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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Florida Keys: A History of the Pioneers. By John Viele. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, Inc., 1996. xi, 157 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, photographs, drawings, bibliography, index. \$16.95 hardcover.)

John Viele's *The Florida Keys: A History of the Pioneers* offers a different view of one of Florida's most unique and colorful regions. What sets this book apart from the numerous full-length works and countless articles, essays and chapters on Keys history is two-fold. First, Viele limits his subject to the Keys outside of Key West, which usually dominates accounts of the islands because of its population and prominence as a governmental, commercial, and military center. Secondly, he focuses his attention on the "common people" who experienced pioneer life in its truest form, and who usually appear only sporadically amidst a parade of the rich and powerful. As the author himself defines his theme in the introduction, "These stories are not about the lawyers, merchants, and ship captains who made Key West, for a time, one of the richest cities per capita in the United States. They are about the little known men and women who beached their boats on isolated Keys and struggled through the mangroves to begin new lives in a strange and often hostile semi-tropical wilderness."

Though the focus is thus narrowed, the chronological boundaries are broad— from the period of European contact to 1940, as modern "conveniences" and improved transportation and communication lines brought the pioneer period to a close. The author manages to cover this vast sweep of time without sacrificing his attention to detail or human interest, by viewing each era through the lives and adventures of a particular individual or group of people.

His style is easy and readable, broken only by several instances of repeated and overlapping material. The more notable of these somewhat disconcerting lapses occur in the sections on Joshua Appleby and the Port Monroe settlement of the 1820s (pp. 24-31) and on the establishment of the naval post at Tea Table Key during the Second Seminole War (pp. 35 and 50). The fact that portions of this book are taken from the author's columns in the *Island Navigator* and *Florida Keys Navigator* apparently accounts for these repetitive passages.

All in all, this book is well-researched, based both on primary written materials and, in the later sections, on the recollections of the pioneers themselves. Several interesting and often ignored segments of the region's past are explored, including the dramatic population fluctuations of the mid-nineteenth century (pp. 70 and 81), economic activities such as charcoal burning and commercial pineapple production, and the construction of the first overseas highway in the 1920s.

The author's interpretation brings few surprises, although his admiration for the men and women he describes is evident. His treatment of wrecker Jacob Houseman, for example, is somewhat more sympathetic than usual. Although he portrays Houseman's faults, he also explains the obstacles he faced in competing with Key West merchants attempting to monopolize the salvage business. Only a few omissions were noted. Again in the section on Houseman, the wrecker is credited with almost single-handedly promoting the creation of Dade County, ignoring the part played by Key West and Miami River resident Richard Fitzpatrick.

The Florida Keys is a good starting place for anyone seeking information on the stretch of islands between the mainland and Key West, and its diverse and sometimes incredible inhabitants. Students and casual readers alike will find it fast-paced, enjoyable and a good example of the old adage that facts are often more amazing than fiction.

Broward County Historical Commission

RODNEY E. DILLON, JR.

Fatal Glory: Narciso López and the First Clandestine U.S. War Against Cuba. By Tom Chaffin. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xxiv, 282 pp. Preface, chronology, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

This is a slightly expanded revision of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "Buffalo Hunt: Narciso López and the Clandestine U.S. War Against Cuba, 1848-1851" (Emory University, 1995). It describes the four Cuban filibuster expeditions organized by General Narciso López in the U.S. and opposed by the American government. The book contains a six-page chronology, a filibuster historiography from an American perspective, and good illustrations, although it includes only one map. The rush to publish, to compete

in a glutted academic job market, leaves this work ingloriously and fatally flawed. Using mostly secondary sources, Chaffin cites only six American and two Cuban manuscripts. Among the collections overlooked are the U.S. Department of State Miscellaneous Letters; the Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Havana; and the Secretary of the Navy Commanders' Letters, Squadron Letters and Miscellaneous Letters, containing hundreds of documents regarding the López expeditions. The author also neglected the Spanish archives in Madrid and Seville and the pro-filibuster newspapers *La Verdad* and *Cincinnati Nonpareil*.

A general omission of Cuban historiography seriously handicaps Chaffin's account. He tries window-dressing this problem with a smattering of Cuban sources, mostly cited in other works in English, but is hampered by his Spanish-language incomprehension. This is obvious when a Spanish sentinel is quoted as saying, "¡Halta! qui vive!" As a result, the author has been unable to digest Herminio Portell Vilá's seminal three-volume, 1,600-page biography, *Narciso López y su época* (1930-1958), Chaffin categorizes López as an annexationist while ignoring that he also fought for Puerto Rican independence and plotted with former military subordinates in Cuba to stage garrison revolts coinciding with his landing. The author bases his annexationist argument on one filibuster proclamation written in English, a language that Lopez did not understand. Chaffin does not analyze the three López proclamations in Spanish addressed to the Creoles, the Spanish citizens, and the soldiers, which do not mention annexation and promise independence. The book also fails to discern that slavery was a divisive issue in Cuban society, and that prominent filibusters Joaquín de Agüero, Gaspar Betancourt, Domingo de Goicouria, Plutarco González and Cirilo Villaverde, were abolitionists.

Important López expeditionary accounts receive scant coverage, while included are lengthy digressions into the histories of American cities and political parties, the penny press, Franciscan missions in California, and American personalities. In contrast, there are only two brief biographical sketches of Cuban filibusters, and the roles of Pedro de Agüero, Arnao, Arrieta, Chassagne, Echeverría, Gener, Goicouria, Plutarco González, Gotay, the Guiteras brothers, José M. Hernández, Lainé, Mendive, Rosis, Valiente, and others are omitted altogether. The American filibuster leaders neglected include the Gardiner brothers, William H. Bell, Lewis

Carr, Walter Biscoe, Samuel Koockogey, Peter Smith and Henry Theodore Titus, the organizer of the Jacksonville Battalion, who later fought in Bleeding Kansas and Nicaragua.

The author misspells seven names and scrambles others. Miguel Teurbe-Tolón, who designed the Cuban flag and coat-of-arms, appears as José Teurbe-Tolón and as Miguel Tolón. Lieutenant Colonel John T. Pickett is also identified as William S. Pickett, and Venezuelan Ildefonso Oberto-Urdaneta is mentioned as the Cuban Urdaneta Oberto. The Mobile U.S. Attorney is called both Peter and Paul Hamilton. Some notes are inaccurate, and in one, General William Worth, "in fact," died in May 1848 (p. 229), but three months later he is with Ambrosio Gonzales (p. 45). López confers with Jefferson Davis in July 1848, although they did not meet until the following year.

The account of the 1849 Round Island expedition, which resulted in a nearly three-month U.S. naval blockade, is compressed into two pages. Chaffin elides that the governor of Mississippi denounced it as a violation of states' rights, bringing that issue for the first time into U.S. foreign policy. The description of the capture of Cárdenas, drawn mostly from two contemporary American sources, is limited to six pages. In contrast, Portell Vilá dedicated ninety-five pages to it. Chaffin relies on an erroneous oral source to say that "North Americans," and not the Count of Villanueva, founded Cárdenas. The city grid was laid out not by Yankees, but by Andrés José de la Portilla. Only two contemporary publications are cited to briefly describe the three 1851 filibuster trials in New Orleans for violation of the Neutrality Law. There is no mention of the other filibuster federal court proceedings in Key West, Jacksonville, and New York. As a result, the López filibuster epic still needs revision from a wider perspective of bilingual primary sources.

Jacksonville University

ANTONIO RAFAEL DE LA COVA

From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959-1995. By Felix Masud-Piloto. (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield, 1996. xxii, 168 pp. Foreword, preface, about the cover, acknowledgments, introduction, tables, bibliography, index. \$50.50 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Since its emergence as a city one hundred years ago, Miami has been an alluring destination for persons wishing to start anew.

Modern Miami's first rush of settlers were "refugees" from two severe freezes that struck Florida in 1894-1895. Others who followed included black Bahamians lured by work in the area's agricultural fields or at its inns and hotels. Among later arrivals were refugees from the frigid North who came in quest of milder climes, fortune seekers in search of quick riches amid the great real estate boom of the 1920s and soldiers who acquired sand in their shoes while training in Miami during World War II and returned to that sub-tropical city following the conflict.

