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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

The Everglades: An Environmental History. By David McCally. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xxii, 215 pp. List of tables and figures, foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

David McCally's *The Everglades: An Environmental History* is an important addition to Florida's historical literature. McCally excels in his analysis of the evolution of the Everglades, and the people who altered this highly unique system to suit their needs. This work, paired with *The River of Grass*, offers an excellent introduction to ecology and history of the Everglades. In fact, readers will find it imperative to consult Marjorie Stoneman Douglas's classic work because McCally's well-written prose is muddled by his thesis.

The author contends that the *river of grass* "metaphor is unfortunate and hinders restoration of the complex wetlands system it so imperfectly describes" (179). Unfortunately, the author fails to offer an alternative metaphor that would serve the system's restoration. McCally does present the Adirondack State Park as an example Florida could emulate to create a sustainable Everglades. Yet he never examines the strategies the New York park has pursued to "maintain[ed] a sustainable wilderness system" (176). Currently, New York is implementing a clustered traditional town development strategy in Adirondack State Park not only to maintain the wilderness, but to protect New York City's water supply. The South Florida Water Management District has proposed a similar strategy, a point the author should have identified to aid the cause of sustainability.

Although the author ignored the impact of recent human habitation, he excelled in analyzing the living patterns of the Everglades first human inhabitants. McCally explains that the earliest native peoples struggled to survive, but as the south Florida plant

and soil system became more diverse and rich a "cultural explosion" ensued around 3000 BC. "The new environmental niches, both the interior wetlands and highly productive coastal waters, provided Florida's Indians with living sites that were far more productive than anything previously available in south Florida, and these more productive environmental conditions provided the basis for the emergence of . . . the glades tradition" (38). This section of the book, coupled with the creation of modern agricultural systems, is the strength of the book. The trial and error efforts of modern Americans to drain the Everglades is expertly chronicled, revealing the importance of governmental expertise in creating the Everglades agricultural and flood control districts. The author provides hope that we may have expertise to restore the historic Everglades, but "it will ultimately be a political decision" (179).

Unfortunately, the author never mentions the creation of Everglades National Park. This political decision is a rich story because it marks the first time that the United States established a park that was not of the monumental stature of the great western parks or even the Smoky Mountains. Moreover, in the author's skilled hands, an examination of the Everglades National Park would undoubtedly yield ideas to push his own agenda: "The creation of a state park that includes both the Everglades Agriculture Area and the land between the agricultural district and the Everglades National Park" (179).

David McCally has written an important book, but there are some telling gaps in his story. I am hoping he writes more on the subject, especially if he addresses the history of the Everglades National Park. While the *river of grass* metaphor may "represent the historic Everglades in the minds of most Americans" (176), most Americans identify the Everglades as a national park. Until this issue is scrutinized the environmental history of the Everglades will be incomplete.

Rollins College

R. BRUCE STEPHENSON

Unconquered People: Florida's Seminole and Miccosukee Indians. By Brent Richard Weisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. x, 170 pp. Foreword by Jerald T. Milanich, acknowledgments, introduction, further reading, timeline. \$39.95 cloth.)

Brent Richard Weisman wrote this slim volume for the general public rather than the scholarly audience university presses nor-

mally target. I applaud him for his desire to make scholarly information more accessible and the University Press of Florida for continuing to expand his scope. Replete with photographs and concluding with a guide to Seminole sites in Florida, this book should have made a major contribution to knowledge about Florida's Native peoples for the state's citizens and visitors.

Weisman is at his best when he describes archaeological excavations, and amateur archaeologists, as well as many professionals, will enjoy his digressions. When he writes about the excavation in the 1950s of a burial in Paynes Praire, for example, he carefully notes the position of the corpse—flexed, on his side, and facing east—and lists the items buried with him, which were mostly European trade goods including brass buckles, an iron file and tomahawk, a mirror, knives, coils of cooper wire, and a gun lock. Then he skillfully relates this excavation to the historical sources of the Indian trade: “to obtain these items, this man would have had to turn in a minimum of thirty-four pounds of deerskins . . . [which] could readily have come from less than one season in the woods” (22). The reader moves from skeleton and goods to the process by which a human being obtained his livelihood, and he/she shifts from the objectification of Native life to an appreciation of what it was like to live as an Indian in the eighteenth-century South.

If connecting archaeology and culture is what Weisman does best, writing history is what he does worst. He often does not provide enough detail to avoid confusion. For example, he immediately follows a discussion of Spanish attempts to get Lower Creeks to move into Florida with a paragraph on a council with the South Carolina governor. In passing, he comments that “Florida was now under British rule” (14). Colonial historians will know that following the Seven Years’ War (French and Indian War), Britain acquired Florida and Spain got Louisiana while the defeated Frances lost most of its possessions in the western hemisphere, but since my college students cannot keep territorial transfers straight in this period, I suspect that most general readers will falter on this point. And yet the shift from one colonial empire to another is an enormously important event for the Lower Creeks/Seminole. It forces them to deal with the far more rapacious British. They attend this council not out of choice, as Weisman implies, but out of necessity.

