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## Book Reviews

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Catholic Parish Life on Florida's West Coast, 1860-1968.* By Michael J. McNally. (St. Petersburg, Fla.: Catholic Media Ministries, Inc., 1996. xix, 503 pp. Preface, photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95 paperback, plus \$2.00 S&H.)

One of the most fertile fields of Florida historiography is the documentation of this state's mainstream Christian churches in the period from Reconstruction to the present. One thinks of what Joseph D. Cushman, Jr., has done for the Episcopal Church; William Erle Brooks for Methodism; Edward Early Joiner for Baptists; and Michael J. McNally for Roman Catholicism in his 1982 volume *Catholicism in South Florida, 1868-1968*. Now Father McNally has given us a history of his church's parish life in Florida's lower Gulf coast counties from the eve of the Civil War to the closing date of his previous work, 1968. It is a book of such extensive research into original records, such wide-ranging use of secondary sources, and such penetrating insights that are sociological as well as historical that it must be considered a benchmark for all future scholarship and writing in the subject area.

In 1858, Tampa became the first west coast settlement to be constituted a parish with a resident pastor. Named St. Louis, the first wood-frame church building on Florida Avenue and Twiggs Street served forty-one Catholic households. The immigrant character of the parish was reflected not only in the ethnic make-up of the households— Hispanic, French, Italian, Irish, Portuguese, Polish, and Syrian— but also in the fact that only three of the first eleven pastors spoke English as their native language. This multi-ethnic appearance would continue through the first quarter of the present century when Tampa presented a Catholic population composed largely of Cuban, Spanish, and Sicilian immigrants, concentrated in West Tampa and Ybor City, and the original parish church was served by French and Irish-born Jesuits from New Orleans (who in 1905 changed the parish name to Sacred Heart). In 1891 not only Tampa but the whole of South Florida, including the Atlantic counties and the parish at Key West, was handed over to the jurisdiction of the New Orleans Jesuits. Earlier, in 1887, by a similar arrangement, Citrus, Hernando, and Pasco counties, with

numerous German Catholics, were placed under the pastoral charge of the Benedictine Order. Though both grants were made "in perpetuity" by the priest-poor secular Diocese of St. Augustine, the counties reverted, amicably, to diocesan jurisdiction in 1921. Meanwhile, Jesuit circuit riders, notably Philippe de Carriere and Alfred Latiolais, planted mission stations throughout the vast southern region where Catholicism is such a strong presence today.

In their book *The Immigrant World of Ybor City* (1987) Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta minimize the role of institutional Catholicism in the lives of Tampa's Latins, who only infrequently attended Mass or received the sacraments. McNally argues that Latin religious practice, while not formally Tridentine, was a very deep, family-oriented, medieval Catholicism that he calls a "domestic church." To Mormino and Pozzetta's assertion that the clergy ministering to the Latins were ineffective because they were unilingual Irish-Americans McNally points out that before 1922 most Jesuits were multilingual and that none was an Irish-American. Where the two historians state that only Latin mothers took their children to be baptized, McNally shows from the sacramental registers that mothers were accompanied by fathers, siblings, grandparents, uncles and aunts, godparents, and friends.

The general population growth that Florida experienced during and after the 1920s boom led to steady expansion of the church on the west coast where, by 1940, there were twenty-one diocesan priests serving twenty parishes. In that same year the Diocese of St. Augustine received a new bishop in the person of Joseph P. Hurley. This former Vatican diplomat, a native of Cleveland, who would govern the fortunes of the west coast church for the next twenty-seven years (excluding after 1958 nine southwestern counties taken away to form part of the new Archdiocese of Miami) would leave a lasting imprint on the parishes under study. McNally cites the achievements of Hurley's "manager-shepherd" style, praises his pastoral leadership, his business acumen, real estate genius, and love for the church. "Despite this toughness and the constant demands he made on his priests," the author writes, "Hurley was admired and respected by most of them. . . . What no one denied was that Hurley was a winner. . . ." Well, probably Monsignor Thomas Colreavy would have denied it. The story of the lengthy squabble between Hurley and the flinty, independent Colreavy, pastor of St. Cecelia (sic) Church in Clearwater, is told entertainingly in these pages.

One wishes that the author had not published Apostolic Delegate Egidio Vagnozzi's gratuitous slur on Hurley with no source given in the text or endnotes. One wishes also that the author had read more closely Stephen R. Prescott's article "White Robes and Crosses: Father John Conoley, the Ku Klux Klan, and the University of Florida" (*FHQ* 71, July 1992), so that he would know that to say that Conoley "left the Diocese under a cloud of suspicion" is untrue and unfair. A problem not at all of the author's making, and one that must grieve him, is the publisher's failure to match the 326 endnotes with any of the numbers in the text that follows the Preface. Maddening. McNally's splendid book deserved a better copy-editor and a better publisher.

*University of Florida*

MICHAEL GANNON

*Cesar Chavez: A Triumph of Spirit.* By Richard Griswold del Castillo and Richard A. Garcia. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. xvii, 206 pp. Series editor's preface, preface, photographs, bibliographical essay, index. \$19.95 hardcover.)

*Cesar Chavez: A Triumph of Spirit* is a moving biography of the labor leader, reformer, spiritual teacher, and Chicano activist from his birth in 1927 to his death in 1993. The authors focus more on the man than on the union he founded— the United Farm Workers (UFW)— and so make no mention of the UFW's activities in Florida. Despite this omission, the book is concise, readable, and eminently assignable to undergraduates in labor, immigration, and ethnic history classes.

The authors used oral interviews and archival sources, and relied heavily on secondary works to tell the story of Chavez's life as a child, young activist, and world renowned labor leader. Griswold del Castillo and Garcia are at their best in these fast-paced narrative chapters that vividly paint scenes of Chavez's life against a changing backdrop of depression, world war, anti-communist hysteria, student rebellion, and, in the decade before his death, resurgent right-wing activism.

With the notable exception of the very useful chapter on Chavez's controversial policies toward undocumented Mexican immigrants, the thematic chapters scattered throughout the book are less satisfying. One particularly distracting section concerns the

“liberal” authors of the 1960s and 1970s who remade Chavez as a sort of Jeffersonian hero and the last hope for morality, simple values, and republican self-sacrifice in a nation torn by civil strife, greed, and war. This chapter falls flat, not so much because it is historiographical in nature, but because the authors seem just as inclined a quarter century later to paint Chavez as an infallible and completely selfless hero. For example, when they tell of the violence that broke out between UFW supporters and immigrant strikebreakers from Mexico during a strike of citrus pickers in Yuma, Arizona, in 1974, the authors conclude that Chavez must not have been kept informed of events in Yuma or that he placed too much trust in his cousin’s ability to handle the strike. Chavez, himself, could not have been personally at fault.

The chapter on Dolores Huerta, the “hidden leader” who co-founded the union in 1962, is also frustrating. Besides noting how female characters looked—Helen Chavez is a “beautiful woman,” Huerta merely “attractive”—the authors also devote a lot of unnecessary space to defending Huerta against contemporary critics who found her too aggressive and too untraditional a Mexican woman. What we never learn in the chapter is what Huerta actually did, and how the participation of women, which she championed, shaped the movement. The authors quote Huerta herself as saying that women’s activism “helped keep the movement nonviolent,” but they provide no evidence for this view and seem not to have investigated the issue.

The lack of footnotes is also a significant concern here. This editorial strategy helped keep the book short, but the authors often provide few clues about the nature and origins of their information. Our skeptical and often anti-labor students might not be convinced that growers were so recalcitrant or law enforcement officials so brutal without some sort of indication—other than that which is provided in the bibliographical essay—of the authors’ sources. We are also left wondering whether undated quotations come from contemporary or retrospective interviews. If they can put their skepticism aside, students will find this an exciting, informative, and moving introduction to Chavez’s life, achievements and our own failure to live up to Chavez’s dictum: *Si Se Puede*—Yes, it can be done.

*The College of William & Mary*

CINDY HAHAMOVITCH

*An Assumption of Sovereignty: Social and Political Transformation Among the Florida Seminoles, 1953-1979.* By Harry A. Kersey, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. xviii, 268 pp. Preface, series editors' forward, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$42.50 cloth.)

In nine chapters and an epilogue, Harry Kersey chronicles and analyzes the history of the Seminoles and Miccosukees from 1953 to 1979, although he includes events before 1953 and after 1979. Chapter 2 recounts the Seminoles' narrow escape from termination in the 1950s. They were totally unprepared to be cast loose from federal support and guidance. Lack of central organization made them vulnerable because the populations of the three reservations had little in common. The first phase of centralization began with formal tribal organization under federal direction in 1957. The Seminoles took this step without enthusiasm; only about one-third of the members (246) troubled to vote. The problems leading to federal recognition, and the resulting Constitution, by-laws and charter appear in chapter 3.

Kersey includes a chapter on what he calls the "lean years," 1957 to 1971. The tribe was poor, the people impoverished, virtually dependent on such programs as the federal government had for Indians after World War II. Change for the better began with the election of Chairman Howard Tommie in 1971. By this time the government had abandoned the policy of termination, switching instead toward tribal self-determination. Funds became available and Tommie took full advantage of them. Also the Seminoles began to sell cigarettes without the state tax, which brought in millions of dollars. Additional millions flowed in when the tribe offered mega-bingo, free of limitations imposed by the state. Tribal income rose from \$600,000 a year in 1968 to \$4,500,000 in 1977. The United States Supreme Court sustained the right of the Seminoles to conduct these enterprises because, the justices said, the reservations were sovereign land. Not since the treaties of Paynes Landing and Fort Gibson in the 1830s had the government dealt with the Seminoles as sovereign. Hence the title of the book, *An Assumption of Sovereignty*.

Kersey devotes chapter 6 to the detailed history of the Seminoles' claim before the Indian Claims Commission. Filed in 1950 it was finally settled forty years later by dividing about \$50,000,000 between the Florida and Oklahoma Seminoles. Chapter 7 covers the

East Big Cypress Case, a thirty-nine-year legal conflict involving the Seminoles, the Miccosukees, the State of Florida and the United States. The settlement of this case, Kersey says, tested and reaffirmed the principle of Seminole tribal sovereignty.