A more traditional immigration model appeared with the sudden influx of sizable numbers of Cubans in the aftermath of Fidel Castro's takeover of Cuba in 1959. They came to Miami because it was the nearest American city of consequence to Cuba and for the fact that many thousands of Spanish-speaking persons were already living there (as early as the 1930s Cubans and other Hispanics had sought out Miami as a haven in the wake of revolutions that rocked their homelands). Yet these entrants were actually "refugees" or "exiles" rather than immigrants, since they were fleeing political oppression, fully expecting to return to their island nation once Castro was overthrown.

Ironically, this Cuban migration, at first viewed as only temporary, is nearing the end of its fourth decade. In the process, it has transformed and redefined Miami like no other major American city. It has delivered more than 700,000 Cuban refugees to Miami and Dade County, which have emerged, respectively, as an international trade center and a gateway to the Americas, as well as a destination for hundreds of thousands of refugees and immigrants from other parts of the Caribbean and Latin America. Consequently, Dade County, whose population exceeded two million by the 1990s was more than fifty-three percent Hispanic; Miami, its troubled flagship city, counted, in the same era, almost 370,000 residents, seventy percent of whom were Hispanic.

Despite its polemical title, *From Welcomed Exile to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959-1995* represents a careful examination of the complex issues, policies, and activities surrounding the migration of Cuban and, to a lesser degree, Haitian and Central American refugees to Miami and other U.S. cities.

In the early phases of this work, Masud-Piloto brings historical perspective to his study before examining the reactions and policies of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations to the large influx of refugees from the hemisphere's first Marxist regime. Dur-

ing the late 1950s and 1960s when the cold war was at its peak, the United States extended an enthusiastic welcome to these exiles in hopes of destabilizing the Castro government by draining it of its top professionals and discrediting the socialist underpinnings of his regime, while trumpeting this country's political and economic system as the basis for the stunning success of a large number of Cuban-Americans.

During this period, the United States implemented a program that called for direct federal assistance to Cuban refugees. Another critical step came with the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, an unprecedented immigration measure which welcomed virtually all Cubans fleeing their homeland and made them eligible for permanent legal residence in the U.S. after just one year.

The author observes the vicissitudes in refugee activity created by the wily, mercurial, "proactive" Castro, arguing that, throughout this era, the U.S. "continued treating Cuban immigration on a crisis-to-crisis basis— as part of a political strategy designed to overthrow his revolution, instead of a rational and humane immigration policy." Historian Masud-Piloto explains how Castro, in 1965, caught the United States off guard by announcing that most unhappy Cubans could leave the island. To avoid a massive, unruly influx of refugees, the U.S. sponsored the "Freedom Flights," a program which delivered more than 260,000 Cubans to the U.S. between 1965 and 1973. The Mariel Boatlift in 1980 represent another instance in which Castro surprised the U.S. and the Carter administration, which ultimately opened the floodgates to more than 125,000 refugees, nearly all of whom settled in the Miami area.

By the mid-1990s the end of the cold war; the rise of anti-immigrant feeling; a growing crescendo of protest over the double standard applied by the U.S. with regard to its treatment of other Caribbean and Central American refugees *vis a vis* Cubans; and a strong determination to end the vast, chaotic, and dangerous voyages of thousands of Cubans by rafts and other small vessels to this country combined to force the Clinton administration to end the venerable policy of accepting all who came to the United States from that troubled island. In 1994, the U.S. and Cuba agreed to a migration pact that requires the former to issue at least 20,000 visas annually to Cubans, and calls for the return to Cuba all those who arrived illegally. Thus, in a dramatic reversal of long-standing policy, the U.S. had begun, for the first time, to place restrictions on a vast migration that in thirty-five years had drained Cuba of ten per-

cent of its population and had, in the process, radically transformed Miami into a new Ellis Island and an international city.

Well documented and easy to read, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants* offers an important examination of U.S. policy toward Caribbean and Central American refugees, and the massive changes that these newcomers have brought to their adopted homes.

Miami-Dade Community College

PAUL S. GEORGE

A Century of Cuban Writers in Florida. Edited by Carolina Hospital and Jorge Cantera. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, Inc., 1996. xvi, 240 pp. Table of contents, acknowledgments, about the editors. \$14.95 paper.)

As the title indicates, this book is a compilation of works written by Cubans who at one point in their lives spent some time in the state of Florida. Some resided here only temporarily, depending on the political unrest of a given time. Others, like Felix Varela and Juana Borrero, never returned to Cuba. In fact, it has been the island's political situation that has determined the flow of Cubans to the state.

The editors have included a preliminary essay in which they analyze the historical ties between Cuba and Florida. The relationship did not develop overnight; the ties between these two neighboring lands go back several centuries. Florida has long been considered a safe haven for Cubans, and in some cases the place where political organizations and expeditions to the island have been conceived and carried out. The editors emphasize the contributions made by Cubans in cities such as Tampa, Ocala, Miami, St. Augustine and Key West. They also point out the lack of references to this ethnic group in books about Florida, significant considering that during the last century Cubans have constituted a large percentage of the total population of these cities. The cigar-manufacturing industry, for example, flourished due to Cuban labor and expertise. It is also notable that during the early colonial period the settlement in St. Augustine depended on a subsidy sent from Cuba to cover its expenses.

In addition to the editors' introduction, which includes a brief bibliography, the text is composed of selected works from thirty-seven Cuban writers. In some cases, their work was not necessarily written or published in Florida; nonetheless, their relation to the

state has marked a distinctive period of their lives. The editors have included a short introduction to the life and most relevant literary work of each contributing author. It should be noted that some of the excerpts included here were originally published in Spanish; however, all have been translated into English. Editor Carolina Hospital explains that "the anthology is in English in order to reach a non-Spanish-speaking audience who may or may not have a Hispanic ancestry" (xvi). The credit for each translation appears at the end of the excerpt. In addition to her own work included here, many of the translations were done by Carolina Hospital.

One the greatest values of this publication is the way in which it heightens the awareness of readers to the presence of accomplished Cuban writers in Florida. Poets, essayists, and story writers encompassing a one-hundred-year period of literary history appear before the reader. Among the many, we have the work of Felix Varela, Jose Marti, Juana Borrero, Martin Morua Delgado, Enrique Labrador Ruiz, Hilda Perera, Lydia Cabrera, Eugenio Florit, Roberto Fernández and Gustavo Pérez-Firmat.

This text is an excellent beginning for a thorough study of the Cuban influence in the state of Florida. I would have liked to have seen the work of some of the writers listed in the introduction (24-25), especially their essays and literary criticism. In addition, it would have been of great value to those interested in the study of both cultures to have the original Spanish versions of the works presented. These suggestions may be the basis for a forthcoming project or for a continuation of this book. The editors have accomplished a remarkable feat and we hope that texts like the one reviewed here will contribute to further studies on the subject matter and to a better understanding of the rich heritage found in the state of Florida.

University of Central Florida

HUMBERTO LÓPEZ CRUZ

The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast. Edited by David G. Anderson and Kenneth E. Sassaman. (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1996. xvi, 528 pp. Preface, figures, tables, references, contributors, index. \$29.95.)

This work will be an important source for those doing archaeology in the Southeast as well as for students seeking to acquire a

broad knowledge of early man in this area. It is a synthesis of research on early human settlement during the Paleoindian and Early Archaic periods from about 11,500 to 8,000 B.C. Based on papers presented at a symposium held at the University of South Carolina in September 1991, this book provides some sense of the rich archaeological record of early man in the Southeast. The papers selected are intended to help guide Paleoindian and Early Archaic research in the Southeast in the years ahead and to influence the way future archaeologists deal with the record of early human settlement. Considerable emphasis is placed on possible settlement, subsistence, and mobility strategies, particularly with regard to the availability of raw material for tools. The papers examine changing technologies and settlement patterns based on rapid climatic and ecological changes and the increased/decreased sedentism accompanying these changes.

