledge of liberal southern Protestantism and the problem of social change in the twentieth-century South. Without a doubt, this book ought to be read widely and pondered by students of southern religion and those interested in the roots of the civil rights movement. While Kester left no powerful institutional or intellectual legacy, one finishes the book unwilling to term him a failure. If this first volume in Virginia's "Minds of the New South" series is an indication of the thoughtfully chosen and well-done biographies it is to feature, students of the South have good reason to welcome its appearance.

University of Chicago

TRENT A. WATTS

Feminine Sense in Southern Memoir: Smith, Glasgow, Welty, Hellman, Porter, and Hurston. By Will Brantley. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993. xii, 293 pp. Introduction, coda, notes, works cited, index. \$35.00.)

In *Feminine Sense in Southern Memoir* Will Brantley analyzes the work of Lillian Smith, Ellen Glasgow, Eudora Welty, Lillian Hellman, Katherine Anne Porter, and Zora Neale Hurston in order "to situate these authors within a context of southern feminism and the more inclusive discourse of modern American liberalism." Additionally, he writes, "I illustrate the importance of ethics—of ideas imagined and realized—in their self-portraits" (p. x).

Brantley carefully draws a distinction between these women “who in their self-writing . . . suggest a tradition of liberalism and dissent” and the more dominant Agrarian movement (p. 5). The (predominantly male) Agrarians, he says, “in their devotion to a way of life rooted in myth, and in their refusal or seeming inability to confront the very real problems of racism— and sexism— in the South . . . represent one of the most clearly articulated movements in American conservatism” (p. 8).

Surveying recent studies of southern intellectual history by Richard Gray, Michael O'Brien, Richard King, and others, Brantley concludes that although these “literary critics and intellectual historians continue to undermine the value of limited definitions and discrete boundaries,” they “still choose to focus overwhelmingly on the literature and intellectual life of southern white men. The southern woman of letters remains a marginal or shadowy presence in most attempts to understand, redefine, or theorize the Southern Renaissance” (pp. 8, 14).

In spite of the fact that southern women have produced many works of self-literature (autobiographies, journals, and memoirs, for example), Brantley concludes that “with the single exception of Caroline Gordon, southern women were not part of the institutionalization of criticism that received its leading impetus from southern male writers during the midpart of this century” (p. 29).

In his chapter on Lillian Smith, Brantley focuses on *Killers of the Dream*, which he describes as a confessional tract. Comparing her to W. J. Cash, Brantley says that “Smith viewed the mind of the South as something that could be explored even if it had failed to explore itself” (p. 50). In her exploration of the painful choices to be made as a member of a privileged class in the segregated South, Smith described what it was like to challenge the assumptions based on tradition held by most of her peers. As an adult, argues Brantley, Smith realized that the work of the Agrarians “had in the minds of many critics expressed the only important intellectual movement to emerge from the modern South,” and she despaired of the influence of the Agrarian philosophy “that purported to confront the social needs of men and women and yet ignored the very real problems of race” (pp. 69, 71).

Brantley next compares Glasgow's *The Sheltered Life* and Welty's *One Writer's Beginnings*. Like Smith, he concludes, these two writers have “delineated the distinguishing features of a sheltered upbringing at a time when a southern woman's role was clearly proscribed

for her" (p. 87). One of the real strengths of Brantley's chapter on Glasgow and Welty is his argument that Glasgow's autobiography has received little treatment "as a text itself" (p. 90). *The Woman Within*, "in its concern with the process of its own making. . . prefigures a major trend in postmodern literature: the tendency to make the act of creating the work an important subject of the work itself (p. 94). For those readers (including this reviewer) who have tended to dismiss this work as a self-pitying account, Brantley counters that *The Woman Within* is not simply Glasgow's account of "victimization," for "implicit in her search for art is the awareness that language is means to empowerment for the rebel within" (p. 96).

Although Welty's *One Writer's Beginnings* places more emphasis on the positive, nurturing aspects of a sheltered childhood, Brantley makes a good case for comparing her autobiographical writing with that of Glasgow. Their final purposes, he argues, are the same: "Each writer demonstrates, to use Welty's terms, that 'all serious daring starts from within' and that the product of this daring is the 'solitary core' of their identity" (p. 111).

