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BOOK REVIEWS

Florida's First People: 12,000 Years of Human History, By Robin C. Brown. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1994. ix, 262 pp. Author's note, illustrations, photographs, maps, *scientific* names, references, glossary, appendices, index.)

In *Florida's First People*, Robin C. Brown has produced a brilliant introduction to Florida archaeology that will entice the beginner while providing vast amounts of information useful to the professional. To walk the fine line between general readership and professional audience is indeed difficult, but Brown has succeeded. His book has a clear, lively writing style, and inverts the presentation found in so many archaeological texts. In the best anthropological tradition, Brown focuses first on the native peoples, their histories and lives, then on the many aspects of material culture they produced, and finally on archaeological techniques for discovering the past. The newcomer to Florida archeology thus gains a grounding in the people of prehistory, which leads to later sections of the book. These sections include Brown's own experiments in the replication of items ranging from spear points to wooden masks, supplemented with drawings, photos, and color plates. They are a welcome reference guide to anyone working on sites in Florida.

Part One introduces the reader to various cultures and time periods in Florida's past, covering the dramatic change in climate and environment between paleo and more recent times. Brown illustrates how people lived at different times by giving concise, up-to-date summaries of archaeological excavations at six sites: Page-Ladson, Windover, Key Marco, Horr's Island, McKeithen, and Lake Jackson. This takes the reader on a journey from 12,000 B.P. up to the centuries just prior to historic times and the beginning of Florida's existence as a colony of Europe. A story of both archaeologists and native cultures, each summary recounts the trials and tribulations of excavators in the field and, more importantly, the rich and diverse societies of ancient Florida. By the end, the reader has an appreciation for the fishing/maritime culture of Key Marco, whose people wrought elaborate carvings in wood, and the development of mound-building from the Archaic through the Mississippian pe-

riods. In addition, the book makes an important statement about the value of Florida's many archaeological resources, which include sites with preserved textiles, wooden artifacts, and human genetic remains.

Part Two focuses on the many implements and edifices made by native peoples, including tools for making fire and working fiber into textiles, descriptions of stone-and wood-working, and examples of weaving, clothing, and adornment. Most sections feature sidebars, in which Brown, writes from personal experience about the labor involved in making points, nets, and pottery. Brown emphasizes the dexterity and knowledge of local resources required to manufacture even basic items. This lends greater appreciation to those things produced in prehistory that went far beyond the basic--elaborately carved and painted masks, embossed copper breastplates, beautifully configured effigy pots, paintings, and sculpture. Illustrations and color plates put artifacts back in context, showing how stone points or bone implements were components of complex digging and throwing instruments, and depicting the many fruits, plants, and tree fibers that provided food, paints, dyes, and raw material.

Finally, Part Three provides an overview of how archaeologists proceed from excavation, through analysis, to reconstruction of what a site looked like and what people did there. Coupled to this is a reference section describing and depicting many types of pottery and points, as well as animal remains and seeds commonly found in prehistoric trash. An appendix gives the scientific names for plants and animals commonly encountered in Florida. Florida's *First People* is thus an impressive accomplishment, which serves equally as a textbook, reference tool, and book of general interest.

Southern Illinois University

JAMES G. CUSICK

Ybor City Chronicles: A Memoir. By Ferdie Pacheco. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994. xiii, 301 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, photographs, epilogues. \$24.95.)

This is a gem of a book. Clearly labeled a memoir, it makes no pretense of being a scholarly history. But through the prisms of Ferdie Pacheco's memory, *Ybor City Chronicles* conveys much of the atmosphere and flow of events in Tampa's immigrant community in its most colorful period.

Pacheco tells the story from his boyhood in the mid-1930s through World War II, a period that almost coincides with the end of Ybor City's cigar-based culture. Its factories were switching from hand-made to machine-made cigars; its second and third generation families were losing their insularity of language and culture as assimilation accelerated into the broader, surrounding Anglo community.

The author's own grandmother spoke only Spanish. Pacheco had no problem understanding and conversing with her; bilingually fluent, he had no problem holding his own with--and out-talking--his Anglo classmates.

His writing style in adulthood is blunt, colorful, outrageous at times, downright funny. He writes as he talks, with rapid-fire facts punctuated by irony and humor. But Pacheco writes movingly as well, wrenching emotional responses when he relates sad episodes he has experienced or seen.

His first chapter, "Sweet Sam," is a touching portrayal of a very private black man who came into "Master Ferdie's" life when the boy was at an impressionable age. The two became closest of friends, but the mysteries of Sam's life take years to unravel.

The remarkable Conchita, mistress, then wife, of a leading Ybor City surgeon, helps lead, the adolescent druggist's son into a medical setting--a prelude to his own entry into the medical profession.

His unlicensed pharmacist father serves as a foil for the unboundedly energetic but intellectually aware youth as he seeks to broaden his horizons beyond the family drug store.

Enticing as are the portraits of family and acquaintances, just as valuable are Pacheco's reminiscences of riding (and sabotaging) Tampa's trolley system, spending summers as a junior waiter at the Columbia Restaurant and hero-worshipping Ybor City's athletic stars who went off to war.

Memorable scenes illuminate major figures in the Latin community, written from the viewpoint of a teen-ager eager to "take it all in." His "Tales of the Columbia" recall the daily dramas in a leading restaurant where the elite "uppercrust" dined in one section while boisterous cigar makers, street car conductors and gambling overlords sipped Cuban coffee in another.

In the most hilarious sequence, Pacheco describes how he accidentally scalded his way into the life--twice in one day--of a

grandfatherly figure feared for his purported Mafia ties. Once with espresso, later with steaming vermicelli soup.

Another chapter jumps out of the time-frame to tell about gambler Charlie Wall's appearance before the U.S. Senate's Kefauver investigative committee in 1950. Transcripts from his testimony demonstrate how the long-time racket boss sidestepped questions, earning the title, "The White Shadow."

Pacheco profiles "Ybor City's Last Intellectual," a former lector (reader) in a cigar factory who began a trilingual newspaper that "became the main source of information and news in Ybor City." When Victoriano Manteiga, the editor, rented a room in the Pacheco household, he found a steady listener in the high school-aged son. "My conversations with Don Victoriano influenced me deeply," Pacheco writes. "I was already an avid reader, and the lector encouraged me to broaden my scope. He encouraged me to write and express myself." Little did the older man realize that his advice would someday culminate in an informal social history of Ybor City that is well worth reading.

Tampa Tribune

LELAND HAWES

Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life. By Joan D. Hedrick. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. xv, 507 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00.)

Five decades separate Joan Hedrick's new biography and the last effort to write a definitive account of Harriet Beecher Stowe's life--a period which has led to the discovery of new materials and to a better understanding of the lives of women in the 19th century. It is now easier to document Stowe's life in Ohio as a young adult and her relationships with family members.

Hedrick describes Stowe's career flourishing in an era of parlor literature. Letters, poems, and stories were written for family gatherings to be read aloud as entertainment. Correspondents, according to Hedrick, took "pains to make their letters . . . literary, amusing, and fit for semipublic occasions" (p. 77). For a portion of the 19th century this gave women an opportunity to develop their skills and a place for the consumption of their published works. In the 1870s and 1880s parlor literature became less popular as important literary magazines, dominated by men, began shaping pub

lic opinion and taste. Journals such as the *Nation* demanded “that important issues be decided in the political arena and literary women should give up their pulpits, pens, and podiums” (349). Such a change had profound consequences for Stowe’s career.

Joan D. Hedrick makes an extraordinary effort to place Stowe’s life in a wider context, creating a much better understanding of her career and her personal life. Difficulties in managing a household were complicated by her temperament and by mercury poisoning from a popular remedy. Mercurous chloride or Calomel was a commonly used medicine in the 1840s, and members of the Beecher family had symptoms suggesting its overuse. Stowe would write, “When the brain gives out, as mine often does, one cannot think or remember anything” (175). Her love of fads led her to the “water cure” or hydropony. By combining exercise with moderate diet and clean water, she purged herself of mercury and gave birth to her sixth child, her healthiest and happiest. The pain of this child’s death would reinforce the anger in which she wrote *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

Hedrick collapses Stowe’s last twenty-six years into a single chapter. This may be due to Stowe’s health and to Hedrick’s lack of rapport with material from Florida. Hedrick has Stowe joining the “mass hegira of northerners coming to Florida every winter” (330). But when Stowe first came in 1867 these winter sojourns had barely begun; only 14,000 tourists were reported in 1870. By publishing *Palmetto Leaves* first as a serial and later as a book, and continuing with more than twenty widely circulated articles and letters, Stowe helped tourism during years of economic turmoil. Hedrick does not realize that much of the mass hegira was due to Stowe’s deliberate efforts. Looking at earlier publications would also reveal that Charles Beecher was involved with his farm at Newport instead of “a lot on the Gulf Coast” (346).