The work is divided into three parts: Part I presents current models of settlement, subsistence, and technological organization; Part II is a series of detailed reports on numerous sites in each state, including artifact inventories and descriptions; and Part III presents commentary and suggestions for the direction of future research. Many of the papers include information from private collections as well as the work of archaeologists. The papers are well supported by numerous illustrations, maps, and graphs. Included also is an extensive list of references and a useful index.

Following the discussion of a regional approach to the entire subject are chapters devoted to individual states including South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Arkansas. The contribution on Florida by James S. Dunbar and S. David Webb differs from the other state reports in that it deals solely with artifacts of stone. The authors give detailed descriptions and analyses of these artifacts, all recovered from underwater sites in the Aucilla, Santa Fe, Suwannee, Ichetucknee, Silver, Hillsborough, Wacassassa, and Withlacoochee Rivers and Little Salt Springs. All artifacts were made from the bone of Pleistocene megafauna.

The volume gives considerable emphasis to environmental reconstruction and modeling as well as to regional analysis and data comparison. Conference participants see a need to reanalyze existing collections; conduct large-scale surveys; excavate larger portions of sites; excavate small, more ephemeral sites; and excavate

sites in locations previously disregarded. A good case is made for future regional studies.

The Paleoindian and Early Archaic Southeast will be useful as a handy reference as well as a text for teaching. For many avocational archaeologists it is also interesting recreational reading. It is an excellent source for acquiring a basic knowledge of early man in the Southeast and will be a worthwhile addition to the library of anyone, professional or amateur, interested in Paleoindians in the Southeast.

Gainesville, Florida

MARION S. GILLILAND

Interpreting Early America: Historiographical Essays. By Jack P. Greene. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xiv, 528 pp. Preface, index. \$75.00 cloth, \$28.50 paper.)

A collection of twenty-three essays produced over Jack P. Greene's remarkable forty-year career as a teacher and scholar, this book assembles in one volume his most important contributions to early American historiography. Greene's interest in this genre both resulted from and paralleled developments in the field. "As the number of historians and the volume of historical work grew, historians became far more attentive to the methodological and philosophical problems inherent in the act of writing history, to the operating assumptions that guided their work, to their varying approaches to the study of the past, and to the differing interpretations they constructed to explain the same events" (ix). These changes "created a demand for critical appraisals of that literature, for the identification of emerging issues, and for the evaluation of conflicting interpretations" (x). Broadly influenced by Frederick B. Tolles, Richard B. Morris, and especially Edmund S. Morgan, Greene focused his early historiographic writings on the American Revolution. Later, as his own scholarly interests changed, and as social and cultural studies moved to the forefront of early American history, Greene's writings evaluated the regional and intellectual frameworks used to describe and analyze the colonial era.

Interpreting Early America is divided into three unequal parts, "Changing Historical Perspectives," "Colonial British America," and "The American Revolution." The three chapters in Part One trace the dramatic expansion of subjects examined by early Ameri-

canists and evaluate the impact, limitations, and potential of increasing historical inclusiveness. In "Beyond Power: Paradigm Subversion and Reformulation and the Re-Creation of the Early Modern Atlantic World," the only essay in this volume not published previously, Greene describes a "paradigm of power" in history which privileges the study of nation-states, politics, dominant groups, and individual achievements, over all other subjects. Several developments have challenged this paradigm-expansion of the social sciences, investigation of non-political forms of history, growth of non-Western studies in American universities, and recognition of African-American history sparked by the civil rights movement-with varying degrees of success. Yet Greene argues that "[a]llthough we have succeeded in getting away from the idea that history is past politics, we have not been able to divest ourselves of the teleological notion that history has to or should be organized along national lines, that colonial diasporas and encounters are prenatal history." While multiculturalists, footsoldiers in the assault on the power paradigm, have "taken us far away from the idea that history is the study of dominant social groups," their work "has actually contributed to reinforce the national state paradigm." With their present orientation, Greene believes they "are unlikely to complete the project of subverting and reformulating the paradigm of power" (40-41).

The chapters in Part Two include a 1970 interview of Greene by John A. Garraty and twelve review articles on specific books or subjects in colonial studies. Reprinted in the chronological order in which they were written, these essays allow the reader to view the evolution of early American history topically, methodologically, and analytically over thirty-five years. A reflection of scholarship generally, the geographic regions of British America receive detailed, yet unbalanced, attention. Most striking is the sheer volume of work produced and the pace with which interpretations and subsequent revisions appear.

The seven chapters in Part Three, organized chronologically as written, are also review articles or surveys of the literature addressing aspects of the American Revolution. Each provides an excellent introduction to the numerous perspectives and changing interpretations available on this vast subject—Whig, imperial, progressive, neo-Whig, ideological, and social. Although Greene "eliminated or shortened in later chapters substantial passages that had been repeated from earlier essays," the articles in the third section remain

unnecessarily redundant (xiii). The addition of an afterword addressing the art of historiography or speculating on promising new research directions would have enhanced his book enormously.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Greene's ability to summarize concisely and synthesize coherently countless monographs and articles is extraordinary. The effort required to produce these historiographic essays is equally apparent. *Interpreting Early America* demonstrates that Greene has succeeded in following the advice of his graduate mentor William Baskerville Hamilton: "be productive, work on large problems, and always address the widest possible professional audience" (xiv).

College of William and Mary

MEAGHAN N. DUFF

The Making of Sacagawea: A Euro-American Legend. By Donna J. Kessler. (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1996. xii, 259 pp. Illustrations, preface, introduction, notes, works cited, index, about the author. \$29.95 hardcover.)

In her book, *The Making of Sacagawea: A Euro-American Legend*, Donna J. Kessler explores the enduring popularity in American culture of Sacagawea, the Shoshone woman who served as guide and interpreter for the Lewis and Clark expedition. Avoiding questions about the correct spelling of Sacagawea's name or the precise historical details of the Shoshone woman's life, Kessler uses novels, sculpture, movies, and popular cultural artifacts to examine the role that the story of Sacagawea has played in Euro-American myths of the frontier.

Kessler opens with a summary of frontier literature and suggests that American frontier myths have remained relatively stable for almost two hundred years. These frontier myths, according to Kessler, incorporated a belief in manifest destiny, Euro-American primacy, and the savagery of native America. Kessler argues that Sacagawea's popularity with white audiences has stemmed from her usefulness in supporting their understanding of the frontier.

Kessler begins by describing the attitudes of Captains Lewis and Clark toward Sacagawea and determines that Sacagawea was not immediately recognized as the heroine of the expedition either by its participants or by the American public. Not until the Progressive era, according to Kessler, was Sacagawea elevated to the

position of "Indian Princess," claimed as a heroine by both suffragists and apologists for westward expansion, and celebrated for her cooperation and "helpfulness." Popular texts in the 1940s and 1950s reinforced the Progressive era portrait but added an unrequited romance between Sacagawea and Clark as a tool for reinforcing the taboo against miscegenation. Kessler argues that the 1970s signaled the first serious challenge to the ideology of frontier myths and consequently to portraits of Sacagawea as a Europeanized Native American. In the last chapter Kessler reveals that she intends her book as a plea for multiculturalism and the creation of a new mythic narrative that includes the voices of all the inhabitants of the continent.

Kessler does a good job of illustrating the connections between popular representations of Sacagawea and Euro-American frontier myths. She could have strengthened her argument, however, if she had taken greater care to locate the frontier myth historically and to acknowledge more fully that it was neither culturally hegemonic nor always clearly identifiable. Instead, she understates the importance of historical change, emphasizing the persistence of the "essential core" elements of the frontier myth (II), and then endows the myth with extraordinary cultural power (17). As a consequence, she treats most of her texts as evidence of the continuing power of a monovocal and relatively stable frontier myth and downplays any evidence of cultural dissent. She does not address, for instance, Mary Jemison's captivity narrative that clearly challenges the idea of native savagery. Moreover, Kessler's decision to treat the frontier myth as a monolith prompts her to see female stories of Sacagawea as extensions of male stories about manifest destiny rather than as challenges to the mythic narrative with its vision of men conquering a female continent. Had Kessler taken the same view of the frontier myth that she took of the Sacagawea story— as something contested, malleable, and ever-changing— she might have been able to offer a more complete explanation for the changing nature of the Euro-American celebration of Sacagawea.

