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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Naturalist in Florida: A Celebration of Eden. By Archie Carr. Edited by Marjorie Harris Carr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994. xviii, 264 pp. Foreword by Edward O. Wilson, preface, acknowledgments, maps, photographs, notes, index. \$28.50.)

It is impossible to believe “a picture is worth a thousand words” after reading the works of Archie Carr, who ranks among the world’s great naturalist writers. I was especially fortunate because, as a graduate student in geography at the University of Florida in the mid-1950s, I had the opportunity of accompanying Professor Carr on several field trips in which I saw “the picture” accompanied by his “words.” Although those trips were taken almost forty years ago, they remain vivid in my mind.

Professor Carr, who died in 1987, was a widely recognized biologist who received numerous research grants and won many professional awards and honors. His work principally was on the ecology of Florida, but he attained international fame through his research on turtles, an interest that led him to many places throughout Latin America as well as Africa. Son of a Presbyterian minister, he grew up in the South where he developed an early interest in its natural environment. Just where he attained so lyrical a writing style, the foreword never explains. He took three degrees from the University of Florida, and on completion of his Ph.D. became an instructor at that institution. He never left, settling down on a farm near the historic village of Micanopy, a few miles south of Gainesville. Here, he and his wife Marjorie raised five children.

Although enthusiastically fulfilling his research and teaching obligations as a member of the University’s biology department, Carr from almost the beginning of his academic career began to publish articles and later books for the general public. His success as a writer was such that in 1956 he received the O’Henry Memorial Award for short stories. *A Naturalist in Florida: A Celebration of Eden* is a collection of twenty-five works of Carr as selected by his wife, most of which were first published in popular magazines such as *Field and Stream* and in the publications of the Audubon Society and the New York Zoological Society. Several, however, were abstracted from his books, including *A Contribution to the Herpetology of Florida*.

All selections are masterpieces of literary expression and testify to his love of the part of Florida in which he spent his life.

Carr began his intensive examination of Florida's natural landscape while a student at the University of Florida in the mid-1930s. As he stated in one of his Audubon articles, reprinted in the book: "It is hard to explain how obsessive the ransacking of wild nature for new state records used to be for a youthful zoologist, back in those days before zoology depended on canonical analysis; before the coeds arrived at Gainesville; when, anyway, young women were more parsimonious with their distracting favors; and when there wasn't even any beer. Collecting reptiles and amphibians and fish was a large and exciting part of life when I was an undergraduate" (p. 62).

Many of the articles reprinted in this book are of places Carr had visited before they experienced the impact of population growth, and whose occupants lived close to nature. Although he concentrated on the natural environment, both the subject matter and the literary style often evokes the writings of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. Unlike Rawlings, Carr lived long enough to see enormous changes in the natural and cultural environment of his beloved north Florida. Assuredly, he must have been appalled at much of what he had to witness. His anger, however, rarely appears in his writings. His message, if he had one, was that this was the physical environment of the north Florida of his youth and early maturity. Although in many places that environment has been greatly altered and can never be restored, we have an obligation to future generations to find a way to slow the change of what remains. Those who read this book who knew the north Florida natural environment of the middle of the century will undoubtedly feel a sense of nostalgia, and even regret. I hope there are younger people who also will read these stories and become more active in retarding the ravages of people and consumerism on this beautiful part of the state.

Florida State University

MORTON D. WINSBERG

Pioneer Commercial Photography: The Burgert Brothers, Tampa, Florida.

By Robert E. Snyder and Jack B. Moore. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992. xiii, 303 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95.)

For all the talk of diversity and difference in American Studies circles of late, one finds a disappointing sameness to so many American Studies presentations, especially in the subfield of photo history. The standard formula begins with some Marxist/feminist/postmodernist mantra chanting (race, class, gender); continues with a suitably foggy quote from Barthes or Foucault; moves on to discussions of dominant discourses, hegemonic boundaries, and contested terrain; plays with “re(pre)sentations of the Other”; and exposes the pernicious photographic influences of middle-class humanism, middle-class individualism, middle-class consumerism, and middle-class nuclear family hierarchies. All of which makes *Pioneer Commercial Photography* a refreshing exception to the usual woozle.

Two American Studies scholars from the University of South Florida, Robert E. Snyder and Jack B. Moore, have not only reconstructed the history and achievements of the Burgert photography family—especially brothers Al and Jean, who ran Tampa’s leading commercial photographic operation from the 1910s to the 1940s—but have provided a valuable methodological model for photo-historical investigation.

Although they were never national household names, the Burgerts made their presence felt throughout the Tampa area, recording tens of thousands of images of social, cultural, economic, and political life for promotional use by myriad businesses and organizations—and, in some cases, for news and feature spreads, in the Tampa press. By the late 1930s Burgert Brothers photographs were also occasionally reaching a wider audience through the pages of *Life* and *National Geographic*.

In selecting and organizing the more than 200 images reproduced in this attractive volume, Snyder and Moore show an eye for both what was representative and what was particularly intriguing in Burgert production. As the selections suggest, the Burgerts ranged across a much broader spectrum of subject matter than one might have expected of such cameramen—from black oyster shellers to Cuban cigar wrapper selectors (*los resagadores*) to Greek sponge divers, from resort beaches to marathon dance halls,

from Ku Klux Klan rallies to Townsend Plan parade floats to National Urban League gatherings, from the arc-lighted automobile showroom of the Davis Islands International Coliseum to the Tampa Cooperative Unemployment Council salvage shop.

Snyder and Moore tap an impressive array of sources— especially oral history— in systematically exploring the multiple contexts of Burgert photographic creation, dissemination, and deployment. Especially illuminating are the extended picture-caption notes on aspects of Tampa labor relations, popular culture, and ethnic subcultures. The authors' discussion of the often innovative technical and administrative side of Burgert operations includes a description of retouching practices that should be required reading for a generation of photo historians who seem to be under the impression that photographic manipulation was something perfected by 1930s-1940s government bureaucrats.

The analysis is also reflexive: perhaps the most important context that emerges here is that of the authors' own labors. Rather than retreating to the false security of "critical theory" buzzwords, Snyder and Moore readily acknowledge and examine the difficulties of photo-historical definition (even of the very term "commercial" photography, as opposed to news photography or portrait photography) and the challenges posed by photographic interpretation. Indicative here is their discussion of the multiplicity of possible factors at work in Burgert images where subjects appear to be positioned in racially bifurcated fashion. Similarly, rich plays of possibility and counterpossibility emerge in the authors' intensive reading of a 1921 Burgert view of Western Union Telegraph employees and equipment. My only disappointment in this regard was that Snyder and Moore did not have the space to perform more such single-image readings, more journeys into what the anthropologist Clifford Geertz calls "thick description."

Burgert photography would not pass any modern tests of political correctness. The authors could have chosen the easy route of hammering at the shortcomings of a southern middle-class white perspective; instead, however, they inquire carefully and creatively into the kinds of options available to particular photographers in particular circumstances. The book deals with cultural convention, but it also deals with the Burgert wrinkles in convention— their work for black clients, resulting in images quite similar to the sort produced by many black studios; their employment and training of a Jewish photographer, Simon Rose; or the incorporation of sign

elements that lend humorous and, occasionally, haunting dimensions to otherwise pedestrian scenes. The 1935 view of uniformed female canning factory employees at work with a "No Talking" warning looming prominently, and ominously, in the foreground is one such example.

The authors provide a solid foundation for further comparative analysis (comparison of Burgert work with that of other southern commercial photographers, and with that of the many federal government photographers who visited the Tampa region during the Burgerts' heyday) that will sharpen our perspectives on several currents of early-to-mid twentieth-century photography. Lively and lucid, *Pioneer Commercial Photography* is genuinely pioneering.

National Archives and Records Administration

NICK NATANSON

Removal Aftershock: The Seminoles' Struggle to Survive in the West, 1836-1866. By Jane F. Lancaster. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994. xx, 225 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, photographs, tables, maps, figures, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.00, cloth; \$16.00, paper.)

During the period from 1834 to 1859 nearly 4,000 Seminole Indians were taken either by force or voluntarily from Florida and settled in western territory, which later became known as the Indian Territory. Those who were among the first to leave Florida found that very few preparations had been made for them, and the harsh, cold weather, droughts, smallpox epidemics, unfulfilled treaty promises, and scant supplies of food and proper housing made life in the West seem like a punishment for war against the whites. Yet that spirit that had helped the tribe fight the United States Army almost to a standstill from 1835 to 1842 rose to the occasion, and as a result the tribe survived these disasters.