Although the book has a fundamentally chronological organization, the relative weight placed on various periods in Seminole and Miccosukee history makes no sense. The Seminole Wars (1812-

1858) get over twenty pages while the entire twentieth century gets fifteen. This imbalance is particularly unfortunate since in the former period of Seminole history, ethnocentric and downright racist writing prevails. Weisman, who is normally quite sensitive, lapses into the language of this literature when, for example, he refers to "Jessup's relative success in ridding Florida of the Seminoles" (56). In his abbreviated account of the twentieth century, he devotes only one paragraph to the subject most non-specialists find most fascinating and relevant—Indian gaming—while Seminole relations with archaeologists get a whole section.

In conclusion, therefore, this book simply will not serve the general public very well. The absence of an index and the poor quality of photographic reproduction only add to the impression that it was hurriedly assembled and shoddily produced. Anyone seriously interested in the history of Florida's native people should read the fine scholarly work of Harry Kersey, Amy Bushnell, John Mahon, Patricia Wickman, Jerald Milanich, Patsy West, and Weisman himself.

University of North Carolina

THEDA PERDUE

Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers: The Transformation of Florida.

By John T. Foster and Sarah Whitmer Foster. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xix, 158 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 hardcover, \$12.95 paper.)

Reconstruction aimed at remaking the South in the image of the North. *Beechers, Stowes, and Yankee Strangers* explores this topic in a focused and limited way, but it taps into some of the broader issues related to Florida as the state came to terms with the modern world in the late-nineteenth century. John T. and Sarah Whitmer Foster examine a tightly-knit group of Yankees who viewed Florida as a grand experiment in earthly redemption as the nervous energy of New England reformism flowed into the vacuum of post-war Florida. To these reformers, Florida was a political and moral frontier, rough and backward, that needed a guiding hand. While political Reconstruction directed by the national government was certainly part of this chapter of the state's history, the individuals in this book sought to convince enough Yankees to move to Florida so that by working in concert with Florida Unionists, political control

could be wrested from "traditional southerners" and a "very different Florida" could be created. While this tack failed in the short-run, the authors assert it was nevertheless an early attempt to create a modern Florida. Thus, it was not Henry Flagler who planted the first seeds of today's Florida, but the interlopers the authors call "Yankee strangers" who prepared Flagler's fields for harvest. What these people lacked, unlike Flagler, was the ability to pour enormous amounts of capital into the state. The protagonists in this book attempted first to remake the mental and political landscape of Florida, and failed. Flagler remade Florida's economy and the state's mind followed mammon into the modern world. This is not to say that Harriet Beecher Stowe did not understand the importance of economic growth to her vision, but the vicissitudes of weather played havoc with oranges in her locale.

The Fosters have penned a book bulging with thick description of their chief players and of postbellum Florida. They draw deeply from their sources to trace the impact of a select and tightly-knit group of Yankees on Florida's late-nineteenth century experience, and they often let their subjects speak for themselves. The key figures include Harriet Beecher Stowe, her brother Charles Beecher, John Swaim, Chloe Merrick, and others. All of these individuals come to life in the book, but only these characters. For the most part, southerners are treated as abstractions—good if they accepted the modern vision, but bad if they did not. This is understandable given the purpose of the book, as well as the view of the main players of the drama, but to dismiss those not in agreement with the new vision as "traditional southerners" is to present a limited version of the debates that took place. Even the land and environment of Florida itself, when viewed through the lens of the Beecher's and Stowe's descriptions, is a surreal world, exotic and foreign but pregnant with possibilities. It often seems, indeed, that the Beechers and Stowes were surprised that the people they met in their Florida travels spoke English.

Perhaps the most important part of the story for the Fosters is the particular vision that the Beechers and Stowes had for Florida. The Yankee strangers sincerely desired to create a more egalitarian society in the state. Education, political participation, and economic opportunity for African Americans played a central role in this vision. And while they were actively involved in promoting these ends, there were, to say the least, any number of historical forces acting to limit them. Tellingly, at the end of the story the

Stowes and Beechers left Florida for more northern climes, much as today's "snowbirds" come and go, either oblivious to the impact they have on deep-rooted communities, old churches, and long-standing, local traditions, or like the people in this study, intent on shaping the area to their own liking. So, this study is not just a tale of Florida's early flirtation with modernization, but a look at the forces and ideas that created the South that exists today. The Beechers and Stowes may have lost the battle in the late-nineteenth century, but they evidently have won the war.

University of West Florida

GEORGE B. ELLENBERG

Slaves and Slaveholders in Bermuda, 1616-1782. By Virginia Bernhard. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999. xviii, 316 pp. List of tables and maps, preface, acknowledgments, appendices, a note on Bermuda sources, works cited, index. \$37.50 cloth.)

Out of fascination with Bermuda, Virginia Bernhard began researching this colony's history some time ago. Her research efforts, and increased fascination, led to the production of this study on the people and history of a small English colony 600 miles off the coast of Virginia. In this book, Bernhard details and examines Bermuda's unique history first as a fledgling colony and finally as a complicated slave society in an effort to ascertain this island's history of race-relations in comparison to other slave societies during this era.

