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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis. By John H. Hann and Bonnie G. McEwan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xiii, 193 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, color illustrations, appendix, further reading, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

This is the second book in the series *Native Peoples, Cultures and Places of the Southeast United States*, edited by Jerald T. Milanich. The first was Milanich's *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* (1995). The intent of this series is to acquaint the general reading population with information from archaeological and historical sources on American Indian groups in the Southeast and yet be accessible even to grammar school children. It has achieved this goal admirably.

John Hann and Bonnie McEwan present in this work a much-needed overview of the history and culture of Apalachee Province. They have skillfully used the results of some fifty years of archaeological and historical research conducted by themselves and others in a synthesis that, for the first time, gives a picture of Apalachee in its heyday. Their purpose has ostensibly been to give flesh to the bones of the Apalachee past and afford not only individuals with a professional interest but also those who are simply curious about the San Luis site a better understanding of its place and importance in the history and culture of Florida. It goes far beyond this, however, and will serve as a guide for future work of this type in both Florida and other areas of the southeastern Spanish Borderlands.

The volume is set up chronologically so that the history of the area and its people is interwoven with explanations of their culture, beliefs and lifeways supported, where appropriate, with the archaeological record. In addition, a number of extremely talented artists have been employed to take the details derived from research and express them visually. Both tasks have been accomplished remarkably well with the illustrations bringing the text to life.

The book begins with the De Soto expedition and an explanation of Apalachee culture and affiliations at the time, then dis-

cusses contact by the first missionaries in the early seventeenth century, and finally Apalachee's eventual absorption by the mission program. It gives an excellent overview of the Hispanic settlement of the Province and the problems of Apalachee adaptation to Hispanic cultural domination and the resultant conflicts. It correctly indicates that it is the resolution, or rather non-resolution, of these problems that eventually leads to the collapse and annihilation of Apalachee as a viable province in the Spanish Empire. However, as Hann and McEwan point out, this is not the end of the Apalachee people; some survive in Louisiana today.

The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis fills an important niche in the understanding of Florida's past. The disappearance of the obvious traces of this period and the loss of all but the bare memory of it in oral history have made it difficult for the present day resident to visualize or even realize that it was a populous and productive area where two cultures met. The impression of the Province up to now has been of a poverty stricken area where both the native inhabitants and the Spanish newcomers merely subsisted. Hann and McEwan dispell this myth and show the area of Apalachee to be rich, productive, and much more like the Franciscan missions in the West, both in appearance and in terms of cultural interaction between the native population and the Spanish. In addition, their presentation of the role of the Florencia family in Apalachee and its genealogical connections is the most comprehensive treatment to date of a Floridano family of this period. It will provide scholars with a basis for evaluating the impact of this type of social network not only on the first Spanish period in East Florida but also for Pensacola and West Florida, where members of this family relocated and became dominant after the fall of Apalachee.

This volume should be an indispensable part of the library of anyone interested in Florida's first Spanish period. It provides the lay or casual reader with a quick, easily understood, readable, and even entertaining snapshot of that era in Apalachee. For those with a scholarly interest in this period, it provides not only an overview that will allow him or her to quickly place other information about the area in context but also provides new information that is essential to understanding the mission period as well as the general development of the southeastern United States. The only problem the serious reader will find is the absence of any documentation. The series editor mandated this to prevent such details from inter-

fering with the book's wide appeal. Aside from this drawback, Hann and McEwan have succeeded in producing an invaluable adjunct to understanding the way that Florida grew.

Port St. Joe, Florida

RONALD WAYNE CHILDERS

Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924. By Canter Brown Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998. xiii, 253 pp. Introduction, biographical directory, appendix, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index to chapters 1-5, about the author. \$44.95 cloth, \$22.50 paper.)

In several articles, a book, *Ossian Bingley Hart, Florida's Loyalist Reconstruction Governor*, and now a study of black Florida officials, Canter Brown Jr. has significantly advanced our knowledge of post-Civil War Florida. Most Florida historians know that African Americans were important during Reconstruction, that Jonathan Gibbs was secretary of state and superintendent of public instruction, and that Josiah T. Walls was elected to the United States Congress. But Brown clearly shows that while black political power was dramatically reduced when Democrats redeemed the state in 1877, African Americans continued to be elected to the legislature in greater numbers than previously thought. There were four black senators and seventeen representatives in 1879 and three senators and seventeen representatives in 1881. Brown has provided useful biographical sketches of nearly all black legislators who served between 1868 and 1885. More importantly, however, Brown has identified black public officials who served in lesser offices.

Ordinary citizens, black or white, were more likely to come in contact with and be affected by county and city officials such as sheriffs, constables, town marshals, justices of the peace, city councilmen, school board members, and county commissioners, and Brown has identified hundreds of them. Jacksonville had black city clerks, marshals, market clerks, police justices, and other officers. Republicans won Tallahassee in 1872, and African Americans served as clerk, marshal, and city commissioners. Between 1872 and 1890 when the Tallahassee government again became all white, blacks served in every city office except mayor. At least seventeen African Americans held office in Gainesville between 1869

and 1891. In 1874, Gainesville, Pensacola, Cedar Key, and LaVilla boasted African American mayors.

The Democratic takeover of Florida in 1877 foreshadowed the eventual exclusion of blacks from state and county offices (the latter were mostly appointive), but blacks continued to compete for office and political power in towns and cities for several years. They were probably most important in Fernandina and LaVilla. Forty-two black men served in Fernandina between 1869 and 1902, and forty-six held office in LaVilla from 1870 until it was consolidated with Jacksonville in 1887. Blacks' continuing influence in the towns angered white Democrats who had diluted black political power in the legislature and in the counties. In 1881, Democrats attempted to wrest control from Republicans in Pensacola and Fernandina by passing a law dissolving the cities' charters and empowering the governor to appoint city officials. When Governor William D. Bloxham tried to implement the law, Republicans appealed to the state supreme court which, still dominated by Republicans, declared it unconstitutional. When the court became Democratic in 1885, the legislature successfully abolished Pensacola's city government and basically turned it over to the Democratic governor.

Although black Floridians were powerless except in a few places, whites were determined to destroy even that. The 1885 constitutional convention authorized the legislature to initiate a poll tax as a requirement for voting. After blacks, combined with the Knights of Labor, won an election in Jacksonville and made gains in Fernandina and Palatka, the Democratic legislature in 1887 passed more rigid registration procedures and required a ward method of representation in Fernandina and Palatka, which isolated black voters, thereby weakening their influence. In 1889 white Democrats imposed the "eight ballot box system" and the poll tax, and took control of the governments of Jacksonville and Palatka. White Floridians had eliminated blacks as a political threat, and in the process, as Brown said, served "as precursors of Mississippi's heralded constitutional revisions of 1890" (63).

Readers looking for a detailed study of African Americans in post-Civil War Florida, for black contributions on the state level, or the role of Democratic violence, economic coercion, and fraud in the destruction of black political power will be disappointed. That was not Brown's intent. His major contribution is in having painstakingly uncovered information on scores of previously unknown county and city officials, and in proving that many served long after

Democrats regained control of the state. The biographical directory is invaluable to anyone interested in Florida and African American history.

Florida State University

JOE M. RICHARDSON

Black Miami in the Twentieth Century. By Marvin Dunn. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997. xviii, 414 pp. Table of contents, list of figures, list of tables, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Marvin Dunn's *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* represents an important contribution to the historical literature on Miami-Dade County. The author faced a daunting task in preparing this work because of the large number of black communities scattered throughout vast Miami-Dade County, as well as the complexity of issues involved there. While *Black Miami* is primarily a historical study, the final segment of the book is sociological, with contemporary Miami (used here to include all of Miami-Dade County) its focus.

While many nineteenth-century elements of black Miami were unique (such as the commingling of blacks and whites in Coconut Grove well into the 1890s), by the twentieth century it exhibited characteristics common to African American communities throughout the Deep South. Jim Crow strictures confined blacks to segregated enclaves deprived of many basic municipal services; blacks were bedeviled by a dual system of justice heavily weighted against them; and, in recent decades, expressway construction and urban renewal decimated historic Overtown, lying on the northern border of downtown Miami.

A defining difference between black Miami and other black communities in the twentieth century lies in the high percentage of foreign-born blacks from the Bahamas and the Caribbean who call it home. Dade County, while still sparsely populated in 1920, possessed a larger black immigrant population than any other American city except New York. By the year 2010, according to Dunn, Greater Miami's black community will consist of a majority of foreign-born residents.

A community psychologist and a faculty member at Florida International University, Dunn has approached his subject from the

vantage point of a native son since he hails from Miami-Dade County. Dunn's narrative account of black Miami proceeds in chronological fashion. As the story enters the contemporary era, the author devotes separate chapters to the civil rights movement, school desegregation, racial riots and disturbances, the criminal justice system, and immigration.

While Dunn's chapters on early black history are illuminating, those devoted to the recent past are the author's strongest since they play to his strengths. In these chapters, Dunn's topical treatment is thorough, his analysis and interpretation thoughtful, and his prose is often highly descriptive. Dunn has used census data and other statistical studies impressively.

Dunn's study includes many interesting revelations. We learn that Miami was the first city in Florida to remove racial barriers at lunch counters. Dunn also asserts that contrary to conventional wisdom, the "Latinization of South Florida's economy did not hurt blacks the most." On the contrary, he writes, the average income of black families in Dade County in the 1980s was higher than the national average income for African American families. Moreover, two-thirds of the black population is doing well economically and will continue to do so into the next century. The racial riots and disturbances that rocked Miami in 1968 and in numerous additional instances in the 1970s and 1980s "were never about jobs or immigration. They were about injustice, real or perceived, and about police abuse of power."

Dunn's impressive study suffers somewhat from several factual errors. For instance, the hurricane of 1926 did not end the great Florida real estate boom, which had ended a few months before; the home of Dana A. Dorsey, a black millionaire, was not restored, but instead, the structure, in a state of severe disrepair, was razed and rebuilt from the foundation; Senator Joseph McCarthy did not chair the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Marvin Dunn mined a vast array of source material in preparing this work. He has been especially effective in employing information gathered from interviews. The author is to be commended for his comprehensive study of black Miami. It is the hope of this reviewer that other black communities in the South will receive historical treatments of a similar quality.

Historical Museum of Southern Florida

PAUL S. GEORGE

Imagining Miami: Ethnic Politics in a Postmodern World. By Sheila L. Croucher. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997. x, 235 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, references, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$15.00 paper.)

This book explores two major themes. One offers important information for understanding the tri-ethnic tensions between Anglos, Hispanics, and blacks, which has characterized Miami over the last several decades and more. The second attempts to place these events within the context of "postmodernism," and is, perhaps, much less successful.

Fortunately, the greater part of the discussion placing events in Miami within an academic debate about postmodernism and various schools of thought relating to ethnicity and immigration is mostly confined to the first chapter. This will be primarily of interest to specialists in the field and reads much like a dissertation's review of the literature.

The second chapter traces the evolution of ethnic conflict in Miami from early in the twentieth century to the first part of the 1990s in which the description of the city changed from "Magic City" to "Paradise Lost." Croucher suggests that it is a fallacy to divide the city too tightly into a tri-ethnic model. There are, for example, many shades of black in Miami, and earlier Cuban arrivals were often critical of those who came later in the 1980s. The Miami of the early 1990s was different from that of the 1950s in terms of the large percentage of Hispanics, and the riots of the 1980s were followed by the economic uncertainties after Hurricane Andrew in 1992. While the author demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the literature about ethnicity in Miami, the book's new information about the subject is derived primarily from interviews carried out among tri-ethnic leaders in Miami during mid-1992.