Another situation that took many years for a solution was that of relations with the Creeks. The Seminoles settled on land that the Creeks had occupied during the Second Seminole War, and it was not until 1856 that the tribe received separate land that the tribe really owned. In addition to the land problem the Creeks tried to seize blacks who had also been removed from Florida with the Seminoles, claiming that they were escaped Creek slaves.

In the years just prior to the Civil War, the Seminoles showed little progress. They lacked good leadership, proper agency buildings, control of the whiskey problem, and a satisfactory educational system. Most of the agents were poorly trained and some were corrupt. Part of the tribe preferred to remain in Creek territory, and only about one-half of the tribe settled on the land that had been given to them in 1856.

The Civil War and postbellum years were harsh ones for the tribe. Those Seminoles who were loyal to the Union were forced to leave their homes and to settle in Kansas. Confederate Seminoles were exposed to battlefield wounds and death or disease. Despite the fact that many Seminoles had fought for the Union, the tribe lost control of over two million acres and received only 200,000 acres in return.

The Seminole status in 1866 is stated very clearly by the author. After thirty years in exile the tribe had little property, no schools, no unified government, irresponsible agents, and a poor means of subsistence. Yet, author Jane Lancaster concludes that because of the Seminoles' stubbornness and strong determination to survive, they overcame these difficulties.

Dr. Lancaster has written a useful and important book with flowing, well-directed narration, excellent maps, and adequate illustrations. The research, which took her to Washington, Oklahoma, and North Carolina, has been combined with the latest scholarship. Perhaps the author will cover the period from 1866 to some point in the recent past of the tribal history in a future study.

University of Tampa

JAMES COVINGTON, EMERITUS

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789: Volume 21, October 1, 1783-October 31, 1784. Edited by Paul H. Smith and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1994. xxxi, 860 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index, advisory committee. \$41.00.)

Users of this invaluable series of documentary volumes will notice something different about Volume 21: whereas each of the volumes after Volume 2 cover a few months, this one covers thirteen months. Granted, at 860 pages it is 100 pages longer than most of

its predecessors. But the major cause of its longer chronological span is the rapid fall off of the delegates' correspondence during the summer of 1784. Why? The chronology of Congress provided by the editors reveals severe attendance problems— after thirty-one days of this thirteen-month period, the Congress was unable to achieve a quorum, and twenty-four of those days were during the summer of 1784. A list of the election dates and attendance of each delegate— another standard editorial guide in each of these volumes— may throw further light on the fall off of normally intense letter-writing activity by the delegates. Forty-eight of 117 delegates elected by their legislature during this period either did not attend at all, were absent for extended periods, or declined to serve. Sparse coverage of the summer of 1784 raises the question of how selective the editors have been in choosing to publish certain letters while leaving others to be consulted in manuscript. This reviewer did notice in Volume 17 an important Thomas McKean letter discussed in the notes but inexplicably unpublished— surely a rare editorial lapse but one that reveals that *Letters of Delegates* is a selection from a larger mass of documents. Somewhere in the remaining volumes of the series it would be helpful if the editors would explain their criteria for publishing most, but not all, of the delegates' letters. One suspects that by the summer of 1784 there were less political content in the delegates' letters, perhaps fewer letters in general. Could it be that, as the end of this monumental series approaches, budgetary considerations dictate finishing as quickly as possible? Probably not. But that concern and those questions are all the more reason for the editors to explain the decreasing density of the delegates' published correspondence in the mid-1780s if indeed this trend continues.

As noted earlier in reviews of this series, one of its best features is the reprinting of the delegates' letters published initially in newspapers— letters aimed at a larger audience or published so as to make letters intended for a specified recipient known to a wider audience. An example is two anonymous letters written by the Virginia delegate John Francis Mercer in September and October 1783, published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and reprinted in Volumes 20 and 21 respectively. The subject of these letters is the international trade policy of the Confederation. Titled "The North American, No. I and No. II," Mercer's essays provide a flamboyant, passionate, disturbed history of the closing stages of the Revolution by a confidant and defender of James Madison who did not want

tonomy as agriculture gave way to industry in Robeson County. Dissatisfied with the tactics of Lumbee officials and dismayed by growing economic disparities within the Lumbee community, some Indians split off and formed other groups (Tuscaroras) that seek independent recognition. Their action may work against federal recognition, which rests in part on rigid anthropological and historical constructs. Sider questions this rigidity and even the anthropological definition of culture as "shared values." Instead, he challenges us to "pay more attention to culture both as an arena of struggle not just between but within ethnic groups and classes, and as a wholly integral part of other transformative projects" (pp. 286-87). For the study of Native people in Florida who have their own internal and external struggles, this conclusion has profound implications.

University of Kentucky

THEDA PERDUE

John C. Calhoun: A Biography. By Irving H. Bartlett. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993. 413 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, illustrations, afterword, notes, index. \$25.00.)

Over the course of forty years in public life John Caldwell Calhoun generated strong feelings— especially among his enemies. Democrat Andrew Jackson berated Calhoun as a double-dealing demagogue, while Whig Henry Clay predicted he would "die a traitor or a madman." Historians have mirrored this passion in their biographies of the Carolinian. Earlier sympathetic studies by Charles Wiltse and Margaret Coit have been challenged by the more critical works of Gerald Capers and Richard Current. More recently, John Niven portrayed Calhoun as admirable but insecure. Now, Irving Bartlett, biographer of Daniel Webster and Wendell Phillips, enters the fray.

Bartlett's Calhoun appears as a serious young man who matured quickly among the Carolina backcountry elite. Both of his parents died before Calhoun was out of his teens. He quickly became "a man among boys" as plantation master and young scholar at Yale university. Although trained in the law, Calhoun never enjoyed the practice. He fortuitously fell in love with his cousin Floride, a low country heiress, and their marriage enabled him to pursue his passion for politics.

Calhoun entered Congress in 1811 as a nationalist who never forgot his classical republican states' rights views. His defense of the War of 1812 and support for James Monroe's presidential nomination in 1816 catapulted him into the Cabinet as secretary of war. During his successful eight-year tenure he eagerly demonstrated leadership skills, craved public esteem, and sought political advancement. Although he cautiously eyed the White House, Calhoun reflected an ambivalence toward power by repudiating the raw ambition of the officeseeker. The virtuous and talented public servant awaited the call of the people.

Throughout the biography, Calhoun emerges as a man of principle. He moved from nationalist to sectionalist in a self-righteous defense of all things southern, combined with a firm belief that law and morality were on his side. His advocacy of nullification and blistering attacks on Jackson and the abolitionists reveal Calhoun's fears for the South and slavery. This dedication to principle, however, obliged Calhoun to weave a tortuous path between the Whigs and Democrats in the Senate for more than a decade.

The driving forces of ambition and principle were Calhoun's strength and weakness. Although aware of the increasing importance of the masses in politics, he never developed the oratorical skills to capture a crowd, large or small. Nevertheless, his ideas enabled him to become the spokesman for a generation of Southerners. A man of deep thought, single-minded, and detailed, the Carolinian dedicated his life to battling those forces that threatened his career, honor, and culture. He firmly believed "that he knew what was best for the country," but the presidential nomination he so desperately sought for a quarter century remained elusive.

By the mid-1840s Calhoun focused his myriad talents on foreign affairs. As secretary of state under John Tyler, he manipulated the issue of Texas' annexation to benefit slave interests. Back in the Senate in 1845, he took bold stands on maintaining peace with England over the Oregon boundary and in opposing the Mexican war. Since he increasingly was perceived as a sectional leader, Calhoun devoted significant energy to the formation of a southern party in 1848. Once again he failed. Dedicating the two remaining years of his life to the completion of his philosophical treatises—"Disquisition on Government" and "Discourse on the Constitution"—Calhoun firmly established himself as an American political

philosopher of merit and statesman of the first rank— Richard Hofstadter's "Marx of the Master Class."

Bartlett adjudges Calhoun as having a stronger character than Webster and a keener mind than Clay. The author understands that his subject's strengths, however, were limited by his unquestioning commitment to his culture and its institutions. Those commitments seemed increasingly out of place in a revolutionary world that chanted the mantra of liberty, equality, and nationality. This thoughtful, well-balanced, and well-written biography should be read by those who seek to understand both Calhoun and the dilemma faced by Southerners struggling to preserve minority rights within the Union.