Slaves and Slaveholders in Bermuda takes the reader on a chronological journey through the development of this small island colony into its final product as a typical slave society during the eighteenth century. However, as Bernhard argues, there was nothing typical about Bermuda's slave society. From its early development, the colony did not share the same ideas of slavery as its neighbors in mainland North America or the Caribbean. Blacks and whites lived together in a colony that encompassed twenty-one square miles, a fact that deeply affected the state of race-relations in Bermuda. Slaves and whites lived together, worked together, and shared the same hopes and dreams. They worshiped in the same churches, shared an educational knowledge, and helped each other out in time of need.

Laws enacted to punish or control blacks in the community in a variety of areas were repeatedly ignored or bypassed. These slaves

were given a certain degree of independence and were able to move about freely on the island and form relationships with their fellow slaves, something that was not enjoyed by their brothers and sisters in the remaining areas of the New World. Furthermore, Bermuda's slaves did not revolt as they did in the mainland colonies or in the Caribbean, and those revolts that did occur were quite tame. Whites in Bermuda did not share the common opinion that slaves were lazy, ignorant, and inferior. Their only fault was that they were not free. In fact, Bernhard argues, slaves were seldom called slaves at all.

So, according to Bernhard, what developed 600 miles off the coast of Virginia was a racially tolerant colony that gave its slaves "a large measure of autonomy and a sense of identity" (275). One cannot help but admit that all of this is hard to believe, especially when aware of the state of affairs in the slave societies of mainland North America, Latin America, and the Caribbean. However, Bernhard's sources do not lie. She supports these conclusions with evidence from wills, court records, Assembly acts, Bermuda's colonial records, and much more. By looking at her sources and research efforts, it is obvious that she has definitely done her homework and spent a great deal of time in Bermuda's archives.

However, the book does have a few problems. First, there is no Introduction to this study. Although Bernhard discusses her ideas and goals somewhat in the preface, that is scant. She does explain her motivations behind her interest and research in Bermuda and its history, as well as the questions she hoped to answer with this book. This is quite interesting, but her discussion ends there. What is desperately needed here is an Introduction that places Bermuda in context with this era's history, and what has been previously done. Bernhard does mention what few books have been written on Bermuda, but does not explain them in detail. Furthermore, she makes little effort to define how she sees Bermuda in comparison to how other historians have seen it in the past. As a result, the reader is left wondering whether she sees it as part of North America or the Caribbean. More questions surround the issue of where other historians, Americanists and Caribbeanists, see the colony as well. The same is true for her frequent use of the term, "English Colonies." Is she referring to those in mainland North America, or the Caribbean, or both? At times this is clear, but often it is not. This type of discussion would have helped her book a great deal.

Along the same lines, Bernhard frequently compares the colony's history to that of colonial Virginia and mainland North

America. This is not bad, but the same needs to be done for the English colonies in the Caribbean. Although she does do some comparison in this area, it is not as in depth as the comparison with the American colonies. What results is a study that seems to see Bermuda as an American colony. This is very disconcerting, as many Caribbeanists would tend to disagree. One cannot help but feel by the last page that Bernhard was simply out of her element in writing this book. Her knowledge of American history is quite rich and impressive, but her knowledge of the Caribbean is only beginning.

With that said, *Slaves and Slaveholders in Bermuda* is still an important addition to the historiography. Bernhard has produced an impressively researched and well-written book that gives the reader valuable insight into Bermuda's history. She gives detail and life to this colony's history as well as its inhabitants, which is something that has been needed for quite some time.

Florida International University

COLLEEN VASCONCELLOS

Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819. By Thomas N. Ingersoll. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. xxv, 490 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)

Popular writers and historians have steeped early New Orleans, perhaps more than any other city in America, in a colorful mythology. They have described it as place ruled by "Manon," the hot-blooded temptress, "where women of both colors gave themselves up to illicit sex with men, whenever the latter were not indulging in other vices or crimes" (xvii). According to Thomas Ingersoll, this image is not only fanciful, it is also wrong. He argues that "Mammon," or the pursuit of material wealth, defined the city's social structure from its founding, and that order and respectability, not decadence, anarchy, and vice, were essential to its development. Calling New Orleans the first slave society of the Deep South, Ingersoll further asserts that the racial hierarchy that governed all plantation societies determined relations between the city's denizens more than the cultures of its French, Spanish, and finally, Anglo-American rulers.

In framing his argument, Ingersoll not only takes issue with the old Creole historians like Charles Gayarre, but also with Frank Tan-

nenbaum's classic comparative analysis of Latin American and English slave colonies. He also challenges newer scholarship that has revised and expanded earlier versions of Louisiana's colonial history. Recently, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, Daniel Usner Jr., and Kimberly Hangar, among others, have delved into French and Spanish colonial records to show how sparse settlement, weak colonial leadership, and a volatile natural environment provided Indians, slaves, and free blacks with leverage against the domination of white European colonists. In contrast, Ingersoll asserts that slaves and free blacks never seriously challenged the authority of the white population.