The weakest chapter in Brantley's work treats Hellman and Porter. Although he convincingly argues that both writers were drawn in their autobiographical writing "to one important theme— the dangers of a passive collusion with evil" (p. 133), illustrated for Hellman in the McCarthy hearings and for Porter in the Sacco-Vanzetti trial and execution, Brantley stumbles into an extended and sometimes confusing discussion of the differences between memoir and autobiography as he contrasts the work of Hellman and Porter with the works previously discussed. He concludes, "The self a memoir describes may be no less whole than that of autobiography; what is generally missing from the memoir is an attempt to trace the stages in the growth of the memorialist's sense of self" (p. 142). This seems based less on his definition of the memoir than on his lack of confidence in the two writers, for he acknowledges that as a memorialist neither Hellman nor Porter "was apparently capable of complete honesty about her own past" (p. 141).

Interestingly, in his chapter on Hurston, Brantley is less critical about a writer's accuracy in self-writing: "Whatever the inconsistencies in her vision, the fact remains that Hurston defines herself within a system of ethics that transcends nation, class, and— above all else— race" (p. 225).

Brantley is not the first to note the inconsistencies in Hurston's account of her life in *Dust Tracks on a Road*. What is probably most important is the angle of his analysis of her autobiography, in which he argues that Hurston's "insistence on her own individuality" is more important than accuracy of biographical data. Hurston's work, Brantley asserts, "bears more resemblance to *The Women Within* or *One Writer's Beginnings* than to the autobiographies of African-American men such as Frederick Douglass or Richard Wright" in its attention to the exploration of self (p. 187).

Feminine Sense in Southern Memoir is an important book for directing attention at the often marginalized texts of women writers. Brantley makes a convincing case for a body of literature, often slighted, that provides a counter to the primacy of the Agrarians in southern intellectual history. Brantley concludes, "The value Glasgow places on the inner life and its relation to the outer world is another expression of the link between the writers and the self-reflexive texts I have discussed— another echo of Eudora Welty's insistence . . . that 'all serious daring starts from within'" (p. 246). In the final analysis, these are not regional but universal concerns that characterize the works of the writers treated here.

Florida State University

ANNE ROWE

The Coast: A Journey Down the Atlantic Coast. By Joseph J. Thorndike. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. xix, 233 pp. Introduction, illustrations, bibliography. \$19.95.)

When Joseph J. Thorndike, a founding editor of *American Heritage*, moved to Cape Cod several years ago, he decided to walk around the shore of the Cape to see how conditions had changed since Thoreau made the trip in 1849 and to see what problems beset the coast. That short trip led to his determination to explore the Atlantic coast from Quoddy Head, Maine, to Key West, Florida, an exploration that resulted in this book.

Even though Thorndike made this trip over several years and visited different spots during special times, for example South Carolina after Hurricane Hugo and Florida in winter, he presents his trip in geographical order from north to south and in a continuous description. The change of seasons may not be chronologi-

cally correct from chapter to chapter, but the north-to-south order works well.

As he heads south, Thorndike points out the great natural beauty of the coast and its geologic diversity, but he also presents the area through the eyes of artists like Winslow Homer, writers like Henry David Thoreau, and naturalists like William Bartram. This book is not a "gee, look at that beautiful sunset" kind of encomium that ignores the beer cans on the beach, but rather a well-balanced appreciation of the shore's natural beauty, the many problems of pollution that threaten that beauty, and speculation on what the future may hold for each area.

Because over 90 percent of the shore is privately owned, Thorndike does not give a mile-by-mile itinerary. In fact, he doesn't always stick to the ocean, as for example when he traces Bartram's Florida trip up the St. Johns River. The intermingling of history with current events works well, as for example when he includes the witchcraft trials of Salem and George Bush's denunciation of Boston Harbor in the 1988 presidential campaign.

The Florida section, which takes up one-fifth of the book, describes the main parts of the coast: St. Augustine (with a skeptical look at where Ponce de Leon supposedly landed), Daytona Beach, Cape Canaveral (with a hypothetical bird's-eye view of a sanderling flying north), the Treasure Coast, Palm Beach (and its emphasis on protocol), Fort Lauderdale, Miami, and the Keys.

Typical of Thorndike's casual, engaging style is this description of Fort Lauderdale: "Driving down the east coast of Florida, you have the feeling that you are passing through a land close to the border to unreality. This is not what we think of as a normal place where people work for a living (though of course most of the permanent residents do, or else the place would stop running). It is the disproportionate number of golfers, sportfishermen, shoppers, and miscellaneous idlers that create the ambience of a never-never land where Adam's curse has been repealed" (p. 212).