University of South Florida

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America. Edited by Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994. xviii, 363 pp. Preface, list of abbreviations, chronology, introduction, tables, figures, illustrations, bibliographical notes, notes on contributors, index. \$42.50, cloth; \$16.95, paper.)

This collection of essays is the outgrowth of a symposium held by the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1989 to celebrate the sesquicentennial of the third and last annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. Building on the most recent insights of women historians regarding the ideological and methodological splits among activist women in northern cities, this work asks new questions and posits new answers. These, in turn, contribute to a greater understanding of how northern female abolitionists contributed in various ways to an increasingly powerful women's culture in the United States. Although the writers discuss events and personalities in the antebellum period, one essayist, Margaret Hope Bacon, writing on the tactic of nonresistance, suggests continuities between the antebellum period and women's reform movements well into the twentieth century.

This reader found several of the articles especially illuminating. As Nancy Hewitt's historiographical essay notes, historians have often treated the female abolitionist movement as a prologue

to the Woman's Rights movement. Amy Swerdlow's article, based on a seminal paper delivered at the Third Berkshire Conference on the History of Women at Bryn Mawr College in 1976, argues that although the more conservative antislavery women of New York were not ready to endorse woman's rights, they, nonetheless, advanced the antislavery cause. Identifying first with their class and their perceived responsibilities and privileges, they put their duties as evangelical mothers and guardians of morality above female advancement. Since the majority of middle-class women in America held similar views, these conservative women "probably helped to create a climate favorable to antislavery in the city and made New York one of the first states to put abolition on the ballot" (p. 44).

Hewitt also states that many historians have failed to give adequate attention or analysis to African-American women abolitionists. This collection examines their contributions from a number of viewpoints. Julie Winch, for example, finds that black women often adhered scrupulously to the tenets of the woman's sphere, attempting to uplift their people through their domestic roles. Anne Boylan recognizes that, although the female antislavery movement in Boston brought the races together, black women were, because of their color, subject to greater scrutiny and were more personally involved with the recipients of their benevolence. Still, while many black female abolitionists emphasized their similarities to their white sisters, Nell Irwin Painter demonstrates that Sojourner Truth chose another path. She "constructed her public persona to establish that what had happened to her—her enslavement—rather than her reason lent her a unique wisdom" (p. 154).

Many of these essays will undoubtedly be reprinted in anthologies and readers. certainly, Kathryn Kish Sklar's comparison of the British and American female abolitionists at the London World Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 will stand as a model of how historians can take a familiar subject and, by asking different questions, attain new insights. Her essay succeeds in placing "women within the society and polity of which they were a part." In that way she moves the discussion "beyond women's motivations and institutions to explore how the larger political environment encouraged or discouraged women's participation" (p. 332).

Finally, this collection offers an excellent introduction by Ruth Bogin and Jean Yellin, footnotes rather than endnotes, and gives the reader two excellent bibliographic essays in addition to Hewitt's historiographical essay. This work will be extremely useful

to scholars in the fields of women's history, social and cultural history, African-American history, the Jacksonian era, and nineteenth-century reform. In addition, graduate students will be grateful to the editors and essayists for bringing the insights of the field together in a highly readable and well integrated single volume.

University of Central Florida

SHIRLEY A. LECKIE

The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South. By Christie Anne Farnham. (New York: New York University Press, 1994. x, 257 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, notes, select bibliography, name index, subject index. \$35.00.)

Within the past ten years a battery of scholars of the antebellum South have raided the region's archives in an effort to contribute to the burgeoning literature on the history of American women. Prominent works on women mirror the bias implicit in most works of United States history, a bias assuming that New England, or perhaps that area plus the mid-Atlantic region, reflects the general experience of all Americans. Much of the scholarship on southern women was penned in an effort to redress this balance. Although subtlety and sophistication characterize much of this work, a sizeable portion of it suffers from a common enough malady in southern studies, a tendency to hazard clumsy explanations of "southern" distinctiveness against an equally vague and crudely drawn backdrop of "northern" character. Though marked by a workmanlike attention to detail and occasional insight, Christie Anne Farnham's account of southern women's higher education falls within the latter genre.

Farnham aims to fill in the curious historiographical hole of southern women's education. Scholars of northern women have described in detail that section's educational system, but students of Dixie, quick to remedy lapses in other areas of women's lives, have neglected their subjects' schooling. The neglect is difficult to explain, for antebellum parents made unmistakable the seriousness with which they took the education of their progeny. For most boys destined for plantation life, a knowledge of the classics and the experiences of college life were prerequisites for the life of a gentleman. But as Farnham explains, families fretted too about the

education of their girls. Their concerns did not extend to a school's proficiency in preparing their daughters for a profession. The education of southern girls was designed to prepare them for lives as ladies, wives, and mothers. Through a gendered curriculum, formal and informal, young southern women inculcated the manners and morals of patriarchy.

Farnham finds it ironic that a society dedicated to the hegemony of a slaveowning class of wealthy white men should pioneer in the establishment of female colleges (Georgia Female College, later Wesleyan College, was the first college founded for women in America), but the irony is rooted in her own semantic sleight of hand. Farnham takes her material not only from colleges but from the numerous women's seminaries and academies popular throughout the antebellum South. She explains, correctly, that colleges fought a difficult and by no means always successful struggle to maintain standards worthy of that name. More importantly, these diversely titled institutions presented a similar curriculum, social life, and purpose. Offering courses such as botany, letter writing, French, and literature (classics only), the curriculum consciously mirrored that found in men's colleges. Yet for proper ladies employment was out of the question. The study of language, the classics, and the sciences taught one how to behave like a lady of the ruling class, just as the close company of schoolmates helped inculcate a sense of female camaraderie and deference to gendered expectations of behavior.

Though Farnham does uncover some real ironies, they too often emerge from sectional stereotyping. Southern girls were taught by young, single, northern women, often the products of the academies of Emma Willard or Mary Lyon, and almost always evangelicals. Though their southern charges certainly counted themselves among the godly, the objectives of student and teacher increasingly diverged. Anxious to become southern belles—vivacious, attention craving, and coquettish—students found themselves at odds with their teachers, devoted as they were to a northern evangelical ideology that stressed sobriety, piety, and domesticity. Here and elsewhere Farnham allows sectional stereotyping to impede her insight. These young northern women would have been equally disappointed had they taught at any number of female schools in the North. Not only did elite women in northern academies share the same desires and expectations of their southern sisters, but these schools taught large numbers of southern girls. Farnham ig-

noses abundant evidence of southern girls in northern schools that suggests that academy education inculcated not sectional but class norms. Not just section but class separated teachers from pupils. While *The Education of the Southern Belle* offers vital details of the content and context of southern women's education, a comprehensive analysis will have to contend with the many northern-educated southern belles. That study still awaits its historian.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

DANIEL KILBRIDE

Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South. By Mitchell Snay. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. xi, 265 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, bibliography, index. \$49.95.)

From the 1830s to the Civil War, southern ministers used their control of religious discourse and denominational institutions to strengthen sectional elements within southern culture and politics. Clergymen supported the development of a southern sectional identity by sanctifying the institution of slavery, transforming the sectional conflict into a struggle between faith and infidelity, and justifying secession as a purifying process that would allow the South to accomplish God's purposes in the world. Much of the book recapitulates earlier arguments by Donald Mathews, C. C. Goen, John McCardell, and Drew Faust. After extensive research in denominational minutes, newspapers, and sermons, Mitchell Snay has synthesized threads of their arguments and added his own to produce a more refined analysis of religion's role in the formation of a southern sectional identity.

For a quarter of a century, southern clergymen and northern abolitionists clashed in a fierce public debate over the morality of slavery. The most interesting element of this contest was the degree to which the disputants shared the same values, ideas, and modes of discourse. Both insisted that ministers should avoid political controversies unless they had moral implications. Both believed that God worked actively in history to accomplish His purposes, and both shared a common set of American values and institutions. One institution, however, divided them. Southern clergymen responded to the attacks of northern abolitionists by elaborating a biblical defense of slavery, developing a slaveholding ethic to gov-

ern the behavior of masters, and establishing missions to the slaves. In so doing, southern ministers attempted to "sanctify" slavery by making it conform to God's laws.

One of Snay's most valuable contributions is his exploration of how politicians and clergymen in the antebellum South exchanged concepts and vocabularies. In the disputes over slavery in the 1830s southern preachers provided statesmen with a religious lexicon to defend the institution. During the 1840s clergymen borrowed constitutional reasoning and language from politicians to support their positions in ecclesiastical conflicts. As the sectional conflicts intensified in the 1850s these political and religious arguments became pillars of southern separatism.