Chapter 8 tells the history of the determination of the Miccosukees to be recognized as a separate polity. Foiled at first, they sought help from outside the United States, even persuading Fidel Castro to recognize them as a separate nation. Finally in 1962 they won federal recognition as The Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida.

Special interest groups within the tribes developed to influence the issues of termination, central organization, the fight against poverty and the status of the Miccosukees. After the communal cattle herds were dispersed among individuals in 1954, the cattle owners steadily gathered power. Also by 1957 a group of young Baptists with high school educations challenged the traditional leadership. Clan affiliation, however, remained important but invisible. Seminole women gained power through modernization. Although the culture had always been matriarchal, women were confined to the background. Now they had moved into the foreground. In 1967 Betty Mae Jumper was elected the first— but so far, the only— female chief.

Dr. Kersey drew material from essential primary sources to write this definitive book. Every person in any way interested in the modern Florida Indians needs to study it and will enjoy doing so.

*University of Florida, Emeritus*

JOHN K. MAHON

*Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700.* By Patricia Galloway. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. xv, 412 pp. Foreword, note to readers, acknowledgments, illustrations, tables, appendix, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth.)

Patricia Galloway has taken on a monumental task in trying to pinpoint when and why the Choctaw came to exist as a people. In her search she has used a multitude of sources including archaeological and cartographic evidence, contemporary European documents, oral histories and myth, and anthropological studies.

In the first section of the book the author spends much time and effort discussing her source materials and methodologies. She

then traces the prehistory (1100-1500) of the region the Choctaw— after they come to exist as a people— will call their homeland. Galloway then turns to the period of contact between Europeans (Spanish, French, and English) and the peoples of the Southeast during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the “evidence” they have left us in the form of official reports, documents, and maps.

Although the author searched these records thoroughly, she found little specifically about the Choctaw until the French came face to face with them during the years 1699 to 1702. Thus, much of what the Europeans left as “evidence” concerns non-Choctaw peoples.

The author questions the validity of much of the information available about the region. Official reports were, at times, written to reflect personal and political biases and interests. Maps were drawn by cartographers from information taken from the reports of the various explorers and were redrawn as new information came forth. The mythology of the creation and migration of the Choctaw was found to be similar to other peoples of the Southeast.

There is also a discussion of the importance of material evidence, specifically pottery remains and burial practices, in trying to pinpoint Choctaw origins. Most of this discussion concerns not the Choctaw but the other peoples of the region.

In her concluding chapter the author admits that, in the final analysis, the mystery remains unsolved. It is unclear when and where the Choctaw emerged as a people. However, history and archaeological research suggest that the Choctaw developed in an unpopulated refuge area in Mississippi. Galloway, in her conclusion, does a hypothetical reconstruction as to why this “probably” took place.

The author is to be congratulated for seemingly leaving no stone unturned in her search for the true beginnings of the Choctaw people, and the extent of her research is truly impressive. Her hypothesis as to how and when they “probably” came to be is intriguing and seems logical. It is unfortunate that most of the “evidence” is not there for definite conclusions to be drawn.

An intense book, this is not for light reading. The author uses a variety of disciplines in her search for the beginnings of a reclusive people. The material covered is much more than the title would suggest as the author begins her search well before 1500. Perhaps because of the lack of specific data available on the Choc-



taw it was necessary to include accounts of numerous other peoples in the region bordering the Choctaw homeland.

*Brevard Community College*

F. MICHAEL WILLIAMS

*The Transforming Hand of Revolution: Reconsidering the American Revolution as a Social Movement.* Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. (Charlottesville and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1996. xii, 517 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, contributors, index. \$47.50 cloth.)

In 1926, a small book by J. Franklin Jameson appeared. It quickly became one of the seminal works about the American Revolution. Seventy years later a group of scholars under the auspices of the United States Capitol Historical Society has produced a much larger tome that discusses Jameson and his central idea that the American Revolution was a social movement.

Eleven essays make up this volume. The introductory one by Morey Rothberg discusses Jameson and the background of his famous publication. The remaining ten include a philosophical treatise by Alan Kulikoff on whether the revolution was bourgeois in nature, seven topical essays, and two long historiographical pieces.

The seven topical essays touch upon a variety of subjects—the non-importation and nonconsumption movements of the 1760s and 1770s and their social effects (Barbara Smith), the vicissitudes encountered by the elite of Charles County, Maryland (Jean Lee), the changing position of Chesapeake artisans (Jean Russo), the role of slaves and sailors in the making of the revolution (Marcus Rediker), runaway slaves in the Mid-Atlantic region (Billy Smith), the relationship between squatters and land speculators on the frontier (Alan Taylor), and the political careers of Sam Adams and John Hancock (Gregory Nobles).

As the foregoing summaries suggest, the seven authors concentrate on certain regions and themes. Readers will find much about Massachusetts, Maryland, and the Mid-Atlantic colonies but almost nothing about any state south of Maryland. Similarly, there is a good deal about elites, workers, and blacks but little about many other subjects such as women and religion. On the whole, the authors are clear in their exposition and judicious in their judgments. Only in Marcus Rediker's essay is there a sense of an author over-

reaching as one reads of soldiers who "may have learned," veterans who "may have led," and observers who "believed" (p. 197).

The two historiographical essays are much more contentious. Robert Gross surveys historical writing about Shay's Rebellion to show how it reflects an ongoing ideological debate about the meaning of the American Revolution.

The final piece by Alfred Young, longer than Jameson's original book, is a rambling discussion of the historical literature about the meaning of the Revolution over the past seventy years. Young offers some interesting insights and formulations but is disappointingly partisan in his approach. He reviles the "grim" 1950s and its conservative temperament, gushes over New Left history, and nit-picks at the preeminent achievement of Gordon Wood. Representative of Young's approach is the way in which he passes over Forrest McDonald in a scornful two pages while devoting three times the attention to a far less accomplished historian, Staughton Lynd.

In spite of these defects, the Young essay offers an important insight into the great contemporary dilemma for historians who would understand the American Revolution. The ideals of limited government, republican virtue, and evangelical Protestantism permeated American society during the revolutionary era. These remained central to the United States for almost two centuries including the time at which Jameson wrote. In the late twentieth century, however, these values have been eclipsed in the therapeutic welfare state and its academic counterpart. Today many academicians worship the gods of class, race, and gender while tens of millions of their fellow citizens grovel before Washington and the "helping" professions in an abject search for sustenance and salvation. We have indeed come a long way from Lexington and Concord.

Given the yawning philosophical chasm between 1776 and 1997, the great challenge is how to grasp and convey the alien principles of the early nation. What Young and others of his persuasion suggest, however unintentionally, is that this goal is most likely to be achieved not by indulging in the various fads afflicting contemporary historical writing but rather by a renewed immersion in the now reactionary world of the Founding Fathers.

*University of Central Florida*

EDMUND F. KALLINA, JR.

*Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, Vol. 23, November 7, 1785-November 5, 1786, edited by Paul Smith and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1995. Chronology of Congress, List of Delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. xxxii, 691 pp. \$39.00.)

As this monumental documentary publication nears completion, it throws important new light on the origins of the federal Constitution. Wrestling with problems beyond their competence or will to resolve, delegates revealed their fears and frustrations to their correspondents. A case in point was the two-week debate, in early August 1786, about relations with Spain. In May 1785, the Spanish envoy, Dom Diego de Gardoqui, had dangled a tantalizing offer of most favored nation treatment to United States ships entering Spanish ports in return for American acknowledgment that the mouth of the Mississippi at New Orleans was a vital (and non-negotiable) Spanish sphere of influence.

Desperately needing the economic stimulus from Spanish commerce, Massachusetts and six other northern states pushed through a resolution in August 1785 directing John Jay to negotiate an agreement along those lines. Virginia leaders considered the Massachusetts initiative a direct attack on their own vast investments in Ohio valley real estate. In 1974, H. James Henderson argued that Virginia's alarm over the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations pushed the drive for a new constitution into high gear. More recently, Peter Onuf and Cathy Matson have found evidence that mercantile elites in the middle Atlantic states were maneuvering in 1786 to break the union into three homogeneous republics which would each adopt a political economy suited to its needs and interests.

In addition to notes taken by Secretary of Congress Charles Thompson, the editors have found notes on this debate in the papers of Arthur St. Clair, William Samuel Johnson, and Melancton Smith—published here along with delegates' letters. The leading protagonists were William Grayson of Virginia and Rufus King of Massachusetts.

"Grayson: Spain a contemptible friend or foe and therefore a treaty unimportant," Smith's notes on the August 16 debates tersely recorded; "the family compact does not extend to a guaranty [sic.] of the dominions claimed by Spain in America." Thompson's notes recorded King's response: "the distressed state of the Eastern States, . . . ungrateful soil and no staple but what they

drew from the sea. . . . The best market [for fish] was Sp[ain] and this could not be secured but by treaty." Pushing Spain to give up the geo-political advantage of controlling traffic on the Mississippi, King warned, amounted to nothing less than war fever. He implied that Grayson and other Virginians were manipulating the emotions of western settlers by creating inflated hopes of access to world markets— something too valuable for Spain to give away cheaply. If push came to shove, "would there be found a man east. . . of Delaware who would . . . vote for war?" King asked incredulously.

"Nothing could have been more unfortunate than . . . the agitation of this subject," James Monroe wrote to Thomas Jefferson in Paris; "it hath . . . given Spain hopes she had no reason to calculate on." Moreover, Monroe feared, King's hard line on Spanish trade was the cutting edge of a conspiracy to separate the middle Atlantic and New England states from those in the South.

Monroe realized that repayment of America's international debt was the thread running through the entire dispute. He noted that Pennsylvania and New York had not met their debt payment requisitions and accused them of seeking the stimulus of Spanish trade to swell state import duties enough to tide them through the next debt payment crisis. Little wonder that Monroe wrote the politically charged passages in this letter in cipher, successfully decoded by the editors.