The third chapter explores the way in which the themes of a threat of job displacement of existing groups and an "invasion" or "takeover" by immigrants was developed since the early 1960s culminating in the racial riots and Mariel boatlift of 1980. As Croucher observes, "Miami experienced its first major race riot in the summer of 1968, another in 1970, and thirteen arguably less destructive disturbances prior to 1979." By the 1980s the media and civic leaders cited immigration "as a key factor in almost every analysis of the rioting and social tension in Miami." Yet, as she demonstrates, there is virtually no hard economic data to sustain that interpretation and some data that refutes it with respect to job creation.

The development of "The Success of the Cuban Success Story" is the focus of the fourth chapter, which explores Cuban-American ethnicity and the politics of identity. Over three-quarters of a million Cubans entered the United States from the beginning of the revolution in 1959 up through the Mariel exodus in 1980. As the Cubans have developed both economic and political power, it has become clear there is no single, monolithic Cuban bloc. There are, instead, differences about race, income, class and even on policy toward Cuba.

An analysis of the differences between blacks and Cubans is explored in chapter five, which discusses the visit of the South African leader Nelson Mandela to Miami in 1990 and is sub-titled "The Globalization of Ethnicity in an American City." News of Mandela's visit came out in late May. Cuban political leaders in Miami, mindful of Mandela's friendship with Fidel Castro, dating back to the years the former had spent in prison, decided to give the South African a less-than-friendly welcome. The black leadership used this issue to organize a boycott of conventions to the city that lasted three years and cost the area a great deal of money. The boycott issue and its success did, however, serve as a way of increasing black ethnic identity and solidarity.

The final chapter returns to the theoretical analysis of ethnicity "in the Postmodern World." Croucher concludes that "ethnic conflict is a topic of critical and growing relevance, and Miami's is likely to be a bellwether of social relations for other areas around the globe." This may indeed be the case. What has happened in Miami since Croucher concluded her research and writing, and the publication of the book last year, has been a growing number of revelations of corruption especially among Latin and black political leaders as well as the fiscal bankruptcy of the city itself.

The good news seems to be that the culprits appear less able to sustain the claim that they are being singled out for punishment because of ethnicity. In the meantime, it remains to be seen whether Miami can get its act together and restore something of its tarnished image as a "Magic City." Along with its extensive discussion of postmodern theories of ethnicity, this book is a good guide to ethnic relations in Miami during the last half of the twentieth century.

The Pacesetter: The Untold Story of Carl G. Fisher, Creator of the Indy 500, Miami Beach & The Lincoln Highway. By Jerry M. Fisher. (Fort Bragg: Lost Coast Press, 1998. xi, 446 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, table of contents, afterword, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

No one could stake a greater claim for "larger than life" status in the annals of southeast Florida than Carl Graham Fisher. Fisher was a man of enormous accomplishments and notable shortcomings—with the former outpacing the latter by a wide margin. Brash, impulsive, loyal and generous to a fault, Fisher was a cutting-edge entrepreneur attracted to new technologies, trends, and activities, especially those involving speed and spectacle.

Carl Fisher was the most important figure behind the creation of the Indianapolis Speedway and its famed 500 race; the Lincoln Highway, the nation's first coast-to-coast road; the Dixie Highway, an important north-south highway; and, of course, the resort and residential community of Miami Beach. Despite his achievements, Fisher is little known outside of Greater Miami and his native Indianapolis. Jerry Fisher, a devoted cousin of Carl Fisher, has spent ten years preparing *The Pacesetter: The Untold Story of Carl G. Fisher, Creator of the Indy 500, Miami Beach & the Lincoln Highway* to bring his story to a wide audience.

Born at the dawn of the Gilded Age in 1874, Carl Fisher dropped out of school at age twelve to support his divorced mother and two younger brothers. While he was still a teenager, Fisher operated a highly successful bicycle repair shop at the height of the high-wheeled bicycle craze. A few years later, following the appearance of the automobile, Fisher became the owner of one of the first car dealerships in the nation. To promote his business, this super-salesman turned to imaginative, dangerous stunts, such as "flying" over Indianapolis in a Stoddard-Dayton automobile attached to a hot air balloon! In the early 1900s, Fisher and James Allison organized Prest-O-Lite, which produced the major component in automobile headlights. The partners sold the business in 1913 to Union Carbide for nine million dollars.

By then, Fisher had constructed an automobile raceway, partly as a testing ground for upgrading the performances of American automobiles, which lagged far behind their European counterparts. From this effort emerged both the Indianapolis Speedway and the 500 race. Carl's next venture was construction of the hard-

surfaced Lincoln Highway, a multimillion-dollar effort that took one decade to complete. Later, Fisher would begin work on the Dixie Highway, which wound its way from the upper Midwest to the edge of the Florida peninsula.

During that year, Fisher married fifteen-year-old Jane Watts, who was twenty years his junior. Early in their marriage, the Fishers discovered sparkling, subtropical Miami and quickly embraced it as their new home. Soon the restless Fisher was immersed in the gargantuan task of transforming a swampy barrier peninsula lying east of Miami into the posh community of Miami Beach. Jerry Fisher devotes more attention to Carl's activities on Miami Beach than to any other topic since the latter was inextricably tied to it until his death. This topic will be of great interest to most readers because it provides an illuminating exploration of Fisher's huge financial investment, his innovative promotional techniques, the dynamics of the great Florida land boom, the developer's antics during Prohibition, and his efforts to rid Miami Beach of Al Capone, a resident of Palm Island.

The boom went bust in 1926, which also marked the beginning of a sharp decline in the personal and professional fortunes of Carl Fisher. Carl and Jane, a magnetic, effervescent couple in the first decade of their marriage, lost a baby son in 1921, from which their relationship never recovered. In 1926, they divorced; soon after, each remarried. In the meantime, Carl's drinking problem was spinning out of control. Exacerbating his difficulties was Fisher's impulsive plunge into a new development, at Montauk Point on Long Island, a project three times the size of his Miami Beach holdings. The financial drain of Montauk Point, as well as the weakening real estate activity on Miami Beach, would, by the 1930s, deplete Fisher's fortune estimated in the previous decade at twenty-five million dollars.

Even as Fisher's health and financial well-being declined, the weary entrepreneur continued to involve himself in new business ventures but with little success, while also continuing to assist family and friends with his limited resources. Fisher died on Miami Beach primarily from alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver. Fisher was sixty-five years of age, and, at the time, he was living in a modest home dramatically different from the great homes he had erected during his halcyon days.

Jerry Fisher has relied heavily on *Fabulous Hoosier*, a biography of Carl Fisher written by Jane Fisher in 1947, as well as Polly Red-

ford's *Billion Dollar Sandbar*, the first full historical treatment of Miami Beach, published in 1970. The author has also mined the rich Carl Fisher manuscript collection in the research library of the Historical Museum of Southern Florida with its voluminous collection of Fisher correspondence. Jerry Fisher's narrative is engrossing, focused, anecdotal, and fast-paced—just like its subject. Fisher has written candidly of Carl's alcoholism, philandering, and troubling attitude toward Jews. Regarding the last point, Fisher extended open arms to Jews of money and standing but expressed something akin to disdain for those Jews who did not fit into that category.

Although Jerry Fisher stumbles over several minor details treating the early history of Miami, this splendid work will advance significantly the author's goal of bringing Carl Fisher the recognition he so richly deserves. An inscription on a Miami Beach memorial to Carl Fisher observes that "he carved a great city out of a jungle," to which I would add "and much, much more."

Historical Association of Southern Florida

PAUL S. GEORGE

The Complete Colonial Gentleman: Cultural Legitimacy in Plantation America. By Michael J. Rozbicki. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998. xii, 221 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgment, introduction, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Although sometimes overstating its own originality and oversimplifying the arguments of scholarly antagonists, this volume insightfully examines the cult of gentility in eighteenth-century British America's plantation regions. The transatlantic comparisons that shape the analysis add significantly to its value.

According to Rozbicki, earlier students of this cultural phenomenon followed two fundamentally flawed approaches: either the "romantic" misconception that colonial elites fully recreated European genteel culture or the "exceptionalist" argument that misguided efforts to replicate Old World standards prevented the development of a genuinely American culture. In contrast Rozbicki suggests that the quest for gentility reflected the realistic expectation that it would legitimize the authority and prestige of local elites. He further asserts that the criteria for that status were never fixed: they varied over time and space and were determined by whatever groups held sufficient authority to act as arbiters.

Because the traditional English elite were the principal arbiters of status throughout the empire in the late colonial period, they frustrated the quests for gentility of newly wealthy men on both sides of the Atlantic by insisting upon descent from a well-established family as a prerequisite for membership. Daniel Defoe and other spokesmen for the rising British commercial elite and the champions of American planters could urge that greater importance be placed upon personal achievement, but they could not directly challenge the importance of ancestry. Consequently, aspiring men in both groups sought to enhance their lineages through the acquisitions of coats of arms and other means. Both groups also disavowed their own commercial origins and celebrated the established ideal of landed wealth and leisure. And neither group questioned the assumption that an ordered society required a hierarchical structure of authority.

Not only lineage but also provincial status inhibited the aspirations of wealthy planters. From the beginning of colonization, English commentators had depicted the settlers as inferior. They assumed that only persons of low social standing migrated there and that ignorance, alcoholism, moral corruption, excessive materialism, and cruelty shaped American life. Planters responded by celebrating their lives as pastoral rather than backward. Although they portrayed slavery as part of this ideal, in British eyes the institution both reflected and encouraged the materialism and cruelty of American life. Over time English commentators increasingly attacked slavery as not merely vulgar but also inhumane and immoral.

Rozbicki argues that American planters most fully recreated genteel standards in their adoption of patterns of social interaction and material possessions that conformed to established tastes. Although in a New World environment such cultural replications were necessarily incomplete, distance from England removed them from direct metropolitan scrutiny and thus enhanced their power to sustain the cultural self-confidence of local elites and to justify their claims of superiority over the rest of their communities.

For Rozbicki, this achievement decisively shaped the American Revolution. Southern patriot leaders saw themselves as defending the genteel attributes of independence, virtue, and equality within their class against those in Britain who had perverted them. Furthermore, the Revolution permitted the American elite to renounce ancestry as a criterion for gentility. Ironically the ultimate

consequences of these ideas would be far more democratic than their original exponents intended.

Rozbicki's particular strengths are his emphasis upon the constant debate over the standards of gentility and his illuminating comparisons of circumstances in England and British America. Indeed one wishes that his comparative perspective had been wider still. If, as Rozbicki suggests, the genteel ethos was a panEuropean phenomenon, comparisons with other colonial societies might prove revealing. A brief examination, for example, of the prestige portraits of the New Englander John Singleton Copley and the Puerto Rican José Campeche indicates stylistic similarities between the two painters as well as between the groups they depicted.

Perhaps because Rozbicki focuses on the more articulate members of the gentry, in this reviewer's opinion, he overstates both the confidence and the local power of the elite. Virginia planters embraced the competitive display of fashionable forms of leisure and material possessions. Yet they also lamented the threat those expenditures posed to the ideal of independence. More importantly, throughout the South, the gentry faced challenges to their authority, even within the white population. And no one living in these communities could ignore the potential for slave resistance. The cultivation of gentility reflected not so much confidence as insecurity as plantation America entered the age of Revolution.

University of Tampa

ALBERT H. TILLSON JR.