In the best chapter of the book, "The Religious Logic of Secession," Snay surveys a variety of sermons preached by southern ministers during the winter of 1860-1861, in which they "provided the South with a religious interpretation of the crisis of the Union" (p. 159). Just as they had sanctified slavery, preachers used the language of evangelicalism to bestow God's blessing on secession, which became "a purifying act of separation from a sinful and decaying nation" (p. 164). As with slavery, however, clerical support for secession demanded a corresponding moral responsibility. In separating themselves from the corrupted Union (controlled by the North), Southerners had to be careful lest they perpetuate the same evils that promised to destroy the American republic.

Clergymen's justification of slavery and secession insured that religion would play an important role in the formation of southern nationalism. Confederate Christians generally agreed with the convention of Florida Baptists who proclaimed their "cordial sympathy with and hearty approbation of those who are determined to maintain the integrity of the Southern States" (p. 154). In the months of decision in the winter of 1860-1861, clerical leaders united most Southerners with the assurance that slavery was righteous and secession was a religious duty. There were, however, other voices. Although Snay notes that religion could also serve as a countervailing force against sectionalism, he fails to explore fully the implications of this insight. Overall, *Gospel of Disunion* successfully establishes the importance of theological concepts and religious discourse to the creation of a southern section and then a Confederate nation.

University of Florida

DANIEL W. STOWELL

What They Fought For, 1861-1865. By James M. McPherson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994. xv, 88 pp. Preface, abbreviations, introduction, notes, index. \$16.95.)

James M. McPherson's *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* is part of a larger work in progress tentatively entitled *Why They Fought*. The eighty-eight pages of text reviewed here were originally delivered as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University. The forthcoming work will explore how the largely volunteer armies of the Union and Confederacy coped with the emotions and fears that make up the life of a soldier in any army: concepts of duty and honor, stress, pain, and death. This thin volume focuses more narrowly upon ideology; "that is, what Civil War soldiers believed they were fighting for." The "unparalleled richness and candor" of thousands of personal letters and diaries written from the front comprises the vehicle that allows McPherson to explore the hearts and minds of the men in blue and gray. In the end, after digesting more than 25,000 pieces of evidence, McPherson contends that the twin themes of liberty and republicanism "formed the ideological core of the cause" for which both sides fought.

Most historians and sociologists who have studied the soldiers of 1861-1865 and later wars have argued that ideology and patriotism played almost no role in motivation. Men more often fought for immediate and tangible realities— their unit, their comrades-in-arms, or merely for their own survival. Gerald Linderman, *Embattled Courage*, and Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, both recently have downplayed the evidence of ideological awareness among Union and Confederate soldiers, while Bell Irvin Wiley, the pioneer scholar in this field, came to similar conclusions in two monumental volumes, *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *The Life of Billy Yank*, more than forty years ago.

McPherson rejects the paradigm that these men did not understand or had no clear notion of what they were fighting for. The ideological motivations, he writes, "leaped" from the pages of the letters and diaries of the most literate armies in history to that time. Over 80 percent of Confederate soldiers and more than 90 percent of white Union soldiers could read and write and, he argues, understood and cared passionately about the issues that divided them. Soldiers in both the North and South believed they were defenders of the legacy of 1776— interpreted, of course, in different

ways. Confederates saw themselves fighting to protect their homes and property, and for independence from a tyrannical government, as the colonials had done ninety years before. Federal troops, conversely, fought to preserve the republic that those same colonists had fought so nobly for and had sacrificed so much to create.

In three clear, readable chapters McPherson explains, with innumerable passages from letters and diaries, how the fighting men of both armies understood the concepts of freedom, constitutional government, and slavery. Along the way McPherson stresses the importance of taking their words at face value. Although many of the phrases used by Billy Yank and Johnny Reb seem overly sentimental and maudlin to the modern reader, he insists that they be taken seriously. The fact that these men laid down their lives in large numbers for their beliefs and convictions is proof that "our cynicism about the genuineness of such sentiments is more our problem than theirs."

All readers interested in what was arguably the defining moment in American history should eagerly welcome this new volume. McPherson's two most recent works, the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Battle Cry of Freedom* and *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution*—not to mention his five previous books dealing with the war and emancipation—have established this author as the preeminent authority on the conflict and its impact on American society. His graceful prose and insightful analysis make this book, and the larger volume to follow, a useful addition to the ever-burgeoning historiography of the Civil War era.

Gainesville, Florida

STAN DEATON

Nathan Bedford Forrest: A Biography. By Jack Hurst. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993. 434 pp. Prologue, maps, epilogue, notes, index. \$30.00.)

Few other Civil War participants approach the hold Nathan Bedford Forrest retains upon the popular imagination. Paintings and monographs about Forrest are among the best-selling works for enthusiasts of the period. These simplified and romantic stories and images, however, do not do justice to the cavalryman's com-

plex life. Jack Hurst explores Forrest's early years to help explain his vitriolic genius.

Hurst argues that the general's life "traces an exceptional American's remarkable philosophical journey" from frontier-raised slave trader to pious proponent of the "New South" (p. 11). Hurst contends that this first wizard of the Ku Klux Klan was not a monster when placed in his time and that Forrest was a military genius who deserved more influence in the western theater.

Hurst successfully links Forrest's rapid mood swings and fiery temper to the frontier culture that shaped him as a young man. Frontier society in the South tried to blend chivalric honor with the natural violence of the wilderness. The biography shows Forrest to be a natural, if extreme, example of the conflict between these two sets of values. He was quick to anger and killed men for verbal insults, but Forrest could embrace and honor his opponents after death. This dual temperament affected Forrest's decision making on the battlefield.

Hurst explains Forrest's actions at the Fort Pillow massacre using this concept of a split personality. Most previous authors have framed the argument as a strict dichotomy. Either Forrest supported the slaughter of the surrendered Union soldiers, or he actively stopped the murder of the former slaves and their officers. Hurst convincingly argues that Forrest's "temper may have undergone one of its characteristic waxing and wanings," resulting in both the instigation and halt of the massacre (p. 177). The bloodlust of the man who offered no quarter gave way to compassion for helpless prisoners. Fort Pillow was the logical result of Forrest's conflicted personality.

The book examines Forrest's military genius, showing how he used deception, maneuver, and pure will to overcome superior Union forces. Hurst does not, however, place Forrest's accomplishments in a larger context. The book leads the reader to think that the cavalryman's raids mattered more than the major battles in the western theater, but Forrest was only one component in many operations.

The book attempts, but fails, to prove Forrest's violent extremes typical of the era. Hurst contends that the massacre at Pillow was an unavoidable result of a savage war. On the contrary, Forrest's demands of "surrender or expect no quarter" fostered the environment for the massacre to occur, and he boasted about the carnage shortly after the battle. This conduct was not typical of the

Civil War. Military leaders generally followed accepted standards of conduct during the war. The Fort Pillow massacre was the terrible exception, not the rule.

If Forrest's racial attitudes developed "more in the direction of liberal enlightenment than those of most other Americans" it is only because he had further to go (p. 385). Forrest's benevolence and noblesse oblige to individual black people were not inconsistent with racial oppression, as shown by studies of slavery. Other recent biographers of Forrest have not found it necessary to reconcile Forrest's military genius with his racism. His activities as both slave trader and head of the Ku Klux Klan were as far from the norm as his battlefield prowess.

This biography successfully explains the origins of Forrest's complex personality and military genius in a readable style that is readily enjoyed. Despite the book's failed attempt to portray Forrest as a reformed racist, it remains a valuable addition to the interpretations of Forrest's life.

United States Military Academy

DOUGLAS L. WHITEHEAD

High Seas Confederate: The Life and Times of John Newland Maffitt. By Royce Shingleton. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993. x, 160 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendix, notes, bibliographic note, index. \$27.95.)

Many of the recent profiles I have read of Civil War soldiers, sailors, and politicians fall into a category I designate as "voodoo biography." The writer faithfully presents the facts of the subject's life, but the protagonist wanders through the pages of the book like a zombie—without fire, soul, or life. Professor Royce Shingleton's new biography of Confederate commerce raider and blockade runner John Newland Maffitt is a welcome antidote to the usual fare. *High Seas Confederate* is a first-rate little volume, told with a scholar's precision and the verve and pace of a storyteller.