The editorial endnotes are usually spare and utilitarian, but in instances like the debate discussed here, some of the notes are rich and detailed— a satisfying solution to the thorny, and much debated, problem of annotation in historical editing.

*University of North Carolina at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

*Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, The Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting and Gambling in the Old South.* By Kenneth S. Greenberg. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. xvi, 176 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

"Overall my goal has been the goal of a translator: to understand the language of Southern men of honor . . . to know them as deeply as it is possible to know other humans. It is to comprehend

a world rather than its pieces" (xiii-xiv). This brief essay's goal is as ambitious as its title is long. The extended list in the title offers a summary of the topics discussed, each being either a positive or negative illustration of the honor of southern gentlemen.

As Kenneth S. Greenberg himself says, southern honor is not a new topic. Citing the works of Franklin, Ayers, and Stowe, he singles out Bertram Wyatt-Brown's *Southern Honor* as both the seminal work in the field and his inspiration. Confining himself to the antebellum period and the southern aristocracy, Greenberg builds on these earlier discussions and goes off in unique and quirky directions in search of new insights into the topic. To a great extent, and in surprising ways, he succeeds in his goal.

Greenberg may offer more than anyone ever wanted to know about the Clay-Randolph duel, or the dispute over the Feejee Mermaid, but along the way he provides interesting pointers on the art of understanding the duel, such as this gem: "When the man of honor is told that he smells, he does not draw a bath— he draws his pistol. The man of honor does not care if he stinks, but he does care that someone has accused him of stinking" (14).

It is a commonplace to say that slavery is a power relationship. Greenberg offers numerous and unusual manifestations of power in the lives of gentlemen and in their relationships with slaves. From "dressing as a woman" to "gift giving," to the interesting claim that the duel is a form of gift giving, Greenberg's essay explores numerous areas of daily life easily overlooked. His colloquy on why hunting rather than baseball is the sport of choice for southern gentlemen is both amusing and convincing. One indication of how good he is at unveiling new meanings within the commonplace is how many times you say "of course" or "obviously" as you read Greenberg's interpretations and analysis.

Perhaps the best and certainly the most interesting section of the book deals with death. Greenberg discusses death as an expression of honor, death as a form of power and control, power from beyond the grave, as well as suicide and honor. The latter gives some pause as to the place that Dr. Jack Kevorkian might occupy in the Old South, but that aside, this is an interesting and provocative piece.

More troubling is Greenberg's treatment of gambling as an expression of southern honor. On the one hand it is easy to see the logic employed with its emphasis on risk. On the other hand one cannot totally ignore the psychology of addictive gambling in

which losing is the whole point of the activity, and the bigger the loss the better. Such an analysis might have taken Greenberg off into whole new areas of speculation on the meaning of the southern gentleman's biggest gamble of all, which resulted in what the southern gentleman could only regard as a major loss.

One wonders also why in dealing with gambling and horse-racing Greenberg did not examine the North-South thoroughbred match-races of the 1840's which attracted so much attention in both regions. One is also struck by the juvenile behavior and the pathological insecurity displayed in some activities which Greenberg chooses to discuss as signs of southern honor.

To raise these points is only to admit what Kenneth S. Greenberg has achieved in this eclectic and highly stylized essay is what he set out to do: to extend the discussion of southern honor into new directions while seeking the meaning of its language and its world. He has done both with great style.

*University of Central Florida*

RICHARD C. CREPEAU

*Robert Stafford of Cumberland Island: Growth of a Planter.* By Mary R. Bullard. (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995, reprint edition. xiv, 357 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, illustrations, tables, photographs, appendices, selected bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper.)

Mary R. Bullard's well-researched biography of Cumberland Island planter Robert Stafford is her third book on the history of Georgia's southernmost barrier island, and it gives a fascinating look at the people and institutions of the island and its environs in the nineteenth century. Unlike many of Georgia's prominent coastal planters, Stafford never sought political office or a public career, electing instead to devote his considerable energy entirely to his business interest and his personal life, a most extraordinary personal life.

Born on Cumberland in 1790, Robert Stafford rose from modest origins to become one of the wealthiest men in coastal Georgia by the time of his death in 1877. Stafford's father was a British subject and resident of East Florida who emigrated to Camden County, Georgia, shortly after the American Revolution when Florida was returned to Spain. The younger Stafford began his business career

before he was yet twenty and by 1813 had acquired a valuable tract of island property especially well suited for the growing of Sea Island cotton, the crop that would fuel his growth as a planter until at one point he owned over eight thousand acres of land and four hundred slaves. Stafford found many ways to make money; he owned a store, originally located in St. Mary's and later relocated to Cumberland, to take advantage of the coastwise trade. Never borrowing himself, he became a private banker, making profitable and collectible loans to other planters. Facing falling cotton prices in the 1840s he leased many of his slaves to canal and railroad construction projects. Money earned from these enterprises was reinvested in banks, railroads, and various forms of real estate. By the time of the Civil War, many of Stafford's financial dealings centered in the North, primarily Connecticut, because of the direction his personal life had taken.

Never married, Stafford began an affair sometime around 1836 with a mulatto slave nurse named Elizabeth Bernardey who between 1839 and 1854 bore him six children. Elizabeth, thirty years Stafford's junior, had come to Stafford's home on loan from a Cumberland neighbor in 1836 to care for his sick mother and sister. Stafford's investments in Connecticut began in the early 1840s in preparation for moving Elizabeth and the children out of the South. The move, actually made in 1852, removed Elizabeth from the dangers posed by Georgia's complicated manumission laws and offered the children freedom and great educational opportunities. Stafford took great interest in the schooling of his children and provided for them generously after his death. Elizabeth returned to Cumberland near the end of the Civil War where she lived with Robert until his death in 1877. She then moved to another part of the island where she remained until her death in the 1890s. Bullard describes in the afterword to this reprint edition that since the book's original publication in 1986, evidence has been discovered that Stafford had yet another family consisting of two daughters, Cornelia and Nanette, by his slave housekeeper Catherine who had assumed that post about the same time Elizabeth relocated to Connecticut.

To spin the complicated details of Stafford's business and personal life, Bullard draws bits and pieces of historical evidence from a great variety of sources and weaves them together in an impressive narrative. Every stage in the evolution of Stafford's business career and his personal life is carefully documented even though Stafford's papers and letters are widely scattered. The author

makes extensive use of the public records of Camden County. In short, this book on the life of an atypical Georgia planter offers rich and varied insights into coastal Georgia during the nineteenth century and into the mixed-race unions that were sometimes part of that world.

*Georgia Southern University*

FRED W. BROGDON

*In the Master's Eye: Representations of Women, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Antebellum Southern Literature.* By Susan J. Tracy. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1995. ix, 397 pp, Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$42.50.)

Susan Tracy argues that she is taking a new path through well-travelled territory, asserting that her study of antebellum southern literature treats "an elite group who express the worldview of the planter class at the moment when it took the offensive against anti-slavery Southerners and Northerners" (1). Her thesis, she maintains, "is simply that the proslavery argument concerns gender and class relations as well as race relations" (1). While Tracy's argument is forceful, it is clear from the outset that she has already drawn her conclusions and that the fiction will be subjected more to sociological investigation than literary analysis.

In her introduction Tracy remarks that in the antebellum southern fiction she surveys, "there is not a single novel that does justice to the complexity of the human spirit" (5). She concludes, "Every line and every scene in this literature was written to assure the reader of the natural superiority of men to women, of whites to blacks and Native Americans, and of the planter class to all other classes. These novels are more valuable then as the cultural artifacts of a defeated planter class than as works of art" (5).

Tracy's study focuses on six antebellum Southern writers. She examines the shift in focus from the works of George Tucker and James Ewell Heath in the 1820s which, she argues, take a reformist attitude toward slavery, to what she terms "a militantly conservative defense of slavery in the proslavery fiction of William Alexander Caruthers, John Pendleton Kennedy, Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, and William Gilmore Simms" (10). Tracy describes Heath's novel *Edge Hill: Or, The Family of the FitzRoyals* (1828) as "an example of



Southern liberal thinking that was extinguished before it ignited. Its significance lies neither in its form nor in its art, but in its liberal attitudes toward gender, race, and class relations" (65).

Arguing that the works of these men are all markedly paternalistic, Tracy concludes that, "In the antebellum historical romance . . . we always come back to the same triptych: the helpless planter-class heroine flanked on one side by her would-be poor-white or middle-class seducer, and on the other side by the planter hero, who, assisted by his faithful black servant, is about to free her from her abductor and claim her as his wife" (19).

Tracy further argues that these writers had a special relationship with the society they depicted in their works. "As affluent men who were born into or married into the planter class, they were allied with the ruling planter elite. However," Tracy contends, "as intellectuals in a profoundly anti-intellectual nation and section, they were deeply alienated from those they sought to serve. It is clear that they were valued by the planter class chiefly as articulate spokesmen for slavery. This same planter class, however, was completely indifferent to their cherished project of establishing and fostering the development of a Southern Literature" (22).

In contrast to the North, where many writers were embracing a more democratic vision, the southern antebellum writers, according to Tracy, continued to posit the patriarchal family order as a "metaphor for all social relations." Thus, southern writing remained innately conservative, in contrast to the middle-class models apparent in non-southern writing: "Rather than being a visionary who challenged prevailing standards and turning his sights to the future, the Southern hero is a backward-looking conservative who seeks to preserve the traditional society and his place in it" (40).

Tracy uses three focal points—the portrayals of women, blacks, and poor whites—to support her claim for the arch-conservative position of these writers. In each area she examines how the paternalistic structure of these writers' works affects character depiction.