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Vol. 25, March 1, 1788-July 25, 1789 with Supplement, 1774-87. Edited by Paul H. Smith and Ronald M. Gephart. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1998. xxx, 841 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgments, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, index. \$56.00 hardcover.)

The final installment of *Letters of Delegates*, this volume brings to completion, in just twenty-two years, a monumental project of historical editing. Senior editor Paul H. Smith and his associates, Gerald W. Gewalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, Eugene Sheridan, and Ronald M. Gephart, have made available to scholars and students the daily concerns of many of the most active and respected leaders of the American Revolution.

Volume 25 begins on March 1, 1788, with Nathan Dane's report, from Salem, Massachusetts, that the New Hampshire ratification convention had adjourned without taking action. "I fear," Dane wrote, "it will have a bad effect. The public mind has been fluctuating." The *Letters* end on July 23 and 25, 1789, with Charles Thomson, long-time Secretary of Congress, handing over to President Washington the official records of the nation and attempting, in the process, to secure for himself a position in the new government, as an element of continuity and a reward for his long service.

These letters preserve the delegates' realization that the new constitution would force them to get a fresh grip on reality by changing their sense of political time, which was already slowing down, standing still, moving steadily forward, accelerating, or about to go into warp speed depending on the perception and mentality of each individual. New Jersey delegate Jonathan Dayton complained on October 22, 1788 that

the people in their rage for the new constitution seem to act as though the wholebusiness of the union, nay everything besides should give way to, or stand still until its operation, and many of them really think that with a kind of *magical process* it will, at the instant of its commencement, rid us of all our embarrassments and make our circumstances flourishing. . . . *Time* and a variety and succession of political indiscretions have brought upon us the calamities we are experiencing, and nothing but *time* and a series of wise, prudential management and political economy will extricate us from them.

Dayton's analysis confirms Michael Lienesch's finding, in *New Order of the Ages* (1988), that differing conceptions of time in the consciousness of the founders of the republic made their "political persuasions . . . porous and penetrable"—creating lively, even alarming, politics but constraining political conflict within manageable bounds.

The final 231 pages of this volume are a "Supplement" of documents discovered after the volumes in which they would have appeared had already been published. One is Jacob Duche's prayer opening the First Continental Congress on September 7, 1774—previously known only from a suspect nineteenth-century printed version. Another is John Adams's letter of October 1774 to John

Thomas, a minuteman friend, asking for information enabling Adams to refute allegations by "disaffected persons" in Philadelphia that "Massachusetts forces . . . contain . . . old men, boys, and Negroes, more in proportion than the troops of other colonies." Thomas's informative, resourceful reply has been in the Adams papers since Adams received it, but Adams's letter to Thomas surfaced only recently in, of all places, the Richard M. Nixon Papers at Whit-tier College. (How Nixon came to possess it and why he did not share it with Lyman Butterfield are intriguing questions in themselves.) An important document on Native American history is the detailed "Proceedings" of a conference between two members of Congress, five Pennsylvania officials, and six Indian chiefs held in the German church in Easton, Pennsylvania, from January 30 to February 6, 1777, recently discovered in the Scottish Record Office. Finally, the Supplement is dotted with entries from a diary of New Jersey delegate John Fell, recently discovered in the Massachusetts Historical Society. This diary is a revision and expansion of an earlier Fell diary in the Library of Congress. In both versions of the diary, Fell recorded information about events in Congress that Charles Thomson failed to include in its *Journal*. Readers of this *Quarterly* will be interested in Fell's report of a "long debate" on December 16, 1779 concerning French and Spanish plans for joint military action against British East Florida.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

ROBERT M. CALHOON

Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830-80. By Marli F. Weiner. (Champaign: The University of Illinois Press, 1998. xii, 310 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$45.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Marli Weiner's *Mistresses and Slaves* complements, yet subtly revises, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household* (1988). She explores, as Fox-Genovese does, the identities of southern women, both white and black. In contrast to Fox-Genovese, however, Weiner emphasizes ideas of domesticity that transcended race and class, fostering cooperative relations between women.

Downplaying Fox-Genovese's emphasis on class, Weiner argues that societal expectations about gender and race alternately determined women's identities. Gender, she argues, sometimes predom-

inated, bringing mistresses and their female slaves together. She carries this argument further by claiming that these relationships contained seeds for radical social change. She then asserts, not altogether convincingly, that white women's domesticity "significantly limited" slavery's destructiveness, while black women used domesticity to fight slavery's dehumanization of their communities (147).

Weiner notes that most cross-race cooperation occurred when black and white women worked together. Race still determined the specific responsibilities of each, with mistresses supervising and managing while black women did nearly all the manual tasks. Nevertheless, Weiner argues, this cooperative work affirmed black womanhood. Less convincingly, she asserts that it temporarily freed white women from male domination, allowing them to "learn about slavery directly" (49).

While Fox-Genovese warns that narrow definitions of domesticity can obscure important historical differences, Weiner emphasizes that both black and white women sought to uphold ideals of domesticity. But this did not mean that they interpreted domesticity alike. Mistresses strove to become "intermediaries" between blacks and whites. Black women, on the other hand, exploited common notions of domesticity in order to gain special privileges for themselves and their families, but they never forgot that their "generous" mistresses could also be powerful enemies.

Weiner claims that this fragile alliance between these two groups of antebellum women failed during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Throughout the war's duration, mistresses transferred their "benevolent" efforts from their slaves to the Confederate army, forcing their slaves to manufacture military uniforms and other wartime supplies, instead of using scarce resources for themselves and their families. Black women resented such deprivation, and their frustrations were deepened by a sense of what the war might mean for their own freedom. On the other hand, unsympathetic mistresses accused their slaves of being ungrateful to their "benevolent" owners. The war uncovered underlying elements of distrust and hostility between women. In the end, Weiner admits, racial divisions prevailed.

The strained relations continued into the postwar period. During Reconstruction, former mistresses had difficulty procuring domestic service. Many whites were destitute and could not afford the wages. Even when they could pay for domestic help, Weiner asserts,

black domesticity inspired former slave women to prefer farming. Notions of domesticity may well have attracted some former slave women to participate in their family's sharecropping, but those who had worked as antebellum field hands might not have wanted to continue working on the land. Evidence from South Carolina supports both perspectives; Orville Vernon Burton shows elsewhere that some believed freedom meant they would not have to work in the fields again.

Weiner's most important contribution to our interpretation of southern women is her insight into white domesticity and its expectations for womanhood. The ideology meshed better with white northern culture, where urbanization, industrialization and migration prevailed. White southerners added a racial dimension to their notions of domesticity so it would continue their dominance over blacks. Mistresses, they reasoned, should include concerns for their slaves' material, as well as moral, comfort within their family responsibilities.

Weiner's observation that black domesticity differed from that of whites is also very useful, but she is less effective in explicating slave women's perspectives. She relies heavily on records left by whites, as well as on narratives recorded by Works Progress Administration employees seventy years after slavery was abolished. Accordingly, her description of southern womanhood is not completely integrated across racial lines. She tends to romanticize domesticity in a way that downplays the cost of slavery. Nevertheless, Marli Weiner's *Mistresses and Slaves* enhances our understanding of nineteenth-century southern women. Her book will aid scholars researching nineteenth-century women, as well as interest upper-division undergraduate and graduate students.

University of Florida

NANCY DRISCOL ENGLE

Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry. By Philip D. Morgan. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xxiv, 703 pp. List of illustrations and tables, abbreviations, introduction, acknowledgments, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.)

This sensitive book explores the lives of enslaved Africans in the Chesapeake area of Virginia and the Lowcountry of South

Carolina during the eighteenth century. In doing so, its author covers the material life of slaves, their work routine, their interaction with whites, and the world bondsmen made for themselves. Further, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* compares and contrasts slaves' experiences before and after the American Revolution, as well as focuses on the differences in the slave labor forces during the 1750s in the Chesapeake area and the Lowcountry.

Morgan's study meshes well with the recent historiographical trends; it also adds to our understanding about the nature of the master-slave relationship and the vitality of the slave community. Certainly masters had absolute power over their enslaved Africans. Yet, slaves etched out private lives for themselves under very precarious and uncertain conditions. Bondsmen were never completely powerless, and many maintained a semblance of family life.

In the Lowcountry, slaves worked harder and died more frequently than did their counterparts in the Chesapeake. The type of work made the difference. Working in the rice patties was arduous and dangerous. Yet, the task system afforded enslaved Africans in the Lowcountry opportunities to carve out time to do things for themselves, such as spending time with their families, tending to their gardens, and other recreational activities. Morgan convincingly points out that Lowcountry bondsmen retained some of their Old World customs and languages due to the constant flood of new slaves from Senegambia, Angola, and the Bight of Biafra. This situation changed, however, with each passing decade.

The material life of bondsmen was somewhat better, Philip Morgan notes, "in the Chesapeake than in the Lowcountry. Chesapeake slaves . . . had more ample and nutritious food than their Lowcountry counterparts" (144). Yet, Chesapeake planters were no more magnanimous than Lowcountry slaveholders. The author explains that profits were higher for Lowcountry planters than for Chesapeake masters. Therefore, the former worked their slaves harder and in more unhealthy conditions than the latter. Given a different type of work routine and access to an abundance of seafood and wildlife, Chesapeake bondsmen, understandably, fared better.

The study also shows the relationship between the Lowcountry of South Carolina and East Florida during the British period. John Graham and Henry Laurens, slavetraders, shipped hundreds of enslaved Africans to East Florida during this period; and Lowcountry

men like Francis Kinlock, John Moultrie, and James Grant were among the men who either left the Lowcountry to establish plantations in East Florida or had plantations in both places. Many of these men wanted to mimic the Lowcountry model by using the task system to work slaves in rice, indigo, cotton, and sugar production. Whether under Spanish or British control, Florida always concerned Lowcountry slaveholders because of its reputation as a sanctuary for runaways.

Morgan performs a yeoman's job in using archaeological and anthropological models to explore the slaves' world view and the transformation of their diverse African cultures into a creolized African American culture. This study certainly complements the skillfully done studies of Daniel C. Littlefield and Peter H. Wood.

The author thoroughly and judiciously researched and produced a book of creditable quality. Although Morgan writes well, the book could have stood a little more editing to downsize it a few pages. In the 672 pages of text, there are, perhaps, three books in one—the world of the slaveholder, the world of the slave, and the interaction between whites and blacks. This study undoubtedly constitutes the most comprehensive treatment to date of black life in the Chesapeake and Lowcountry during the colonial period.

This book should be of great interest to students of colonial, African American, and southern history.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

The Forgotten "Stonewall of the West": Major General John Stevens Bowen.

By Phillip Thomas Tucker. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997. xviii, 379 pp. Acknowledgments, photographs, introduction, chapter notes, bibliography, indexes. \$32.95 hardcover.)

This book is best mainly for those readers with insatiable appetites for Civil War material, interested relatives of the subject, or interested relatives of the author. This work is flawed primarily for two reasons—the dearth of material specific to the subject and the author's unbridled special pleading. Mercer University Press should be ashamed of itself for not insisting upon a higher standard in pre-publication editing and evaluation. Just one example: Thomas Jonathan Jackson was given the nickname "Stonewall" by South Carolina's Barnard Bee, not—as

Tucker erroneously asserts—Bernard Bee (14). Furthermore, Tucker insists that General John C. Pemberton was a special friend of Jefferson Davis (no proof of that exists) and that this alleged reality worked against Bowen's chances of attaining promotion to lieutenant general.

Was Bowen the best major general in the West? Did he deserve further promotion? The author obviously thinks so, but he fails to show convincingly why. Not, to be sure, that Bowen was lacking in strong and admirable qualities: but he lost, even though he managed to look good while doing so, at every turn.