Colorful, dashing, and "game to the bone," Maffitt strides through the pages of this book like the action hero in a novel. Born aboard ship in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, he was raised by a relative in North Carolina after his hopelessly incompatible parents separated. President Andrew Jackson appointed the thirteen-year-old Maffitt acting midshipman in the United States Navy in

1832, and he embarked on the accepted “fast track” for those seeking careers as naval officers. Maffitt literally grew up upon the sea. He sandwiched a series of swashbuckling adventures—romancing the queen of Greece, battling West Indian pirates and slavers, and butting heads with Florida Senator Stephen R. Mallory—around long years with the United States Coast Survey. Ironically, two of Maffitt’s prewar assignments injured the Confederate cause. Maffitt’s meticulous charts of the southern coastline proved invaluable to the Federal blockading squadrons during the Civil War. Also, prompt action by Maffitt and Lieutenant T. Augustus Craven in January 1861 to prevent the seizure of Forts Taylor and Jefferson by prosouthern residents of Key West, preserved those strategic outposts for the Union.

Maffitt’s devotion to duty failed to impress naval officials in Washington, however. They sought to have the North Carolinian arrested as a suspected Confederate sympathizer, and Maffitt fled south. After a brief stint with the Mosquito Squadron and as naval aide to Robert E. Lee, Maffitt assumed command of the *C.S.S. Florida*. He embarrassed the blockading squadron by running in and out of Mobile Bay, before beginning a spectacular, year-long campaign against Union shipping interests in both the Caribbean and Atlantic. Resigning his command of the *Florida* in August 1863 due to ill health, Maffitt ended the war as a successful blockade runner. Postwar, he served for a year in the employ of Brazil during the War of the Triple Alliance before returning to North Carolina. His last years were spent in “reduced circumstances” and suffering from a series of physical and mental infirmities.

This book should appeal to Civil War enthusiasts, scholars, and those who enjoy a rollicking tale of the sea. It is thoroughly researched and footnoted, and makes use of numerous primary sources, including the Maffitt Papers in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Students of Florida history will find much to interest them in this biography. Maffitt’s protection of Federal installations at Key West in early 1861, his choice of Mosquito Inlet as a blockade-runner’s port, and the rescue of a cargo vessel, the *Mary Ann*, off the coast of Santa Rosa Island are but a few of the Florida connections outlined in this volume. These incidents are, however, part of a larger story and are not dealt with in great depth. In fact, *High Seas Confederate* is not an interpretative biography, and those looking for in-depth analysis will be disappointed.

The one glaring weakness in this volume is the lack of adequate maps. The inclusion of several good cruising charts would have helped the reader follow the wide-ranging voyages described in the text. The book's lone map appears on the end-covers and is not adequate. That criticism aside, this is a fine addition to the slim canon of Confederate naval history. The reader may well come away from this biography with a clearer understanding and deeper appreciation for a likable, complicated, and gutsy warrior.

Rome, Georgia

ZACK C. WATERS

Tainted Breeze: The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, 1862. By Richard B. McCaslin. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994. xii, 234 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, illustrations, photographs, epilogue, appendices, index. \$29.95.)

In October 1862 Confederate militia units in Gainesville, Texas, hanged over fifty Unionist civilians in cold blood in one of the most horrendous single atrocities of the Civil War. Richard B. McCaslin has written the first modern study of this event, in his strongest passages putting the reader vividly at the emotional middle of a mob run amuck.

All along the border between the Union and the Confederacy, as well as in more remote corners of the South, such as North Texas, the Civil War contained an inner guerrilla war. Historians have begun to explore this phenomenon in depth, particularly in Arkansas and Missouri and in the Appalachian upcountry of East Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and northern Georgia. Unfortunately, McCaslin almost completely ignores this growing literature and the theoretical and methodological possibilities it offers, and thus his is really a rather old-fashioned "local history," disconnected from the larger currents of events of the war. This is a pity, because the general reader will not be able to make connections between what happened in Gainesville, Texas, and elsewhere and thus might take this for an isolated event, which it was not.

Theoretically, McCaslin adopts part of Richard Maxwell Brown's argument, in his book *Strain of Violence*, when he casts the Great Hanging as an extra-legal vigilante action, aimed at securing

order and a stable, secure community life. But Brown also emphasizes that vigilantism was applied against outlaws and other marginal types in areas of weak law enforcement—essential structural characteristics of vigilantism that McCaslin fails to consider. In this instance the community was badly divided, and the Confederate leadership, organized quite legally in a militia and led by the local provost marshal, enacted a vendetta against a sizable Unionist segment of the population, perhaps even the majority. This part of Texas had voted against secession, while most of Texas was enthusiastically pro-Confederate. The Great Hanging was an attempted purge of Unionists, which destroyed the community, as opposed to being the ritual enactment of communal solidification against marginal aliens. Using Brown's theory of vigilantism thus obscures the basic lineaments of the event that really amounted to a local civil war within the larger Civil War.

Perhaps McCaslin might have employed more usefully a theoretical model based on earlier episodes of witchcraft in America and elsewhere. He demonstrates quite clearly how suspicion mounted on suspicion, hanging led to collective blood lust for more hanging, until the episode burned out in some manner McCaslin fails to analyze—probably in collective shame and realization that a program of hanging civilians on suspicion of treason might be endless.

As to identifying the process whereby the Unionists to be hanged were targeted, McCaslin has major methodological problems. He certainly shows that the slaveholding minority was richer than its neighbors and that it dominated the region. The Unionists, however, were solid yeomen—like the vast majority of their neighbors—not some sort of lower class, and they were distinguished only by their reputed political beliefs. Beyond that, McCaslin has uncovered no trial transcripts and his analysis relies entirely on two late nineteenth-century accounts, one written by one of the Confederate participants and the other by a younger brother of a participant. McCaslin mentions the identities of his two authors only in passing and adopts their obviously tainted special pleading far too credulously. Thus he seems to accept the assertion of his sources that there was indeed a Unionist plot to seize the region from within, complete with secret passwords and handshakes, though even his two dubious sources do not go beyond that level of proof of a conspiracy. (Indeed there is a good literature, by Frank L. Klement, among others, on conspiracy theories, particularly

during the Civil War, which McCaslin also ignores.) McCaslin does mention that all those who were arrested and hanged had been signers of an anti-Confederate, anticonscription petition earlier in the war. This is the only hard and reliable evidence he adduces: witch-hunting hysteria by local Confederates would be the logical place to reach for further cues as to the causes of the Great Hanging.

Simon Fraser University

MICHAEL FELLMAN

The Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills Strike of 1914-1915: Espionage, Labor Conflict, and New South Industrial Relations. By Gary M. Fink. (Ithaca: Industrial and Labor Relations Press, 1993. xii, 180 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.00.)

Gary Fink, in *The Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills Strike of 1914-1915*, provides a fascinating and illuminating account of a key textile conflict in the New South of Atlanta. Using the recently opened Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill's archives, Fink explores important issues in southern labor organizing. This strike became "one of the best-documented textile strikes of that era," investigated by local and national groups (p. 4). These reports, coupled with Fink's use of previously unearthed company spies' accounts, complete a well-grounded study.

The Fulton Bag strike, "the southern equivalent of the great 1912 'Bread and Roses' textile strike," started on May 20, 1914, and ended by spring 1915. Unlike the Lawrence strike, the United Textile Workers of America (UTWA, AFL) organized at Fulton. The main union demand was the end of the company's unique employment contract, which required workers to supply a week's notice before quitting. Other demands included increased wages, rehiring discharged unionists, and union recognition. Although skilled workers formed the early cadre of union membership and strikers, the Fulton labor force was overwhelmingly itinerant and hard to motivate for larger goals. The Fulton Bag Company's location in urban Atlanta, its offensive employment contract and labor rules, and its generally unsavory reputation produced a work force unwilling and unable to make the sacrifices necessary for a successful strike. Organizers compounded the problem by providing support

to any and all workers who refused to cross the picket lines, which quickly used up any available money.

A management unwilling to reach a negotiated settlement exacerbated the conflict. Oscar Elsas, the company president and son of the founder, did not brook any outside interference in his right to run his mills. Elsas coupled this commitment with a belief that anti-Semitism lay behind support for the strike. Elsas linked criticism to anti-Semitism because of the recent Leo Frank trial and lynching. Rather than settle the strike, Elsas chose to spend thousands of dollars in the employment of company spies and guards.