In the early 1870s Stowe became disappointed with the public acceptance of her works and “retreated” to using “her influence behind the scenes” (370). Even though she followed this policy in Florida, she left clues to her involvement here. Her brother Charles served as a cabinet member in the administration of Governor Harrison Reed and Stowe penned a glowing description of Reed’s sister’s estate, published along with Beecher’s remarkable predictions of Florida’s future development. It is within this context that Harriet Beecher Stowe sought protection for wildlife. While no one could expect Hedrick to be a Miss Marple or a Sher-

lock Holmes in Florida, she could have given Stowe credit for her efforts to stimulate tourism—a modest flaw in a superb work.

Florida A&M University

SARAH WHITMER FOSTER
AND JOHN T. FOSTER, JR.

Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution. By Thomas G. Paterson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. x, 352 pp. Preface, introduction, photographs, maps, notes, sources, index. \$27.50.)

Developments in Cuba in the 1950s had a lasting impact on the demography and politics of the state of Florida. The effects of the struggle for power in Cuba were felt early in the decade, as wealthy Cubans increasingly sought shelter from the impending storm in the south Florida real estate market. Cuban political refugees began arriving in Florida immediately after Fulgencio Batista's Havana coup in 1953, and the size of the exile community grew in size and partisan ferocity through the decade, albeit with an exchange of population and reversal of political orientation in 1959 with the victory of the Revolution. Planes lifted off from Broward county airfields laden with arms for revolutionaries in Cuba; boats carrying exile military expeditions shoved off for Cuba from docks in Fort Lauderdale, Miami, and the Keys; exiles demonstrated against the Cuban government in the streets of Miami, attacked the persons and property of alleged supporters of Batista, and beat up pilots of Cubana airlines at Miami International Airport. As Thomas G. Paterson shows in *Contesting Castro*, Cuban exile activities in Florida in the 1950s were cause for concern for the governments in Washington, Tallahassee, and Havana.

The focus of this comprehensive, masterful diplomatic history is the government in Washington--the White House, State Department, Pentagon, and Central Intelligence Agency--and its futile efforts to influence the course of the Cuban Revolution during the 1956-59 period. Two Floridians were major players in the drama: Earl E. T. Smith, U.S. Ambassador to Cuba, and William D. Pawley, President Dwight Eisenhower's special envoy to Batista. Minor players included Senator George Smathers, who claimed he "had made a career of Cuban problems" (p. 52), but is most notable for introducing his friend, Senator John F. Kennedy, to the nightlife of Havana--which Floridians Meyer Lansky and Santos Trafficante, Jr.,

helped shape. Batista depended on Lansky to establish honest casinos in Cuba and years later, Kennedy apparently thought he needed Trafficante's help to get rid of Fidel Castro. As the author makes painfully clear, wrongheadedness has characterized official U.S. dealings with Castro from the earliest days to the present.

At first, in the mid-1950s U.S. officials viewed Castro's revolutionary 26 of July Movement as inconsequential and counted on Batista's serving out his term and handing over the presidency to an elected successor in 1959. As escalating violence made elections problematic, Washington (over the objections of Ambassador Smith) began to distance itself from the Cuban dictator and reach out to "respectable" or "moderate" revolutionaries not affiliated with Castro--whom the State Department considered excessively nationalistic, headstrong, and uncontrollable. He was also a Communist, according to Smith, a political appointee, but the ambassador could provide no proof for that allegation. Accordingly, as the 26 of July Movement gained strength, the Eisenhower administration decided that heading off a *fidelista* victory was worth serious effort--but not extreme measures, i.e., military intervention, which a certifiable Communist threat would call for. With Castro's Rebel Army swarming over the Cuban countryside in late 1958, U.S. officials in Washington and Havana tried desperately to find a "third force" to throw into the breach and save the Cuban capital from the bearded guerrillas. With the collapse of a U.S. backed military coup on January 1, 1959, Castro's road to power was clear. "The United States lost to [Fidel Castro] because," Paterson concludes, "it could not control or crush this strong leader or stem the cascading popular support that his movement generated." (p. 245)

University of Florida

NEILL MACAULAY, EMERITUS

The South and the New Deal. By Roger Biles. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994. x, 205 pp. Preface, conclusion, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$23.00.)

In his preface, Roger Biles made it clear that his primary purpose in writing this book was to see what the New Deal did to and for the South. To accomplish his objective, Biles decided to examine the South and the New Deal through programs and the individuals responsible for administering them in the 1930s.

Biles found that the South's situation began to change with the onset of the New Deal. In agriculture, for example, he argued that, by the end of the 1930s, the South had "land consolidation, mechanization, the introduction of new crops, and the displacement of the rural workforce" (p. 36). New Deal farm programs were responsible for these long-term changes. In the short-run, however, this was not the case. Biles found that New Deal programs such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) favored the landowners and the traditional powers in the South while failing to help African-Americans, tenant farmers, and sharecroppers in the immediate economic crisis.

In relief and employment, the New Deal helped again. Although Southern cities and states were reluctant to do anything for the unemployed, they did accept federal largesse. In accepting federal funds, however, the South at the same time resisted Harry Hopkins and Harold Ickes who both demanded compliance with federal guidelines for fair treatment of minorities. Similarly, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) had a profound impact on the South in the long-run by helping to eradicate child labor, reduce working hours, and improve working conditions (p. 62). But, in the short-run, NRA did almost nothing to rectify wage differentials. Other New Deal programs followed suit. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) all helped the South in preparing for a better future while simultaneously failing to alleviate short-term, inequalities and problems. WPA, for example, helped Tampa, Florida build a municipal airport, renovate hotels, and improve Bayshore Boulevard. Yet, WPA in the South did not succeed in eliminating racial prejudice in wages and work. Southern workers, however, were helped by the rise of the CIO in the 1930s primarily because of its biracial policies.

Regarding Southern politicians, Biles argued that Franklin Roosevelt, although "an adopted son of the South," was accepted initially by Southern politicians due to party loyalty and not for ideological reasons (p. 127). Roosevelt and Southern leaders like Edward Crump in Memphis tolerated one another. The real break with Southern leaders like Walter George, Ed Smith, and Millard Tydings came first in 1936 when Roosevelt courted the African-American vote and then finally with court packing. In the end, Roosevelt was popular in the South, but his influence was limited on the local level as witnessed by his failure in the 1938 Congress-

sional elections. All in all, Biles concluded his study by summarizing the long-term changes the New Deal brought about in the South's politics and ultimately its way of life.

The South and the New Deal is a good, concise summary of what the New Deal did in one specific geographic section of the country. It covers a number of important topics and is especially good in its discussion on race and politics. Nevertheless, just as the book has its strong points, there are some notable shortcomings. The author relies heavily on secondary works, some of which have been supplanted by more recent scholarship. There is too much emphasis on certain Southern states and cities such as Memphis, Atlanta, and Dallas. And, the author should have provided more empirical evidence to sustain his conclusions, particularly about the New Deal's long-term impact on the South. Still, despite these comments, Biles has written a good book which New Deal scholars will rely on for years to come.

University of Mississippi

MICHAEL V. NAMORATO

Alabama: The History of a Deep South State. By William Warren Rogers, et. al. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994. xxviii, 735 pp. Preface, maps, photographs, illustrations, graphs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95, cloth; \$29.95, paper.)

Four prominent Alabama historians have divided the monumental task of relating all of Alabama history from prehistoric times to the present day. The work weaves the threads of political, economic, social and cultural history into a highly interesting and readable tale. Although written by four different authors, it does not suffer from a distracting shift in writing style. Instead, it flows musically over such diverse topical terrains as twentieth century labor relations and the antebellum states rights movement, spilling out into stories of Alabamians as different from one another as Hank Williams from Hank Aaron.