Unquestionably, Kessler raises important questions about the relationship of Euro-American ideology to Euro-American perceptions of marginalized people. In particular, this book provides an excellent starting point for historians who plan to explore cultural representations of Native Americans. Kessler illustrates especially well the intersection of concerns about race/ethnicity and gender in her analysis of the double "otherness" of native women. Most im-

portant, Kessler offers a much-needed challenge when she asks us to re-invent ourselves as a nation by re-writing our mythic narratives.

Middle Tennessee State University

SUSAN E. MYERS-SHIRK

Louisa S. McCord: Poems, Drama, Biography, Letters. Edited by Richard C. Lounsbury. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xii, 487 pp. Preface, abbreviations, chronology, note on the texts, genealogical tables, afterword, bibliography, index. \$37.50 cloth.)

Richard C. Lounsbury has provided scholars of women's history, southern history and political theory with the second volume of the writings of nineteenth-century South Carolina conservative intellectual Louisa S. McCord. The first volume, *Louisa S. McCord: Political and Social Essays*, reviewed here last year, is a compilation of her political works drawn from numerous newspapers and pamphlets. The second volume, *Louisa S. McCord: Poems, Drama, Biography, Letters*, is a collection of her literary efforts including *My Dreams* and other poetry; a play, *Caius Gracchus*; some short biographies; an account of William T. Sherman's activities in Columbia; and personal correspondence from before and after the Civil War, including a few letters to Mary Boykin Chestnut. This excellent edition, then, will appeal to students of southern literature and drama in addition to historians. Richard C. Lounsbury, an associate professor of classics and comparative literature at Brigham Young University, has done a remarkable job of collecting, editing and presenting the entire corpus of McCord's writings— the political, the literary and the private— in the two volumes.

In the dedication of her 1848 poem *My Dreams*, Louisa McCord expressed hope that her literary talents would bring success:

Oft in my bosom the self-flattering thought
Has roused itself— "I, too, may be a poet."

Certainly, it was from her poetry published in the *Southern Literary Gazette* and her play that the public came to know and appreciate her writing. Contemporaries knew her from these works primarily, not from her political treatises. McCord lived and wrote in the South as a woman, a member of the elite planter class who ardently defended the system. Her most productive years of literary effort

were the late 1840s through the mid-1850s, a time of economic boom for planters and a period of increasing sectional tensions over the issue of slavery. That she wrote while also running a plantation, keeping abreast of the political scene, and maintaining communication with other Southern intellectuals is a testament to her energy her dedication to the art and craft of writing and the confidence she felt. In this context she wrote for her South, for the public and for herself. In the process she became a respected thinker and writer.

Through her personal correspondence with family and friends, one glimpses the vibrant, tough personality of Louisa McCord as she conducted the daily business of a plantation mistress. The ordeal of the Civil War never left her and, like others of her class, she was unable to fully deal with the South emerging after defeat. In her account of Sherman's occupation of Columbia and of her own home, where General Oliver Otis Howard maintained quarters, McCord corrected the record about that period. Union forces did indeed sack the city, she claimed, citing General Howard's presence at her home "when it was actually under pillage of a very thorough kind" (242). Fires, too, were set. She witnessed a handful of burning cotton that was thrown into her house while the general was there. McCord did not intend that the harsh realities of the occupation of her town or her South be forgotten. With the second fine volume, Lounsbury has helped make McCord's hopes a reality for late-twentieth-century readers who will come to know and value her literary skills and her intellectual acumen.

Jacksonville State University

SUZANNE MARSHALL

A Refuge for All Ages: Immigration in Louisiana History. Edited by Carl A. Brasseaux. Volume X of *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History*. (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1996. x, 716 pp. About the editor, about the series, introduction, index. \$40.00 hardcover.)

The volume reviewed here is one of a series of nineteen books planned by the Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana. Each will cover a different topic and they will appear between now and 2003, in commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase.

This collection of essays is an ambitious effort to cover three hundred years of Louisiana history a substantial topic. While a specialist in one era of borderlands history may cavil at the short treatment of their particular specialty, the work for the most part succeeds at its goal: a balanced survey of those who came and stayed. The work will be standard reading for students of Louisiana for many years.

The introduction is well done. Its ten pages amount to a terse, but comprehensive, primer on Louisiana history. In the essays chosen for inclusion, Dr. Brasseaux has managed to blend traditional and "new" social history. He states that his objective is to assemble papers that are fairly recent and still relevant. He largely accomplishes that end. Some articles included seem at first glance to be dated, but in retrospect they stand the test of time. One notable example of this is "Spain's Immigration Policy" by Gilbert Din. It was first published in 1975, yet is still fresh, informative, and to the point in fourteen pages including extensive notes.

Only one essay of the forty-nine in the volume strays widely from the focus of Louisiana. "Death and Revolt," an account of the slave trade to French Louisiana, is too lengthy at thirty-one pages, and meanders away from its main focus for pages at a time. Better editing of the excerpted article could have accomplished its goal in half the length taken and would have fit nicely into the average length in the work.

Some of the essays overlap in content. For example, the five pieces on Acadian immigration cover much the same ground. This is the only area of perhaps unnecessary repetition and no period of Louisiana history seems to have been ignored.

Of particular interest are two articles on the large number of Vietnamese who came to Louisiana. Given the contemporary problem of integrating large numbers of Southeast Asians into southern port cities, the essay by Carl Bankston is of interest and meaning to those concerned with civic affairs.

No historian who studies the Deep South should ignore this volume. It has informative references of interest to the reviewer in both the sections on French immigration from 1699 to 1715, and the Spanish period from 1763 to 1803. This work is a must for the libraries of all schools serious about southern history.

Panama City, Fla.

ETHAN GRANT

Admiral David Dixon Porter: The Civil War Years. By Chester G. Hearn. (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute Press, 1996. xx, 376 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. \$35.00 hardcover.)

David Dixon Porter, the U.S. Navy's second admiral after David G. Farragut, was from a famous naval family— his father was Commodore David Porter, a disaffected hero of the War of 1812; Commodore William “Dirty Bill” Porter was his brother; and Admiral Farragut was a foster brother. Born in Pennsylvania, Porter began his career as a midshipman in the Mexican navy and was captured by the Spanish and imprisoned for six months in Havana. He then joined the U.S. Navy and served in the Mediterranean, off the coast of Brazil, and in the Coast Survey. His penchant for action was demonstrated by leading a successful landing party at Tabasco in the Mexican War. For several years in the 1850s he was a civilian steamship captain, but returned to the navy in 1855.

When the Civil War began, Porter audaciously penned his own orders, posting himself to Pensacola, then secretly placed the document among a stack of papers signed by President Lincoln. He served on blockade duty in the Gulf, and later cruised off the coast of South America in an unsuccessful attempt to capture the CSS *Sumter*. The future admiral played a prominent role in the capture of New Orleans as commander of the mortar flotilla, then served as commander of the Mississippi Squadron while participating in the capture of Vicksburg and the Red River expedition, all of which were joint army-navy efforts. The same is true of Porter's final war effort, in which he took command of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron during the bombardment and successful landing that resulted in the capture of Fort Fisher. This closed the Confederacy's last operating port. After the war Porter was superintendent of the Naval Academy, served as adviser to the secretary of the navy, and was in charge of the Board of Inspection. In 1870, he became the navy's highest ranking officer.

Porter was favored in Washington because the assistant secretary of the navy was a personal friend, because of Porter's itch to fight, and because of his expertise in shifting blame to the army when things went wrong. He disliked political generals such as Butler and Banks, but made friends with winning professionals such as Grant and Sherman. At times, however, his many letters and poor politics combined to force Porter to extricate himself from diffi-

culty. Porter's personal characteristics included rash behavior, some paranoia, much ambition and courage, and a taste for intrigue. (Hearn suggests Porter sent into Vicksburg by kite the note signed by "many soldiers" calling on Confederate General Pemberton to surrender.)