The spies' reports provide much of the source material for this study and supply a rich account of the strike. They also pose a problem. For example, Professor Fink relies on the report of one spy, Harry Peterson, to show the mismanagement and internal disputes among the strike leadership. The organizers themselves, perhaps because of a lack of sources, are not allowed to furnish an answer to these reports.

One of the most interesting aspects of the strike was the attempt by both sides to use new technologies. Strike organizers used a camera to document the eviction of workers from company housing and produced a "dramatic" motion picture of the eviction. They sent this movie to theaters and union meetings to garner support. On the company side, undercover operatives employed an electronic eavesdropping device to monitor union headquarters and hotel rooms. Despite problems with background noise, the "bug" worked well until it started shrieking during a union meeting. The spies quickly decamped with their equipment and left town on the next train.

The inability of labor unions to organize the South is a perennial issue among labor historians and organized labor. From the early textile strikes, through Operation Dixie, to contemporary attempts in automobile plants, organized labor failed more times than it succeeded at southern organizing attempts. This account of the year-long Fulton Bag strike does not supply all the answers for the failure of southern organizing, but it furnishes several interesting glimpses into the larger problem. *The Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills Strike of 1914-1915* rewards a reader with its insights and contributions to broader concerns.

Wayne State University

THOMAS A. MOORE

Tropical Diaspora: The Jewish Experience in Cuba. By Robert M. Levine (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. xi, 398 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, maps, photographs, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95.)

Tropical Diaspora is the first comprehensive study on the Cuban Jewish experience, covering the period from Columbus's voyage to Fidel Castro's support of Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War. This unique, well documented, and scholarly social history invites both Latin American experts and the general public to explore Cuban Jewry as a fascinating chronicle and "to capture the flavor of their lives." This is made possible by Levine's ability to write a text composed of carefully collated data, excellent illustrations, and oral testimonies. Levine's book contributes to an understanding of Cuban Jewry's unique setting—starting from colonial times, through its second American diaspora following the 1959 communist revolution. Nevertheless, Levine's study basically focuses on how the 11,000 to 14,000 acknowledged Jews in Cuba before Castro survived successfully the adjustment stage.

Levine traces four stages of Jewish immigration, starting with a vivid description of how a small group of successful American Jewish businessmen rapidly integrated into the American colony of the island and, in some cases, into the Cuban upper class. In contrast, Sephardic emigration from Turkey dispersed throughout the island without assimilation, and although they were more orthodox, they were more socially accepted by Creole and other ethnic groups.

About the third wave, Levine argues that thousands of East European Jews arrived after 1924 seeking to enter the United States, and they perceived the island as a kind of "immigration hotel" on their way to America. Although this pattern of immigration created a process of adaptation without assimilation, according to Levine, Cuban Jewry remained institutionally stable and relatively small in size. Before the early 1920s for example, the Jewish population stood at about 5,000. But 7,000 more Jews entered each year between 1921 and 1923, and as many as 20,000 arrived in 1924 alone, the year that the U.S. closed its doors. After legal emigration to the U.S. became almost impossible, extralegal emigration from Cuba continued through the 1930s and 1940s.

Levine devotes two fascinating chapters to Jewish refugees escaping to Cuba before and during World War II. This is perhaps

the best researched part of the book. The tragic journey of 937 refugees carried by the *St. Louis*, whose landing permit had been retroactively denied by the Cuban government, is told by Levine through both dramatic oral testimonies and archival documentation. The *St. Louis* episode is portrayed as a deliberate attempt to test the willingness of Cuba and other countries to face the Holocaust tragedy. The author brings interesting evidence of how those refugees tried to acquire immigration permits from greedy Cuban officials. He does not, however, explain why two government officials who opposed Jewish immigration were not necessarily motivated by Judeophobia. This was the case for the two major rivals of Commissioner of Immigration Manuel Benitez: the minister of labor, who supported the nationalization of labor, and the minister of foreign affairs, who strove to reduce corruption in the consular service.

The role of nationalism as a socioeconomic factor for anti-Semitism in Cuba is not always formulated correctly by Levine. Although anti-Semitism occurred sporadically in Cuba and never captured the support of the larger population, there was a difference between Judeophobia as an outcome of the economic competition between Jews and Spaniard entrepreneurs and ideological discourses against Jews disseminated by certain nationalist papers like *Diario de la Marina*. The first reflected the protest of an established minority Spanish group for whom the Law of Nationalization of Labor sharpened commercial and light manufacturing competition with Jews during the revolutionary period (1933-1935). They resorted to anti-Semitism in order to channel attacks against them in the direction of the Jews.

Ideological anti-Semitism was imported from Spain via the influential Spanish colony, whose middle and upper classes identified with Franco and the ultra conservatives. Ties between the Spanish bourgeoisie—long-standing supporters of Spanish colonial rule—the Catholic Church, and the Spanish Falange, which had relations with Nazi Germany, were best personified by José Ignacio Rivero, editor of the influential newspaper *Diario de la Marina*. This was the most important organ of anti-Semitic propaganda in Cuba, and Rivero was the key person in the Cuban branch of the Spanish Falange. Both German and Falange anti-Semitic propaganda focused on the struggle against Jewish immigration, which reached its peak during the first half of 1939.

Levine argues that the Jewish Cuban experience differed from that of other diasporas in Latin America because affluence and economic success did not mean social parity with the Creole elite. Jews did not enter politics, and no political parties addressed minority concerns in their platforms until the Castro revolution. Nevertheless, Levine's book lacks a more in depth account of the role of Polacos Jews in establishing the Communist party during the 1920s. The chapter devoted to Cuban Jewry after the Revolution deals only briefly with the revolutionary and pro-Castro Jews that decided not to immigrate to Florida. It is not enough to demonstrate that Castro exerted strenuous efforts to avoid accusations of anti-Semitism despite Cuba's diplomatic break with Israel in 1973 and its support of radical Arab causes. Also the history of Cuban Jewry after 1959 deserves telling.

Tropical Diaspora represents the most comprehensive social history published on Cuban Jewry. It is very useful for an understanding of both ethnic minorities in the Caribbean and Cuban history.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

LEONARDO SENKMAN

The Schoolhouse Door: Segregation's Last Stand at the University of Alabama. By E. Culpepper Clark. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. xxiv, 305 pp. Introduction, photographs, epilogue, bibliography, notes, index. \$25.00.)

E. Culpepper Clark has written an excellent account of the slow and painful process of desegregation at the University of Alabama. Although the broad details of Autherine Lucy's nightmarish three days at the university in February 1956 and the famous schoolhouse door stand by George Wallace in June 1963 are well known, Clark uses oral testimony and a wide range of manuscript sources to extend and deepen our understanding of those incidents by placing them in a number of overlapping contexts. They appear here as part of a complex tale involving administrative ineptitude, confusion, and cowardice at the university; diverse agendas, and often great courage, on the part of the black applicants and their supporters; a mighty struggle between state and federal authorities; and a passionate, doomed attempt to preserve white supremacy by the champions of segregation. Events at the university between 1943 and 1963 thus provide Clark with the opportu-

nity to illuminate broader themes in the history of southern race relations, the civil rights movement, and massive resistance.

Essentially, the Tuscaloosa story was one of missed opportunities for peaceful desegregation between 1943 and 1955, whereafter the triumph of white extremism greatly reduced the scope for moderation and compromise on the segregation issue and plunged the university into crisis. One of the strengths of the book is Clark's sensitivity to the dilemma of white moderates in university and state administration as they faced the swelling ranks of the Citizens' Councils and Ku Klux Klan. Nevertheless, he is probably right to accuse many of them of a basic lack of courage and conviction. In Alabama, as elsewhere, southern racial moderates ultimately failed to articulate, promote, or pursue a coherent, gradualist approach to the segregation crisis and thus offered whites no real alternative to massive resistance, save apathy or resignation. Indeed, Clark argues that the success of mob action in securing Autherine Lucy's suspension from classes in February 1956 represented a critical event in the intensification of massive resistance and encouraged a growing propensity to use violence to achieve its ends.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the most fascinating and contentious aspect of the book concerns that most fascinating and contentious of characters, George Wallace. In 1963, as Vivian Malone and James Hood— the latest in a long and hitherto neglected line of black applicants who followed Lucy— secured admission to the university, the scene seemed set for a repeat of the violence that had engulfed Ole Miss and provoked federal intervention the previous year. Naturally, university authorities and the Kennedy administration wanted to avoid this, but, in Clark's analysis, George Wallace alone had a clear and consistent plan for how this might be done. That this depended upon Wallace's close connections with the Citizens' Councils— which he instructed to stay away from the campus— and was predicated upon his personal standing as an unregenerate segregationist— a reputation secured by the race-baiting of his oratory and solemnized, by his celebrated stance at the schoolhouse door— is incontrovertible. Nevertheless, in place of a bloody and futile attempt to prevent integration by force of arms, Wallace offered resisters a great symbolic show of defiance to both desegregation and the federal power that was forcing it upon the South. Clark's Wallace thus appears as a statesman of great resourcefulness and skill, applying those talents to defend states

rights, preserve law and order, and maintain a system of "separate but equal" facilities for the races, which he still believed was workable and morally correct. Years later, Clark argues, Wallace's genuine belief that all people ought to be treated equally enabled him to break with a segregationist past that had routinely denied blacks such equality.