Part One, written by Leah Rawls Atkins, depicts the history of Alabama up to 1865. Atkins updates previous state histories by including a brief account of the Native Alabamians living in the area from 8000 B.C. to the time of the white contact in the sixteenth century.

The major emphasis of Part One is on politics after the red man was banished. Five chapters outline the political issues of fron-

tier and antebellum Alabama which culminated in the Civil War. The only glaring omission in this section is economics. There is virtually no mention of how or why the state developed economically or how the advent of railroads affected the development of the region. A chapter entitled "The Cotton Kingdom" relates mostly to the social conditions of slavery rather than to the linchpin of the state's economy.

Part Two, written by William Warren Rogers and Robert David Ward, covers the period from the end of the Civil War to the end of World War I. In this section politics plays a central role again as reconstruction, Bourbonism, Populism, Negro disfranchisement, Progressivism, and the women's suffrage movement are all illuminated. An interesting chapter describes the experiences of black and white Alabama volunteers to the Spanish-American War. For white Alabamians, this "great adventure" (339) turned out to be a trip to Florida. The state's black regiment did not see action either, and it eventually became embroiled in a race war in Anniston in 1899. Part Two also includes a chapter on the impact of the coal and iron industries in Alabama which profoundly affected both economics and politics in the state.

In Part Three, Wayne Flynt brings the state's history up to the present by balancing the political history of the state with the economic impact of the 1920s, Great Depression, the New Deal agencies such as the TVA, and World War II. Alabama was more reform-minded than most would guess, especially in the 1940s and 1950s under the influence of Big Jim Folsom who brought black voters back to the polls. Liberalism ran in the mainstream of Alabama politics until the race issue caused most whites to abandon reform and break with the national Democratic party. Many joined the third party movement of George Wallace first, then later embraced the Republican Party.

Flynt also analyzes Alabama society and culture since World War Two by highlighting such often overlooked topics as religion, and the importance of football to Alabamians (yet another religion). In fact, the last section culminates appropriately with the funeral of Bear Bryant, an occasion for which 700,000 Alabamians turned out.

In adding information on Alabama society since the 1970s as well as in mainstreaming the history of Native Americans, women, and African-Americans, the authors of *Alabama* have improved on previous state histories. Although the book is entertaining and

sometimes humorous, this is a serious study of state history that is well grounded in regional history. The more than fifty photographs and illustrations help to tell the story. The forty-two page bibliography (although not claimed to be exhaustive) is alone a significant contribution to Alabama history. This volume should be the prototype for state histories written for the next century and is recommended to all students of Alabama and southern history.

Winthrop University

LYNN WILLOUGHBY

Gate of Hell: Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863. By Stephen R. Wise. (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1994. xii, 312 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, photographs, conclusion, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95.)

The Union's defeat at the battle of Chancellorsville in the spring of 1863 drove Northern morale to new depths, adding even more importance to a planned assault on Charleston that, if successful, would have closed the South's main commercial link with Europe, and permitted a Union invasion aimed at Columbia and Augusta. At one point in the long summer siege, a Union soldier rejoiced at hearing "our guns putting the question to old Sumter 'what went ye out of the Union for?'" (p. 158) But massive firepower by the army supported by the shelling from eight ironclads failed to dislodge the enemy. As Stephen R. Wise shows in this highly detailed and extensively researched study, the Union was overconfident, poorly prepared, ineptly organized, and confused by a night attack during which the navy proved unable to prevent reinforcements from entering Battery Wagner. The Confederates refused to budge, and Union soldiers became bogged down in a two-month siege that evolved into a lengthy, bitter campaign along the islands and in the marshland in an equally unsuccessful effort to take Charleston.

Wise provides ample justification for terming Wagner the "gate of Hell." (p. 114) His work graphically illustrates how technological advances had depersonalized war by leading to the destruction of life without distinction in race, color, or uniform. Trench warfare, the Bellinghurst and Requa battery (forerunner of the machine gun), snipers, aerial reconnaissance, search lights, wire barriers, cannon, torpedoes--all demonstrated the onset of modern war in

its most savage form. Sweltering temperatures rose to over 100 degrees during the day before dramatically falling into bone-chilling nights. Food and water were substandard: hardtack with "fat worms inside" (p. 184); green, scum-covered water that could be consumed only after running it through charcoal filters or mixing it with molasses. Blowing sands, fleas, rats, crabs, locusts, malaria, fevers, scurvy—the list could go on. A soldier of the 85th Pennsylvania moaned, "I think this is the meanest place that I was ever in." (p. 183).

The effective use of African American soldiers against Wagner encouraged the Union to recruit more blacks for the army. The 54th Massachusetts black regiment lost more than 40 percent of its men along with fourteen of its twenty-two officers, but did not break and run, thereby substantiating the call for black troops. More black soldiers, however, heightened the chances for more captures by the Confederacy, which caused a furious struggle over their status as prisoners. Were they rebelling slaves or soldiers equal in status to that of whites? To discourage their execution, President Abraham Lincoln warned the South in July 1863 that "for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war a Rebel soldier shall be executed and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a Rebel shall be placed at hard labor." (p. 125) The South decided against executions but also refused to exchange them for Union prisoners, thereby depriving itself of much manpower.

At horrible cost, the South won a strategic victory at Charleston that raised its spirits during the dark aftermath of Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Union vessels became preoccupied in South Carolina waters for over a year, leaving Wilmington and Mobile safe from Union attack and open to commerce. But the siege provided a nightmarish experience for all involved. Wise selected a fitting epitaph for this macabre series of events when he quoted nurse Clara Barton, the later founder of the Red Cross who was on the scene dispensing aid: "We have captured one fort--Gregg--and one charnel house--Wagner--and we have built one cemetery, Morris Island. The thousand little sand-hills that in the pale moonlight are a thousand headstones, and the restless ocean waves that roll and breakup on the whitened beach sing an eternal requiem to the toll-worn gallant dead who sleep beside." (p. 218)

University of Alabama

HOWARD JONES

Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan. By Nancy MacLean. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. xvii, 292 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, figures, photographs, illustrations, conclusion, appendices, abbreviations, used in notes, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00.)

During the last decade and a half historians have devoted considerable attention to the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. Much of this scholarship argues that the Klan was, in most ways, a mainstream social movement. Its members, according to Leonard Moore and others, sought to address problems such as crime and government corruption, rather than to celebrate violence and bigotry. In *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, Nancy MacLean challenges this interpretation, arguing that the organization's interest in moral and government reform was not simply a response to local conditions. Instead, MacLean posits that Klan reform campaigns dovetailed with its violent, racist, and xenophobic crusades to form a coherent ideology.

MacLean grounds her analysis to an examination of the Athens, Georgia chapter. Drawing from a rich collection of Klan documents, including membership lists, she constructs a portrait of the Athens chapter. A disproportionate number of local Klansmen, MacLean finds, were self-made men of lower-middle class status. Although many owned property and held low white-collar positions, their social and economic standing had been recently acquired and seemed insecure.

MacLean attempts to explain the world view that made the Klan attractive to members of this class. The post-war economic crisis, she concludes, generated profound problems for the "petite bourgeoisie." Moving gender relations to the center of the analysis, MacLean argues that changing economic conditions and cultural norms undermined the "hierarchy from which men like themselves had derived security" (p. 33). In particular, social pressures weakened the authority that men exercised over their families. Furthermore, the economic downturn hit the lower-middle class of Athens extremely hard, jeopardizing the independence that separated them from poor, dependent residents. In short, these men felt besieged from all quarters. Their wives exercised new autonomy; their children embraced the youth culture of the era; the material basis of their superiority over tenant farmers and African Americans seemed tenuous; and they resented capitalists, who appeared to profit from the economic turmoil.

Klan ideology, according to MacLean, drew from mainstream political culture--particularly republicanism and liberalism--and tapped this insecurity. Relying on familiar political imagery, the Klan's reactionary populist rhetoric promised to safeguard the status of its members by regulating the behavior of those who upset the traditional social hierarchy--by evading the influence of independent white men. Closing pool halls, harassing adulterous men, and assaulting outsiders would restore the authority and bolster the status of the small property holder who sustained American democracy.