Tracy states unequivocally that, "The images of women that emerge in the fiction under review bear almost no resemblance to the realities of the lives of white and black women on the antebellum plantation" (70). She contends that Southern writers took no notice of "women's hopes, dreams, fears. . . [or] their speculations on politics and philosophy," and that their writing "refuses to grant them any sense of worth and value except as they nurture men and children" (73). The belle, Tracy argues, receives the most flattering

treatment while the spinster is the butt of humor. Interestingly, "In spite of their condemnation of the fallen woman's errant sexuality, these authors display far more compassion for her than the spinster, whom they ridicule" (91). Tucker notes that the spinster is viewed as a threat to the patriarchal structure.

Blacks in antebellum southern literature, Tracy argues, are not depicted as "family members" as the writers attempt to suggest. According to the author, "the cash nexus always stood between the planter and his slaves in a way that it never did among his wife, his children, and himself" (141). Like women, blacks are not developed as three-dimensional characters; they "have no important relationships apart from those with the master and his family, and no consciousness of themselves as more than servile inferiors" (143).

Tracy also describes as negative antebellum southern literary depiction of poor whites. She asserts that the men of this class are depicted as "loathsome and vicious not because they are economically stifled in Southern society, but because they are intemperate and lack self-discipline, which leads them to give in to their allegedly vicious passions" (185).

Tracy concludes her study with a comparison of antebellum literature in the North with that of the South, arguing that Northern literature, as a whole, allowed for more complexity, a literature "more psychologically and symbolically layered than the Southern novel" (215). Of Southern writing, she concludes that it attempts to convey Southern society as far more "stratified, harmonious, and orderly than it really was" (214). It is a literature, she concludes, that "neither speaks to the complexities of Southern society nor depicts adequately the lives of women, blacks, and poor whites" (217). Tracy's study is a valuable look at antebellum southern writing, but one wishes that she had taken further note of the breadth and complexity of the works treated here.

*Florida State University*

ANNE E. ROWE

*Lee the Soldier*. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996. xxxv, 620 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, maps, illustrations, photographs, list of contributors, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Almost twenty years ago, historian Thomas Connelly referred to Robert E. Lee as "the marble man." The Confederacy's greatest

general has enjoyed the status of icon for over a century, his name symbolizing all that was great and good in "the Lost Cause." His chivalric demeanor, Christian compassion, and unswerving loyalty created the consummate Virginia gentlemen in war and peace who commanded the respect of Americans on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line. While few contemporaries or academics of later generations have assailed Lee's character, scholars have more recently debated his talents as a soldier.

In this lengthy volume, Gary Gallagher provides a detailed and balanced examination of the scholarship on Lee's skills in the field. His goal is to give the reader the "interpretive sweep" of the literature on Lee beginning with the General's own perspectives on the war, as recorded by several interviewers in 1868. Lee spoke proudly, sometimes defensively, of his triumphs, blaming subordinates (Richard Ewell and J. E. B. Stuart) for the rare failures. He wistfully noted that the outcome of events would have been dramatically different if Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson had not been killed in May 1863.

After Lee's death in 1870, staunch supporters gave him the victory he could not achieve in life. Lionized by loyal officers such as Jubal Early and foreign observers such as British Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley, Lee's reputation as a commander soared to new heights. The rebel leader ascended from sectional saint to national hero. Such hagiography reached its apogee in the Pulitzer Prize-winning, multi-volume biography by Douglas Southall Freeman published in 1934 and 1935. While an occasional naysayer appeared, a succession of pro-Lee literature dominated the next quarter century.

The historiographical battle erupted in the 1960s when eminent scholars like T. Harry Williams, Connelly, and later Archer Jones attacked Lee for his misplaced overemphasis on the war's eastern theater and for his misguided addiction to an offensive strategy. Such attacks elicited prompt rebuffs by Albert Castel and the editor himself who argued that everyone focused upon the East (not just Lee) and that the general pursued a strategy attuned to the Confederate citizenry.

The second half of *Lee the Soldier* emphasizes the great campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia. cursory attention is paid the Seven Days, Antietam, Chancellorsville, and the Wilderness, but the text focuses heavily on the debate over Gettysburg. The heated exchange between the beleaguered James Longstreet and paladin Jubal Early opens the dialogue. Freeman encapsulates the

pro-Lee argument again faulting lieutenants Stuart, Ewell, and Longstreet. Freeman admits, however, that Lee allowed operations to drift and was guilty of over-confidence.

Alan Nolan leads the critics in arguing that “the Gettysburg campaign involved substantial and unacceptable risks for Lee’s Army” (482). Nolan takes particular exception to the foolhardy offensive strategy adopted by Lee and the accompanying needless and irreplaceable casualties incurred. Gallagher agrees that Lee should have adopted a defensive position after July 1, preferably between the Yankee Army of the Potomac and Washington, D.C. Such a move would have obliged the Union forces to attack Lee—with the strong possibility of markedly different results.

Gary Gallagher has assembled a must-read anthology of primary and secondary material on Lee as soldier. Some scholars may ponder the absence of early critic J. F. C. Fuller or question the extensive (150 pages) space devoted to Gettysburg. The volume, however, reflects the evolution of the debate over Lee’s undeniable talents. While the marble may not be scarred, it appears to be blemished.

*University of South Florida*

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

*Chancellorsville: The Battle and Its Aftermath.* Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. xvii, 263 pp. Introduction, bibliographic essay, list of contributors, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

Editor Gary W. Gallagher presents the third volume in the Military Campaigns of the Civil War Series, previous works having treated the battles of Fredericksburg and Gettysburg. As in those earlier offerings, the essays included here focus upon specific aspects of the battle which best afford opportunities to present new evidence, fresh interpretations, or suggestions for additional research. This is the expressed purpose of the Series’ editor, and in *Chancellorsville* that purpose is largely fulfilled.

Gallagher contributes one of the volume’s eight essays, an evaluation of Jubal A. Early’s holding action at the Rappahannock River where he faced numerically superior troops under Union commander John Sedgwick. Gallagher finds Early’s generalship at Chancellorsville commendable: he was calm, judicious, and aggressive.

sive. In his post-war verbal conflict with fellow Confederate William Barksdale over Chancellorsville, Gallagher finds that Early defended himself well despite his propensity for sarcasm and hyperbole.

John H. Hennessy analyzes the metamorphosis of the Army of the Potomac after Joseph Hooker's appointment as commander in January 1863. Demoralized by recent defeats; harboring a myriad of grievances including inadequate food, shelter, sanitation, and slow pay; and hostile toward Emancipation and African-American regiments, the Army of the Potomac was, suggests Hennessy, "perhaps the saddest, angriest, most grumbly army that ever marched under America's postrevolutionary flag." Within three months Hooker believed he had fashioned "the finest army on the planet." Hennessy finds Hooker's reforms mostly sensible and effective—better food, daily whiskey, liberal furloughs, and new corps badges— but his organizational changes, especially those concerning the reconfiguration of his artillery, the author regards as "a step backward." Concise, penetrating sketches of Hooker's chief commanders add to this overview of the mighty force Lee would face at Chancellorsville.

Carol Reardon evaluates Winfield Scott Hancock's rearguard action at Chancellorsville and finds it "as noteworthy as it is underappreciated." She argues that Hancock's command helped stop a southern advance on May 1; bravely defended a critical turnpike on May 2; and on that day and the next "served as an active, mobile reserve, plugging holes, changing fronts, supporting and retrieving artillery, and covering the army's retirement." Hancock's men could only have done more, Reardon maintains, "if someone other than Joseph Hooker had commanded the Army of the Potomac."

The court-martial of Emory F. Best, C. S. A., allows Keith S. Bohannon to skillfully demonstrate the difficulty of drawing confident conclusions when the testimony of eyewitnesses differs. Bohannon concurs with the court-martial verdict which acquitted Best of most of the charges but convicted him of cowardly abandoning his men while under attack.

A. Wilson Greene argues that George Stoneman's "multifaceted but little understood" raid, a ten-day excursion behind enemy lines, must be neither summarily dismissed as a failure, nor praised as a triumph, as some contemporaries and recent scholars have done. Greene stresses the achievements of the raid, characterizing it as a "dress rehearsal" for subsequent battlefield engagements

that "established first parity and then superiority for the mounted arm of the Army of the Potomac."

James Marten uses diaries and children's literature to suggest ways in which the war made its impact on northern and southern white children. He finds, not surprisingly, the effect on the latter more profound. His work suggests areas of additional study of post-war myths.

Using medical treatment at Chancellorsville as a vehicle, James I. Robertson, Jr., gives a chilling, if largely familiar, overview of the care of the wounded on both sides before and after the May 1863 battle. He uses statistics to suggest that progress was made during the war, especially behind Union lines (the mortality rate from gunshot wounds fell from 25.6 percent to 9.5 percent between 1861 and 1863). Yet Robertson describes wounded soldiers drowning in "a huge puddle of water and blood" as they lay on the floor near the operating table of a Union hospital area at Chancellorsville.

Robertson's essay complements what is, for this reviewer, the book's most arresting contribution, Robert K. Krick's exhaustively-researched account of the events surrounding the death of Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. His thorough and imaginative analysis of virtually every available contemporary source allows him to account for the movements and motives of both Jackson and the Confederate soldiers of the 18th North Carolina regiment who fired upon him that fateful evening of May 2, 1863. Krick demonstrates as well that Jackson's wounds had completely stopped bleeding before his soldiers began the unfortunate transportation of the general to the rear, a journey during which he would suffer two severe falls, one of which certainly tore his shoulder artery causing massive loss of blood, weakening him so that pneumonia claimed him eight days later. While conceding that the consequences for the Confederacy of Jackson's death are matters of hypothesis, Krick seems to agree entirely with the Georgia soldier who wrote after the general died that "all hopes of Peace and Independence had forever vanished."

*Gordon College, Barnesville, Ga.*

HUTCH JOHNSON

*Now the Wolf Has Come: The Creek Nation in the Civil War.* By Christine Schultz White and Benton R. White. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996. xvi, 216 pp. Preface, prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.)