It is a difficult, if not indeed a thankless task, to do a biography of a second or third-rater, whom we believe deserved better than he got. My own *General Stephen D. Lee* fulfills my credentials in that department! Both S. D. Lee and Bowen do indeed deserve more mention and notice than they get. And both biographies were extremely difficult to execute, owing either to a dearth of good materials or to their being quite widely scattered.

The author begins with a tedious delineation as to how Bowen's rival, Major General Patrick Ronayne Cleburne, was bestowed the title "Stonewall of the West" (indirectly and by interpolation) in Jefferson Davis's memoir, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. Bowen, instead of Cleburne, deserved this sobriquet because no less a persona than General U. S. Grant praised him, and because Bowen was "both a brilliant tactician and strategist" (3). Indeed, Tucker comes close to equating Bowen with Grant, and if Tucker falls just short of *that*, he does argue that Bowen was the only Confederate officer in the Vicksburg campaign who came *close* to being Grant's equal.

Just like S. D. Lee, and who-knows-how-large a host of other inadequately rewarded lower echelon Confederate commanders, Bowen had a difficult personality, he crossed people who had friends in high places, few of his personal papers have survived, he was not a self-promoter, and he lacked an influential superior who was inclined to sing his praises. Too, although Bowen died of disease during the war, unlike the renowned Cleburne, he did not die heroically.

Bowen's story is interesting enough, and he does deserve a biography. Born into a prominent and military-oriented Savannah, Georgia, family, he was graduated from West Point in 1853. He was the organizer and first colonel of the 1st Missouri Infantry Regiment. Promoted to brigadier general in rank from March 14, 1862,

Bowen commanded a brigade in John C. Breckenridge's division at Shiloh, where he was wounded. In the Vicksburg Campaign, he distinguished himself and earned promotion to major general. He always fought well, despite nagging poor health—due mainly to chronic dysentery, from which he died while a paroled prisoner of war, near Raymond, Mississippi, on July 13, 1863.

Bowen's final sufferings were eased by the presence and ministrations of his wife, Mary, and the Roman Catholic Chaplain Father John B. Bannon. Although Mary was a life-long Roman Catholic, Bowen himself was not of that faith, though he "might have converted to Catholicism during his final hours" (313).

Although there are some great photographs to enhance this book, which aims at rescuing Bowen from his undeserved obscurity, even Bowen's gravestone incorrectly cites his rank as LT GEN—CS ARMY. At least the general does lie "beside his hard-fighting soldiers in equality, silent dignity, and honor" (324). Tucker should take a refresher course in historical writing before attempting another book.

University of Missouri-Kansas City

HERMAN HATTAWAY

The Spotsylvania Campaign. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xv, 272 pp. Introduction, bibliographic essay, contributors, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Gary W. Gallagher serves as series editor of the "Military Campaigns of the Civil War" for the University of North Carolina Press. In addition to the book under review, Gallagher has edited other collections, including ones on Gettysburg, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Like previous volumes, *The Spotsylvania Campaign*, covering some of the fighting in Virginia in 1864, incorporates well-researched chapters by scholars analyzing decision-making by army commanders, leadership by officers from regiment to corps, performance of individual units, and postwar disagreements by campaign participants. An example of the latter is William A. Blair's chapter on "Grant's Second Civil War: The Battle for Historical Memory." Blair discusses disputes over strengths of the opposing armies as well as postwar posturing, reminding students of the war that memoirs must be used with caution and compared with available documents.

High-level leadership is the focus of the book's opening essays. Evaluating Robert E. Lee during the Spotsylvania campaign, Gal-

lagher pegs the general's relationship with corps commanders of the Army of Northern Virginia. First, Gallagher makes an excellent case that Lee calculated how his army would be best deployed to block or defeat a larger Union army. Second, Lee found that he could not allow his corps commanders considerable latitude to act on their own, as he appeared to do in past campaigns. During the fighting around Spotsylvania, Lee had to give close attention to actions at corps level, especially because of the problems among his senior officers due to wounds, physical disability, or inadequate performance. William D. Matter turns the coin to evaluate senior Union officers, including relationships among Ambrose Burnside, George G. Meade, Philip H. Sheridan, Winfield Scott Hancock, and Ulysses S. Grant. Matter deftly moves the reader through the disagreements and decisions of these commanders, emphasizing that Grant learned to deal with a raft of new subordinates and still kept the Federal forces in motion, applying pressure to the Confederates. Gordon C. Rhea presents a cogent assessment of Gouverneur K. Warren and his command of the Union Fifth Corps. Rhea argues that Warren, an able officer, lacked aggressiveness and misunderstood Grant's intentions. Those deficiencies meant that Warren no longer fit into the way Grant wanted the Federal army to operate. Grant may have left Warren in corps command longer than he should have.

Looking at some tactical aspects of the campaign, Robert K. Krick delineates "The Confederate Experience at Spotsylvania's Bloody Angle." In addition to Krick's skill at presenting the chaotic and death-dealing scenes of battle, especially revealing are his descriptions of examples of so-called "Lee-to-the-Rear" episodes (89-90, 95-96), times when the Confederate hero endangered himself, raising possibilities that he might be wounded like other senior southern commanders, such as General James Longstreet and General J. E. B. Stuart. Another contributor, Robert E. L. Krick, provides an assessment of the contest between mounted troops, including the Battle of Yellow Tavern, where Stuart was mortally wounded. Acknowledging that Stuart's death was a psychological blow to the Confederacy, Krick contends that his replacement, Wade Hampton, might have been more willing to fight on foot than Stuart. Peter S. Carmichael addresses a regimental view of the fighting from the perspective of the 15th New Jersey Infantry, one of the units attacking the "Bloody Angle," the critical spot of the battle.

All of the chapters are meritorious, but Carol Reardon's contribution on "The Impact of Continuous Operations" on both Union and Confederate armies during 1864 is exceptional. Reardon shows how sustained operations and terrible casualties exhausted leaders in both armies, contributing to "mistakes and irresponsible decisions for which their soldiers all too often paid with their lives" (187). Neither army expected Grant to keep the campaign going as long as he did, and some Union veterans fondly recalled the slower pace of campaigning of George B. McClellan.

Gallagher supplements the book's chapters with several clear maps. Numerous well-chosen photographs and contemporary illustrations as well as an excellent index round out the work. Anyone studying Spotsylvania will want to read this collection of high-quality essays.

Texas A&M University

JOSEPH G. DAWSON III

Richard S. Ewell: A Soldier's Life. By Donald C. Pfanz. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xix, 655 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

The greatest compliment Confederate General Richard S. Ewell received during the Civil War ironically led to his historically perceived downfall as a military leader. When Robert E. Lee selected Ewell to replace the late Stonewall Jackson as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia's Second Corps in June 1863, he thought Ewell was the right man for the job. Unfortunately, in the eyes of Ewell's contemporaries and Civil War historians, he never filled the immortal Stonewall's shoes.

Although he cannot avoid the inevitable comparisons to Jackson, Donald Pfanz provides a balanced biography of one of Lee's most important and colorful lieutenants. From his genealogical origins in Virginia to his death on his Tennessee farm, Pfanz describes in great detail Ewell's life before, during, and after the Civil War. Most importantly, Pfanz reveals a soldier whose career did not begin or end with indecisiveness at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863.

After graduating from the United State Military Academy in 1840, Ewell spent the next twenty years in the U.S. Army. His experience as a dragoon in the Southwest and his Mexican War service

made Ewell a logical choice for command in the Confederate forces. From First Manassas in July 1861 to his wounding at Groveton in August 1862, Ewell played a conspicuous role in the war in Virginia, especially during Jackson's famous Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1862. While Stonewall received the glory, Phanz maintains Ewell was the key to victory in the Valley.

After the amputation of his leg following Groveton, Ewell remained a convalescent until Jackson's death after Chancellorsville in May 1863. When Lee turned to Ewell to replace Stonewall, "Old Bald Head" appeared up to the task. But after a smashing and decisive victory at Second Winchester in June, Ewell did not move fast enough on the first day at Gettysburg and earned an enduring part of the blame for Lee's ultimate defeat in the three-day battle. Phanz shows that Ewell experienced mixed success during his remaining time as a corps commander, performing splendidly during the Battle of the Wilderness and eventually losing his composure in Lee's presence at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House.

In June 1864, Lee removed Ewell as commander of the Second Corps and placed him in charge of the Richmond defenses. While considered a demotion by Ewell, Phanz concludes Ewell rendered some of his finest service in this capacity, particularly during the Battle of Fort Harrison. When Grant broke Lee's lines at Petersburg on April 2, 1865, Ewell assisted in the chaotic evacuation of Richmond. At the debacle known as Sailor's Creek, Ewell surrendered to Union forces with approximately 2,800 of his men. He spent the final days of the war en route to Fort Warren, Massachusetts, where he remained a prisoner-of-war until July 19.

Earlier Ewell biographies pale in comparison to Phanz's 655-page work. Although some readers may grow weary of his detailed description of Ewell's pre-Civil War career, this portion of the narrative provides previously unknown information about his life and new insight regarding his character. The author's discussion of his post-war life is more succinct but equally revealing.

Of course, the meat of this book is found in the chapters concerning the Civil War. Phanz's discussion of the engagements and campaigns in which Ewell was involved is both readable and tactically descriptive; a commendable feat for a military biographer. Although clearly a Ewell supporter, Phanz does not attempt to hide his blemishes, whether describing Ewell's rage toward retreating Confederates at Spotsylvania or his moodiness and selfishness to-

ward fellow Confederate POWs on the way to Fort Warren. In those instances where he may appear overly defensive of Ewell, such as during his discussion of Lee's decision to remove him from corps command, Phanz's research and narrative provide enough information for readers to draw their own conclusions.

Future Ewell biographers will be hard pressed to produce a work surpassing Pfanz's. His bibliography, which includes six pages of primary sources, indicates that few stones were left unturned. New interpretations of Ewell's performance at Cross Keys, Gettysburg, and other battles will appear, but this biography promises to endure.

Library of Virginia

DALE F. HARTER

Confederate Tide Rising: Robert E. Lee and the Making of Southern Strategy, 1861-1862. By Joseph L. Harsh. (Kent State University Press, 1998. xviii, 278 pp. Preface, appendixes, notes, select bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

We live in a negative age. Revisionism, found in every generation of historians, is currently less revealing and more carping. This is especially true in the case of General Robert E. Lee, the subject of at least three recent studies by fault-finders. It is therefore refreshing to see Professor Joseph Harsh come to Lee's rescue with a work that not only defends Lee but also rejects a host of traditional judgments associated with military operations in Virginia during the initial year and a half of the Civil War.

The author, professor of history at George Mason University, feels that the Southern Confederacy had three distinct war aims: independence, territorial integrity, and a union of all slave states. Harsh makes it clear at the outset how he views the Confederate experiment. "Considering all of the disadvantages and limitations under which they labored," Southern leaders "displayed general consistency, reasonable insight, and considerable determination in mobilizing and applying their resources to achieve their war aims" (11).

Into the big picture in the spring of 1862 stepped Lee, who "did not believe the South could achieve independence by relying on defense. . . . In order for the South's resources to outlast the North's will to wage the [Civil War], Lee must simultaneously press the offensive to discourage the enemy and husband Confederate

manpower and supplies" (136). Lee always favored "giving battle necessary to inflict the maximum punishment on the Federals and to nurture their desire to quit" (70).