MacLean's effort to link local members to the Klan's ideology is not entirely convincing. Too often she relies on non-Athens sources. As a consequence, the relationship between Athens Klansmen and national leaders remains unclear. Local shopkeepers may have been less strident and less ideological than prominent Klan writers. Nor did anti-vice campaigns necessarily appeal to the same men as lynchings, though MacLean is correct in noting that assumptions about race, class, and gender were hardly incidental elements. Moreover, MacLean's emphasis on a specific, pervasive Klan ideology is at odds with much of the recent historical literature, which concludes that local conditions shaped the activities of particular chapters. Finally, MacLean sometimes overstates her argument. For example, in highlighting the class-based appeal of racial politics (among the petite bourgeoisie), she understates the racism of both the poor and the wealthy. Although MacLean's analysis is not always persuasive, this is an important book. Her exploration of the overlapping influences of class, race, and gender is laden with insight. More important, MacLean's argument that the Klan's more mainstream activities and its most fanatical crusades comprised different strands of a single ideology represents a major critique of recent scholarship.

University of Florida

JEFFREY S. ADLER

Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism. Edited by Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsack. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. 415 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. \$47.50, cloth; \$18.95, paper.)

This anthology focuses on the public activities of U.S. women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in honor of Anne Firor Scott, whose teachings and writings, among them

The Southern Lady (1970); *Making Women Visible* (1984); and *Natural Allies* (1991) have had a significant impact on the field for the past twenty-five years. The contributors to this volume are all established scholars and their essays pay tribute to a woman who has served as their teacher, mentor and colleague.

The anthology is divided in four parts: Part one treats formal political movements and includes articles by Ellen Carol DuBois, LeeAnn Whites, Suzanne Lebsock, William Chafe and Sara Evans. Part two deals with working-class women and labor movements from the 1820s through the 1940s and contains contributions from Mari Jo Buhle, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, Nancy Hewitt and Darlene Clark Hine. Part three addresses various aspects of social reform movements, and includes pieces written by Deborah Gray White, Marion W. Roydhouse, Mary E. Frederickson and Dolores Janiewski. Part four contains an article on Alice Mary Baldwin by Linda Kerber and concludes with a tribute to Scott that is lovingly written by Nancy Weiss Malkiel.

Many of the articles focus on southern progressivism and employ a wide range of methodologies. Jacquelyn Dowd Hall offers a biographical sketch of the now-forgotten O. Delight Smith, a prominent white leader in Atlanta's labor movement during the 1910s, who was "blotted from history" in the 1920s. Nancy Hewitt examines a range of political activities engaged in by Anglo, African-American and Latina women in Tampa, arguing that "only within the historically specific web of race, class, and gender relations that existed in Tampa can we understand what was political and for whom." Marion W. Roydhouse analyzes the Industrial Departments of southern YWCAs to show how racism, anti-labor and anti-union feeling constrained white women's public activism.

Some of these contributions engage one another in lively debate, often on the role that racism played in the white women's movement. For example, Suzanne Lebsock attempts to recuperate Virginian suffragists from the charge that they were white supremacists, finding that the "white women in Virginia who became suffragists did not do so out of a desire to preserve white supremacy." On the other hand, LeeAnn Whites argues that the Georgian suffragist Rebecca Latimer Felton displaced anger that should have been directed toward white husbands onto the "freedman who refused to return to his 'place'" and ultimately held "the black population, especially black men, responsible for the dire condition of white farm life."

Part of Scott's intellectual greatness derives from her nurturing of scholars whose work departs from her own. As Mary E. Frederickson notes, Scott was among the first to identify interracial cooperation among white and black churchwomen. But Scott's view that white women's sympathy for black women "derived from their shared role as mothers and homemakers" (296) has since been challenged by Dolores Janiewski and Darlene Clark Hine, who have focused on the tensions between black and white churchwomen. Frederickson introduces still another perspective, stating that "a fresh analysis . . . reveals that . . . white and black churchwomen also developed relationships based on neither collaboration nor enmity but mutual dependence." Moving away from interracial alliances altogether, Darlene Clark Hine's and Deborah Gray White's contributions to this volume examine the role of black women in secular black organizations: Hine focuses on black women in the Housewives' League of Detroit during the Depression and White analyzes the "price" that black club women had to pay for their "feminist race work."

Visible Women not only contains new analyses that focus on the embedment of race, class and gender in women's history, it also celebrates the legacy of a woman who has helped foster this tradition of scholarship,

University of Florida

LOUISE M. NEWMAN

Entrepreneur for Equality: Governor Rufus Bullock, Commerce, and Race in Post-Civil War Georgia. By Russell Duncan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994. xii, 278 pp. Preface, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00.)

In this full biography of Rufus Brown Bullock, Russell Duncan seeks to correct what he views as fundamental misconceptions of Bullock's career as wartime businessman, Georgia's Republican reconstruction governor, and New South entrepreneur. From 1867, when conversations with New York investors seemingly persuaded Bullock of the need to stabilize political affairs in Georgia before northern capital would flow to subsidize the rebuilding and extension of the state's railroad lines, Bullock expanded his highly successful wartime business efforts into the political realm. From there, the story becomes one of tensions, often overlaying each other and, one suspects, often more complex than they appear in

Duncan's pages. Georgia Republicans, Duncan tells us, understood that "not only was it good political strategy to align the poor whites with the freed people in an economic struggle, it was a move toward equality of opportunity and a restructuring of Southern society to the free labor mold of the North" (p. 42). But the tenuous political coalition masked deep racial antipathies, and they ultimately forced Bullock "to consider a fundamental question: Should blacks have an equal chance in American life? Once he concluded that they should, he became a champion of equal treatment without regard to race. Even if it meant destroying the party in Georgia, Bullock would not retreat from his program of change" (p. 77).

In fact, the internecine warfare loosed within Georgia's Republican party led to violence within the state and ultimately to a truncated political and social reconstruction. The consequent resurgence of a white supremacist Democracy in turn validated interpretations of Republican rule and of Bullock's governorship which stressed extravagance, self-serving greed, and corruption. These interpretations, Duncan argues, are without foundation. If Bullock occasionally placed naive faith in business associates whose social purposes were less lofty than his own, if his reliance on state bond issues was excessive, if as Duncan acknowledges "he nearly always stretched his schemes to the limits of propriety," he did so seeking the dramatic, rapid economic resurgence that could promise continued political power for Republicans and the opportunity for Bullock and his associates to enact their social as well as their economic reforms.

Bullock, Duncan argues, failed because he proposed what Georgia--and probably no state--could attain in the 1860s and 1870s: "reforms that were centralizing, modernizing, and urban" (p. 146). Had Bullock and his political allies been able "to weld lower-class whites with blacks into a united political party," his reforms might have succeeded. His focus on power at the center, on economic progress represented by railroad expansion and the growth of Atlanta as a commercial and political center, led him to neglect the countryside, with which he had little experience and which he little understood. Content to allow the Democrats to "have" the countryside while his regime focused on economic progress and trusted to black office-holding and Federal support to advance black rights, Duncan argues that Bullock underestimated the moral hegemony of former planters and the effectiveness of

their appeals to white supremacy in bringing rural whites back into the Democratic fold.

That Bullock could continue to live comfortably in the finest sections of Atlanta and prosper as treasurer and then president of the Atlanta Cotton Factory, at once speaks to the strength of the economic ties the former governor had forged, and to the accommodation which by the 1880s had made the prospect of black hegemony less real and, thus, less threatening to the New South leaders with whom he consorted. If Bullock continued to advance the cause of blacks locally and nationally and to chastise the Republican party for its failure to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, he did so with a public moderation which gave little reason for exception to his pronouncements. If he differed from Henry Grady (who continued to oppose black suffrage), Bullock carefully advocated political participation for educated, industrious blacks. He was, Duncan suggests, "color-blind" but not "class-blind" (p. 165).

Cambridge, Massachusetts

ELIZABETH STUDLEY NATHANS

Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge. By Charles E. Dew. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994. xviii, 429 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, prologue, maps, photographs, epilogue, notes, index. \$27.50.)