To make his case, Ingersoll divides his story into three parts: the French Regime, the Spanish Regime, and the Republican Period. During French rule, white colonists searched for a lucrative staple, imported African slaves, and struggled to create a plantation economy. They were thwarted initially by poor tobacco crops and the French Crown's unwillingness to sustain the slave trade. In contrast to other accounts which defined the early French period as a time of starvation and conflict among residents, Ingersoll claims white settlers achieved moderate success in their agricultural efforts, and considerable social mobility. Despite different classes and origins, whites were unified by abundant land, common slaveholding status, and a shared stake in controlling the black population. Conversely, blacks remained divided by their different African nationalities and the emergence of a free black sub-class. Violence still erupted occasionally, but it did not threaten the essential authority that white men exercised over all others. By the mid-eighteenth century, around the time Spain acquired the colony, successful cultivation of indigo had created a small but powerful planter class. Thus, early New Orleans was neither more nor less chaotic than any other developing slave society.

In his discussion of the Spanish period, Ingersoll directly addresses Tannenbaum's assertion that Spanish laws recognized and protected the human rights of slaves more than did the laws of Anglo-America. The Spanish governors installed new slave codes, including that of freedom purchase, allowing slaves to buy their way out of servitude. Some scholars of colonial Louisiana have argued that these laws provided Louisiana slaves with greater privileges and more autonomy, and that they created a large free black population which threatened the power of white slaveholders. Ingersoll refutes this, claiming that relations between slaves and owners

changed little, and the increase in free blacks occurred slowly without much impact.

The third and final section addresses the development of the city after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The region was changing, and the small town surrounded by plantations was soon replaced by a teeming urban and commercial center. At this time, the number and diversity of immigrants, the re-opening of the slave trade, as well as lax policing eroded stability and caused an increase in crime in the city. Again invoking the image of "Manon," Ingersoll stresses that the rise in delinquency did not translate into widespread concubinage of black women by white men, which was discouraged in elite social circles. Furthermore, differences between whites of French, Caribbean, and Anglo-American origin did not undermine their solidarity while the differences among Africans of different nationalities kept blacks divided. White planters, freed from colonial mandates, wrote into state law the subjugation of blacks they had practiced continuously since the beginning of the French regime.

Because Ingersoll focuses solely on New Orleans rather than the entire lower Mississippi Valley, he does not entirely refute his peers who incorporated the unruly slave societies of Natchez and Point Coupee into their studies. Nonetheless, using many of the same colonial records, census figures, and official correspondence, (as well as Superior Council and Cabildo minutes and notarial archives), Ingersoll disagrees with most of the other historians of the region. His assertion that New Orleans did not represent a kinder, gentler, slave society than its counterparts in Anglo-America is well supported. His claim that white planters of colonial New Orleans created and maintained a profitable and rigidly ordered plantation society throughout the colonial era may overstate the case, however. Although a handful of New Orleans planters made their fortunes earlier, the colony of Louisiana generated no profits for its owners until large-scale sugar cultivation was introduced in the late eighteenth century. While the free black population grew slowly, it nonetheless became a much larger group than in any other part of North America and exercised considerable influence on the society and economy of early New Orleans. And if miscegenation was rare, it was common enough to be recorded regularly by visitors and natives alike. Although he disputes Gwendolyn Midlo Hall who asserted that a cohesive Afro-Creole community threatened Louisiana's racial order, Ingersoll concedes that white planters struggled

continuously to maintain control over slaves, free blacks, and the maroons who occupied the liminal space between the two groups.

Ingersoll's scholarship covers the lengthy and complicated history of a much storied place, one in which events overlapped in complex ways. As a result, the organization of the book is occasionally confusing as it alternates chronological with analytical chapters and requires the reader to jump back and forth across the timeline. Nonetheless, the author has done a remarkable job depicting the politics of a international panorama that connected Paris, Madrid, Port-au-Prince, and New Orleans, and then narrowing the focus to reveal the effects of those politics on inhabitants of a small frontier town. Furthermore, he makes his strongest point most convincingly: that culture and laws had little effect on the brutal relations between white masters and their black slaves in New Orleans, a relationship defined by the same avarice that drove New World plantation economies everywhere.

Durham, N.C.

SARAH RUSSELL

Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845. By Catherine A. Brekus. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. x, 467 pp. Introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

Catherine Brekus's engaging and original *Strangers and Pilgrims* uncovers the powerful story of female evangelical preaching between the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century and the Millerite movement of the 1840s. With sensitivity to the religious beliefs of these women and capacious attention to the historical context of their experiences, Brekus weaves a story that complicates our understanding of both religion and gender and will necessarily influence a wide array of early American, women's, and religious historians.