Hearn, a retired businessman with a strong interest in Civil War naval history, has scholastic capabilities approaching that of the professional historian. The research for this work is solid and the narrative is interesting. Hearn's strengths are his detailed documentation of interpersonal relationships and strong descriptions of historical figures. However, his detail is at times distracting as he writes around the main point. In the first paragraph, for example, the reader is left unsure where Porter was born. Hearn also duplicates considerable material from his former book on the battle of New Orleans. Some of the chapter titles are non-descriptive, such as "A Huge Puff of Smoke" (266)—a reference to the powder ship that was exploded in an effort to destroy Fort Fisher and capture Wilmington, North Carolina, a failed scheme Porter thought would succeed. Unfortunately, Hearn fails to address Porter's alleged role in the "accidental" sinking of the CSS *Florida* while in Union hands at Hampton Roads after the ship's illegal capture in Brazil.

Porter is not as renowned as "damn the torpedoes" Farragut, yet Porter's place in U.S. naval history is significantly advanced by Hearn. This is not the first biography of Porter, but it is a major biography of a complex character.

Darton College

ROYCE SHINGLETON

One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866-1928. By Matthew J. Mancini. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996. xi, 296 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, tables, figures, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.)

Too few studies have placed the horrid convict leasing system in a larger political, social, and economic context. Many state studies of this particular labor practice primarily focus on "how" it got started, but only superficially explain "why" the system started and "why" it was eventually abandoned in the South during the late 1920s.

In this well-researched, clearly written study, Matthew J. Mancini places the convict leasing system in a larger context by analyzing the diverse histories of this labor practice in Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas and Virginia. The author focuses on a definition of convict leasing, why this system developed during the late 1860s in the South, and why it ended during the 1920s. By examining leasing practices from a state-by-state and regional perspective, Mancini's monograph describes the individuals who leased convicts, the daily routine of prisoners, the racial implications of leasing, and the commonalities of this system of servitude throughout the South.

This reliable, exploitative labor system basically started in the South as a replacement for slavery, as a means of controlling the perceived rise in crime by blacks, as a response to the demands for cheap labor by southern and northern industrialists and planters, as a response to the lack of prisons or prison space in some states, and as a means of raising revenue for the various states. Mancini argues that convict leasing was worse than slavery. With slaves, the owner had an investment to protect: if a slave died because of cruelty, the slaveholder lost a very valuable investment. Convicts, on the other hand, were seen as a form of cheap, replaceable labor. As one southern lessee stated, "Before the War, we owned the negroes. If a man had a good negro, he could afford to keep him. . . . But these convicts, we don't own 'em, one dies get another" (2-3). This was, indeed, the essence of the convict lease system throughout the South.

The convict lease system in most states shared several common denominators: the majority of convicts were blacks, they were brutally treated, they were used as pawns by politicians, and very few reform efforts were effective in terminating this ghastly system of exploitation. Florida's frontier nature made convict leasing particularly violent.

Interestingly, Mancini departs from the traditional view that convict leasing ended because of a humanitarian movement that swept the South during the 1920s. The author convincingly argues that it died a slow death due to several factors: some politicians sought to end this labor system as a way of retaliating against certain lessees; states took convicts from private lessees and used them on state farms or for other state improvement projects; and because it stopped being profitable when the cost of maintaining a convict reached that of a free laborer.

The author clearly establishes the scope of the monograph and states that it is not an exhaustive study of convict leasing. He is right in this regard. For instance, a general study that analyzes convict leasing in Missouri, Kentucky, Oregon, and California yet needs to be written.

Although Mancini sheds some light on the convict (who was usually black), he focuses primarily on state officials and others involved in the leasing of prisoners. We know little about the convicts themselves, especially the majority who were black. The system was brutal, to say the least, yet we do not know what black convicts thought, whether all their experiences were the same, or how they acted under various conditions of this form of servitude. By way of example, Tunis G. Campbell, a black leader and politician in Georgia's predominantly black coastal counties, was convicted on trumped-up charges and spent one year as a convict. He insisted that all blacks in the South, regardless of status or wealth, were subject to arrest and conviction on the most insignificant charges and could be leased out as cheap labor. Fortunately, he talked about his year-long experience under this macabre system, offering us much of the little insight that we have.

None of these concerns, however, hinders the importance of Mancini's study. This work should be of great interest to students of race relations, black history, southern history, and the history of penal institutions.

Florida A & M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

Varieties of Southern History: New Essays on a Region and Its People. Edited by Bruce Clayton and John Salmond. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996. xiv, 216 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliographic essay, index, about the editors and authors. \$55.00 cloth.)

Varieties of Southern History is a sequel to *The South is Another Land*, which appeared nearly a decade ago. While the earlier volume focuses on the twentieth-century South, the current collection of eleven essays spans colonial to post-World War II southern history. Although the various authors hardly examine the region's history from a common perspective, the volume as a whole resonates with a powerful chord composed of a singularity of purpose and a

passion not always found in today's historical writing. Each essay springs from a desire to examine the deeper textures of a region known for its hidden agonies and its deep wounds, as well as its ability to limit close self-examination. Thus, the "new" in the subtitle runs much deeper than chronology. These essays, from established and young scholars, reflect new methodological approaches to exploring and, perhaps, to better understanding the South. Time will offer one test of the new tacks reflected here, but regardless of the long-term impact of what is written here, these scholars are excited about their work. That in itself is refreshing. Enthusiasm is no substitute for scholarship, of course, but fortunately there is much substance contained in the volume as well.

Prompted by what Rhys Isaac calls in the opening essay a desire "to register the presence of the dark and unspeakable in the world," the volume as a whole is, at the very least, engaging and provocative. But even more than simply registering the presence of those ugly aspects of the southern experience, the authors want to drag the ugliness into the light where it can be understood and confronted. Certainly others have done this before, and their work is apparent here. Wilbur Cash, for example, who from his own perspective moved beyond the obvious aspects of southern existence as he explored the southern experience, is quoted in several of the essays. Still, much remains to be done along these lines, as these scholars make clear.

This collection of essays will appeal to a broad audience, from ethnographers to political historians. The volume is divided into three sections: "The Social Sciences and Southern History," "Southern History through Life History," and "Labor in the New South." The first includes essays which explore the master-slave relationship, slave resistance, and lynching. The second section contains explorations of creolization, Reconstruction, and southern modernization. The final two essays that comprise the book's last division explore textile strikes and unionization. And so, those people, relationships, and events so obvious in the region's history—slaves, scalawags, lynching parties, textile workers, women—that are sometimes little known because they are commonplace, are the focus of the collection. These authors, then, are asking new questions in an attempt to fill historiographical gaps in southern history.

It is impossible in this overview to examine the thrust of specific essays without slighting others. In some collections, there are chapters that simply do not deserve to be read, but in the case of

Varieties of Southern History, the authors and editors have maintained a high level of writing and thinking. There are, certainly, points for debate concerning some of the essays, but the volume deserves a careful read. Perhaps it will not be another decade before the editors issue the next call for essays. As *Varieties of Southern History* indicates, southern history is clearly vibrant enough to preclude that much of a wait.

University of West Florida

GEORGE B. ELLENBERG

Huey at 100: Centennial Essays on Huey P. Long. Edited by Glen Jean-sonne. (Ruston, La.: McGinty Publications, 1995. ix, 237 pp. Preface, introduction, about the contributors, appendix, bibliography, index. \$22.95 hardcover.)