Inevitably, there are some aspects of Clark's book that might have warranted further investigation, particularly with regard to black Alabama. For example, we get suggestive, but fleeting, glimpses of key figures in the black community—A. G. Gaston, Emory Jackson, and Henry Guinn—and their roles in the events in Tuscaloosa. Nothing much is made of the paradox that some blacks armed to protect Lucy, just as Martin Luther King, Jr., was raising a nonviolent army elsewhere in the state. These, however, are minor quibbles with a book that admirably demonstrates how events in Tuscaloosa both reflected and influenced the development of the civil rights movement.

University of Newcastle upon Tyne

BRIAN WARD

Religion and Race: Southern Presbyterians, 1946-1983. By Joel L. Alvis, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994. vii, 197 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95, paper.)

Developments over four decades moved the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS), a "denomination bounded by its tradition and geography," from a position of paternalism to "a more inclusive posture," argues Joel L. Alvis, Jr., in this history of the largest Presbyterian denomination in the American South (p. vii). The author, a Presbyterian pastor, uses general assembly, presbytery, and synod minutes, periodicals, and other primary sources to construct a narrative describing the relationship between southern culture and Presbyterianism from the establishment of a "Negro Work" division in 1946 until northern and southern Presbyterians reunited in 1983. The PCUS, popularly known as the Southern Presbyterian Church and product of a split from New School Presbyterians in 1861, was the only major religious body in the South that retained its geographic identity and clear lineage to sectionalism during the civil rights movement.

A specific doctrine characterized the Southern Presbyterian Church, clearly demarcating it from its northern counterpart and becoming, Alvis contends, a major reference point of its history. The "spirituality of the church" doctrine held that the church should address itself solely to spiritual affairs and remain separate from secular issues. Eventually, this doctrine marked the division between conservative and liberal Southern Presbyterians, as the former advocated the continued separation of spheres and the latter disregarded it. Factors prompting liberals to racial reform included the influence of the Social Gospel, which promoted the church's involvement in society and challenged the spirituality of church doctrine, and World War II, which caused some white Americans to reevaluate their own racism.

Alvis devotes his first three chapters to establishing these historical and theological contexts and to describing specific developments in PCUS's work with African Americans. He discusses a dual organizational structure that included African-American churches but maintained a segregated church court system. He discusses also the early work of some Presbyterian liberals in Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Federal, then National, Council of Churches, and the establishment of a segregated synod in 1915 and then a formal Negro Work Program in 1946.

The final three chapters focus on the increased contact between white and black Presbyterians. The laity in the forefront of racial reform were women and youth, as groups of each attended mixed conferences and camps and began to challenge the white male power structure that mandated segregated facilities and meetings. Alvis contends that the "official PCUS response to civil right issues after 1954 was favorable to the cause but faced significant internal challenges from conservative members" (p. 130). Nevertheless, the actions and official statements of the PCUS after World War II reflect its move from being a regional denomination to securing a place within the mainstream of American Protestantism. By the 1970s the PCUS had moved far enough away from its roots in sectionalism and racism to experience the splintering of its more conservative members into a new denomination, the Presbyterian Church in America, and then to reunite with its northern counterpart in 1983.

Although Alvis writes clearly and explains denominational language for his non-Presbyterian readers, his excessive use of passive voice throughout the volume detracts from the flow of the narra-

tive. Further, he carefully constructs the historical context of developments such as the *Brown* decision but neglects the response of other southern religious groups to changing race relations. The lack of reference to Andrew Michael Manis's *Southern Civil Religions in Conflict: Black and White Baptists and Civil Rights, 1947-1957* reflects this missing context. In spite of these criticisms, however, this study offers new understanding of one denomination in its struggle toward racial inclusion and provides larger understanding of the relationship between southern religion and race relations.

Madison, Virginia

ANDREW S. CHANCEY

The 1992 Presidential Election in the South: Current Patterns of Southern Party and Electoral Politics. Edited by Robert P. Steed, Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1994. xi, 224 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, tables, figures, conclusion, selected bibliography, index, about the editors and contributors. \$55.00.)

Why a book on the 1992 presidential election in the South? Is there a need for such a volume? The answer to the second question is a decided "yes." There is a two-fold answer to the first one. The Steed, Moreland, and Baker edited volume is the third in their series documenting the results of presidential elections in the eleven traditional states of the South. This latest publication continues their efforts to look beyond the results of the elections to interpret their meaning and consequences for emerging party politics in the region. The editors' continuing commitment to this project deserves the thanks and respect from all students of southern affairs, as it improves our understanding of the dramatic changes that have taken place in presidential electoral politics in the South during the last third of the twentieth century.

But there is another reason why this book is important. The results of the 1992 presidential elections were atypical. There were three major candidates in the race— Bush, Clinton, and Perot. In 1968 and 1980 three major candidates ran, but this past cycle provides a startling contrast to these other occasions, especially when George Wallace ran in 1968.

Additionally, the results of the 1992 election were much different from those of 1988 and 1984 when the Republicans won all of

the southern states. In 1992 Clinton, the Democrat, won four states— Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Tennessee. And he came very close to winning several others, including Florida, Texas, North Carolina, and Virginia. Whether this was a fluke, resulting from the appeal of Perot (who appears to have cut into President Bush's support in many areas) or an indication that the so-called "Republican lock" on the South has been overestimated, is a subject for continuing debate and analysis. The point is, this book addresses these questions directly, and although no single answer to them can be given, it is fair to conclude from it that the dynamics of presidential politics in the South showed a vigor and health not seen in the region since 1976 when Democrat Jimmy Carter stayed the ever-rising Republican presidential tide.

The book follows the pattern of political science writings on southern politics begun by V. O. Key. There are chapters on individual states written by specialists. This is both a strength— the authors are knowledgeable and convey a sense of the nuances and flavor of individual states— and a weakness. The chapters are not always comparable, as the analytical modes used to interpret the results differ. Happily, there are three interpretative chapters, which put the disparate state discussions in perspective, and a suggestive if incomplete bibliography.

Some readers will be disturbed by the emphasis on quantitative analysis for reviewing election results. Others will find fault with missing basic information. For example, there is no table that reports the raw popular vote in the region (although Table 14.2 does report it by percentages). Readers of the Florida chapter will search in vain for a report of the results by county. Yet this is a crucial datum, because a switch of votes in relatively few counties, mainly along the I-4 corridor in central Florida, might have moved the state into the Clinton column; Bush won by only 100,000 of 5,300,000 votes cast in the Sunshine State.

On balance, however, readers will find this a worthwhile book, helpful in understanding what happened in 1992, and a useful guide to possibilities in 1996. Let us hope the editors continue their valuable series at the conclusion of that election.

University of Florida

RICHARD K. SCHER

BOOK NOTES

New in paperback from the Ripley P. Bullen Series at the University Press of Florida is William H. Sear's *Fort Center: An Archaeological Site in the Lake Okeechobee Basin*. This important work in southeastern archaeology, published first in 1982, raises questions about the relationship of South Florida's prehistoric population to the Caribbean basin and about the origins of maize agriculture in the eastern United States. The Belle Glade people were the first inhabitants of the site c. 500 B.C. Excavations uncovered a charnel platform decorated with wood carvings of animals, which provide an excellent collection of prehistoric Indian art. The book sells for \$18.95 and may be ordered from the University Press of Florida, 15 NW 15th Street, Gainesville, FL 32611-7302.