Charles Dew, already the author of several important works on industrial slavery, has further enriched the growing historiography with *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge*. The importance of this work is largely the result of sources Dew discovered that have made it possible for him to reconstruct the lives of the white owners as well as several individual slaves. It is a welcome addition to the study of such topics as early southern industrial development, industrial slavery, mixed-race work forces, slave hiring, Northerners who relocated in the South, civilian life during the Civil War, and the lives of once enslaved people after emancipation. But the major contribution of the book is the rich detail it offers about one slave community and the black men who lived and worked there. It is less revealing about black women.

The book is about blacks and whites whose lives converged at Buffalo Forge. As is usually the case, however, sources have dictated that the white owners receive far more attention than their work-

ers. William Weaver, Pennsylvania-raised great-grandson of the founder of the Dunkers, a sect that condemned slavery, was an unlikely candidate to become the master of Buffalo Forge. Although he initially tried to prevent his family from learning about his slave property, eventually he brought a number of his Philadelphia relatives south to participate in the profits made by their labor.

Although the sources for understanding black lives are more limited, Dew was able to write short chapters on six black men. He made especially creative use of the accounts of the overwork pay that the most skilled black iron workers earned and how they spent that money. Naming patterns are also used to build a profile of the families of these black men across several generations. Unfortunately, there is no sketch of a black women included. In part this is because of the nature of the work force at an iron works and the sources available to study it. The labor force in Buffalo Forge was almost exclusively male and most of the records kept recorded their activities.

The enslaved men and women at Buffalo Forge were not “typical” slaves; the relative freedom that Dew describes precludes use of this work in generalizing about slavery. It can, however, enrich a number of debates about the nature of slavery. For example, the validity of a hegemonic framework for analyzing the relationship between masters and slaves. When slavery ended, the people freed at Buffalo Forge were already experienced in handling their own family economies. In one way, however, their purchases changed dramatically. Alcohol suddenly appeared on most accounts. It is revealing about the nature of industrial slavery. Clarence Walker, in a spirited critique of the hegemonic framework, questions “what did the planters need hegemony for when they had guns.” Dew describes the system at Buffalo Forge as one “that brought the requirements of both master and slave into some sort of harmony.” (114) His work makes clear that at least in the industrial setting, they needed hegemony ordered through reciprocity because the black men they enslaved had skills that would determine whether they succeeded or failed. But ultimately the owners did have the guns. They allowed their skilled workers to earn their own money but retained control over how they spent it. Force, Dew makes clear, was what “ultimately held slavery together.” (110)

Oregon State University

BESS BEATTY

Loyalists and Community in North America. Edited by Robert M. Calhoun, Timothy M. Barnes, and George A. Rawlyk. (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1994. 226 pp. Introduction, tables, notes, selected bibliography, index, about the editors and contributors. \$55.00.)

Fifty years ago, the term “loyalist” got short shrift in the historiography of the American Revolution, but recent scholarship has greatly broadened our horizons and deepened our insight regarding those Americans who lost the war in 1783. The Loyalists were Americans, and it was a civil (more often a very uncivil) war, as the fifteen essays in this book make painfully clear. The “communities” discussed stretch from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and vary in size from a few dozen to many thousands of men and women of all classes. They include post-war Canadian communities too often overlooked by American historians and the two ill-fated British Floridas. The Loyalist experience displays the widespread existence of anti-revolutionary sentiment in all the British colonies, the suffering of those caught in the midst of rebellion not of their making, and the innate Americanism of even those who were on the “wrong” side.

A brief review cannot attempt to do justice to each of these scholarly, thought-provoking essays. Readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will be particularly interested in Carole W. Troxler’s “Allegiance without Community: East Florida as a Symbol of a Loyalist Contract in the South” and Robin F. A. Fabel’s “Loyalist West Florida: An Ambiguous Community.” Both are among the best contributions to this volume, raise challenges to orthodox opinion, and warrant the close attention of all students of Florida history.

The violence of the Georgia-Florida frontier and the influx of thousands of refugees seeking the protection of British forces at St. Augustine determined the nature of the East Florida experience. It was the Americanism of these loyalists that forced Governor Patrick Tonyn to summon the colony’s first General Assembly, and in it they pursued a typically American course regarding a slave code and constitutional relations with both the royal governor and the imperial parliament. Troxler recounts their fruitless arguments for a contractual relationship with Great Britain (good eighteenth-century rhetoric) and their bitter disappointment at the ultimate cession of East Florida to Spain. Some talked of rejecting the treaty settlement altogether; others dreamed of semi-autonomous status

under Spain. But the unconquered colony of British East Florida vanished with the British army. East Florida loyalists were the victims of a European peace.

The population of West Florida was scattered between the Apalachicola and Mississippi rivers, and as Fabel points out, the highly touted influx of Tory refugees was relatively modest and widely dispersed. Loyalists did not form a distinct "community," nor was there much of any sort of community in the rich western district, save Natchez--and on the Mississippi, men inevitably looked south toward Spanish New Orleans. When the Willing Raid brought the American Revolution to West Florida, a few notable loyalist leaders emerged. They trounced Willing's thugs and would recover Natchez from the Spaniards after it had been surrendered by the British army. But Galvez's triumph at Pensacola was complete, and the Natchez loyalists were abandoned. A gallant handful made their arduous way east, seeking a British sanctuary, but like a goodly number of Americans in all the colonies, not a few West Floridians displayed a marked preference for peaceful neutrality between the warring powers. Their instinct for self-preservation was not un-American.

Both Troxler's and Fabel's essays demonstrate the common characteristics of American life throughout the colonies as well as the unique qualities evident in the two Floridas. It is gratifying to find these "loyal" colonies given their rightful place in any study devoted to the Revolutionary scene. The experience is all too rare. National pride thrives on the glory of military success; we would all like to forget that war is a nasty, brutal business. It is the historian's task to make unpalatable truth visible, and *Loyalists and Community in North America* does just that and does it very well.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REX

Governor Henry Ellis and the Transformation of British North America. By Edward J. Cashin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994. xi-ii, 294 pp. Preface, maps, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00.)

Henry Ellis was, in the best eighteenth-century British sense of the word, an imperialist. A son of the Anglo-Irish establishment, born in 1721, his career centered upon an expanding British

American world in which he was an explorer, a colonial governor, and an adviser to the imperial consuls.

As a young man, Ellis went to sea and became involved in exploration seeking a Northwest Passage and charting the icy shores of Hudson's Bay. A well-received account of that voyage led to membership in the Royal Society and notice in governmental circles. His patron, the Earl of Halifax, was president of the Board of Trade, and through him Ellis was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Georgia in 1756; his promotion as Governor followed in 1758.

The qualities Ellis displayed as explorer and scientific observer were now applied to the problems of a struggling British colony. Recognizing the need for security on the Georgian Indian frontier, Ellis freed himself and his colony from dependence upon South Carolina and gained valuable influence with the Creek Indians. Harmoniously balancing the interests of merchants and planters, he developed successful land and economic policies and enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the Georgia Assembly. Under Ellis, Georgia emerged as a vigorously healthy example of Halifax's concept of imperial constitutionalism. His own health having deteriorated, Ellis returned to England in 1760.

Although appointed Governor of Nova Scotia, Ellis remained in England and secured the patronage of the Earl of Egremont. Governor Ellis became a significant figure in the concluding phase of the Seven Years' War, the making of the peace, and the organization of the vastly expanded British American empire. Cashin's close study of the manuscripts identifies Ellis as a supporter of the Havana campaign and the acquisition of Florida, instrumental in the establishment of the new post-war colonial governments, the drafting of the Proclamation of 1763, and as having some part in settling the government of Quebec. As close as he was to Halifax, Egremont (and George Grenville through his friend William Knox), Ellis was seen by some as a "minister for North America." Ellis profited financially from his prominence. Less happily, Egremont died unexpectedly, and Halifax's star soon waned. The triumphant empire faced new problems that imperial constitutionalism could not resolve. When revolution disrupted the British American empire, Ellis retired to the comforts of southern Europe and enjoyed the life of "a rich old bachelor." He was something of a celebrity in Naples, where he died in 1806.