The women who inform the early stages of her work left few personal accounts, but Brekus shows great ingenuity in employing eighteenth-century church records and clergymen's writings to reveal these women's contributions to the "New Birth" and their identification with New Light critiques of the social status quo. The much larger group of female preachers involved in antebellum revivalism wrote far more often and with greater conviction about

their call to preach. Brekus lets these long-ignored evangelical voices again proclaim their religious power.

Differing in their denominations and in the intensity of their refutation of the Pauline charge to "let your women keep silence in the churches," the women of these First and Second Great Awakenings shared much else in common. Genuine, even overwhelming, religious conviction, rather than feminist ideology or desire for personal glory, moved them to action. Brekus argues persuasively that a deep faith in God and the desire to fulfill an ordained mission drove most of these women to witness, exhort, and finally preach. While actively defending their right to publicly profess their faith despite their gender, these women honored other boundaries between the sexes. Few ever considered delivering the sacraments, and only one of the hundred plus female preachers Brekus studied sought ordination. Finally, their religious radicalism did not translate into secular feminism. Female preachers embraced social conservatism when it came to women's civil rights; almost unanimously they affirmed women's political and familial subordination to men.

These similarities notwithstanding, Brekus reminds us that women's roles in evangelical churches varied widely according to class, region, and race. Factors as diverse as shifting views of the nature of salvation, the availability of male preachers, denominational desires to project a counter-cultural image, and social constructions of gender influenced if and when a women could publicly evangelize. Moreover, Brekus shows that no clear progression took place between silence and seizing the pulpit. Indeed, between the revivals of the mid-eighteenth century and the religious fervor of the early nineteenth century came the great age of Revolution—which ironically proved quite repressive for female preachers. And, in the 1830s and 1840s, when dissenting evangelical groups like the Methodists, Freewill Baptists, Christian Connection, and African Methodists sought greater respectability and a mainstream identity, they rejected the participation of the very women whose preaching had helped those denominations gain attention and members in the early part of the century. The mid-nineteenth century saw a increasing number of denominational resolutions against female preaching, lecturing, and even praying aloud. According to Brekus, black and white church leaders "traded their tradition of female evangelism for greater power and respectability" (271). Only the Millerites, whose beliefs centered

on an imminent apocalypse, continued to embrace female preaching in the 1840s. Their faith, and the last wave of female preachers of this era, disappeared after the world failed to come to an end in October 1844.

There is more to this fine book than space will allow me to discuss. Brekus joins the growing cadre of scholars questioning the sharp lines between public and private life in early America. She demonstrates the complicated, shifting nature of women's sphere in the nineteenth century. And she adds to ongoing scholarly discussions about the radicalism of the American Revolution and the commercialism of the antebellum economy. Paramount, however, is Brekus' determination to recover the story of these evangelical women preachers and explain why it remained untold for so long. Part of the answer to this second issue lies in the fact that silencing women preachers entailed writing them out of church records and denominational histories. But more importantly, argues Brekus, no one wanted to claim these women as their own: evangelicals found them too radical and feminists rejected them as too conservative. The consequence was the collapse of an enduring female ministry then and a lingering ignorance about the history of women preachers now. Brekus's lucid, compelling work goes a long way in solving the latter problem. The former awaits another day.

University of Tennessee

LORRI GLOVER

The Southern Judicial Tradition: State Judges and Sectional Distinctiveness, 1790-1890. By Timothy S. Huebner. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xiii, 263 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 hardcover.)

In a thoughtful discussion, Timothy Huebner provides important insight into the way in which southern judges dealt with law and public policy in the nineteenth century. Huebner's approach is to study jurists who served on the high courts of six southern states. With great skill, he weaves together the life stories and judicial experiences of Spencer Roane, John Catron, Joseph Henry Lumpkin, John Hemphill, Thomas Ruffin, and George W. Stone. His analysis details the similarities and differences in how they dealt with the complex issues of their day. Huebner addresses the important themes of nationalism, the law of slavery, economic development, and change over time.

The key component of Huebner's approach to case law is examining in detail the cases which came before the Supreme Courts of Virginia, Texas, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina. In describing the multitude of cases that crossed the path of these bodies, Huebner shows considerable skill in making sense of divergent cases. Yet, such an approach suffers from certain limitations. It draws upon the appellate decision-making process, which can vary markedly from the way in which justice is dispensed by lower courts. It also, of course, reflects cases that were exotic and different enough that they merited the attention of judges sitting on a supreme court.

Nonetheless, Huebner's emphasis on judges as individuals demonstrates the way in which their influence could affect not only cases, but the approach of lawyers, judges, and others involved in the lawmaking process in southern states. For example, Huebner documents Spencer Roane's dominance of the Virginia judiciary and Joseph Henry Lumpkin's prominent role at the University of Georgia Law School and as an advocate of economic and moral reform. The very central roles that these judges played had an impact far beyond their activities on the bench. Especially revealing was the way in which Huebner demonstrated the political networks of which the jurists were a part. In the world of southern jurisprudence, the line between political activism and judicial reticence was not a fine distinction, but rather the legal and political worlds were intimately connected. Roane's political involvement was central not only in his entrance to the bench, but also reflected the way in which he remained an important force in the public life of Virginia. While some like Thomas Ruffin found themselves disgusted by political action, supreme court justices operated not only in a judicial realm, but were also active political participants.