Such strategy of breaking Northern will required time, and as the Confederacy eventually discovered, time was its worst enemy. Southern resources were insufficient over the long haul to block the North with its vast superiority in men and materiel. Thus, from the beginning, Jefferson Davis and his better generals saw that offensive action offered the South its best opportunity for quick victory. To wait on defense was to invite inevitable defeat.

The first eighteen months of the war bore out this premise, Harsh effectively argues. The opening six months (April-October 1861) brought successes as the southern nation pursued a strategy to gain control of the border states. Six months of disaster followed after the Confederacy went on the defensive. Then came the third stage, beginning in May 1862, when the Confederacy seemed to be at its best in mobilization, concentration, and offensive operations.

Lee's first three months in command of the Army of Northern Virginia is the core of the work. Harsh sees two hidden but useful qualities in Lee: the ability "to impress his will on confusion around him" and "the inherent, sanguine confidence to confront the most serious problems with a positive attitude" (50).

Dedicated to offensive strategy, Lee employed flank movements more than frontal assaults. Beaver Dam Creek, Gaines' Mill, and Malvern Hill convinced him (for the moment) of the folly of direct attacks against superior numbers. Harsh's Lee is not as knowledgeable or as intuitive as others have portrayed him to be. Yet neither is Lee here the head-down, blind attacker sacrificing troops needlessly—a staple that a small and irritating corps of revisionists would have us believe.

Harsh relied on printed sources for a narrative that is interpretive rather than path-breaking. He is excellent at listing reasons or factors in 1-2-3 fashion. Twenty-eight pages of appendices are icing on the cake. Yet many readers will disagree with some of his judgments. Sympathetic toward Lee, Davis, and John Pope, the author takes a swipe or two at "Stonewall" Jackson; James Longstreet is an "unenthusiastic subordinate" (158); and Jeb Stuart's "flamboyant execution" of orders on the ride around McClellan's army was "an unreasonable risk" made at a critical point in the war (194).

Overall, however, Harsh has abandoned lock-step thinking. At the same time, he dares critics of Lee and Davis to develop—if they

can—more valid arguments. The result is a well-crafted work intended primarily for the armchair generals among Civil War buffs. It is also a very pleasant read.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

JAMES I. ROBERTSON JR.

John Archibald Campbell: Southern Moderate, 1811-1889. By Robert Saunders Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997. xii, 286 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. \$39.95 cloth.)

In the 1940s, historian James G. Randall laid blame for the American Civil War squarely at the feet of a “blundering generation” of political leaders who let the nation drift into sectional conflict. If such a group existed, Alabama jurist John Archibald Campbell would have to be included. During the 1850s and 1860s Campbell tried vainly as a U.S. Supreme Court judge and as a Confederate official to stop secession and later end the resulting war by pursuing a moderate political course. In this first full biography of Campbell, Robert Saunders Jr. attempts to place the jurist and his legal philosophy into the broader context of nineteenth-century America.

Campbell, a Georgian by birth, was forced to leave West Point in 1828 to help support his financially ruined family. A legal career offered the solution, and by the 1830s the young lawyer was in Alabama, making his fortune during the “flush times” there. Campbell tried his hand at state politics as well but quickly learned that his temperament precluded holding elected office. Even his biographer refers to him as a “wretched politician” (233). Only non-political situations could provide Campbell with the means to serve the public interest, which he deeply craved.

At times in his life Campbell appeared to be a bundle of contradictions, and Saunders argues that he “defies clear, uncluttered, or definitive typecasting” (235). While seemingly a champion of states’ rights in relation to the South, he also in his legal arguments recognized that in many instances the federal government did indeed have the power to regulate aspects of American life. Campbell himself never condoned the option of secession but was an active delegate at the 1850 Nashville Convention and a founder of the Mobile chapter of the radical Southern Rights Association.

Finally, slaveholder Campbell always held that the institution of slavery was doomed and advocated a system of gradual emancipation, while at the same time detesting abolitionists as revolutionaries bent on destroying the South.

By the 1850s the Alabaman enjoyed a national reputation as a legal thinker and was rewarded with an appointment to the Supreme Court in 1852. He later voted with the majority in the infamous *Dred Scott* case and sincerely believed that this decision would solve the problem of slavery in the West. Saunders sums up Campbell's stance here as an example of "remarkable political naivete" (125). As a Supreme Court justice, Campbell still sought the moderate path and, as a result, acquired enemies in both sections. His position in Alabama was little helped by his not immediately resigning his seat on the Court with Abraham Lincoln's election.

As the nation fell apart, Campbell acted as a self-appointed peacemaker. However, his efforts at negotiation with the new Lincoln Administration over the status of Fort Sumter only showcased his lack of political skills. A depressed Campbell resigned from the Supreme Court when the real fighting began, but by 1862 he was working as an assistant secretary in the Confederate War Department. While his actual duties there amounted to little more than a glorified clerkship, Judge Campbell endured because he believed he could help end the war if given the chance.

That opportunity came in 1865 when Campbell attended the famous conference with President Lincoln aboard the steamer *River Queen*. While nothing concrete came from the talks, Saunders sees Campbell as the only Confederate representative there who was willing to accept Southern defeat and possible reunion. Lincoln and Campbell later discussed the Virginia legislature meeting and withdrawing the Old Dominion from the Confederacy, a plan Lincoln shortly disavowed. Once again Judge Campbell had been bested politically and soon found himself ironically in federal custody under suspicion of being involved in the president's assassination.

Like so many southerners, the released Campbell began anew in 1865 and labored at the bar to support his family. His legal skills remained in demand, and by the time of his death in 1889 he had regained his position as one of the country's premier attorneys. In fact, his arguments in the 1873 *Slaughterhouse* cases about federal authority to protect civil rights would become one of the foundations of the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

The author has produced a well-researched and well-organized biography of a significant figure in southern and American legal history. The writing style is generally good, though the narrative tends to drag when discussing Campbell's numerous court cases. All in all, *John Archibald Campbell: Southern Moderate* makes a solid contribution to the historical literature of those troubled times.

Florida Institute of Technology

ROBERT A. TAYLOR

Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements About Abraham Lincoln. Edited by Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998. xxxii, 827 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, editorial note, short citations and abbreviations, register of informants, appendix, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Soon after Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, William Herndon, his long-time friend and partner in his legal practice, conceived of a plan to write a comprehensive biography of the martyred president. Herndon was well suited for the task. He had shared a law office in Springfield, Illinois, with Lincoln since 1843 and had known Lincoln for several years before they created the partnership.

Herndon set himself to work in earnest by early May 1865. He proposed to craft a narrative on "the subjective Mr. Lincoln," yielding an insight into such matters as the late president's "passions—appetites—& affections." His plan to develop a life history involved soliciting recollections from the many individuals who had known Lincoln.

Herndon interviewed friends, professional acquaintances, and family members who lived in or near Springfield. He traveled to meet and interview other individuals while maintaining a voluminous correspondence with others. His diligence in pursuing the subject was near heroic in its magnitude. The process of gathering this testimony created a body of material that now would be considered a nascent oral history collection.

Most of its subject matter concerned Lincoln's life before he became president. Much to Herndon's amazement, a number of individuals offered accounts of episodes in Lincoln's early years unknown to most of his contemporaries. According to these testimonies, the young Lincoln had been subject to bouts of deep

depression and had possibly been suicidal at times; he had been, at best, an agnostic; and he had proposed marriage to several women. Perhaps the most sensational recollection Herndon encountered was the contention that after he had become engaged to his future wife, Mary Todd, Lincoln had fallen in love with another woman. Finally, after a brooding introspection, he married Mary out of a sense of obligation to his initial pledge of fidelity, not because he loved her.

Herndon originally intended to write the biography by 1867. But because of several problems (including financial pressures), he stopped regular work on the project by late 1867. Herndon was not able to re-establish consistent attention to the life history until 1885, when he began a collaboration with Jesse W. Weik, a young man with whom he had previously corresponded.

In that year the pair launched a new round of gathering recollections and requesting more details from individuals who had previously offered testimony. The resultant documents, combined with the interview texts and letters assembled by Herndon in the 1860s, built a collection that included statements by more than 250 "informants." Largely based upon this documentation, Weik wrote a biography that was first published in 1889 as *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life*. Shortly before his death in 1891, Herndon prepared a revised edition of the book that included additional material. The second edition was published in 1892.

From the moment the general public learned that Herndon was preparing his biography, the project was controversial. Many contemporaries objected to inquiries into the private life of the great man. Others hotly disputed the validity of certain episodes related by various informants and subsequently reported by Herndon.

During the first half of this century, a number of professional historians also raised concerns about the recollections Herndon utilized—most notably, James G. Randall, the author of a classic four-volume Lincoln biography. But since Allan Nevins developed a pathbreaking oral history project at Columbia University in the 1950s, the value of testimony elicited from personal memory has become widely accepted. Careful use of evidence from sources such as the Herndon-Weik collection can augment and enrich virtually any historical analysis.

Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis have made an outstanding contribution to historical scholarship by editing and

bringing to publication *Herndon's Informants*. Previously available as a poorly organized series of manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the Herndon-Weik collection now appears in easily readable type with an index and an excellent register of informants. The collection stands as the most important body of evidence for Abraham Lincoln's life before 1860. It also contains a lode of material on the society and popular culture of the mid-nineteenth-century United States. Wilson and Davis deserve a round of applause for their labors; the University of Illinois Press should be commended for publishing such a worthy product.

Florida Farm Bureau

G. B. CRAWFORD

Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America. By Kirk Savage. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997. xiv, 270 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, index, about the author. \$35.00 cloth.)

Aside the entrance to the Hillsborough County Courthouse in Tampa, two Confederate soldiers, sculpted in granite, guard an obelisk inscribed "United in the Past: One in the Future." This 1911 monument is representative of the hundreds of memorials, North and South, built after 1865 in honor of the half million Civil War dead. As historian Kirk Savage argues in this compelling monograph, such statues symbolized an attempt at generational redefinition of racial attitudes and nationhood. Regrettably, Savage contends, these monuments represented a struggle in the public sphere where African Americans failed to find their deserved recognition. A new post-war America emerged with the sections reconciled in their whiteness.

The author observes that the United States had few public monuments or memorials—save a handful in memory of the Revolution—prior to 1861. Certainly, few marble or bronze images of African Americans stood before the Civil War. While several sculptors, including abolitionist Henry Kirke Brown, designed pediments for government buildings that included slaves, they were rejected or never completed. Hiram Powers' famous "Greek Slave" (1844) received widespread national attention, but her obviously white appearance evoked a "higher spiritual truth" that denied any cruelty associated with slavery.

The Civil War era monument offered blacks the opportunity to appear in the public sphere—in parks, squares, and buildings—as redefined Americans—free, proud, and independent. John Quincy Adams Ward created such an image in his sensational two-foot bronze entitled “The Freedman” (1863) which enjoyed limited private sales. The theme of emancipation received enthusiastic local consideration in the North, but sculptors encountered obstacles to proposed two-figure statues that included Abraham Lincoln and an African American in a dominating standing-kneeling pattern. These paternalistic renderings were rejected repeatedly for a solitary Lincoln holding a pen or scroll signifying freedom.

Savage analyzes the myriad factors surrounding the only monument to emancipation erected—the Freedman’s Memorial to Lincoln, dedicated in Washington, D. C., in 1876. African Americans held high hopes when the project commenced in 1865. But the finished product, designed by Thomas Ball, revealed the “Great Emancipator” standing with a benign, yet commanding authority over a helpless, subject black male—an all too typical design. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass, deeply disappointed, denounced the African American as “unmanly” and the statue as commemorating a “white man’s president.”