Pioneers in Paradise, West Palm Beach the First 100 Years is written by Jan Tuckwood, associate editor of *The Palm Beach Post*, and Eliot Kleinberg, staff writer for that paper. West Palm Beach had a history even before Henry M. Flagler arrived with his Florida East Coast Railroad in 1894. When Ponce de Leon sailed along the east coast of Florida in 1513, the Jaega and Ais Indians were already established residents. A U.S. army detachment reached Lake Worth during the Second Seminole War and named it for William Jenkins Worth, a war hero. An early settler was E. N. Dimick, whose family arrived in 1876. His descendants remain in the area. With text and many photographs— many in color— Tuckwood and Kleinberg relate the history of this stretch of south Florida that was transformed from a trackless wilderness to one of the wealthiest and most fashionable communities in the world. Almost everyone knows the impact that Flagler had on the area, but Tuckwood and Kleinberg also describe the activities of many other interesting personalities. These include Joseph Jefferson, the famed American actor who owned West Palm's first electric plant; Inez Pepper Lovett, whose family was one of the first blacks to settle in the area; the Ashley gang, south Florida's notorious criminals; C. M. Gardner, editor of West Palm Beach's first newspaper; and Thomas Tipton Reese, Jr., the city's first mayor. *Pioneers in Paradise* was published by Longstreet Press, Marietta, Georgia, and it sells for \$27.50.

Sapelo's People: A Long Walk into Freedom, by William S. McFeely, is the story of a Georgia barrier island where the descendants of slaves have preserved their Gullah language and much of their West African culture. Through family recollections stretching back to before the Civil War, the present-day experiences of island inhabitants, and McFeely's expertise as a historian, he examines a number of important topics. These include the forced and voluntary migrations that brought Sapelo's people from West Africa to the area; the story of Bilali, a Muslim slave who became leader of the slave community; the island's men who joined the Union army, returned to home as freehold farmers, and saw their land confiscated when Reconstruction collapsed; and the survival of Sapelo's people into the present day. Order *Sapelo's People* from W. W. Norton & Company, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10110 for \$18.95.

An informal folk history recording changing customs and events as remembered by the many people who lived in the little seaport town of Mayport, near Jacksonville, during the past 100 years is presented in Helen Cooper Floyd's compilation, *In the Shadow of the Lighthouse: A Folk History of Mayport, Florida*. Using the words of many past and present residents, the author devotes attention to the town's founding, its Presbyterian church, life during the 1920s, Great Depression, World War II, and the 1950s, and reaction to the navy base. Also included are over forty pages of photographs spanning the period 1890 to 1970. Other books by the author include *Mayport Remembered— People and Places* and *Mayport Remembered— Along the Waterfront*. Her latest work is available at White's Books, 989-B Atlantic Boulevard, Atlantic Beach, FL 32233 for \$14.00.

The University of Georgia Press has released a paperback edition of Adam Fairclough's *Martin Luther King, Jr.* Published initially in 1990, this slim volume chronicles the major events of King's life and assesses his achievements as leader of the civil rights movement. His childhood influences, college and seminary education, and activities as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are discussed. Throughout the work Fairclough outlines the major stages of King's philosophical and political growth and the leader's opposition to the Vietnam War, his response to Black Power, and his growing concern for economic justice. The book

can be ordered from the University of Georgia Press, 330 Research Drive, Athens, GA 30602-4901.

A new book by Ferald J. Bryan, *Henry Grady or Tom Watson: The Rhetorical Struggle for the New South, 1880-1890*, asserts that respect for oratory stood as one of the pillars of southern culture. Henry Grady and Tom Watson, two of the New South's key orators, grew up in this tradition and relied upon it to move their audiences toward their own personal visions of success. This book analyzes the rhetorical struggle between Watson and Grady over the future of the South during the critical decade of the 1880s. The author is particularly interested in the various metaphors used by the men to sway audiences. Following lengthy discussions of each man's vision, Ferald includes the key speeches of each man. Order *Henry Grady or Tom Watson* from Mercer University Press, 1400 Coleman Avenue, Macon, GA 31207 for \$14.00.

Twenty-Five Years in the Black Belt, by William J. Edwards, is the memoir of the founder and principal of Snow Hill Institute, a "little Tuskegee," located in rural Wilcox County, Alabama. In this Library of Alabama Classics reprint of the 1918 original, Edwards reveals the conditions of black and race relations in Alabama between 1890 and 1917 and tells of his determination to uplift his race through education in the years following Reconstruction. After graduating from Tuskegee Institute in 1893, Edwards toured Alabama's black belt counties and observed the living and agricultural conditions of blacks. The lack of education in the region led him to establish the Snow Hill Colored Literary and Industrial Institute in 1893 in order to elevate the black population. He modeled the new school after Tuskegee's emphasis on the practical and industrial arts. By 1907 there were between 300 and 400 students, twenty-seven teachers, and sixteen buildings. Snow Hill became a public school in 1936 and closed its doors in 1973. The book sells for \$14.95 and may be ordered from the University of Alabama Press, Box 870380, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0380.

The down-home flavor of Florida cracker living has been captured in Neil Colcord Weidenbach's *Fluellen Sue Beth, Tales from the Backwoods*. Colorfully narrated in a backwoods country dialect, the author blends fiction with her own true-to-life experiences as a rural elementary school teacher and third-generation Floridian. In a

series of stories amusingly entitled "Settin' a Spell on a Cracker stoop," "Fuzzballs," "The Busted Bells Gits Fixed," and "Skairt Me Near 'Bout Outten My Skull!," her bucolic neighbor Slim conveys the problems, pleasures, and vibrant personality of the title character. Order *Fluellen Sue Beth* from Northwest Publishing, 6906 South 300 West, Salt Lake City, UT 84047 for \$7.95.

Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1650-1850, written by Darrett B. Rutman with Anita H. Rutman, is a collection of fourteen essays composed over the last thirty years. On subjects as diverse as New England Puritanism, urbanization in Georgia, and the practice of history itself, all the essays reflect the Rutmans' empiricist methodology and exacting scrutiny of the profession's ruling paradigms. Of greatest interest to readers familiar with the Rutmans' work will be the four hitherto unpublished essays, three of which were originally presented at University of Florida forums. The book may be ordered from the University of Virginia Press, 550 Edgemont Road, Box 3608, University Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903 for \$17.95, paper.

Now in paperback by Lewis Hanke is *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians*. In this introductory volume to Las Casas's *In Defense of the Indians*, Hanke outlines Las Casas's debate with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda— a dispute in 1550-1551 Sepúlveda initiated to assert that Native Americans were preordained for slavery. Through his analysis of this debate, of similar discussions within Spain and America, and most importantly, of Las Casas's treatise, Hanke explores sixteenth-century Spanish notions of race, justice, and expansion. The book is available for \$15.00 from Northern Illinois Press, DeKalb, IL 60115.

The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, by Francis Paul Prucha, provides scholars a comprehensive, if not exhaustive, study of American Indian policy since the Revolutionary War. Originally published in two volumes, this handy paperback provides an impressive mixture of primary and secondary works in an engaging and insightful format. It offers information for the scholar and layperson alike. Prucha's study of two centuries of policies, relationships, leaders, and cultures promises

to remain the standard reference text for years to follow. The book is available from the University of Nebraska Press, 312 North 14th Street, Lincoln, NE 68588-0484 for \$50.00.

Our Journey Through Time is the history of Pomona Park, Florida, from its founding in 1874 to 1994 when the town was celebrating the centennial of its incorporation. The authors, Nancy Cooley Alvars and Opal Walker Middleton researched a variety of primary and secondary sources to gather the material for their history. These sources include the Putnam County Archives; church, government, and club minutes and records; newspapers; genealogy data; and interviews and conversations with many members of the community. Adding to the value of this volume is the biographical information on families and individuals, photographs, population and census data, and a name and place index. Order *Our Journey Through Time* from the Town of Pomona Park, P. O. Box 518, Pomona Park, FL 32181. Make checks payable to Pomona Park Beautification Commission. The price is \$45.00, plus \$2.50 shipping/handling.

Robert Dufree's Journal and Recollections of Newport, Rhode Island, Freetown, Massachusetts, New York City & Long Island, Jamaica & Cuba, West Indies & Saint Simons Island, Georgia, ca. 1785-1810 was edited by Virginia Steele Wood, whose extensive research in identifying the threads of Dufree's life and travels is monumental. There is a strong emphasis on Georgia in the *Journal* where Mrs. Wood has personal connections to St. Simons Island. Her notes contain important genealogy material. *Dufree's Journal* was published by Beldon Books, Marion, MA, for the Saint Simons Island Public Library; it sells for \$29.95.