Henry Ellis is a worthy example of the many kinds of men who brought the Old Empire to its peak in 1763. Moved by scientific

and intellectual curiosity to endure considerable hardship and danger, his approach to the problems of imperial administration, whether in Savannah or in London, was realistic and enlightened. The imperial constitutionalism of Halifax and Egremont was indeed based upon the advice of knowledgeable men like Ellis. It may be excessive of speak to "the transformation of British North America" as their accomplishment, but Anglo-American politics and economics did not allow their concept to flourish-and that, as Cashin notes, did contribute to the coming of the American Revolution.

It is a happy circumstance that this congenial, competent eighteenth-century gentleman's wide-ranging activities have attracted the pen of Edward J. Cashin, whose biographies of Thomas Brown and Lachlan McGillivray have established him as a leading historian of colonial Georgia. Cashin's expansion of the imperial experience through Ellis is thoroughly researched, carefully crafted, and eminently satisfying to his subject's deserts and his readers' expectations. Like its predecessors, Cashin's *Governor Henry Ellis* should be a prize-winner.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

Isaac Harby of Charleston, 1788-1828: Jewish Reformer and Intellectual.

By Gary Phillip Zola. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994. xv, 284 pp. Foreword, preface, photographs, illustrations, epilogue, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95, cloth.)

The author has great admiration for Isaac Harby, and Harby is indeed someone who merits serious attention. Whether Zola provides support for his feelings is another matter. This study of Harby, the subject of previous biographical works, must owe its justification to the availability of papers previously unused by historians. Zola incorporates material from the Isaac Harby Library in the possession of Clifford N. Harby. Publication of new information, and new assessments based thereon, are always welcome, particularly when presented so attractively by Alabama Press. However, the author's use of new manuscripts does not enhance our picture of Harby's life and career as well as they might.

The subtitle of the book refers to Isaac Harby as a "Jewish Reformer and Intellectual", but his life as playwright and critic (the

“intellectual”) had nothing to do with Judaism, and the time he devoted to Jewish “Reform” probably had very little to do with Judaism as well. From the evidence presented by Zola, Harby is best understood as an excellent American educator, an American intellectual in the guise of a journalist, dramatist and literary critic, a role for which he was ill-suited, and an American reformer of Jewish ritual, a position to which he came late in his short life, amidst economic failures, and for which Harby characteristically did not sustain serious interest.

As Zola tells it, Harby’s fortunes followed those of his native Charleston. Harby had a secular, classical education in a city where the Greek classical tradition flourished (as it did in England as well), without training in his own religion. Harby looked to Christian writers for explanations of Judaism. His intellect allowed him to penetrate Charleston society, and he started a literary journal at age 19 that suspended publication after twelve weeks. After a period of self-imposed exile, he returned to Charleston in 1809, began what became a first rate private school catering heavily to the city’s Jewish population, and married Rachel Mordecai. These were the “good years” for Harby, as they were for Charleston in general.

Harby’s fortunes waned during the 1812 War, but his story is much more interesting, and tragic, than when viewed simply as a function of Charleston’s vicissitudes. Harby soon tired of teaching, and bought a newspaper to satisfy his need to tell other people what to think. He sold the failing newspaper in 1817 and opened a new school. He had ninety students by 1819, most of them Jewish, but the school was never a financial success. Various journalistic jobs followed, but Harby could not find his place. As a reporter and critic Harby jumped from issue to issue. Political analyses were superficial, and his literary and artistic critiques often consisted of telling other writers how to write and other painters how to paint.

Harby’s efforts to reform ritual in the local synagogue came from someone never interested in his religion. He wanted a Jewish place of worship to resemble an American Protestant church more than anything else. Harby’s religious feelings lay outside organized worship. Believing that established religions were not the sole guardians of morality and human passions, Harby viewed the live theater as a competitor, offering an ordered view of society and a substitute for the tavern halls and gaming rooms popular among the youth of Charleston. There is more to Harby’s religious beliefs than the picture given us by the author.

Harby's attitude to slavery awaits further development. How, for example, could a person devoted to Jeffersonian ideals in politics and tolerance in religion defend the harsh response of Charleston's authorities to a failed slave revolt in 1822? Where does Harby's curious defense of slavery, that the South was caring for property left behind by the British for this country to protect and receive service from, fit in the framework of this tragic figure and of southern thought in general?

To this writer, Harby's fundamental tragedy lay in his failure to remain an educator, his most successful occupation. Given his popularity with the local Jewish families, Harby would have continued as an invaluable contributor to the education of Jews in Charleston, many of whom went on to become leaders in our society.

Washington, D. C.

ELLIOTT ASHKENAZI

Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi. By John Dittmer. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. 530 pp. Illustrations, photographs, afterword, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$29.95.)

Before *Local People* the enduring history of Mississippi's civil rights struggle had been done in piecemeal fashion. Drawing from an impressive array of government documents, manuscript collections, private papers, and oral histories, Dittmer has synthesized much of that history in a lucid narrative bursting with tragedy, triumph, and heartbreak.

Readers may be surprised to learn that Mississippi simmered with civil rights activity nearly twenty years before the 1964 Summer Project. Black World War II veterans, including Medgar and Charles Evers, initiated the struggle when they demanded the right to vote in the 1946 primary election. That same year the NAACP and the Mississippi Progressive Voters' League, an indigenous organizational body for statewide registration efforts, spearheaded an anti-Bilbo campaign. In 1951 "local people" founded the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, the state's equivalent to the NAACP. The national association itself organized several new branches in the late 1940s and in 1954 it appointed Medgar Evers as Mississippi's first full-time field secretary. Encouraged by the Brown decision that year, local people in several communities petitioned for the immediate integration of public schools.

Progress was elusive, however, and blacks bore the costs of assertiveness. The Ku Klux Klan reemerged in force, and the Citizen's Council unified the resistance of the white middle class. Reactionary forces summarily eliminated any semblance of an organized movement, which had drawn the majority of its adherents from the black middle class. The upper class maintained its lucrative ties with the white power structure, and the poor sought security in silence. By the late 1950s less than five percent of eligible black voters had registered, no public school had integrated, and two activists had lost their lives.

The struggle regrouped in the early 1960s and embarked on a new era. Its history is a familiar one but Dittmer packs his narrative with new detail about the odds mounted against Mississippi activists by unyielding segregationists, the foot-dragging Kennedy administration, an indifferent American public, Hoover's guileful F.B.I., Johnson's hard-charging politics, and officious national civil rights policy heads. Dittmer reminds us that "there would have been no organization, no movement, no victories" without the local people (424).

Yet he often strays from this implied focus of the book (it has no introduction so one must rely on the title for a sense of focus) and wanders into a history about civil rights organizations and the voting rights campaign they led. Regrettably, one learns more about the internecine squabbles within COFO than about local people. Mississippi's black leaders remain in focus, but one gets an incomplete picture and analysis of the anguish, fear, and sacrifices of the anonymous local people who were "foremost" in the movement, filling the ranks of countless demonstrations, marches, and voter registration challenges (424).

Ultimately, Dittmer devotes eighty percent of the book to the COFO-Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party era.. Unfortunately, he abandons the local people in the late 1960s--as did the national civil rights organizations--even though their struggle proceeded unabated for decades. Failing to recognize that the movement was broader than voting rights, he pays even less attention to the local struggle for better educational opportunities, which continued into the late 1980s and involved boycotts (perhaps black Mississippi's most powerful weapon), demonstrations, and trespasses into a sacred white domain.

Local People is a superb study of the voting rights campaign in Mississippi and the organizations that led it. But for those inter-

ested in local blacks and the broader struggle for civil rights, *Local People* will disappoint.

Eckerd College

JACK E. DAVIS

The Sixties: From Memory to History. Edited by David Farber. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994. 333 pp. Introduction, notes, contributors, index. \$47.50, cloth; \$17.95 paper.)

Here's another book to add to the lofty and rapidly growing stack of ones that students of the 1960s ought to read. This collection of ten hitherto unpublished essays surveys a variety of subjects from different viewpoints. Editor David Farber tries to ride herd on the eleven authors by suggesting some common themes: "from memory to history," or "the changing nature of cultural authority and political legitimacy," or connecting "moral vision" with "collective public life." The reader, however, need not pay too much attention to these themes, because the writers do not. Think of the book instead as a gathering of ten distinct articles, most of which are informative, discerning, and stimulating.