The story of the Oklahoma Muscogee (Maskókí) peoples (or Creeks, as they are erroneously called), in the American Civil War is a complex one, composed of all the quintessential elements of the Native American Holocaust, and with far too many of its details still unknown. Certainly no Euroamerican history has ever done justice to this profound Native American experience. Despite its title, this short volume chronicles only November and December 1861, an intense period in which the much-respected civic leader, Opothle Yahola, led followers on a devastating trek from Oklahoma to the chimerical safety of Kansas. They were joined by Seminoles, Muscogee slaves and freedmen. Together with fleeing members of other tribes, over nine thousand refugees migrated to Kansas. Almost a quarter of them died of hardships and in battles along the way, and hundreds more would freeze to death or die of starvation in the concentration camps of Fort Leavenworth. But most of all, the authors remind us, they died of “treachery and neglect” (150).

Much of the story ostensibly is written from the viewpoints of Opothle Yahola and another Muscogee, Daniel McIntosh, and their mutual animosity consumes a significant portion of the work. McIntosh and Opothle Yahola, both well known to researchers of Southeastern Native American history, had clashed as early as the Creek War of 1813-14, when Opothle Yahola, and the powerful Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee for whom he was official speaker, had tried to use diplomacy and conciliation to maintain the status quo for their people. The McIntosh family had aligned itself with Andrew Jackson.

Later, in Oklahoma in 1861, the two followed opposing paths once again. Daniel McIntosh chose to align himself and his followers with the Confederate forces while Opothle Yahola, again unable to keep his people out of the conflict, sought protection from Union officials. James Scott, a Muscogee, was ten years old when his family made the desperate march to Kansas. Angie Debo quotes him in her work, *The Road to Disappearance*: “Opuithli Yahola’s heart was sad at all the war talk. He visited the homes of his followers or any of the Indians and gave them encouragement to face all these

things, but above all things to stay out of the war. It was no affair of the Indians."

In this book, the two intense months of the trek to Kansas are described in twenty chapters, each no more than ten pages long, and two graphics. In four pages of chapter 1, the entire colonial history of the Muscogee people passes, generically, before the readers' eyes. In chapter 20, readers travel to Washington with a Native delegation for a tour of the town. The other chapters rely heavily on descriptions of unnamed terrain and on largely undocumented thoughts, motives, and words attributed to the various characters, or interjected by the authors. The bulk of the larger story, covering the rest of the Muscogee (and, tangentially, Seminole) involvement in the American Civil War, is handled solely in the seven-and-one-half-page epilogue. One of the book's two graphics is a generic image of a wolf, complementing the title quotation which was taken from Opothle Yahola's letter to President Abraham Lincoln in 1861. The other graphic is a poor black-and-white reproduction of the famous, brilliantly colored McKinney-Hall stone lithography of Opothle Yahole. The cut line credits only the University of Oklahoma for the image.

The dustjacket blurb indicates that the work "relies heavily on Creek oral tradition" but the bibliography does not specify how many oral history interviews were conducted by the authors, and no individuals are cited, with or without their words. Only historical interviews, from archival collections, are cited. In only a single endnote (chapter 1, note 2), do the authors acknowledge the oral history treasures that they have been given; even then they merely indicate, generically, that these are the partial sources of references to Maskókî "beliefs and mythology." In the text, however, the authors do not indicate their sources, nor do they indicate what they choose to classify as "beliefs" and what they judge to be "mythology," and how they differentiate between the two. Investigators of Muscogee history will be pleased to note, however, some of the research sources available in Oklahoma collections.

*Seminole Tribe of Florida*

PATRICIA R. WICKMAN



*Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South.* By Alex Lichtenstein. (London and New York: Verso Press, 1996. xix, 264 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, tables, figures, notes, index.)

The attempt by white political and industrial leaders to curtail and control the power and autonomy of African Americans constitutes a major theme in the South's history after the Civil War. One of the greatest examples of this fixation with racial suppression could be found in the South's brutal penal system where convicts (most of whom were black) were first leased by states to private industrial entrepreneurs and then, by the turn of the century, were forced to labor in chain gangs on the region's expanding network of public roads. The emergence, character, and career of this racially motivated penal system is the subject of Alex Lichtenstein's *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the South*. While the title implies that the work is about the South, Georgia emerges as the predominant focus. Nevertheless, argues the author, the conclusions could generally be applied to the region.

Lichtenstein, a professor at Miami's Florida International University and the author of several articles on southern penal slavery, has written a profound, thought-provoking book which constitutes the first major attempt by a historian to explore in depth the racial nature of the New South's prison system. Based on exhaustive research including an impressive assortment of primary materials and documents from countless archival collections, public records, and contemporary newspapers, *Twice the Work of Free Labor* is a carefully documented and authoritative study which takes into account the works of later scholars.

The author chronologically and skillfully weaves the story of convict leasing and chain gangs into the larger themes of Southern history—slavery, white supremacy, Reconstruction, post-war industrialization, and Bourbon rule. Advancing a theory of continuity, he claims that the South's experience with slavery set the stage for further exploitation of black labor after emancipation. Convict labor was a "racial apparatus" (13) geared toward controlling blacks which fit the patterns established by Jim Crow segregation laws, crop-liens and sharecropping contracts, poll taxes, and Grandfather clauses during the post-war era. Lichtenstein sees the South's convict lease as a by-product of collusion between rural leaders

who wanted to control black workers and industrialists who sought a predictable, reliable, cheap form of labor that would not strike, demand wages, or otherwise threaten authority. Thus, he contends, "landlords and merchants devised methods to keep blacks landless, impoverished and dependent" (12). This system of forced labor "depended upon both the heritage of slavery and the allure of industrial capitalism" (19).

Ironically, it was the Republican party which first advocated the convict lease during Reconstruction to rebuild a South destroyed by civil war. By the end of Republican rule, the "political economy of Radical Reconstruction [had] forged the chains that [bound] Georgia's convicts for the rest of the century" (36). While the Republican governments utilized convict labor to construct railroads, the Bourbon Redeemers worked them in the South's coal mines, turpentine camps, sawmills, and brick factories. Southern leaders, like Georgia's governor Joe Brown, profited from the exploitation of convicts. The convict lease was particularly suited to the ideas of the Bourbons since "the racial ideology of Redemption and the increasing number of black convicts reinforced one another" (59).

The Progressive impulse that engulfed the nation at the turn of the century influenced the South's penal policies, especially in regard to the good roads movement. The corresponding southern response to Progressivism was a prison reform movement which replaced convict leasing with chain gangs. The shift from the private to the public control of convicts still bowed to the southern past since the reform of the "[region's] penal system left its basic function of racial [control] and labor discipline intact" (180).

Throughout each phase of the New South's development prior to the 1930s coerced black labor played a pivotal role in ushering the region into the twentieth century. Through coerced black labor, southern whites pledged themselves to modernization while maintaining a commitment to racial domination. In short, convict labor made a significant contribution to the South's postbellum economy.

*Twice The Work of Free Labor* is a monumental work which makes a significant contribution to southern history. It is made even more influential by its timely appearance as several states contemplate the resurgence of roadside chain gangs. Readers will find the book enlightening and well written. This highly recommended work should be in the library of scholars and general readers alike who are interested in southern, labor, and penal history. The topic is in-

triguing and once engaged, the reader will be hard-pressed to put the book down.

*West Georgia College*

CLAY OUZTS

*Technical Knowledge in American Culture: Science, Technology, and Medicine Since the Early 1800s.* Edited by Hamilton Cravens, Alan I. Marcus, and David M. Katzman. (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1996. x, 256 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, notes, contributors, index. \$24.95 paper.)

This is a book for serious students of cultural history and for those interested in how culture affects the interpretation of scientific data. It sets out the thesis that prevailing beliefs and attitudes affect how scientists, technologists, and physicians interpret their research data. In the editors' words, "Our authors insist that technical knowledge, in one way or another, is always shaped and informed by the larger culture and, within limits, by the society that is produced by that larger culture."

To make their point the editors have selected ten essays which address various aspects of science, technology and medicine during the period since the early 1800s. In cogent introductions to each essay the editors set forth the intellectual climate of the times so the reader can judge for himself how it affected the interpretation of the research data. Too often today's sensationalist press interprets historical events in light of present day thoughts and attitudes thus causing the uncritical reader to arrive at erroneous conclusions.

The selected essays themselves are of particular interest. One essay, for example, examines the "disease" puerperal insanity, which once accounted for at least ten percent of female admissions to insane asylums. This disease was rampant during the latter half of the 1800s yet without a change in diagnostic criteria or therapy it disappeared around 1900. Another example of the intersection of science and culture concerns the history of intelligence testing, which has led to the present emphasis on preschool education, and is in part responsible for the Head Start Program created by Congress in 1965.

*Miami, Fla.*

WILLIAM M. STRAIGHT, M.D.

*Civilization & Black Progress: Selected Writings of Alexander Crummell on the South.* Edited by J. R. Oldfield. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1995. x, 265 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, appendices, notes, index. \$38.50.)

J. R. Oldfield, the author of an earlier work on Alexander Crummell, has produced yet another good book that focuses basically on eighteen selected writings of this prominent Episcopal minister. In a helpful introductory essay, Oldfield sets the context of the book with a brief biography of Crummell's life from his birth in 1819 to his death in 1898. The editor believes that Crummell can be better understood through his writings that date from 1875 to 1898. Oldfield makes the once inaccessible selected writings of Crummell on the plight of southern blacks available to the public in this book.

Crummell was born in 1819 to Boston Crummell and Charity Hicks, members of New York's black middle class. He was the oldest of five children. The Crummell children were educated at the African Free School on Mulberry Street. Both white and black teachers taught the youngsters, and the family later became members of the St. Philip's Church, New York's leading black Episcopal congregation. Crummell continued his education at Noyes Academy in New Hampshire, but he was later driven out by an antiabolitionist mob. He subsequently enrolled in the Oneida Institute in Whitesboro, New York. It was at this school that he emerged in 1838 determined to become an Episcopal minister. After being denied admission to New York's General Theological Seminary because of his race, he sought admission to the Eastern Diocese, and later attended Yale Theological Seminary.