One difficulty from such an approach could be that Huebner associated too much with the lives of his subjects. One obvious example of this failing is the way in which Huebner addresses Reconstruction. Reconstruction was obviously a pivotal experience in the legal and political history of the South; yet, Huebner gives it short shrift. Nowhere does Huebner discuss in any detail the impact of Reconstruction. With the example of his sole postbellum judge, George W. Stone, he limits discussion of Reconstruction to one page. Considering that Stone was intimately connected to the Redeemer tactics of violence, such an omission seems striking. Similarly, one cannot help wondering why jurists who sat on the court

during Reconstruction and afterwards are excluded from Huebner's study. Huebner could have included such notables as Jonathan Wright, who served on the South Carolina Supreme Court, or Chief Justice Edwin Randall of the Florida Supreme Court who served during Reconstruction and into the 1880s.

None of these concerns ought to detract from the value and real impact of Huebner's work. He builds on a number of impressive recent works. His approach has real value and will be an important source for years to come. One hopes that in time his study will be available in a paperback edition, the cost of which will make its use more popular in graduate seminars and courses on southern history. For those interested in understanding southern jurisprudence or comprehending the social structure of the southern political system, Huebner's study merits serious attention.

Bowling Green State University

LEWIE REECE

Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America. Edited by John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. ix, 322pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, selected bibliography of secondary sources, contributors, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

In a collection of essays on antislavery violence, the editors present a mosaic of essays that describe many different ways that opponents of slavery used force. Following Herbert Aptheker, the collection succeeds admirably in establishing its central theme, that opposition to slavery was often wedded to violence. The editors want readers to see these acts as important precursors to the Civil War. The other main points that the editors hope to establish are harder to draw from the collection. The editors suggest that "antislavery violence served as a means of uniting slavery's black and white enemies" (2). While this might be true, one wonders about the depth of the alliance when the editors separate the book into two sections, one on black liberators and the other on white abolitionists. The claim that several essays "explore the role of antebellum concepts of gender" (2) also seems exaggerated. Only Kristen Tegmeier's intriguing essay on women and violence in Kansas even notes the relationship of women to violence. Manhood is a theme in other essays, but Tegmeier's essay alone hinges upon concepts of gender.

Unfortunately, the editors pay more attention to the violent activities of abolitionists in the North than to the actions of the slaves themselves. Of the ten essays, four address how slaves used violence as a weapon to battle those who enslaved them. None examined the most damaging forms of slave violence: individual acts of murder and arson. Nevertheless, these four essays are well worth reading. Douglas Egerton's examination of the Haitian Revolution's influence upon resistance in Virginia presents his take on the way revolutionary sentiment affected the slaves. Unlike James Sidbury, who elsewhere argues that the Haitian revolution provided "a new idiom that Black Virginians increasingly used when discussing attempts to win freedom," Egerton makes more tempered readings of the sources [Sidbury, *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730-1810* (New York, 1997), 39]. Egerton reminds his readers how important the Haitian Revolution was in Virginia both because of immigrants, free and slave, and because of its importance as a symbol.

Junius Rodriguez looks at the under-appreciated German Coast Slave Insurrection in Louisiana. In 1811, Charles Deslondes, a mulatto slave driver from Haiti, began an insurrection that eventually included hundreds of slaves. The biggest slave uprising within the United States, it may have been the rebellion with the best odds of success. Even so, the odds were still enormously long, and the rebellion was quickly quashed. Stanley Harrold's piece about the mutiny upon the Creole examines an event that has been overshadowed by the Amistad mutiny. Unlike the Amistad mutiny, the mutiny upon the Creole in 1841 was a direct attack on an important and legal slave trade, the shipping of surplus human chattel to the labor-hungry deep South. Harrold focuses on the way that this mutiny was perceived in abolitionist circles. Finally, James Cook writes a thought-provoking piece that looks at an ironic transition in Fredrick Douglass's life. The young Douglass was involved in fights frequently, but espoused a policy of pacifism. As he got older his rhetoric heated but his personal taste for the pugilist's art waned.

The essays on violent opposition to slavery by those in the North are more uneven. Carol Wilson's essay on the northern free black communities marks a continuation of the fine essays about resistance to slavery in the South. Other essays, for example James Stewart's informative essay on Joshua Giddings, seem out of place in this collection. Giddings, a staunch antislavery Congressman

from Ohio, assiduously avoided violence as he agitated on behalf of abolition. In a sophisticated essay, John Stauffer tried to connect northern antislavery violence to an identification of the actors with a mythic conception of the Indians. This reader remains unpersuaded. The book closes with a fine short essay by John McKivigan who extends the story of John Brown beyond his hanging by looking at how his associates responded to his disastrous attempt to foment a slave rebellion. These essays provide a good backdrop for a reader interested in slavery and the origins of the Civil War. While not exhaustive, they illuminate a persistent tradition of antislavery violence in America.