The use of local residents as guides, including naturalists and historians, adds an authenticity and expertise lacking from I-made-the-trip-all-by-myself travelogues. A park ranger in Maine, a fisherman in Massachusetts, a Coast Guard officer in Virginia, and a mayor in South Carolina feel strongly about their particular areas and have solutions—some unpopular with officialdom or other neighbors—that give a different perspective to the problems. He

also intersperses selections from poetry, old journals, and novels that vary the style nicely.

This is a well-written travelogue that one can easily read in one long evening in the comfort of one's home or, preferably, by the Atlantic itself. It gives a balanced overall view of how fragile the whole coast is and how different the environmental problems are from Maine to Florida.

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BOOK NOTES

New in paperback from the University Press of Florida is *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeast Georgia during the Historic Period*, edited by Jerald T. Milanich and Samuel Proctor. Originally published in 1978, the volume includes essays on the Spanish-Indian relationship from 1500 to 1763, the Calusa, Tocobaga Indians and the Safety Harbor culture, patterns of acculturation and change among the Western and Eastern Timucua, Guale Indians and the impact of the Spanish mission effort, ethnoarchaeology of the Florida Seminole, and the University of Florida's oral history project with Indian tribes. *Tacachale* can be ordered for \$18.95 from the press, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611-2079.

Florida Stories: Tales from the Tropics, edited by John and Kirsten Miller, comprises twenty essays, stories, and poems from some of the country's most renowned writers. Common to the selections is the tropical attraction, entrepreneurial optimism, Latin flavor, and vitality of Florida. Readers will discover a land of paradox where paradise and desert, fantasy and reality are opposite sides of the same coin. Naturalist John James Audubon tells of the "Death of a Pirate," Nathaniel Hawthorne writes of "Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth," Dave Barry recounts a hilarious version of a visit to Disney World, Zora Neale Hurston describes her birthplace, and Isaac Bashevis Singer reveals the thoughts of a lonely retiree in Miami. Order *Florida Stories* from Chronicle Books, 275 Fifth Street, San Francisco, CA 94103 for \$10.95.

Florida Pathfinders, edited by Lewis N. Wynne and James J. Horgan, explores the achievements of nine individuals who helped shape the history and development of Florida. The contributing authors—Tracy Revels, Emily Adams Perry, Paul S. George, Gordon Patterson, Joe Knetsch, Joe Ackerman, James Covington, Melvin Edward Hughes, Jr., and Patti Bartlett—examine a diverse group of "pathfinders," from robber baron Ed Ball, whose empire encompassed duPont, the St. Joe Paper Company, and a chain of national banks, to Marion Isadore Manley, a pioneer among women archi-

pects in Florida. Paul George's essay "William M. Burdine: Pioneering Miami Merchant and Civic Leader" focuses on the dry goods pioneer's initial endeavors, which eventually led to a chain of forty-four department stores. Joe Knetsch reviews the life of U.S. Surveyor General John Westcott in "A Finder of Many Paths: John Westcott and the Internal Development of Florida." This book offers an insightful and well-rounded retrospective into the history-making processes of Florida. It is available from St. Leo College Press, P. O. Box 2304, St. Leo, FL 33574 for \$15.95.

For the first time all twenty-three short stories of one of Florida's most beloved storytellers have been gathered together in a single volume. *Short Stories by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings*, edited by Roger L. Tarr, features the hilarious tale "Benny and the Bird Dogs," the autobiographical story "A Mother in Mannville," and the O. Henry Memorial Prize-winning "Gal Young Un." Rawlings is perhaps best known for her 1939 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *The Yearling*, about the life of a Florida Cracker, and the 1942 series of autobiographical vignettes, *Cross Creek*. But her talent for writing detailed, humorous, and insightful narratives is brought into greater focus in this complete edition. The reader is able to follow Rawlings's development as an author, beginning with her first short story published in 1931, "Cracker Chidlings," which was written three years after she moved to the backwoods of north central Florida. These stories reflect both Rawlings's personal growth and perceptions of Florida blacks and Crackers living in the early twentieth century. The book is available from the University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611 for \$44.95, cloth; \$24.95, paper.

"Few Americans know that United States history began in the Charlotte Harbor area," authors Lindsey Williams and U. S. Cleveland note in their recent volume, *Our Fascinating Past, Charlotte Harbor: The Early Years*. Covering a lengthy historical period— from Ponce de Leon's visit to southwest Florida in 1513 to the "last pioneers" in 1905-1920— the volume discusses the importance of the area to Indians, Spanish explorers, mariners, farmers, and American settlers. A substantial book at over 400 pages of text, the authors have interwoven an engaging narrative with interesting stories and enumerable illustrations and photographs. Order this

Charlotte Harbor Area Historical Society publication from Lindsey W. Williams, P. O. Box 2390, Port Charlotte, FL 33949 for \$13.95.