Drawn from a conference commemorating the centennial of Huey P. Long's birth, these eleven essays evaluate the life and legacy of Louisiana's most colorful and domineering politician. In little more than a decade, Long fought his way from a seat on the state's railroad commission to become governor, and then later a U.S. senator bent on challenging Franklin Delano Roosevelt's hold on the presidency. Along the way, he delivered public works projects that—with bridges, roads, hospitals, and higher education—allowed the state to move toward a modern twentieth-century economy. The cost for such progressive legislation was prohibitive, however, as Long established dictatorial control over the statehouse and any municipality that got in his way. Through bribery, extortion, and the mere threat of arrest for any refusal to obey his command, the "Kingfish" quickly captured the power and influence to work his way into the national spotlight. Indeed, as Glen Jean-sonne's and Edward Haas's essays remind us, his presidential ambitions remained unchecked until an assassin's bullet struck him down in the halls of the Louisiana Capitol on September 8, 1935.

As with any collection of essays, this volume is at times uneven in its analysis of Long's brief but controversial career. The strongest chapters place the man within a broad historical backdrop that illustrates, for example, the richness of Louisiana's political factions and populist traditions. The weakest dwell upon relatively obscure and, to some extent, unimportant details, such as whether or not Long was mistakenly killed by his own bodyguards.

The more thoughtful essays of *Huey at 100* come to terms not only with the subject of Long himself, but with the historiographi-

cal legacy of two of his most important biographers, T. Harry Williams and Robert Penn Warren. While both men shared a similar distaste for Long's tendency to, in the words of Williams' 1969 Pulitzer Prize-winning work, "look on power as something to be gained for the sheer pleasure of its use," they differed on the implications of the Kingfish's cynical manipulation of mass politics (27). For Williams, Huey Long was a "good mass leader" whose excesses have to be measured against a progressive vision that provided real services to the people who needed them most. Matthew J. Schoot takes issue with such a position and asserts that, regardless of material conditions, Long's amoral power politics were inexcusable. Alan Brinkley argues for a more sophisticated appreciation of Long's place in southern and depression-era politics. Recognizing that Louisiana's electorate was not necessarily duped by, but rather responded rationally to, a man who promised to redress "real social and economic grievances," Brinkley reminds historians to appreciate one of the most important insights of Warren's fictional portrait of Long (30). In a modern world that seems to consistently alienate individuals from civic institutions, the citizenry of a modern democratic republic cannot abdicate its responsibility to acquire the knowledge necessary to cope with complex social problems. Thus the Kingfish's career becomes an effective cautionary tale that suggests that the success of politicians who offer demagoguery as solutions to complex problems is more the fault of the citizenry than their leaders.

As editor, Glen Jeansonne has done an admirable job in imposing thematic coherence upon the disparate material that so often accompanies academic conferences. In addition to Jeansonne's brief biography, the annotated bibliography adds much to a worthy introduction to an important legacy of twentieth-century southern politics.

University of Florida

MICHAEL DAVID TEGEDER

Harry Byrd of Virginia. By Ronald L. Heinemann. (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996. x, 511 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Harry Flood Byrd was a rare creature among American political figures. He held power concurrently at the state and national levels for over thirty years, and controlled politics in Virginia for over four decades. Through "the Organization," Byrd decided

what legislation to support or oppose, controlled the selection of candidates for state office, and left an indelible, but unfortunate, imprint on the Old Dominion's tendency to adhere slavishly to a course of social and economic conservatism. During Byrd's thirty-two years in the U.S. Senate, he fought for essentially the same conservative economic and social policies at the national level. His demands for "responsible" fiscal policies of low taxation and spending became a mantra which he trotted out on almost every conceivable occasion.

Ronald L. Heinemann, an historian at Hampden-Sydney College, provides us with the first full-length study of this influential figure. Heinemann's work is detailed, thorough, and even-handed. He has skillfully utilized a variety of relevant primary and secondary sources.

That said, Byrd's biographer goes beyond careful qualification to exhibit a disturbing tendency to contradict himself. He casts Byrd in the early going as a largely self-made man, but we gradually learn that the newspaper, orchards, and political career that Byrd was running by his early twenties were all, more or less, gifts from his father and uncle. Similarly, Heinemann is critical of Byrd's narrow social conscience as Virginia governor during the 1920s, his inability to see beyond "what was good for the business community, or the Organization, or Harry Byrd" (105). But the author disputes himself by reasoning that the 1920s were known for their political retrenchment and dominance of commerce, and that Byrd could not readily have strayed too far from his followers' conservatism, even if he had tried. Heinemann describes Byrd as having "close, loving relationships" (16) with his children, but later informs the reader that Byrd was blocked from developing close relationships with his children because of his busy political life and "stern non-nonsense attitude" (107). Similar inconsistencies occur when Heinemann attempts to reconcile Byrd's stand on McCarthyism and his hatred for Harry Truman, and when he assesses his role in the Senate.

Overall, what this biography lacks is a feeling for the larger environment in which Byrd lived and moved. Heinemann has no problem keeping the focus on his subject— at times it is too close. Although the dust jacket promises a study that will acknowledge Byrd's significant achievements as well as his substantial flaws, the book is weighted (as Byrd's political career was) heavily toward the latter. His career moves from one depressing stand to another,

most in defense of conservative fiscal policies and retention of the status quo despite any cost in human terms: his opposition to FDR, Frances Perkins, Henry Wallace, Aubrey Williams, the Bankhead Cotton Act, the WPA, CCC, NLRA, FLSA, and the "sit-down strike," as well as virtually any other measure to benefit working men and women; his later hatred of Harry Truman and his civil rights initiatives; a disgraceful leading part in the architecture of "massive resistance," as well as his almost dinosaur-like resistance to Medicare, the Voting Rights Act, and other social and economically enlightened programs of the Great Society. Despite careful research on these episodes and a clear retelling of events, Heinemann neglects an important component of the story: a discussion and analysis of Virginia's own enduring affection for conservatism— an affection that both preceded and survived Harry F. Byrd.

The reader cannot help but be impressed by Byrd's genial, gentlemanly personality and his tight control the Byrd Machine— through thorough organization, attention to detail, pragmatism, decisiveness, energy, and leaving nothing to chance. Yet should this propensity at machine organization and political bossism be considered "an achievement?" Ronald Reagan, too, had an agreeable personality, yet his legacy in terms of economic and social policies, like Byrd's, is one more akin to destruction than achievement.

Despite these reservations, Heinemann's work is a solid contribution to the literature of twentieth-century Virginia and southern politics.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

GLENN FELDMAN

Socializing Security: Progressive-Era Economists and the Origins of American Social Policy. By David A. Moss. (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1996. 264 pp. Introduction, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$39.95 hardcover.)

David Moss, an assistant professor at Harvard Business School, has published the first book-length study devoted exclusively to the leadership and legislative campaigns of the American Association of Labor Legislation (AALL). During the Progressive Era, the AALL promoted laws for worker safety and security, achieving success in campaigns to reduce occupational diseases and mandate workers' compensation. Although the AALL failed in its early cru-

sades for unemployment and health insurance, its approach to employee security later influenced New Deal labor policies and continues to affect the nation's welfare system. Moss' clearly written account analyzes the goals and assumptions of AALL leaders, surveys the association's successes and failures, and examines its legacies.

Although many prominent businessmen, labor leaders, and politicians joined the AALL, academic economists including Richard Ely, John Commons, Henry Farnam, Henry Seager, and John B. Andrews dominated the organization. AALL economists conceived of themselves as disinterested social scientists who could best advise government in correcting the worst abuses of industrial capitalism. They justified state intervention as the best way to safeguard the nation's labor resources and stifle the appeal of socialism. Building on the American tradition of preferring prevention to relief, the AALL sought to protect workers by forcing employers to pay more of the social costs of accidents, disease, and unemployment.

With the AALL playing an important role, more than forty states and the federal government passed workers' compensation laws in the 1910s. Moss argues persuasively that many businessmen supported the AALL's initiatives because liability laws already made employers potentially responsible for injuries to workers. The AALL also successfully battled to reduce occupational hazards, most notably in securing a 1912 law that used the federal tax power to outlaw the manufacture of phosphorus matches. Before the passage of this innovative measure, workers in match factories risked contracting "phossyjaw," a horribly disfiguring and sometimes-fatal disease. Moss' interesting chapter on the match campaign was published as a separate article in *Business History Review* in 1994.