Since blacks now had “their memorial” in the capital, the nation moved on to erect statues to Lincoln, the preserver of the union and the guarantor of the moral order. Meanwhile, across the South, various private groups built equestrian statues of Robert E. Lee. Savage suggests that the motive for elevating Lee, instead of President Jefferson Davis, to monument status involved the post-war evolution of southern belief that sought to de-politicize the conflict and make it a fight for liberty, not slavery. Lee, noble, gracious, and manly, embodied the perfect racial icon and symbolized the Lost Cause.

Reconstruction ended in the South by 1877 and with it any definable progress towards black equality and citizenship. Blame for the failure to create an interracial society can be widely placed on a resistant South and an uncommitted North. Instead of monuments celebrating a new freedom and racial order, statues of Lincoln and Davis were joined by homages to the common citizen-soldier of the local militia unit. Savage notes that in an increasingly impersonal and technological conflict, these monuments to soldiers who placed duty before all else, reaffirmed the dignity and manhood of the individual. Rarely, such as the memorial to Robert

Gould Shaw and the black Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment on Boston Common, did images appear that underscored the brotherhood of man. Most citizen-soldier monuments were white, pro-local and anti-national power.

Well researched and elegantly written, this work is a powerful statement about the relationship of the Civil War and race to monuments and public space. Although it does not mention Florida, the book merits study as an effective examination of the link between popular culture and the evolution of post-war society.

University of South Florida

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

Who Killed John Clayton? Political Violence and the Emergence of the New South, 1861-1893. By Kenneth C. Barnes. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998. xii, 203 pp. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

On a late January night in 1889 as John Middleton Clayton penned a letter in Plumerville, Conway County, Arkansas, a shotgun blast shattered the window of his boarding-house room and killed him. The brother of the famous Arkansas Reconstruction governor Powell Clayton, the younger sibling attempted to carry on the Republican message in an overly hostile Democratic atmosphere. Violent political turmoil characterized the Razorback State during the entire Civil War and Reconstruction era, indeed, until the close of the nineteenth century. Although not in the same category as Missouri in terms of upheaval, Arkansans nurtured a hatred for Unionists, Republicans, and the intrusion of national sovereignty.

Kenneth C. Barnes uses the murder of Clayton to explore Conway County, Arkansas, in the years from 1861 to 1893. He disagrees with the thesis of Carl H. Moneyhon and C. Vann Woodward (who ironically spent his youth in Conway County) that the leaders of the antebellum and postbellum South were different. Barnes sees more continuity than discontinuity. Those in power before, during, and after the Civil War were the same kind of leaders if not strictly from the same class. Nevertheless, they were still members of the elite. They changed their occupations, however, and became businessmen and professionals instead of planters/farmers and joined with other middle-class townsfolk to lead the Democratic party.

Much of what happened in Arkansas was a reflection of demographic and economic changes. Between 1870 and 1890, the black population of Arkansas almost tripled. Many from areas east of the Mississippi River migrated to the state searching for land and new beginnings. The large influx of African Americans into Conway County created a phenomenal growth among the black denizens. In 1870, only 630 blacks lived in the county that grew to a staggering 3,206 in 1880, an increase of 409 percent. At the same time the white population of the county expanded from 7,482 in 1870 to 9,546 in 1880, a gain of only 28 percent. Moreover, the agricultural scene also changed with an additional emphasis on cotton cultivation as opposed to food crops.

Who Killed John Clayton? is an excellent monograph in many ways. The author provides an abundance of details of local politics, race relations, economic development, and social reality during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Barnes condemns the Democrats for the tactics; after all they undermined two elections, stole ballot boxes and poll books, murdered three of the opposition, attempted another, and behaved in a despicable political manner. Their lives had been predicated upon a social and economic structure that served their standing in the community quite well. Barnes has demonstrated beyond a doubt that these individuals had no compunction about using any means to maintain their position.

The major strength of the book is its portrayal of the political and economic environment of Conway County. Oddly, its major weakness is Barnes' inability to locate Clayton's assassination within the framework of how violence was used in the post-Reconstruction years to maintain social order in the South. The author appears to be unfamiliar with the most recent literature of postwar southern violence. Barnes may be correct in his argument that violence played the key role in Conway County in the elimination of blacks in politics, the destruction of the Republican Party and the resurrection of segregation. But historians such as Woodward and Michael Perman have emphasized social and economic changes as more important.

These criticisms aside, *Who Killed John Clayton?* is an important local case study of an old Confederate state that has only recently attracted new first-rate scholarship. Barnes seems to argue that physical coercion paved the way for segregation and the destruction of a party that desired to include blacks in the body politic.

This work reinforces the significant, if not the overriding, role that violence played in the final stages of the South's redemption. Clayton's murder was the last act in a long and incessant struggle whereby the Republicans and their farmer allies attempted to sway voters through legitimate means and the Democrats adopted unethical tactics to forestall a social revolution.

Gallaudet University

BARRY A. CROUCH

The Cotton Plantation South Since the Civil War. By Charles S. Aiken. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. xvii, 452 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 hardcover.)

In *The Cotton Plantation South Since the Civil War* Charles Aiken traces changes in the geography of the plantation regions that occurred between 1865 and 1970 and examines the shifting relationship of African Americans to the land. Focusing mainly on Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama, Aiken argues that although in some parts of the South the plantation system was declining even before the 1930s, in other places it has endured. He suggests that the persistence of the plantation has been obscured by alterations in landscape and settlement patterns that masked basic continuities in the economic, political, and social organization of the rural South.

Aiken outlines two major transformations—the emergence of tenancy after the Civil War and its gradual demise after the 1930s—that split the history of the plantation into three distinct eras: Old South (1600-1865), New South (1880-1940), and Modern South (since 1970). Old South plantations were characterized by nucleated settlement patterns that reflected white slaveowners' tight control over their workers. Slave quarters and buildings holding farm animals and implements were clustered around the "big house," the primary symbol of white domination. After the Civil War, freedpeople's refusal to work in closely supervised gangs as they had under slavery forced plantation owners to grant them a small amount of independence. The dispersed houses of individual tenant families, along with black churches and schools, were "geographical expressions of freedom" (21) that distinguished New South plantations from the old slave system, though economic

exploitation, segregation, and disfranchisement placed strict limits on that freedom. Beginning in the 1930s and continuing through the 1960s, New Deal agricultural policies and the mechanization of cotton production ejected the majority of black people from the agricultural system. The Modern South has seen a change in settlement patterns shaped in part by the civil rights movement and the War on Poverty. The shift from tenancy to wage labor was accompanied by a return to centrally located housing and farm buildings on plantations, while displaced workers cluster in enclaves (including many public housing projects) at the edges of the cotton fields.

Many studies of African Americans in the twentieth century have focused on migration and urbanization. We know relatively little about the experiences of black people who remained in the rural South, particularly after the 1960s. Aiken's discussion of events up to and including the civil rights movement is based mostly on the existing literature and adds nothing new for historians, but his account of developments in the late twentieth century makes a useful contribution. Like the nation as a whole, the region has split into two: the South that is doing well economically and another South that had been left far behind. The highest poverty and unemployment rates occur in the plantation regions, which seem unable to escape the accumulated effects of a system that deliberately kept workers poorly educated and ill-equipped for occupations outside of agricultural labor. Federal aid and the social programs of the 1960s have led to some improvement in the living conditions of rural black people but have failed to solve underlying economic problems. Aiken asserts that in many communities white elites were able to coopt antipoverty measures and use them for their own purposes, giving rise to "a new paternalism in which whites, together with some aggressive blacks, controlled and manipulated federal programs . . . to redefine and extend their domination" (252).

Aiken's main field of expertise is geography, and his focus on changes in the landscape and spatial patterns of plantation regions differs slightly from the historian's approach to this topic. However, his work is based on both primary and secondary historical sources as well as statistics, diagrams, and photographs, and all are integrated into a well-organized narrative that is easy to follow. Aiken's excellent discussion of the different phases of mechanization of cotton production is particularly notable and helps to explain why the displacement of farm workers was a gradual process that was

spread over a period of thirty years. Scholars in any field who are interested in the twentieth-century South will find this a valuable addition to their collections.

Carter G. Woodson Institute

GRETA DE JONG

Keepers of the Spirits: The Judicial Response to Prohibition Enforcement in Florida, 1885-1935. By John J. Guthrie Jr. (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1998. xi, 160 pp. Preface, introduction, selected bibliography, index, about the author. \$59.95 cloth.)

During the past few decades temperance and prohibition history has enjoyed a modest revival, but, with notable exceptions—such as David E. Kyvig, ed., *Law, Alcohol, and Order: Perspectives on National Prohibition* (1985), Kenneth M. Murchison, *Federal Criminal Law Doctrines: The Forgotten Influence of National Prohibition* (1994) and Richard F. Hamm's *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture, and the Polity, 1880-1920* (1995)—it has focused on organized teetotalers. Legal history has been marginalized by most historians of the drink question. Scholars writing in an era dominated by social history rarely have bothered to study the role of the judiciary in the enforcement of local, state, and federal prohibition.

John J. Guthrie Jr. makes an important contribution to this neglected topic with his half-century case study of Florida. His well-researched monograph, based on a 1993 University of Florida doctoral dissertation and several published articles, demonstrates the relevance of enduring traditions in American common law and constitutional thought, manifested in the opinions issued by members of the Florida supreme court and the federal district courts of southern Florida. Guthrie persuasively argues that most judges decided the difficult questions brought before them—dealing with personal liberty and governmental police power, privacy and property rights, concurrent federal and state jurisdictions, and property forfeiture—on the basis of principle, precedent, and legal philosophy. The judges did not simply reflect changing public opinion about the manufacture and sale of beverage alcohol.

During the years discussed by Guthrie, Florida liquor laws shifted from local option to legislative abolition of saloons (1913) and the dispensing of alcoholic beverages in private clubs (1917)

to an amendment of the state constitution to ban intoxicating liquors (1918). In 1920 ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment began national prohibition. The dry era started to crumble in 1933 when near-beer was permitted by an amendment to the Volstead Act, the legislation enforcing federal prohibition, and also by state legislation. Later in the same year the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed, and in the following year the state amendment for prohibition was repealed too. The Florida supreme court ruled that state repeal restored the old, previously superseded local option legislation.

Guthrie distinguishes between "republican" judges who justified the growth of police power in order to advance the public interest and "natural rights" judges who resisted governmental authority that endangered personal liberty and property. Regardless of such ideological differences, judges showed more sympathy for local option laws than for state and federal versions of prohibition and, in most cases, grew increasingly uncomfortable with prohibition enforcement that undermined private property rights. They did not accept the insinuation that the prohibition constitutional amendments authorized the police to ignore all the other parts of the state and national constitutions.

Sometimes this monograph is narrower than readers might wish. Perhaps unavoidably Guthrie only occasionally compares the judicial decisions in Florida with those made elsewhere. The research for other states has not been done yet. Regrettably and more surprisingly, he seldom discusses the reaction by politicians and the public in Florida to the decisions made by the state and federal jurists. Nor does he say much about the training of the Florida bar from which these judges had risen.

On the other hand, Guthrie uses his book to support one of the rival interpretations of how and why repeal took place. "By 1928 a state and national movement calling for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment began to form around the ideas that national prohibition had not only proved impracticable but had also affronted basic constitutional safeguards, perhaps none so important as the fundamental rights to privacy and property" (104).