Robert M. Collins' "Growth Liberalism in the Sixties" argues that the War on Poverty in the United States and the real war in Vietnam both depended on the economic expansion of the Kennedy-Johnson years. Rather than rob from the rich to feed the poor, and rather than rob from both to fight a war, the liberals in Washington relied on continued economic growth to make all things possible. When the economy faltered in the late 1960s the Great Society and the Vietnam war both had to be aborted.

This reader lacks the linguistic sophistication to make much sense of Mary Sheila McMahon's "The American State and the Vietnam War." I can comprehend "elites" and "nonelites," maybe even "discourses" and "codes," but am utterly dazed by "performative identity," "chiasmic system," "Baudrillardian terms," and "the liminoid knowledge classes." I suspect, though, that McMahon states her thesis most succinctly in a footnote which says that American foreign policy during the Cold War was in large part the result of an attempt by the elite "to create and control a stable management system for domestic policy." The Vietnam war was "a byproduct of increasingly frazzled attempts to subjugate loose methods of governing into a more coherent and policy-sensitive (less legislative/party) structure." That's a little murky but as clear as it gets.

Chester J. Path, Jr.'s "And That's the Way It Was" reviews criticisms from left and right of television network reporting of the Vietnam war, finds much truth in the criticism, but nevertheless concludes that the reporting was, by and large, accurate. If the six o'clock news made the war seem like "a series of disjointed military operations that were often individually successful but collectively disastrous," it's because "that's the way it was."

In "Race, Ethnicity, and the Evolution of Political Legitimacy" David R. Colburn and George E. Pozetta maintain that African Americans and white ethnics both emphasized their group identity in order to escape from the chilling individualism of American civilization. However, when the acknowledgment of injustice toward blacks resulted in attempts at compensation for the whole group--affirmative action--white ethnics rediscovered the dignity of individualism.

Alice Echols' "Nothing Distant About It" shows how women's liberation was similar in ideas and behavior to other radical movements, like Black Power and the New Left.

In "The New American Revolution" Terry H. Anderson maintains that protest movements made business more socially responsible. Not only did hippies become capitalists, but conventional businesspeople produced less dangerous products, polluted less, hired more women and minorities, and accepted government regulation. Ever since the 1960s says Anderson, "the business of America is responsible business." This chapter was written before the Gingrich "revolution."

George Lipsitz's "Who'll Stop the Rain?" has no shape or point that I can find, but perhaps that's appropriate in a chapter subtitled "Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll, and Social Crises." God is still in the details, and those who think they remember the 1960s will find something interesting on practically every page.

Beth Bailey's "Sexual Revolution(s)" describes a triune transformation: (1) the "sexualization of culture," bringing sex into the open, as glossily illustrated by *Playboy* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines; (2) the growth in cohabitation by unmarried couples, a practice which involved sex but, importantly, was not primarily *about sex*; and (3) a new philosophical radicalism that "rejected a system of sexual controls organized around concepts of difference and hierarchy."

Kenneth Cmiel's chapter is named "The Politics of Civility," though "Incivility" is more like it. From polite civil rights demon-

strators who decorously violated the elementary racial laws and etiquette of the South; to the countercultural rebels who condemned ordinary manners as acts of hypocrisy; to Supreme Court decisions extending the freedom of expression further than it had gone before—in these ways and others the 1960s witnessed the triumph of the rude.

In “The Silent Majority and Talk about Revolution,” David Farber describes a struggle between, on the one hand, common people who admire work and production but don’t talk much, and, on the other, would-be revolutionaries who talk beautifully and incessantly but never build or do much. It was the Producers v. the Symbolic Analysts, says Farber; and Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan rose to power by lending their voices to the former, even though a lawyer and an actor were perhaps not the ideal embodiments of the productionist ethic. All true, no doubt, but it seems to me that what underlies the worker/talker distinction is simple, old-fashioned class. Farber says a fireman’s son got killed in Vietnam “because he was not a good talker,” that is, could not convince his draft board to give him a deferment. A more basic explanation, however, was that he was too poor: wasn’t in college, didn’t have a psychiatrist to write him an excuse, and didn’t hang around with people who got deferments. If the fireman’s son was in the Silent Majority, it was because money talks, and he didn’t have it.

University of Massachusetts Dartmouth

JAMES A. HLIJYA

Georgia in Black and White: Explorations in the Race Relations of a Southern State, 1865-1950. Edited by John C. Inscoe. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994. viii, 300 pp. Forward by Numan V. Bartley, Introduction, photographs, Illustrations, maps, Tables, Index, Hard Cover. \$40.00.)

For decades, southern historians have wrestled with the complex task of identifying a central theme in the history of the South. U. B. Phillips, Ray Stannard Baker, Gunnar Myrdal, Numan V. Bartley and a host of other scholars past and present have identified race as one central focus of southern society, if not the central theme. Most disagreements with this contention come, not with the substance of the claim, but with the degree of applicability.

John Inscoe, editor of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* and a faculty member of the University of Georgia History department, has

produced a collection of eleven essays by former Georgia graduate students that add new insights to the question of race and its importance in postbellum Georgia. Inscoe provides a sweeping introduction to these diverse essays and creates a sensible framework for understanding them.

The essays in *Georgia in Black and white* provide a unique biographical-issues perspective that focuses attention on individuals--Rufus Bullock, Lucy Stanton, Lucius Henry Holsey, Mildred Lewis Rutherford, Clark H. Foreman--whose attempts to confront, accommodate, or frustrate the increasingly segregationist practices of postwar Georgians, directly or indirectly, symbolized the reality of living in a divided society. Of particular interest to historians and the general public is the use of brief institutional biographies to provide a framework for understanding the actions of individuals, particularly those of mixed parentage who initially constituted the elite among Georgia blacks.

All of the essays in this volume are good, but several are outstanding and deserve special notice. Especially worthy is Jonathan M. Bryant's perceptive analysis of the role of Abram M. Colby, the son of a black mother and a white father, as a member of the Republican party and the Reconstruction legislature. Russell Duncan offers a new look at Rufus Bullock, Georgia's first Republican governor, whose defense of the rights of freedmen to vote and hold office placed him at odds with white Democrats. His essay does much to rehabilitate the popular perception of Bullock as a crass opportunist with few, if any, principles. Daniel W. Stowell examines the conflict within the Methodist church and that organization's attempts to come to grips with the realities of southern politics, the freedmen's desire to create separate cultural-social-religious structures, and the paternalism that was inherent in most American institutions of the period. Glenn T. Eskew's penetrating look at the life of Bishop Lucius Henry Holsey and his movement from acceptance of planter domination to African nationalism provides an understanding of the frustrations experienced by African-Americans who found their path to success and independence blocked. Finally, Mark R. Schultz's essay on interracial kinship ties in Hancock County is particularly enlightening. The emergence of a black middle class in this county owed much to the strong and continuing ties between black and white relatives. What is remarkable about this essay is the openness of the relationship and their acknowledgment by both groups.

I strongly recommend this book for individuals who are interested in examining the nuances of southern race relations. The institutional and personal relationships of Georgia blacks and whites portrayed here defy simplistic explanation and add a new dimension to studies in this area. John Inscoe and the University of Georgia are to be congratulated on producing graduate students who are capable of this degree of thoughtful analysis.

Florida Historical Society

LEWIS N. WYNNE

BOOK NOTES

Recently released by the St. Augustine Historical Society is Jean Parker Waterbury's *The Treasurer's House*, described by historian Daniel L. Schafer as "more than an account of an old house," but rather "a rich social history of St. Augustine told through the records and life stories left behind by the men and women who resided at 143 St. George Street from the 1740s to the 1930s. Known as the Peña-Peck house, the two-story structure with its coquina walls has stood at the center of St. Augustine's "most important historic events" for about 250 years. It was the residence of the Spanish royal treasurer and then the British lieutenant governor before being acquired by Governor Francisco Xavier Sanchez when the Spanish returned to East Florida in 1784. When the colony was transferred to the United States in 1821, it was purchased by Jose Mariano Hernandez. After several more changes of ownership, Dr. Seth S. Peck acquired it in 1841. It then remained in the possession of his family until 1931 when Anna G. Burt, heir of the last Peck, left the house to the city of St. Augustine. Today it is operated as a museum by the Women's Exchange. Publication was partially financed by the Historic Museum Grant-in-Aid Program of the Museum of Florida History, Bureau of Historic Museums, Florida Department of State. Jean Parker's *The Treasurer's House* is available at the Peña-Peck House, the St. Augustine Historical Society's Museum Store, and other select shops in the city for \$10.95.