The AALL failed to enact state laws for unemployment insurance and compulsory health insurance in the Progressive Era. An AALL-backed unemployment bill died in the Massachusetts legislature in 1916, partly due to improved economic conditions spurred by World War I. An AALL plan to provide health insurance for workers through a program financed by employers, employees, and the public came closest to passage in the New York legislature in 1919. Moss concisely identifies the many obstacles faced by the AALL in the health insurance battles, including opposition from insurance carriers, the American Medical Association, and the National Association of Manufacturers. The distrust of meddling academics and fear of creeping socialism also contributed to the

AALL's defeat. Despite these setbacks, Moss argues that AALL leaders influenced New Deal welfare policies, especially by their emphasis on worker security instead of direct relief.

Moss, the author of a 1992 Yale dissertation on the AALL, has investigated a variety of sources, including the microfilmed papers of the AALL, its leaders' published works, and various legislative and court records. Moss' extensive notes reveal his familiarity with the appropriate secondary literature on progressivism, labor law, and social welfare. As Moss admits, the desperately poor, including many black Americans, receive little treatment in his book, reflecting the AALL's focus on the regularly employed. On the other hand, Moss devotes a fascinating chapter to Progressive-Era wage and hours legislation for women workers, analyzing the dilemma faced by AALL leaders caught in the battle between equal-rights and protective-legislation feminists.

Students of Florida history will find little specifically on their state in Moss' account. Florida, after all, did not enact a workers' compensation law until 1935. All those interested in the current debates over national health insurance and welfare reform, however, will find Moss' book relevant.

Jacksonville University

ERIC THOMAS

Race, Poverty, and American Cities. Edited by John Charles Boger and Judith Welch Wegner. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996. xi, 602 pp. Preface, afterword, list of contributors, index of statutes, general index. \$59.95 cloth, \$24.95 paperback.)

Race, Poverty, and American Cities is an edited compilation of essays that examines the social and economic state of urban minorities in the mid-1990s. The conclusions and forecasts of the book's twenty contributors are mixed. While evidence suggests that many people of color have achieved tremendous socioeconomic gains and entered the threshold of the American middle class since the late 1960s numerous minorities are still mired in substandard housing and educational facilities, and limited in their access to meaningful employment, health care, and residential mobility.

The conceptual origins of this book came in the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles riots. The devastating violence and destruction

occurring after the first Rodney King verdict forced politicians, activists, and theorists to acknowledge that different solutions were needed to combat America's post-modern urban crisis. In February 1993, ten months after the Los Angeles rebellion, many noted scholars and policy makers assembled in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, to attend a colloquium sponsored by the University of North Carolina Department of City and Regional Planning, UNC Law School, and the Charles and Shirley F. Weiss Fund for Urban Livability. Many of the essays published in this ambitious book were presented at the Chapel Hill conference, and together present an updated analysis of America's racial, social, economic, and political climate through late 1995.

The volume's editors and contributors used the seminal Kerner Commission Report as a benchmark by which to measure societal progress and decline over the past three decades. When the report was released in March 1968, Kerner commissioners predicted that if white leaders didn't make a conscious effort towards eradicating racial segregation, curtailing housing and employment discrimination, creating a spirit of cooperation between shrinking central cities and expanding suburban hinterlands, and providing a balanced media portrait of minority trials and triumphs, that the United States would continue to be divided into "two societies, one black, one white-separate and unequal. . . ." Unfortunately, nearly thirty years later, as many people of color used affirmative action and federal anti-discrimination legislation as a ticket to escape urban poverty, a rapidly expanding racial underclass still faces many of the same problems described in the Kerner report a generation ago. The difficult plight of distressed city dwellers is further compounded by America's lack of national will to expand programs directed at helping its poorest citizens. The book's contributors also suggest that the combative nature of American politics and society in the 1990s hamper any overtures to reduce the social and economic imbalance between cities and suburbia.

This well-written and researched study also has its share of weaknesses. Due to the book's organizational layout, many essays overlap and constantly repeat major themes. Furthermore, the researchers tend to center their analysis on the urban Northeast and Midwest, and offer only a cursory examination of the metropolitan South and West. The lack of a more substantive probe of minority issues in the Sunbelt is unfortunate, especially considering the economic and population growth that has taken place in the region

since the end of World War II. In addition, the unrest occurring after a white police officer shot and killed an African-American motorist during a traffic stop in St. Petersburg in October 1996 was the fifth major race riot to have taken place in Florida since 1980. The fact that many of the recent urban disturbances have taken place in the Sunbelt suggests that the social and economic problems examined in this volume are even worse than described. Regardless, this book's strengths far outweigh its flaws. Although this study is too dense for most lay readers, research scholars and policy experts will find it a valuable contribution towards understanding the challenges faced by urban minorities as the second millennium draws to a close.

Rutgers University

BRIAN ADKINS

When Dempsey Fought Tunney: Heroes, Hokum, and Storytelling in the Jazz Age. By Bruce J. Evensen. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996. xviii, 214 pp. Introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

Philadelphia Sesquicentennial Stadium, September 23, 1926. In one corner the hard-charging Jack Dempsey, heavyweight champion of the world, peered from beneath his thick brow. In the other corner stood the challenger, Gene Tunney, the scientific boxer. Watching from ringside and beyond were the likes of Charlie Chaplin, Al Jolson, William Randolph Hearst, and 129,997 other spectators. Some 39 million Americans hovered around radios across the country. It was the golden age of boxing; it was also the age of the modern newspaper sports department. Eight hundred correspondents committed two million words to the match. Great fighters were made in the press as well as in the ring.

This— mass-mediated culture and the making of a sports hero— provides the focus for Bruce Evensen's brief monograph. No sports figure could compare to Jack Dempsey. He owed his fame to the rising popularity of boxing and to the country's major daily newspapers. With the help of self-promotion, the Manassa Mauler generated more media attention than even Babe Ruth.

Dempsey had learned the hard way about the newspapers' power to make or break a prize fighter's career. Early on, he quit boxing after his record failed to impress sportswriters. With no na-

tional boxing association in existence, businessmen, promoters, and media popularity determined who got a shot at a title fight. But boxing manager Dot Kearns saw potential in the scrappy fighter, and lured him back into the ring. Expertly skilled in the art of bal-lyhoo, Kearns had a knack for getting Dempsey's name on the sports page.

While playing the media, the savvy manager guided Dempsey through a succession of fights to a 1919 title challenge against heavyweight champion Jess Willard. Three one-sided rounds gave Dempsey the championship. By this time, Kearns and Dempsey had hooked up with Tex Rickard, the king of sports promotion and the man who turned title fights into million-dollar, mass-mediated spectacles, including the 1926 and 1927 Dempsey-Tunney title matches.

Despite the handicaps of an ugly divorce and Dempsey's controversial World War I draft evasion, Kearns and Rickard cultivated a media star. Integral in the manufacture of Dempsey's celebrity was the tall-tale telling of star sportswriters. Throughout the book, Evensen deftly examines the tension between the values of jazz-age journalists and those of veteran editors committed to news integrity.

But this theme alone fails to bring the study to full potential. The book begs for a historical context, and for the big picture of life and sports in the 1920s, that gives perspective to the development of mass communications, the sport of boxing, and the rise of the modern hero/celebrity. Evensen also fails to make a distinction between a hero and a celebrity, leaving one to wonder how the cultural values embodied in Dempsey the public figure differed from those in traditional and even contemporary American heroes. Evensen begins the book describing Dempsey the westerner and Tunney the easterner as symbols of a cultural struggle between the frontier past and the urban present. Unfortunately, he carries his promise of an insightful discussion no further than the introduction.

Nor does he venture into Florida, where in early 1926 a Tampa land boomer staged a Dempsey exhibition bout to promote his real estate development. The Tampa event is a revealing story about the media's role in parlaying Dempsey's mass-mediated celebrity into profit for private enterprise. An examination of the sports celebrity's place in the get-rich-quick milieu of the 1920s would have benefited the book's contextual limitations.