Summaries of judicial opinions, sometimes burdened by technical vocabulary, can make hard going for non-lawyers, but Guthrie enlivens what might otherwise have been a dry treatise with wonderful anecdotes about the plain folk accused of law breaking. These people included hardscrabble white farmers, Italians and

Jews, African Americans, and even a Chinese shopkeeper. Guthrie also provides startling details about judges. After repeal Jefferson B. Browne, who once had been a prohibitionist candidate for governor, left a last will and testament that divided his wine and liquor among fifteen friends with the request that they "pour out a draft" and offer a toast, "Here's to Jeff Browne" (138).

Guthrie's *Keepers of the Spirits* is warmly recommended to historians of prohibition, of American legal and constitutional thought, and of Florida political life.

Miami University

DAVID M. FAHEY

The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge. By Robert H. Ferrell. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xi, 243 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Robert H. Ferrell, professor emeritus of history at Indiana University and a prolific author, has written the first account of the Coolidge presidency in thirty years. A character so colorless he appears colorful, Coolidge has been canonized by conservatives and maligned by liberals. Easy to underestimate, cautious in temperament, penurious, mute, Coolidge fascinates, yet lacks essence. Like many historians, Ferrell finds it easier to describe Coolidge than to document exactly what he did in his presidency.

A tenacious researcher whose present volume is as carefully researched as his previous books, Ferrell refuses to give up and declare Coolidge an enigma. Altering the established interpretation of Coolidge somewhat, Ferrell argues persuasively: "One thing is clear, and that is that the caricatures to which his reputation has been mortgaged are not true" (204). Ferrell's Coolidge is a man of achievements and anecdotes, flaws and a mean temper, unkind to his wife, and committed to public service.

Through the lens of Ferrell, Coolidge is simple, lucky, ignorant about many aspect of life, yet reasonably well educated, although not an intellectual. Coolidge lacked vision, possessed little personal warmth, and could never muster enthusiasm. He was a competent administrator who could concentrate and analyze. Coolidge was rarely profound yet neither was he lazy. Rather, he was ambitious and had good judgment about things he understood. Coolidge was reasonably bright and possessed a puckish sense of humor. Early in his career he was a progressive.

Among the quiet president's accomplishments were reducing the debt, balancing the budget, and slashing taxes. Unlike the stereotypical Coolidge, the real Coolidge did not indulge in "soak the poor" tax policies; under Coolidge, ninety-eight percent of the nation's citizens did not pay an income tax. In foreign policy, Coolidge moved away from imperialism but not from intervention, which, Ferrell points out, are two different things. Coolidge focused his diplomatic attention on Latin America and muddled through.

Ferrell interprets his task broadly and he has written more than a biography, more even than an account of the Coolidge presidency. *The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge* is, in fact, a capsule summary of the 1920s. Sure-handed on diplomacy and economics, Ferrell is less sure-handed on other aspects of the decade. He fails to mention Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, or William Faulkner in his discussion of fiction in the 1920s and omits Irving Berlin from his discussion of music. In going beyond political history, the vignettes are so cursory they should have been either fleshed out or left out.

The author's style is clear and entertaining although the transitions between chapters are abrupt. Ferrell includes a generous helping of anecdotes and is not afraid to defy orthodox historiography when he finds it wanting. Many of his statements are refreshingly original. The research benefits from the recently opened papers of White House physician Joel T. Boone and a plethora of documents, memoirs, and articles. Ferrell relies fairly extensively on Coolidge's terse autobiography, which he praises. Ferrell himself has co-edited the autobiography of Grace Coolidge and has written several books on the diplomats and diplomacy of the period.

The Presidency of Calvin Coolidge is the best account to date of the Coolidge administration. As a personality study, it does a better job of describing Coolidge than of probing his mind. As an administrative history, it follows other Coolidge studies in focusing almost entirely on economic questions in the domestic policy section. The diplomatic discussion is much stronger than in previous works on the period.

The main contribution, to this reviewer, is the author's candor and his sweeping away of some of the stereotypes that misrepresent Coolidge, particularly the tedious attempts to assign blame or praise to Coolidge with little solid evidence. Ferrell agrees with previous scholars that Coolidge's major failure was his failure to

dampen stock market speculation that led to the Great Crash. Yet he goes on to say: "A failure to remedy something that might have involved going beyond the possibilities of his time may not be a proper measure for the presidency of Coolidge" (207).

As for his failure to stymie Japanese imperialism and German aggression and genocide, Ferrell concludes, "the Coolidge administration should have done everything possible to prevent the several holocausts of our time. But to ask for judgments and action that presumed foresight of those events is unhistorical; it is too much to ask. History cannot be written that way" (207).

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

GLEN JEANSONNE

The Dying President: Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1944-1945. By Robert H. Ferrell. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998. vii, 185 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

It is not surprising that in an age obsessed with tobacco, cholesterol, and fat, historians have become increasingly interested in the interplay of health, medicine, and history. American presidents, because of their importance and the availability of some medical records, have become natural subjects for this discussion.

No historian has shown more interest in presidential health than Robert H. Ferrell, the distinguished and prolific professor emeritus of the University of Indiana. In his books, *Ill-Advised: Presidential Health and Public Trust* (1992), *The Strange Deaths of President Harding* (1996) and now *The Dying President: Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1944-1945*, he has delved deeply into this subject.

According to Ferrell, previous books about Roosevelt's last months, such as Jim Bishop's *FDR's Last Year: April 1944 - April 1945* (1974) and Doris Kearns Goodwin's *No Ordinary Time: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, the Home Front in World War II* (1994), are inadequate and misleading. The former is "none to accurate" (2), while the latter contains too much nostalgia and not enough reality.

What makes a new account possible is new material; specifically the diaries of Margaret "Daisy" Suckley and Dr. Howard G. Bruenn. Suckley was a distant cousin of FDR, and cardiologist Bruenn was one of the president's physicians.

Ferrell begins his story with Roosevelt feeling tired and sickly in early 1944. FDR, his family, and his doctors all tended to at-

tribute his illness to a variety of minor maladies. The truth was that FDR was suffering from a fatal heart disease. Ferrell discusses how the heart condition was discovered, how it was treated, and how FDR and others reacted to it.

Ferrell is no worshipper at the shrine in Hyde Park. He provides a devastating critique of FDR and his conduct in 1944-1945. Roosevelt spent little time in Washington and could summon little energy to confront the great wartime issues he faced. He was incapable of working more than two to four hours a day. Yet, he insisted on running for a fourth term when he clearly no longer had the ability to carry out the duties of the office.

If Ferrell has scant sympathy for FDR or Mrs. Roosevelt, others fare better. He displays particular respect for Howard Bruenn, the doctor who first correctly diagnosed Roosevelt's heart problem and insisted, against the wishes of the president's personal physician, on treatment that would prolong his life into 1945. Unfortunately for Bruenn and FDR, little could be done because antihypertensive drugs that could have reduced the excessively high blood pressure did not exist at that time.

Nevertheless, Bruenn's intervention was crucial. Without it FDR might have died in 1944 and that would have meant that Henry Wallace, not Harry Truman, would have become president. In Ferrell's opinion, Wallace was unqualified for the presidency and unsuited to it.

That Truman became the vice presidential nominee in 1944 was the result of efforts by a group of Democratic politicians. Realizing how ill the president was, these politicians maneuvered behind the scenes to ensure that someone other than Henry Wallace would receive second place on the national ticket. Roosevelt played a curiously passive role as the vice presidential intrigue unfolded. To Ferrell, this is another indication of FDR's inability to concentrate and to make decisions as a consequence of the debilitating effects of his heart ailment.

Although Ferrell is highly critical of FDR, the one issue on which he rises to the president's defense is Yalta. Rather than joining the chorus of critics who have charged that FDR made disastrous concessions to Joseph Stalin, Ferrell finds the president's behavior at Yalta "unexceptionable" (106).

At the end of the book Ferrell does overreach. Speculating on the effects of FDR's condition upon policy, he contends that a healthy president might have managed to avoid a whole host of

subsequent disasters. According to Ferrell, a healthy FDR would have made a difference in the strategy of the Pacific war (including a hint that the atomic bomb might not have been dropped), in better Sino-American relations (and perhaps even the avoidance of the Communist takeover and the Korean War), and in Indochina, where he believes the later debacle could have been averted. All of this is unconvincing.

In spite of these excesses, this is an important and useful book. It is the best account of Roosevelt's health and medical treatment in 1944-1945. It is an antidote to the fawning court histories that dominate the literature of the Roosevelt presidency. It makes a convincing case that FDR was as incapacitated in his last year as Woodrow Wilson was in 1920-1921. It shows how FDR concealed his true condition to the detriment of the country. It demonstrates conclusively that FDR should not have run in 1944. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was one of the greatest American presidents, but in 1944-1945 he was a petty, selfish politician far more interested in his concerns than those of the country.

University of Central Florida

EDMUND F. KALLINA JR.

But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle. By Glenn T. Eskew. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xv, 434 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Birmingham. Few words from the civil rights era can evoke such vivid images: police dogs, Bull Connor, children demonstrating, Martin Luther King, fire hoses, "Letter from a Birmingham jail," the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. For months in 1963, the civil rights movement focused the nation's attention on the people and events in Alabama's largest city, and Glenn Eskew covers all of them and more in his detailed account of the movement in Birmingham.

The story begins with the post-World War II changes in the work force and housing patterns that resulted in interracial violence that earned the city the epithet "Bombingham," and Eskew carefully chronicles the movement through the climactic campaign in 1963. He also discusses Birmingham politics in the 1950s (especially the role of T. Eugene "Bull" Connor, the commissioner

of public safety) and describes the fights among Birmingham's white business leadership over racial reform and the restructuring of local government.

The central contention in Eskew's account involves conflict between two ideologically distinctive civil rights movements. One had been led for years by "the traditional Negro leadership class." Tied to the "stodgy and elitist" National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, it worked for racial progress through compromise, negotiation, and accommodation with the white elite. "Limited in mass appeal," according to Eskew, "the NAACP provided the only organized and consistent black protest in Birmingham in the postwar years." Stressing discontinuity in the black freedom struggle, Eskew sees the emergence of Fred Shuttlesworth and the development of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in the mid 1950s as a turning point when the movement moved beyond the conservative Negro leadership.

The second movement consisted of "new indigenous protest groups" often headed by "charismatic leaders" such as Shuttlesworth. The mass based movement "responded to the new ideology of racial equality and Freedom Now." Eskew discounts the traditional Negro leadership class when he argues that "the civil rights movement began when local black activists in the South organized new indigenous protest groups in the 1950s and 1960s that demanded immediate and equal access to the system" and when he later declares that the indigenous Birmingham movement in the spring of 1963 "embodied the civil rights movement in its purest form." The differences between the two movements can be summed up by comparing "a request for improved but segregated public services to a demand for equal access to the system."

Eskew offers further provocative interpretations. He disagrees with standard accounts about the strategic role of King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Birmingham. Eskew portrays King and SCLC as representing the traditional Negro leaders, as opposing confrontations with Bull Connor, as preferring economic sanctions to mass direct action, and as not planning to elicit the support of the Kennedy administration, which was actually "hostile to the movement." Instead Eskew credits Shuttlesworth and other indigenous leaders for instigating demonstrations that transformed the SCLC, that "broadened its scope, changed its strategy, and redefined its goals." Not only did events in Birmingham change SCLC, they also led directly to the passage of the 1964

Civil Rights Act. Even the "March on Washington was simply a celebration of the victory in Birmingham," according to Eskew. For most blacks in Birmingham, however, the movement failed to bring about major change, and "the traditional Negro leadership class held on to power."