Durham, N.C.

PATRICK BREEN

Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South. By Janet Duitsman Cornelius. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999. x, 305 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

The main purpose of *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South* by Janet Cornelius is to illuminate the role played by various Christian missions in the development of the southern black church in the nineteenth century. Cornelius discusses the specific contributions of Baptist, Methodist, and to a lesser extent Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Catholic missionaries. Her goal is to explain the manner in which Africans and their descendants in America fused their memories of African perspectives and practices and the profound spiritual longings generated by bondage with views and rituals introduced by European Christians to create a unique African American religious institution.

Cornelius achieves this central objective. Moreover, *Slave Missions* illustrates that African Americans transformed the white church. The Africanization of Christianity, for example the flamboyant preaching styles and emotional responses of the congregations particularly among the Baptists, alarmed many.

Cornelius also provides valuable insight into the peculiar nature of southern race relations. One central point made by this study is how what became known in the twentieth century as the "southern way of life," that is, separation of the races from birth to death, began in the churches. Before African Americans had churches of their own, they were allowed to worship in white

churches where, based on earlier European models to distinguish people according to their stations in life and to separate the lowly from the high-born, blacks were relegated to the spaces that represented inferiority and subordination.

The discussion of white southern ministers revealed on the one hand the profound moral dilemmas they experienced when forced to remain silent witnesses to the destruction of slave marriages and separation of black families. Withholding full access to the Bible, a written text, because of fears of literacy among slaves was another source of anguish for Christian ministers. This became particularly difficult after Nat Turner's revolt when the laws and racial climate generally hardened.

The examination of white southern missionaries shed additional light on the extent to which southerners were captives of the paternalism that informed the interaction between whites and black in the plantation south. The complete inability to perceive black people as capable of controlling their own lives without white supervision ultimately led many southern missionaries to regard slavery as a positive good that facilitated the salvation of Africans and Africa. In other words, because of slavery, Africans and their descendants were finally exposed to Christianity. Not only did the enslaved benefit, but they could be freed and take the gospel to Africa to illuminate the dark continent. It was this belief that led many to support colonization. This notion of the benevolent, even morally compelling reason for slavery hardened by the time of the Civil War into a conviction that the Confederacy was a redeemer nation.

Cornelius illustrates diverging perspectives of African Americans. Freedom was at the heart of the African American odyssey. For blacks who supported colonization, migration constituted an opportunity for liberty and autonomy, as well as the means to spread Christianity. Black people were determined to be free and independent of white control. The churches African Americans formed with the assistance of paternalistic whites were rooted in the concept and quest for freedom and became instruments of autonomy for African Americans after slavery ended. Before and after the Civil War, many blacks sought separate churches that they controlled.

Ultimately *Slave Missions* constitutes a valuable addition to the study of southern religious history, African American studies, and race relations in the antebellum South. Most of the information is

based on studies of Georgia and South Carolina. Only fleeting references are made to Florida. The value of this study, however, in regard to Florida history, is that it lays important theoretical ground on which future scholars can reconstruct the history of religion and the African American experience.

University of North Florida

CAROLYN WILLIAMS

Slavery in the Clover Bottoms: John McCline's Narrative of His Life During Slavery and the Civil War. Edited by Jan Furman. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998. List of illustrations, foreword, acknowledgments, editor's introduction, introduction, appendices, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

John McCline (circa 1851-1948) was born a slave on the Hoggatt plantation in Davidson County, Tennessee. He stayed there until December 1862 when, at the age of eleven, he ran away with the Michigan Thirteenth Infantry. He remained with the regiment as a teamster and officer's servant until June 1865. After the Civil War ended, McCline migrated north to Michigan and Illinois, then to Missouri. Health problems resulted in his leaving St. Louis to reside in Colorado Springs in 1892. There, he was employed by Herbert J. Hagerman. When Hagerman became territorial governor of New Mexico (1906-07), McCline moved to Santa Fe where he managed the governor's residence. The two men developed a close relationship which resulted in McCline working for Hagerman until the latter's death in 1935.

It is believed that McCline wrote his narrative during the 1920s. He then entrusted the original handwritten copy of his narrative to Hagerman who was to edit the document and use his influence to procure a publisher. Hagerman made editorial changes, prepared an introduction, and apparently polished up the narrative for publication. He died a year after editing was completed, however, which may account for why the narrative was not published during either man's lifetime. Unfortunately, the original handwritten copy of the narrative was lost, and Hagerman's edited copy, which remained with McCline's widow after his death, is all that exists.

Slavery in the Clover Bottoms briefly examines slave life on the Hoggatt plantation located in Middle Tennessee. McCline, using

plain and straightforward language, outlines the daily life of slaves on the Hoggatt plantation, which employed one hundred slaves. He discusses how young slaves were prepared for a lifetime of servitude, how slaves responded to kind overseers (and the anxiety of others when mean individuals replaced them), how masters on large plantations found it essential to teach basic addition and subtraction to slaves charged with keeping account of herds and flocks, how young slave boys were punished, and why some slaves used their feet to make a statement against enslavement.