Crummell was born during the age of Andrew Jackson, raised as a free, middle-class black during the slavery and abolitionist period, and became a seasoned theologian during the post-Reconstruction era. It's in the context of great political and social changes that Crummell became an outspoken Episcopal minister for African Americans. The writings of Crummell reflect various aspects of his personal and religious development over a twenty-three-year period. This book includes many of his writings and speeches on issues such as religion, race relations, gender, politics and education. His main doctrine emphasized black self-help and racial solidarity.

In general, this book reflects Crummell's ideas, attitudes, philosophies, and overall leadership during the prominence of Frederick Douglass and the emergence of Booker T. Washington. Crummell's writings subsequently had an indelible impact on the philosophies and opinions of W. E. B. DuBois during the twentieth century. Yet, there is a big gap in this book concerning Crummell's writings from 1889 to 1894. Though several of his writings on the role of black women are included, it would have been interesting to read more on his thoughts concerning, for example, the equal rights of women within the Episcopal church. Did any of Crummell's writings reflect a liberal position on women assuming ministerial leadership within the church as his counterpart Henry McNeal Turner had advocated during this same general period? Are there any writings of Crummell that exist from 1889 to 1894 that might indicate any changes in his thoughts or attitudes on, for example, the race issue in the South?

Oldfield should be complimented for his book's organization and clarity. The importance of this work is in making these selected writings and speeches of Alexander Crummell available to the public. This book adds to the emerging number of studies concerning the life of this fascinating theologian. Therefore, it should be of great interest to students of American, southern, and African American history, and religious studies.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

*Silk Stockings & Ballot Boxes: Women & Politics in New Orleans, 1920-1963.* By Pamela Tyler. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. xi, 323 pp. Acknowledgments, list of abbreviations, introduction, notes, index. \$40.00 cloth.)

Through careful research and brilliant storytelling, Pamela Tyler, an assistant professor of history at North Carolina State University, has crafted a work of women's studies that intertwines the history of two urban machines, politics in the Long era, personalities in the well-bred and conservative upper-class opposition to Huey Long, and the mechanics of a reform movement born in the early 1930s that came of age in the 1940s. With New Orleans, "the Odd, the Exotic," as its backdrop, Tyler's work offers a fresh new window through which to view Long-era Louisiana. Combining a

close understanding of local history and factionalism with her careful study of the activities of women, Tyler's first book offers insight at several historiographic levels.

Taking 1920 as a watershed and carrying the story into the 1960s, Tyler examines the way upper-class women in New Orleans created a public role for themselves at a time when the home was still their only accepted sphere. For her primary sources, Tyler used several manuscript collections, newspapers, memoirs and interviews. Her study found a unique generation of women, united by their class, background and neighborhood, who also shared a common hatred of the Long machine. Led by several prominent society matrons, and encouraged by their anti-Long men, these women sparked a movement of good government reform. They did so in the confines of their traditional roles, couching their activism in terms of municipal housekeeping. When they "essayed forth" into the public domain, however, the New Orleans socialites who made up the Women's Committee of Louisiana, the League of Women Voters and the Independent Women's Organization cleaned up politics in the Crescent City.

First and foremost a study of politics, *Silk Stockings* takes the reader into the bedrooms and boardrooms of the elite, even as Tyler offers cogent analysis of the various factional alignments she finds there. Describing a women's reform movement, she presents a different type of lens through which to view politics as usual in New Orleans. Not only does Tyler characterize a pivotal generation of women and their organized activity in the public sphere; she also describes and analyzes the very political milieu these women set out to change.

It makes for a very interesting read. In one chapter, Tyler describes reformer Martha Gilmore Robinson's 1954 race for an at-large seat on the New Orleans City Council. As the campaign unfolded, irony piled upon irony and Robinson ended up seeking support from the Old Regular political machine to defeat the opposition slate put forth by Mayor deLesseps Morrison, a reform candidate in 1946 who by 1954 had built a political machine of his own. Noting that Robinson "placed principle above result" by choosing to run against the popular mayor Morrison, Tyler also explains that Robinson did well to take Old Regular support in a hard fought race. The ironies of this chapter capture the essence of the book. By entering a man's world in order to clean up politics, women reformers shed some of their own gentility, cut some deals

themselves and carved a role for women in the rough-and-tumble reality of machine rule.

These women did not think as feminists, nor did they attack the segregated status quo on race. They simply wanted to reform government and oust the machine. Even Rosa Freeman Keller, a white liberal who was active in promoting better conditions and public facilities for African Americans, did not openly attack segregation. A "racial diplomat," she worked instead for a gradual change in race relations. All of Tyler's subjects, therefore, emerge as a distinct type of activist, upper-class white moderates who adhered to a very limited reform agenda. In one respect then, the study suffers because it examines such a circumspect group of reformers, but that weakness also gives the study its strength. Because Tyler presents a multi-faceted examination of a specific group, detailing the politics, personalities and mores of the times, she takes her work beyond the realm of women's studies. The movement she describes helped to elect in 1940 the first reform governor since Huey Long and it brought voting machines, better registration practices and a good government mayor to New Orleans by 1946. Much more than a history of mere gentile reform, *Silk Stockings* is a carefully crafted piece of local history, casting new light upon the Long era, on politics in the twentieth-century South, on urban history and on women's history.

New Orleans

EDITH AMBROSE

*The Kingfish and the Constitution: Huey Long, the First Amendment, and the Emergence of Modern Press Freedom in America.* By Richard C. Cortner. (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1996. xiv, 216 pp. Preface, bibliographical essay, index, about the author. \$55.00 hardcover.)

In this clearly written volume, political scientist Richard Cortner explores the bitter relationship between Governor Huey Long and the Louisiana press from his election in 1928 until his death in 1935. Beginning early in his administration, Long's populist policies and dictatorial style infuriated nearly all of the state's daily newspapers, which lashed out at the governor in stinging editorials. Long's attempt to retaliate by imposing a tax on newspaper advertising culminated in *Grosjean v. American Press Company*, a 1936

landmark United States Supreme Court decision that expanded the freedom of the press.

Cortner focuses much of the early part of the book on the Kingfish and his opposition. Held in high esteem by most of the state's poor residents for promoting an ambitious social agenda, Long was simultaneously scorned by the oil industry for imposing a heavy tax on refining. Although a few of the urban daily newspapers had initially supported Long's election, his attack on the oil companies and his extreme sensitivity to criticism soon made the relationship between the press and the Kingfish one of mutual hatred. Long responded first by establishing his own newspaper, the *Louisiana Progress*, to "correct the lies published in the daily press of the state during the preceding week" (35). The governor's second line of attack included two bills introduced in 1930. The first of these would have imposed a 15 percent tax on the gross revenues of Louisiana newspapers from advertising sales, while the second would have allowed the court-ordered suppression of any publication that was "malicious, scandalous, or defamatory." Neither bill made it past a legislative committee, but Long continued his rise to power and won election to the United States Senate in 1930. From his new position, the Kingfish continued to run Louisiana, and in 1934 he renewed his attack on the press by advocating a 2 percent tax on gross receipts from advertising sales by newspapers with weekly circulations of twenty thousand or more. Such a measure allowed Long to punish only the urban dailies that opposed him, rather than the small weekly newspapers that often supported him. This time, with the Kingfish himself pacing down the aisles of the legislative chamber barking orders to his followers during the vote, the measure passed.

Much of the latter portion of the book details the legal battle waged by the state's newspapers and their national media allies to overturn the tax. The press challenged the law in the federal courts in the form of a suit for an injunction to prohibit collection of the tax. A special three-judge district court heard the case, formulated as a request for an injunction against Alice Lee Grosjean, the state supervisor of public accounts, and, interestingly, Long's mistress. Although counsel for the press argued that the Louisiana tax violated both the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (in that it applied to some newspapers rather than all) and the First Amendment freedom of press (which the U.S. Supreme Court had recently made applicable to the states in *Near v. Minne-*



*sota*), the district court invalidated the tax solely on equal protection grounds. Louisiana's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court offered the newspapers the opportunity to again make the claim that the tax violated the freedom of the press. Before the Court, they argued that because Long proposed the tax to silence his opposition and because they depended on advertising revenue for their economic survival, the tax was merely an attempt by the state to control the press. The justices agreed. The Court held that restrictions or punishments against the press subsequent to publication in this instance violated the Constitution. By expanding the notion of freedom of the press beyond merely prohibiting "prior restraints," the *Grosjean* case, in Cortner's words, "marked the beginning of the modern scope of protection afforded freedom of expression in U.S. constitutional law" (181).

Combining extensive research in Louisiana newspapers with his noted expertise in American constitutional history, Cortner succeeds in telling a fascinating story and demonstrating its significance. He does a particularly fine job of simplifying constitutional and legal issues in such a way that scholars and non-specialists alike will appreciate. By contextualizing an important but often overlooked Supreme Court ruling, Cortner offers insights into both the Louisiana political landscape and the history of press freedom in America. The author also adds to our understanding of Huey Long, who clearly emerges from this book as one of the great despots of American history.

*Rhodes College*

TIMOTHY S. HUEBNER

*The New Georgia Guide*. Compiled by the Georgia Humanities Council. Introduction by Thomas G. Dyer. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. xxxi, 780 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, sources of information, bibliography, list of contributors, photographs, index. \$19.95 paperback, \$39.95 cloth.)

Here's a book that forces the addition of "almost" to the axiom that a book written by a committee is always bad. *The New Georgia Guide* is excellent. It is aptly described as a "project" by the Georgia Humanities Council. The book's parts are fine and so is their sum. The staff that put the book together and the University of Georgia

Press that packaged it deserve congratulations. The reader learns from the acknowledgments section that once the regions to be discussed were defined, "coordinators," that is, scholars with special knowledge of one of the nine regions discussed, went about the work of making the way easier for the authors of the essays and tours. Institutional support came from the staffs of state organizations and agencies, public officials, and people in the private sector. The general public lent its support as well.