In addition to providing a thorough account of the movement in Birmingham, Eskew enriches the historiography by emphasizing conflicts within the civil rights communities and discontinuity in their histories. His account could have been more persuasive if he had delineated the components of the "traditional Negro leadership class" and the "new indigenous protest groups"; the tools of prosopography could have illuminated the complexities of the local and national movements in Birmingham. More extensive use of oral history (Eskew conducted only four interviews) could also have aided an understanding of the division and disagreements among Birmingham blacks. Finally, the story, starting with the inelegant title, would have been more compelling if Eskew's prose had not drained it of much of its inherent drama and passion.

University of Mississippi

CHARLES W. EAGLES

Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975. By Thomas W. Hanchett. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xv, 380 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Readers knowledgeable about the recent history of race relations probably would not compare Charlotte with Birmingham or Chicago as among the most segregated cities in America. Yet in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court in 1971 challenged the fundamentally segregated character of that metropolitan area by ordering student busing to achieve integration of the public schools. It was the result, writes Thomas W. Hanchett, "of decades of government-promoted segregation" (251).

Charlotte did not begin as a segregated city. In its early preindustrial years of the nineteenth century, blacks and whites, rich and poor lived in close proximity to one another, as in other preindustrial cities across the United States. The change in Charlotte began in the 1890s (later than in northern cities) in large part due to the

grievances of nearby small farmers, mill workers and African Americans who challenged the city's political and economic elite. Their successes locally and statewide in electing Fusionist Republican and Populist lawmakers and a governor (1896) led to a Democratic reaction to disfranchise African Americans and later illiterate whites beginning in 1900.

Disfranchisement reduced the voter turnout from more than seventy percent in the early 1890s to thirty percent a decade later. Most of the latter minority were white, male and propertied. They in turn amended the city charter to make elections at large ensuring that the city council and school board would remain under their control. Meanwhile, developers began to build upscale white suburbs, mill towns for workers and black neighborhoods to consciously segregate by race and class.

Subsequently, the federal government encouraged Charlotte's segregation by its New Deal programs for public housing and neighborhood red-lining by the Home Owners Loan Corporation. After World War II, federal urban renewal, interstate highway construction and tax laws to encourage the development of suburban shopping centers furthered white suburban growth and inner city disinvestment.

The results met with the satisfaction of the city's commercial-civic elite. As planner John Nolen envisioned in the 1920s, fine white residential neighborhoods, comfortable blue-collar and black districts, parks, boulevards and public plazas "would unite a city's diverse peoples into a healthy community" (170). The ideal was the segregated city.

Nolen's vision was not to be. Following passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, black and blue-collar voters challenged urban renewal and highway construction threatening their neighborhoods. They were joined by a new generation of white-collar city dwellers who discovered the charms of older inner city neighborhoods. A growing neighborhood movement secured once again district representation on the city council and began to support residential diversity over neighborhood homogeneity. These voters elected Harvey Grant as Charlotte's first African American mayor in 1981. Predominantly affluent white suburbs along with black and blue-collar neighborhoods remain, but Hanchett sees the recent efforts to reintegrate Charlotte as a hopeful sign.

This book, with its seventy helpful photographs, maps, tables and other illustrations, is well researched and well written. It is also

an excellent case study that places Charlotte in a national context in its description of the segregation of American cities over the past one hundred years. It explains the reaction of a traditional commercial-civic elite, who expected deference from others in community life, to the efforts by black and blue-collar Americans who also wanted a voice. Florida's cities experienced similar shifts and exclusions at the turn of the century, usually at the expense of African American voters. Only in the past twenty years have conditions begun to change. Today political and economic power still resides with the predominantly white, male, commercial and civic elite, but hopefully now they enjoy sufficient confidence, knowledge and sophistication to modify past practices and include all citizens in community decision-making processes.

University of North Florida

JAMES B. CROOKS

BOOK NOTES

New Titles

"A River in Flood" and Other Florida Stories. By Marjory Stoneman Douglas. Edited by Kevin M. McCarthy. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. Pp. 176. \$17.95 paper.)

In the pantheon of Florida writers, Marjory Stoneman Douglas (1890-1998) is cherished as the grande dame. A trailblazing environmental crusader, Douglas used her intimate knowledge of Florida's geography to inform readers as well as captivate them. This new short story collection is a brilliant example of that unique ability. Whether the subject is hurricanes, cockfighting, real estate deals, struggling immigrants, or corruption in the Everglades, Douglas's vivid prose gives her stories a remarkable sense of immediacy. Originally published in the *Saturday Evening Post* during the 1920s and 1930s, these nine tales have never before been available in one volume. University of Florida English professor Kevin M. McCarthy offers an insightful introduction to each story explaining its setting, unusual references, and significance to the history of South Florida.

The Sunshine State Almanac and Book of Florida-Related Stuff. By Phil Philcox and Beverly Boe. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 1998. Pp. 384. \$16.95 paper.)

Have you ever wondered why there are so many love bugs in Florida? Or how you can attract songbirds to your birdfeeder? Or even (for those aspiring mariners) how to obtain a license to captain a boat? The answers to these questions and many more are available in Phil Philcox and Beverly Boe's wondrously eclectic new work *The Sunshine State Almanac*. This fascinating volume provides information on a variety of topics including: wildlife, health advice, and even legal issues. Plus, the authors provide extensive lists to aid one's Florida research, such as a list of the state's best historic hotels and a complete twelve-month calendar of Florida events and festivals—from clambakes to chili cook-offs, and pirate parades to pumpkin-carving contests, this book is a veritable smorgasbord of Florida facts.

When the Church Bell Rang Racist: The Methodist Church and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama. By David E. Collins. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998. Pp. 178. \$24.95 cloth.)

With a provocative title and an insider's analysis of what many consider one of the most insidious periods in the South's history, David E. Collins's *When the Church Bell Rang Racist* is certain to elicit considerable—and well-deserved—attention. In this fascinating new work, Collins tells the story of the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference and its reaction to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Part memoir and part historical analysis, Collins reflects on white Methodists' struggle to come to terms with their consciences in the face of racial change. Using events in Alabama as a backdrop, Collins tells the story of the challenge that confronted the Methodist church and its ministers during those stormy years. Based on Collins's own experiences and those of fifty-five ministers he interviewed, the story he lays out is—unlike many melodramatic works—genuinely moving.

Louisiana in the Age of Jackson: A Clash of Cultures and Personalities. By Joseph G. Tregle Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. Pp. 369. \$37.50 cloth.)

Joseph G. Tregle Jr. paints a fascinating picture of Louisiana as it responded to the great political upheaval known as Jacksonian democracy. Although the movement upset political stability in every state, its effect on Louisiana was unique. The first state to join the Union from outside the original boundaries of the nation, Louisiana in 1803 harbored a French population whose political and cultural sensibilities were foreign to the "American" newcomers who quickly surged into the area. With voluminous research and engaging writing, Tregle demonstrates how class tensions, ethnic and cultural concerns, and personality politics intermingled to shape public life and create an utterly unique reaction to Jacksonian democracy.

Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People, Volume Two: From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty-First Century. By Michael Craton and Gail Saunders. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. Pp. 562. \$75.00 hardcover.)

With this monumental new work, Michael Craton and Gail Saunders have completed the most comprehensive history yet written of a Caribbean country and its people. In this volume, the authors have divided their work into three chronological sections, dealing first with adjustments to emancipation by former masters and former slaves between 1834 and 1900, then examining the slow process of modernization between 1900 and 1973. The book concludes with a narrative of events since 1973 that combines an analysis of social change, a candid examination of current problems, and an illuminating section on what makes the Bahamas and Bahamians distinctive in the world. The authors skillfully interweave generalizations and regional comparisons with particular examples drawn from travelers' accounts, private letters, and official dispatches.

Beyond the Theme Parks: Exploring Central Florida. By Benjamin J. Brotemarkle. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. Pp. 232. \$24.95 cloth.)

Benjamin Brotemarkle, radio host of Central Florida's "The Arts Connection," takes readers on a "behind-the-scenes" tour of some of the area's most rewarding cultural destinations. Whether one is an area resident or a visiting tourist, Brotemarkle's book provides a rich palette of sites more varied and extensive than any theme park, including: the creative legacy of the Maitland Art Center, the pioneer heritage of Fort Christmas, and the "other-worldly" spiritual community of Cassadaga. *Beyond the Theme Parks* also includes photographs, a convenient map, a cultural arts calendar, and lists of historic sites and arts organizations. More than a guide, this book offers a unique blend of heritage and history.

Mapping the Civil War: Featuring Rare Maps from the Library of Congress. By Christopher Nelson. (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1998. Pp. 176. \$39.95 hardcover.)

A primary source of intelligence in the Civil War, maps were as valuable and critical as rifles and cannons. These collected maps, some never before published and many in manuscript form, show us a new face of this legendary conflict. The second in the Library of Congress Classics Series, *Mapping the Civil War* in-

corporates maps, photographs, and original drawings to illustrate the war in a never-before-seen way. By breaking the war into major battles and illustrating each battle with critical and artful maps from both sides as well as photographs and sketches, this book offers clues as to what both generals and soldiers might have seen. And perhaps most importantly, it gives readers an intimate and fascinating view of the strategy of the Civil War.

New In Paperback

Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison. By Belle Boyd. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998, orig. pub. 1865. Pp. 274. \$16.95 paper.)

Nearly half a century before Mata Hari danced her way into the history books, Belle Boyd was mingling with enemy (in this case the Union Army) and collecting valuable information for the Confederacy. Only seventeen years old when the war began, Boyd leapt onto the national stage when she killed a Union soldier in her Shenandoah Valley home in 1861. After the war, the enterprising Boyd began capitalizing on her wartime exploits, first as an actress and then as a reader of dramatic accounts of her espionage. In this new edition of Boyd's memoir, Drew Gilpin Faust and Sharon Kennedy-Knowle consider the role of women in the Civil War. Boyd, for one, exploited her femininity but refused to play by traditional rules, demonstrating that females could be both powerful and, as one Union officer said of Boyd, "dangerous."

Mule Trader: Ray Lum's Tales of Horses, Mules and Men. By William R. Ferris. (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1998. Pp. 252. \$16.00 paper.)

With his bawdy tales and off-color stories it is doubtful that Ray Lum would have ever had much success on the Kiwanis Club lecture circuit; however, students of southern history can be grateful that William Ferris had the foresight to preserve Lum's captivating yarns on tape. Lum, who passed away in 1977, was a mule trader by profession. His home and auction barn were in Vicksburg, Mississippi, but in trading he fanned out over twenty states and even into Mexico. Over several years, William Ferris tape recorded many long conversations with Lum. In them, Lum discusses the ins and

outs of livestock auctioneering, his memories of rustic southern life, and the reasons behind his bountiful optimism. Preserved in this instantly engaging work, Lum's reminiscences are a genuine historical resource and a wonderful slice of nostalgia.

Reprints

Archaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast. By Gordon R. Willey. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. Pp. 696. \$29.95 paper.)

Fifty years after its publication by the Smithsonian Institution, this landmark work is back in print. Initially, the book marked a new phase in archaeological research. Today, it continues to offer a major synthesis of the archaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast, with complete descriptions and illustrations of all the pottery found in the area. Willey's work contains data that remain indispensable to archaeologists working in every region or state west of the Mississippi River. In addition to its many illuminating photographs, the book includes an overview of all the work early archaeologists did in the area from the 1800s up until the time of the federal relief archaeology programs of the 1930s. An enormously influential work, Willey's book has become the foundation upon which all subsequent research in the Gulf area has been constructed.