Cuidad de Cigars: West Tampa, by Armando Mendez and published by the Florida Historical Society, tells the story of the dreamers and financiers whose vision and hard work built West Tampa. Men like George N. Benjamin, Hugh Campbell Macfarlane, Alonzo Charles Clewis, and John H. Drew transformed the swampy area into Florida's fifth-largest city and a major cigar manufacturing area at the turn of the century. Mendez writes of these men, their successors, and the innumerable men and women who worked in the city's tobacco industry. It is a story of wealthy entrepreneurs, common workers, and recent immigrants struggling to adjust to life in America. A concise narrative, short histories of various community leaders and cigar companies, and a list of West Tampa political leaders from 1895 to 1924 make Mendez's account an important contribution to Florida history. *Cuidad de Cigars* can be ordered from the Florida Historical Society, P. O. 290197, Tampa, FL 33687-0197 for \$12.95.

Brian R. Rucker has written *Brick Road to Boom Town: The Story of Santa Rosa County's 'Old Brick Road'*, published by Patagonia Press. This pamphlet describes the six-mile brick roadway that extended east from Milton. Built between 1919 and 1921 and known variously as State Road No. 1, Old Spanish Trail, or Old Highway 90, the route was the first modern highway constructed in the Florida panhandle and constituted an important transportation and communication link between west Florida and the rest of the state. The booklet sells for \$5.50 plus \$1.35 shipping and handling and can be ordered from Patagonia Press, P. O. Box 284, Bagdad, FL 32530.

La Viece Smallwood, a feature writer for the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, has brought together a three-volume set on the early settlers of Baker County. *Once Upon a Lifetime*, vols. I and II, include previously published and original interviews and stories of individuals and their families and ancestors in Macclenny, Sanderson, Olustee, and Taylor. The third book, *Baker's Dozen*, comprises thirteen oral interviews featuring the pioneering lifestyles of area residents. The two volumes of *Once Upon a Lifetime* sell for \$12 each, and *Baker's Dozen* is \$15. Shipping and handling for the set of

three is \$5. For more information or to order contact La Viece Smallwood, Route 1 Box 543, Macclenny, FL 32063.

Generations in Black and White, edited by Rudolph P. Byrd, captures both the photographic brilliance of Carl Van Vechten and the achievements of African Americans in the twentieth century. This book illustrates Van Vechten's admiration for African-American culture. The striking collection includes the portraits of well-known artists, performers, sports heroes, and educators, such as W. E. B. DuBois, Lena Horne, James Earl Jones, Zora Neale Hurston, and Joe Louis. A brief but informative biographical summary accompanies each photo. *Generations in Black and White* may be ordered from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602 for \$29.95.

Doris L. Rich's *Queen Bess* traces the daring life of America's first black woman aviator, Bessie Coleman. In 1921 Coleman earned her international pilot's license in France, as no American flight school would accept African-American students. Coleman was a born daredevil and pursued her dream of aviation by performing in flying circuses, exhibition flights, and air shows. She encouraged opportunities for blacks in tours around the country, including schools, theaters, and churches in cities such as Jacksonville, Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Orlando. Along with descriptions of the pilot's persistent struggle to obtain funding and publicity for her exploits, the author also emphasizes the brash ambition that eventually led to Coleman's death in a 1926 air show test flight. This book is available from Smithsonian Institution Press, 470 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 7100, Washington, DC 20560 for \$18.95.

A Confederate Nurse: The Diary of Ada W. Bacot, 1860-1863, edited by Jean V. Berlin and published by the University of South Carolina Press, is an effective portrayal of an inexorably devoted Confederate nurse. Widowed and childless, Bacot's ardent patriotism induced her to leave her South Carolina plantation and care for wounded Confederate soldiers in Charlottesville, Virginia. Her daily entries tell of the Confederate pride that inspired many southern women and provides a personal, sweeping analysis of Confederate medical policy. Bacot manages to convey a much deeper message, however. Adeptly woven into the daily events, pleasures, and hardships of her life are the issues facing most

southern white women throughout the nineteenth century: the strong yearning for financial and social autonomy, the inner battle between nationalism and fervent loyalty to one's state, and the growing irresolution concerning the institution of slavery. *A Confederate Nurse* is available from University of South Carolina Press, 1716 College Street, Columbia, SC 29208 for \$29.95. [Reviewed by Genevra T. Ferrero, Miami, Florida.]