The historian Thomas G. Dyer has written a cogent introduction describing how the book was written and points out that it updates the legacy created by that influential product of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration during the Great Depression: *Georgia: The WPA Guide to Its Towns and Countryside*. It was also published by the University of Georgia Press, reprinted in part in 1954, and then reissued in full in 1990 due to the work of the late history professor Phinizy Spalding. The major force behind the present work was the journalist Colin Campbell, a descendant of Henry W. Grady. Campbell enlisted the aid of Governor Zell Miller and the Georgia Humanities Council, and from there the complicated project materialized. It was directed by a distinguished editorial board of experts (all of whom love the state) on Georgia's past and present. Steve Gurr, vice president for academic affairs at Gainesville College was appointed project director. In essence the book delivers what its title promises: *A New Georgia Guide*. It describes a Georgia markedly different from the Georgia depicted during the Great Depression. Rural Georgia endures while urban Georgia has emerged and both receive ample attention.

Before the book swings into gear Steve Gurr and Jane Powers Weldon supply a brief introduction to the tours by cautioning readers to use the tours and to go beyond them to places that could not be mentioned because of space limitations. Next, James C. Cobb supplies an honest overview of Georgia from early times to the present. Cobb's contribution is rich in social history.

The sections begin with pieces on Northwest Georgia by Mary Hood and Jane Powers Weldon. They are followed by: Northeast Georgia by John C. Inscoe and Steve Gurr; Metropolitan Atlanta by Timothy J. Crimmins and Dana F. White, Dana F. White in a separate essay, and Betsy Braden and John Braden; East Central Georgia by Philip Lee Williams and Jane Cassady; West Central Georgia by William W. Winn and Fred C. Fussell; Central Georgia by Will-

iam Hedgepeth, and Betsy Braden and John Braden; Southwest Georgia by Lee W. Formwalt and Fred C. Fussell; Southeast Georgia by Whit Gibbons and Delma E. Presley; and the Coast by James Kilgo and Buddy Sullivan. All of the sections are given imaginative titles.

The final sections include sources of information, counties and county seats, a bibliography, information on the contributors, and photo credits. There is a good index.

The overall quality of the articles is consistently high. While it is impossible to discuss them, let the section of Northeast Georgia serve as an example. John Inscoc, history professor at the University of Georgia and editor of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, is well acquainted with mountain country and mountain people and uses that knowledge to good advantage in his essay. He puts the region's history in perspective, dealing with place and time and, most important, people. The reader comes to appreciate how geographical heritage affected every aspect of the lives of the folks who live in an area of stunning beauty. The writing is accurate, crisp, and, while "scholarly," it is never pedantic.

The same can be said for the prose of Steve Gurr, who provides three detailed driving tours of the region. Highway numbers, descriptions of towns, places to go and see, and excellent examples of uniqueness are present on every page. There is no end to the information presented, and the tours will be followed, with personal detours, by many grateful people.

No doubt visitors to Georgia for the Olympic games benefited from the book, but so will thousands of others. The work achieves the rare level of being a "reference" book that both informs and entertains. It is a study that readers will return to again and again, and is a model example of what can and should be done in other southern states. The contributors—free lance writers and photographers, historical preservationists, historians, journalists, folklorists, ecologists, novelists, poets, short story authors, English professors, museum directors, and urban studies scholars—well deserve the praise that this book will bring them.

*Florida State University*

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

*One Name But Several Faces: Variety in Popular Christian Denominations in Southern History.* By Samuel S. Hill. (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996. xiv, 128 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, notes, index. \$20.00 cloth.)

Samuel S. Hill is professor emeritus of religion at the University of Florida. He is one of the pre-eminent authorities on religion in the South. His most recent book, *One Name But Several Faces: Variety in Popular Christian Denominations in Southern History* represents a classic examination of three major Protestant groups in the South: The Baptists, the "Christian" and the "of God" elements. This book is based in part on a series of lectures Dr. Hill delivered in 1994 at Georgia Southern University. In essence, this work largely expands those presentations to illustrate the great variety of southern religious pluralism that sprang from the aforementioned Protestant sources.

The story begins with perhaps the most diverse group of all—the Baptists. Local autonomy has always been a key feature of Baptist life and a major reason for its variances. Hill examines the roots of Baptist variety springing from four distinct subtraditions: The Charleston tradition (particular Baptist), Sandy Creek (separate Baptist), Georgia (Connectionalism), and Tennessee (Landmark Baptist). From these elements came a remarkable variety of theological and evangelical groups encouraged by the freedom that local Baptist identity allowed.

Using creative insight, Hill traces the rich variety of southern Baptist developments running the religious spectrum from anti-mission Primitive Landmarkist to "modernism." A "Heinz 57" variety of Baptist life evolved in an atmosphere of what Hill calls "a freedom *from* something *for* something." While Hill covers most Baptist bases, it would have been interesting to have had some comments on the place of the politically oriented followers of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell.

Next, Hill examines the "Christians," beginning with James O'Kelly in the late eighteenth century. The story of the roles of Barton W. Stone and Thomas and Alexander Campbell is well documented, especially the undenominationalism of the Restoration Movement. Hill places more emphasis on the Stonite wing because of its southern experiences. Hill believes the Stone-Campbell tradition contributed strongly to three areas of nineteenth-century thought: the role of the nation in God's plan, its views on slavery, and the acceptance of Common Sense philosophy. The roles of

Stone (South) and Alexander Campbell (North?) are closely scrutinized. Dr. Hill believes these giants of the Disciples of Christ and Churches of Christ shaped the course of those respective church bodies largely by sheer character. As Martin E. Marty might suggest, these men led the way down “new paths for old pilgrims.”

The third group in the trinity of popular Protestant denominations discussed is the “of God” bodies which include among them the Church of God, Church of God in Christ, Pentecostal-Holiness Church and the Assemblies of God. Again, there is a freedom theme here— in this case, largely a freedom from emotional restraints. This religious grouping, according to Dr. Hill, is spirit-moved and is part of the perfectionist impulse. Dr. Hill distinguishes between holiness and Pentecostal which he explains are “different kinds of experiences”: holiness deals more with daily living, and thus is more long term; the Pentecostal experience is more “of the moment” and fraught with emotion.

The “of God” bodies sprang from mostly Methodist elements in the late-nineteenth-century South due to several factors. The isolated, rural areas of the South (especially Appalachia) had a strong revivalist, biblical heritage that was fertile ground for the Pentecostal explosion that visited it around the turn of the century.

This is the best part of Hill’s work. The “of God” examination is an outstanding condensation and concise interpretative inquiry into the spiritually “empowered” who, as Edwin Scott Gaustad would describe it, sought “other streams.”

In summary, the flow of history concerning these prominent Protestant groups of the South makes for a dramatic story. Hill is in the tradition of Sydney E. Ahlstrom and Martin E. Marty, and his book is a small gem.

*State University of West Georgia*

JAMES THOMAS GAY

*The New Crusades, The New Holy Land: Conflict in the Southern Baptist Convention, 1969-1991.* By David T. Morgan. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996. xv, 246 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper.)

Southern Baptists seem to love a good fight. As David T. Morgan sees it, they have been fighting for a long time. Indeed, Morgan, Professor of History at the University of Montevallo,

Montevallo, Alabama, suggests that they have been involved in the so-called "battle for the Bible" for more than two decades. This fine work documents what Baptists themselves have come to know as "the Controversy," a conflict which has divided and subdivided elements of America's largest Protestant denomination. Numerous books have surveyed issues surrounding the Controversy, and most date its origins to 1979 when fundamentalists elected the first of a series of convention presidents committed to turning the convention to the Right. Morgan insists that the momentum for what convention moderates call the "takeover" and fundamentalists refer to as a "course correction" actually began with fundamentalists' fear that the denominational mechanism, more concerned with unity and bureaucratic order than with doctrinal orthodoxy, tolerated a burgeoning liberalism in seminaries, denominational publishing and overall leadership. Morgan points to the activities of fundamentalist activist M. O. Owens as evidence of the earliest efforts to move the convention to purge liberals and assert the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. Owens founded the Baptist Faith and Message Fellowship in 1973, an organization named for the denomination's confession of faith. Supporters attempted to interpret that document as teaching inerrancy— the idea that the Bible is without error in every matter it discusses— and as requiring inerrantist affirmations of all convention-supported employees. Owens brought the argument into both national and state Baptist convention contexts, and, while generally unsuccessful, sowed the seeds for the efforts which, a decade later, would begin the process leading to complete fundamentalist control. Thus one of the great contributions of Morgan's book is its careful documentation of the roots of the controversy and its original players.

After introducing that element of the conflict, Morgan goes on to provide an excellent history of the so-called fundamentalist-moderate battles to gain or retain control of convention machinery. He provides information regarding the later leadership of both factions and the efforts of both groups to "get out the vote" at the annual convention meetings. Fundamentalists promoted the doctrine of inerrancy and supported an agenda for using the appointive powers of the SBC president to gain control of trustee boards of all the denominational agencies. Moderates affirmed the doctrine of biblical authority but hesitated to use the term inerrant to describe biblical materials. They also opposed what they saw as the "takeover" effort. As Morgan shows, fundamentalists won, at

least on the national level. Moderates lost, and many formed various other parallel organizations such as the Alliance of Baptists and The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship.

While little specific attention is given to situations in Florida, many of the leaders in the controversy had ties to the state. Memphis pastor and fundamentalist patriarch Adrian Rogers and Jacksonville pastor Jerry Vines were both elected president of the SBC during the fundamentalist march to victory.

Morgan details the complexities of personalities, region and political intrigue well. Final chapters note that the debate expanded from the Bible to rightward social agendas rather quickly. I wish he, or someone, would give more extensive attention to the role of race in shaping the controversy from the 1960s. He concludes by asserting that the divisions are too deep for reconciliation to occur, predicting actual or at least de facto schism. His work is a valuable contribution to the continuing scholarly effort to document this fascinating religious and cultural phenomenon.