Part of the book's problems stem from Evensen's overdependence on newspapers and biographical materials for his evidence. Granted, the book is about the printed media. But Evensen rarely penetrates newspaper print to analyze the animating forces behind mass-mediated culture.

Incisive analysis has added to the growing sophistication of sport history in recent years, reinforcing its legitimacy as serious scholarship. Within this field, if not for the shortcomings, *When Dempsey Fought Tunney* "coulda' been a contenda'."

University of Alabama at Birmingham

JACK E. DAVIS

Reversing Course: Carter's Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics, and the Failure of Reform. By David Skidmore. (Nashville and London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1996. xxii, 234 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

In *Reversing Course: Carter's Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics, and the Failure of Reform*, David Skidmore declares, "The seventies were a period of aborted change in American foreign policy" (xi). The relative international power of the United States declined. According to Skidmore, declining "hegemons" experience a gap between resources and commitments. A "strategy of adjustment" attempts to narrow the gap, while a "strategy of resistance" defends traditional responsibilities. Jimmy Carter attempted to implement a strategy of adjustment. He failed. In *Reversing Course*, Skidmore analyzes the causes of Carter's failure.

Carter's foreign policy changed between 1977 and 1981. "Conventional wisdom portrays Carter's early policies as either incoherent or confused or intensely moralistic," Skidmore writes. "Policy change, represented by the abandonment of liberal reformism, is most often attributed to international constraints. Neither view is persuasive" (26). He insists, "Carter promised to overcome America's obsession with communism, adopt a skeptical attitude toward the utility of military force, and loosen the country's embrace of Third World dictators" (xi). Moreover, he contends, "International developments in the late seventies conformed more closely to the administration's early assumptions and expectations than to the views of Carter's critics" (55). Nevertheless, Carter moved toward traditional Cold War policies. Skidmore observes, "An initially co-

herent strategy of adjustment gradually gave way to an almost equally coherent strategy of resistance" (51).

Why did Carter's foreign policy move 180 degrees in four years? Skidmore writes, "This study argues that domestic constraints played the most important role in explaining the failure and abandonment of Carter's adjustment strategy. Public skepticism and elite opposition to reform raised the political costs of policy change to intolerable levels, prompting the administration to retreat from its initial liberal internationalist orientation. Each of these constraints can be traced back to the domestic politics of the Cold War era" (xvi). Harry Truman, and the Cold Warriors who succeeded him, sold the Communist menace too well. Even three decades later, the simplicities of containment in a bipolar world view comforted Americans. In the end, Skidmore reasons, "Carter's attempts to bring about adjustment in U.S. foreign policy were stymied by ideological and institutional legacies of the Cold War years" (81).

Ronald Reagan's foreign policy was a "mirror image" of Carter's (151). "While Reagan's vision of an America once again 'standing tall' on the international scene proved popular at home, at least initially," Skidmore asserts, "his administration's foreign policies suffered from a yawning gap between promise and performance" (152). He concludes: "During the seventies and eighties, the U.S. faced the challenge of responding to declining relative power. . . . The challenge, never fully addressed, remains with us" (174).

Skidmore outlines his argument clearly and surveys the pertinent scholarship. His insistence on the validity of Carter's policy of adjustment and the failure of Reagan's policy of resistance will elicit heated rebuttals from defenders of the Gipper. Foreign policy specialists are the most contentious of American scholars. Traditionalists, realists, and revisionists have tussled for decades over the intricacies of Cold War conflict. Skidmore has fired the opening volley on a new battleground. He describes his interpretation as "frankly revisionist" (26). Realists will respond with a cannonade of hairsplitting, blood will boil, and reputations will hang in the balance. Only those committed to the fray will need to buy *Reversing Course*.

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BOOK NOTES

Norton H. Moses, professor of history at Montana State University-Billings, has compiled *Lynching and Vigilantism in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* for Greenwood Press (1997). This 464-page bibliography of one of the darker aspects of American history begins in the 1760s and covers more than 4,200 books, articles, government documents, and unpublished theses and dissertations dealing with the history of vigilante movements, lynchings, and anti-lynching activities. This book also includes fiction, poetry, and films that examine lynching and vigilantism. *Lynching and Vigilantism in the United States* is available in hardcover for \$85.00 from Greenwood at P. O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881-9990.

The University of Tampa Press announces the publication of Rowena Ferrell Brady's *Things Remembered: An Album of African Americans in Tampa*, a work which documents through text and 450 photographs the evolution of one African-American community during the Jim Crow era. Many of the book's photographs were supplied by the author, a native Tampian and retired schoolteacher, thus giving the work its personal quality. Brady's goal, as she states in the book's preface, is "to offer interested persons . . . the immediate world in which my parents, their friends, and relations lived. . . ." (10). In this she succeeds. Through photographs of black-owned businesses, social and civic clubs, housing projects, and places of worship, *Things Remembered* conveys Tampa's vitality and diversity. The book includes an introduction by Canter Brown, Jr., historian in residence at the Tampa Bay History Center. Copies of *Things Remembered* are available for \$39.90 from the University of Tampa Press, 401 West Kennedy Blvd., Tampa, FL 33606. Or call the Press at (813) 253-6266.

The Historical Museum of Southern Florida announces the release of *Miami Bibliography*, created and compiled by Susan Weiss, librarian at Florida International University, and edited by Rebecca Eads. Composed of extensive annotated entries, the bibliography covers a wide range of topics— from the arts to vice— and includes older articles not generally found in databases and other computer indexes. The periodical and book entries cover Miami, Dade

County, and its separate municipalities. *Miami Bibliography* costs \$9.95. For your copy, call the Historical Museum of Southern Florida at (305) 375-1622.

The South Walton Three Arts Alliance has recently made available *The Way We Were: Recollections of South Walton Pioneers*. According to contributor Carol McCrite, "this is not an oral history, but a compilation of the recollections and memories of the people who carved out a life in a wilderness that failed to conquer their human spirit" (x). Readers can learn about individuals as different as "Aunt Bama Love: Midwife and Medicine Woman" and the tender of the Highway 331 draw bridge. The remembrances and essays are accompanied by photographs, drawings, and artistic reproductions of local landmarks. This idiosyncratic book is published by Vitro Press and is available for \$18.50 plus postage and handling from the South Walton Three Arts Alliance, PO Box 2042, Santa Rosa Beach, FL 32459.

Originally published as a pamphlet in 1936, *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers* is socialist activist Howard Kester's eyewitness account of the early years of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union. Now reprinted in paperback by the University of Tennessee Press, this edition will introduce a new generation of readers to a remarkable interracial rural social movement. In accessible prose, Kester renders an impassioned, radical critique of the New Deal, in particular, of "that economic monstrosity and bastard child of a decadent capitalism and a youthful Fascism, the [Agricultural Adjustment Act]" (26). Alex Lichtenstein, assistant professor of history at Florida International University, is largely responsible for this reprint and contributes the book's impressive introduction. *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers* is available from the University of Tennessee Press (1-800-621-2736) in paperback for \$14.50.

Two important works in Florida history are now available for the first time in paperback from the University Press of Florida. Michael Gannon, distinguished service professor of history at the University of Florida, first published *Rebel Bishop: Augustin Verot, Florida's Civil War Prelate* in 1964. This biography of a controversial mid-nineteenth-century Floridian is valuable for its insights on the history of the state, the Catholic Church in the United States, and the Civil War. *Rebel Bishop* was declared "sprightly, well-written, and

scholarly" when reviewed here in 1965. *Swamp Sailors in the Second Seminole War* by George E. Buker, originally published in 1975, describes U.S. naval operations in the Everglades. The exceptional, nonmaritime circumstances of that war required the navy to adopt new strategies, namely riverine warfare. In 1975 a reviewer for this journal pronounced *Swamp Sailors* "required reading for all American military and naval historians." Both *Rebel Bishop* and *Swamp Sailors in the Second Seminole War* are available in paperback from the University Press of Florida for \$19.95 and \$16.95 respectively. For your copy, please call 1-800-226-3822.