Shorebirds and Seagrapes: The Island Inn, Sanibel, 1895-1995 was written by Sharon M. Doremus to mark the centennial of the hostelry which began in 1895 when Harriet Matthews first took in boarders. Like so many 19th Century Americans who believed the stories about the ease with which farmers could prosper in Florida, Will Matthews brought his family to Sanibel Island in the mid-1890s with the intention of supporting them from his new farm. When agricultural prosperity proved elusive, Harriet Matthews supplemented the family income by taking in boarders. Thus began the Island Inn. Word of the charming inn on the beautiful island with its abundance of beautiful sea shells, fish, and wildlife, spread throughout the northeast. Visitors returned year after year. Harriet's daughter, Charlotta, succeeded her mother as innkeeper and

operated it successfully until 1957. It was then acquired by the Island Inn Company which refurbished and modernized the edifice, while retaining its old Florida charm. It has continued to house guests into its centennial year. Published by J.N. Townsend Publishing, Exeter, New Hampshire, *Shorebirds and Seagrapes* may be purchased from The Island Inn Company, P.O. Box 659, Sanibel, Florida 33957. The price is \$12.00.

Charles E. Blanchard grew up on the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound where he became fascinated with life along the estuaries where saltwater and fresh water mixed. After a career as a teacher in the Northeast and as a musician in Europe, he moved to Florida in 1981. The Charlotte Harbor area where fresh water rivers flowed into and mixed with the Gulf waters reminding him of his Connecticut home. Convinced that such a rich estuary must have supported human life in the past, he explored the waterways by canoe while reading about the findings of professional archeologists. His *New Words, Old Songs: Understanding the Lives of Ancient People in Southwest Florida Through Archaeology*, a story of 12,000 years of human life on the shell islands and mangrove coasts, is the result. The *New Words* is a tribute to the new archaeological methodology of recent years. *Old Songs* emphasizes the continuity of life in the area. Blanchard's aim in this work was to "put humanity in the archaeology, put flesh on dry statistical bones." Believing that the author achieved his purpose of making archaeology interesting to ordinary readers, the Institute of Archaeology and Paleoenvironmental Studies of the Florida Museum of Natural History at Gainesville has published *New Words, Old Songs*. It will be available after August 1, 1995 from the Institute at P.O. Box 117800, Gainesville, Florida. The price is \$24.95 hardcover and \$14.95 paper.

Florida Fun Facts: 1,001 Fun Questions and Answers about Florida is a new publication by Pineapple Press timed to appear as Florida celebrates its Sesquicentennial. Written by Eliot Kleinberg, a staff writer for the *Palm Beach Post*, the book is said to be the "ultimate Florida trivia challenge" and is filled with little known information about Florida's places, events, environment, and unique character." For example, to borrow from a popular television show, the answer is "mullet." The question is "every April, people gather on either side of the Florida-Alabama line at Perdido Beach and throw what?" Many readers already know that Gatorade was developed at

the University of Florida, but how many know that the world's smallest police station is a telephone booth in the town of Carrabelle? *Florida Fun Facts* has a comprehensive index to Florida cities and counties as well as a detailed general index. It sells for \$12.95 and may be acquired from Pineapple Press, Inc., P.O. Drawer 16008, Southside Station, Sarasota, Florida 34239.

Delia Graham Cirino's *Sawgrass Child* covers the first eighteen years of the author's life while she was growing up in "an obscure town on the Southeast Coast of Florida in the 1930s and 1940s. Descended from some of Florida's earliest families, Delia Graham Cirino arrived at Fort Lauderdale in 1931 when the city was inhabited by 9,000 people. Hers is a whimsical story of a time when she and her siblings could romp in the sawgrass near her home without fear of anything more threatening than the flora and fauna of what was then a virtual frontier. *Sawgrass Child* may be ordered from Crone's Cradle Conserve, P.O. Box 1207, Citra, Florida 32113.

Craig A. Tuttle's *An Ounce of Preservation: A Guide to the Care of Papers and Photographs* is a "how-to" book--with an interesting history of paper, ink and their uses. Well-written in an interesting manner, the book is recommended by the author to "church secretaries, historical society volunteers, veterans, grandparents, genealogists, historians, librarians, manuscript curators, archivists, and collectors." It was published by Rainbow Books, Inc., P.O. Box 430, Highland City, Florida, 33846-0430. The price is \$12.95. Orders may be made through 1-800-356-9315.

Patrick Anderson was Jimmy Carter's chief speechwriter during the 1976 presidential election campaign. Having been asked by President Carter to write "an authorized book on his administration," Anderson wrote a draft of his memoir. Misplaced for a time, it was rediscovered in 1992 and, after encouragement from friends in the professional history community, Anderson decided to proceed with publication. The result is *Electing Jimmy Carter: The Campaign of 1976*, a Louisiana State University Press book. Its price is \$24.95.

David Duke appeared on the political scene quite rapidly and has since apparently become less newsworthy. In the meantime, he attracted a great deal of attention and has been the subject of a

number of treatises of various dimensions. Tyler Bridges, a staff writer of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, was particularly well-situated to contribute to the Duke literature since he covered the political campaign which focused so much attention on the man and his unusual beliefs. Bridges has consequently written *The Rise of David Duke* which has been published by the University Press of Mississippi. It sells for \$24.95.

Anne Firor Scott has long since established a reputation as a national historian who specializes in the history of Southern women. In *Unheard Voices: The First Historians of Southern Women* she tells the story of "how Southern women historians were marginalized in academia" and then demonstrates her point by recounting the biographies of five of them whose works are treated in this edited book. Those she selected for inclusion are Virginia Gearhart Gray, Marjorie Stratford Mendenhall, Julia Cherry Spruill, Guion Griffis Johnson and Eleanor M. Boatwright. Scott's book was published by the University of Virginia Press, Box 3608, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903. Prices are \$29.95 cloth and \$12.95 paper.

Born in 1915 and educated at the University of North Carolina where she studied with Fletcher Green, Mary Elizabeth Massey garnered recognition in her own time with *Bonnet Brigades*, the story of women during the Civil War, which was published in 1966. It has been reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press in its Bison Books series. With an introduction by Jean V. Berlin, the new edition is entitled *Women in the Civil War*.

Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965-1990 was edited by Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman and published by Princeton University Press. Dedicated to Justice Thurgood Marshall, the book has contributions from many of the historians who participated in the federal cases dealing with voting rights during the 35 year period covered by the book.

Louisiana State University has brought out a paperback edition of Robert E. May's *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* which was first published in 1985. Quitman marched through the pages of antebellum history from his participation in the Texas revolution in the 1830s to his death in 1858, but the emphasis of this fine book is

on his radical secessionist sentiments and the role he played in fomenting states' rights and secession in Mississippi.

White Mane Publishing Company has just published *A Pennsylvanian in Blue: Thomas Beck Walton's Civil War*, edited by Society member Robert A. Taylor of Fort Pierce. Walton, a loyal Union soldier, records his experiences during the last phase of the Civil War and the first few months of peace. A resident of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, Walton volunteered for service with the 195th Pennsylvania infantry in the spring of 1865 and served in the Shenandoah Valley and later as part of the post-war garrison of Washington, D.C. His journal recounts the gritty, unromantic life of the common soldier--long marches, short rations, boredom, and exposure to the elements. Walton also provides insights on discipline problems and morale. This diary, ably edited by Taylor, is an important addition to the growing body of work on the day-to-day concerns of the common soldier. *A Pennsylvanian in Blue* is available in soft cover for \$12.00. White Mane Publishing Company is located at P.O. Box 152, Shippensburg, PA 17257. Telephone orders can be made by calling (717) 532-2237.