*Wake Forest University*

BILL J. LEONARD

*Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936-1961.* By Mark V. Tushnet. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994; reprint, 1996. xii, 399 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, table of cases, index. \$17.95.)

In *Making Civil Rights Law*, Mark Tushnet notes, quoting the economist Jeremy Bentham, "law is not made by judge alone, but by Judge and Company." When Thurgood Marshall began practicing in the 1930s civil rights law as we know it today barely existed. The "separate but equal" doctrine guided court decisions and separation without equality defined American race relations. Tushnet's excellent study, new in paperback, traces the agonizing process by which Marshall, the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), the Supreme Court, and evolving American legal culture overturned "separate but equal" and created civil rights law.

The book covers ground already trod upon by the Georgetown University law professor and one-time law clerk to Justice Marshall, but it also expands and synthesizes the literature analyzing the NAACP's role in the struggle for racial justice. After a brief biographic sketch, Tushnet focuses on Marshall's career in the 1940s

and 1950s recounting the arduous and often dangerous work of preparing civil rights litigation. With clarity and vigor, the author explains the theories that lay behind the LDF legal strategy "The NAACP's litigation during the 1940s," Tushnet insists, "centered on restructuring the law so that courts could rely on the social and economic consequences of discrimination as a basis for invalidating state laws." Use of the expert testimony of sociologists, psychologists, and historians became an integral tactic for the LDF, particularly in the school desegregation cases. In other cases, the LDF had to redefine state action. The state-action doctrine held that private discrimination, such as a merchant refusing service to blacks at a lunch counter, was not covered under the Fourteenth Amendment. The LDF lawyers had to convince jurists that enforcement of private discrimination constituted state action. Tushnet demonstrates that they succeeded in both elements in the relatively little-known restrictive covenant cases of the 1940s marking the way for hard-fought success in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

The LDF did not forge civil rights law on its own. A sympathetic Supreme Court was equally important in its role as lawmaker. Tushnet's intimate knowledge of the high court enables him to map out gracefully the positions—including biases and conceits—of the justices. This is particularly true for his discussion of *Brown*. Tushnet notes that because the court wanted to reverse *Plessy* it "ignored the facts" and accepted the LDF's interpretation of the motives of Congress in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1866. Tushnet, unfortunately, was similarly convinced. He overstates the success of the legislation's supporters in persuading other congressmen and the public that "the Constitution must incorporate egalitarian premises."<sup>1</sup>

In a short review, it is impossible to make detailed comments on all that this book offers. Tushnet's analyses of southern resistance to *Brown* and the attacks on the LDF are subtle and convincing. Floridians may find these sections of the book particularly interesting. Tushnet's treatment of the Virgil Hawkins case, involving the attempted integration of the University of Florida law school, adeptly illustrates "passive resistance to *Brown*." Tushnet's retelling of the Florida legislature's investigation of links between the NAACP and the Communists is equally enlightening. Indeed,

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1. See Earl M. Maltz, *Civil Rights, the Constitution, and Congress, 1863-1869*, (Lawrence, Kans., 1990), for a convincing and detailed study on the "original intent" of the Reconstruction amendments.



both sections expose the fact that Florida's experiences in the civil rights era have been woefully neglected.

*Making Civil Rights Law* raises interesting debates on constitutional jurisprudence, on strategies and tactics of civil rights groups, and on the importance of the NAACP in the civil rights struggle. Intensely researched, thoroughly documented, and elegantly written, the book offers much for legal scholars and historians, amateur or professional, to admire.

Washington, D. C.

STEPHEN GRANT MEYER

*The Making of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement.* Edited by Brian Ward and Tony Badger. (New York: New York University Press, 1996. xiii, 241 pp. Acknowledgments, notes on the contributors, list of abbreviations, introduction, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

*The Making of Martin Luther King* is a collection of twelve well-researched essays which were originally presented at an October 1993 conference held at the University of Newcastle upon the Tyne. The conference commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. King's assassination. The book is organized into four logical divisions, each containing three chapters.

The first part, examining the roots of the civil rights movement in the American South, is impressive. Using primary materials Adam Fairclough, John Kirk, and John White review civil rights activities in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Alabama, and provide valuable information about black activism, suffrage victories, and the successful use of economic pressure in these southern states during the 1940s. They emphasize the contributions of Alvin Jones, Theodore J. Jemison, J. Leo Hardy (Louisiana), W. H. Flowers (Arkansas), and E. D. Nixon (Alabama), all of whom have been omitted from most accounts of the movements (or slighted in the case of Nixon).

The second part contains contributions by Badger, Walter A. Jackson, and Clayborne Carson, and addresses the responses of liberal whites to black students' involvement in the direct action phase of the modern civil rights movement. The writers argue that this mass movement pressured white liberal supporters to reassess their belief in gradualism in favor of the urgent demand by blacks for "freedom now." This section further assesses the conditions that spawned the Southern Manifesto, grassroot movements among

blacks, and federal government intervention on behalf of black civil rights.

Robert Cook, Keith D. Miller, Emily M. Lewis, and Richard H. King contribute to the third part of the book which examines how civil rights supporters viewed the symbolic importance of historic events and personalities, and how the movement itself was depicted in literary accounts. They focus upon the changing national image of Abraham Lincoln, Marian Anderson's 1939 appearance at the Lincoln Monument, the symbolic importance of King's "I Have a Dream" speech, and successfully show that the American people are much more receptive to positive representations of the civil rights movement.

Contributors to the last section compare the United States civil rights movement with similar movements in England and South Africa. Tariq Madood and Mike Sewell examine ethnic minorities, stereotyping in England, and the English response to King's non-violent campaign. Sewell concludes that the English viewed the civil rights movement in the United States from a global perspective, sympathized with Dr. King's non-violent philosophy, and opposed extremism. They also feared that the United States's present might be England's future, and were convinced that some racial problems were unavoidable. In the last chapter George Fredrickson compares and contrasts the South African Defiance Campaign and the United States Civil Disobedience Movement.

*The Making of Martin Luther King* is a work from which scholars and students of the civil rights movement will benefit. The book successfully highlights heroic actions of an earlier generation of blacks in the fight against injustices, and, in the words of the editors, "offer[s] important new insights into the origins, development, representations and international ramifications of the civil rights movement" (2). However, the editors have not convincingly illustrated their second objective, which was to show that too much attention has been showered on Dr. King's role in the modern civil rights movement at the expense of local leaders and organizations. Few would disagree that "these earlier [pre-King] years were just as critical; [and that] they should not be lightly passed over" (26). Yet, it is equally difficult to excuse the dynamic personality of Dr. King and his impact in transforming local activism into a widespread movement.

## BOOK NOTES

The Tampa Bay History Center is proud to announce the publication of *Children on the Tampa Bay Frontier* by Canter Brown, Jr., Historian in Residence. The book is part of the Reference Library Series. The forty-seven-page softcover book draws from a wide range of primary sources and contains interesting chapters on education, poverty, and slavery. *Children on the Tampa Bay Frontier* may be purchased from the Tampa Bay History Center for \$4.95 per copy, plus postage and handling. Sales to school districts are at \$3.00 per copy. Contact the Center at (813) 228-0097 for more information.

Originally published over forty years ago, George Worthington Adams' *Doctors in Blue* is now available for the first time in paperback. An important work on the medical history of the Union army, *Doctors in Blue* provides detailed and often grizzly information on the mobilization of the military medical staff, wartime surgical techniques, infections, diseases, and field hospitals. The book also includes a useful appendix which provides mortality tables. The author grimly reminds us that "Some 300,000 Union soldiers lost their lives. Confederate attacks account for only a third of these deaths; disease, for the rest" (3). *Doctors in Blue* is available from the Louisiana State University Press for \$12.95. To order call (504) 388-6666.

"The American Civil War," historian Virginia Scharff writes, "was an unusually literary war," and for years, historians have benefited from the diaries and recollections of survivors of this tragedy (xiii). Although indispensable for understanding the war, these documents are not without their limitations, for the majority were written by Northern men concerned primarily with military matters. *Richmond During the War: Four Years of Personal Observations*, by Sallie Brock Putnam, tells the distaff side of the conflict. Originally published in 1867 and now available in paperback as part of the University of Nebraska Press' Bison Books reprint series, Putnam's book is a richly evocative account of life in Richmond during these critical years. Putnam details the upheaval experienced by genteel families in the capitol of the Confederacy; in particular, she reveals how the war affected Southern white women and disrupted

the “separate spheres” convention. This book can be obtained from the University of Nebraska Press for \$16.95.

Also available from the Bison Books series is the paperback reprint of Sylvanus Cadwallader’s *Three Years With Grant*, edited by Benjamin P. Thomas. Cadwallader first met Grant in late 1862 and he remained with the general as a war correspondent on special assignment for the *Chicago Times* and later for the *New York Herald*. During his tenure with the general, Brooks D. Simpson writes in the book’s introduction, “Cadwallader became something more than a reporter. He informed Grant of enemy movements during the battle of Champion’s Hill; once he actually took Confederates prisoner” (vi-vii). Full of insights and interesting vignettes on the dominant personalities of the time, including President Abraham Lincoln and General Philip H. Sheridan, this book also is recommended for those interested in the relationship between the military and the press during the Civil War. This book can be purchased for \$15.00.

Photographer Jim Janosky calls Lake Okeechobee “the liquid heart of South Florida,” and the 115 photographs featured in *Okeechobee: A Modern Frontier* richly illustrate his point. As historian Susan Duncan states in the introduction, “Janosky has captured the toughness, sensitivity, and diversity of life around the lake” [x]. The book includes a twenty-page history of the region followed by photographs ranging widely in subject matter, from pleasure boaters and fish camps to cowboys and rodeo clowns. After perusing the photographs one finds convincing the author’s declaration that “there is something good for the soul about being close to . . . the waters of Lake Okeechobee” [xii]. This book is available from the University of Florida Press for \$24.95.