McCline's narrative places primary emphasis, however, on his Civil War experience with the Michigan Thirteenth Infantry from December 1862 until June of 1865. The book provides an account of the movement of the regiment through Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia before its triumphant march into Washington, D.C. While some of the former slaves in the unit were provided weapons, blacks were generally employed to handle the horse and mule teams, to drive supply wagons, bury the dead, and in myriad domestic capacities.

Slavery in the Clover Bottoms is an excellent addition to the primary materials on Antebellum and Civil War Tennessee. Its strengths are that it is organized into neat information units and is easy to read. A problem with most slave narratives is discerning where the real story ends and artistic license begins. This narrative does not suffer in this manner; the account provided is believable. In addition, the author provides colorful descriptions of slavery scenes and Civil War battle sites.

Weaknesses in *Slavery in the Clover Bottoms* are that McCline's narrative lacks autobiographical information, little is written of the period after the Civil War, which the writer addresses only in passing, and, the narrative abruptly stops in 1892. These weaknesses are compensated for by editor Jan Furman, who has provided a valuable service to the reader by including information about the author in the "Editor's Introduction" (xv-xxvii). Likewise, in introducing the narrative (2-9), Hagerman provides much needed information on McCline's later life in New Mexico. Still, a concern of the reader, knowing that the original handwritten copy of the narrative was lost, is how much did Hagerman's editing change McCline's original account?

Lee's Endangered Left: The Civil War in Western Virginia, Spring of 1864. By Richard R. Duncan. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1998. xvi, 346 pp. Preface, abbreviations, bibliography, index, \$29.95 cloth.)

Richard Duncan, who for many years has taught the history of the U.S. Civil War and of the "Middle Period" to students at Georgetown University, has published a military history that contains much of interest not only for the Civil War historian but for those who are more drawn to social and cultural developments. Duncan's *Lee's Endangered Left* provides all the narrative of generals' personalities, complicated maneuvers, and climactic clash on the battlefield traditionally used to sing America's *Iliad*. He also details a campaign that has been perhaps understudied: the Union's attempt to capture the Shenandoah Valley in the first half of 1864. As Grant moved southward in eastern Virginia, he reluctantly accepted political appointee Franz Sigel as the commander of operations in the western part of the state. Sigel's mission was simple, at least in its larger task: to cut the supply lines running through the Shenandoah to Lee's embattled but still dangerous Army of Northern Virginia. One element of the Union forces captured an early success at the battle of Cloyd's Mountain, allowing them to seize the important upper valley junction of Dublin and cut the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.

Sigel's simultaneous move up the Shenandoah, however, ended in disaster when John Breckinridge's forces routed him at New Market. David Hunter replaced Sigel, and the Union turned once again to their attempt to seize the crucial junctions of Staunton and Lynchburg. Hunter captured a victory at Piedmont, near Staunton, but the timely arrival of Jubal Early's corps resulted in a Union debacle in front of Lynchburg itself. The precipitate retreat of Hunter's Army of West Virginia back up the valley whence it came ended this threat to Lee's endangered left and brought an end to major fighting in the Shenandoah itself.

Duncan provides a clear, concise narrative of the campaign, one drawn from a wide swath of sources. His use of the Southern Claims Commission records, which detail individual southerners' postwar requests to be repaid for property seized by northern soldiers, is particularly relevant to one of the book's major strengths. Using such sources, Duncan does a wonderful job of conveying, without wild historiographical gesticulations, the terror and chaos

that war inflicted on civilian populations. The constant "requisitions" of supplies by both armies, the abuse inflicted by each side on the civilian supporters of others, and the reprisals inflicted by order of Union officers for guerrilla attacks underscore the fact that by 1864, the Civil War targeted civilians as well as on armies. Duncan shows how both noncombatants and soldiers reacted to this reality. Southern troops, for instance, would see in the Army of West Virginia's depredation of the valley an excuse for their later burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. And one more point about civilian-military interactions becomes obvious in Duncan's book, one of relevance to the entire Civil War South: everywhere that the Union army went, African Americans seeking to gain their freedom flocked to their side. Who freed the slaves? In the Shenandoah Valley, it looks like the slaves freed the slaves.

This reader could only make two criticisms of Duncan's book. The dryness of Duncan's tone, while effective in some places, might not please readers. Yet one must admit that he does a fine job of letting the sources speak for themselves. Second, the maps in this work—so important a tool for any military history—leave a great deal to be desired. The map of the battle of Cloyd's Mountain (54), for instance, looks as if it was photocopied on a machine radically lacking in toner. However, these are the only criticisms that most readers could make of this solid piece of scholarship and writing. The book provides a model for a sturdy campaign history, one that also adds to our understanding of how noncombatants also suffered in the path of war.

University of Miami

EDWARD E. BAPTIST

Civil War Generals in Defeat. Edited by Steven E. Woodworth. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999. viii, 240 pp. Introduction, contributors, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Civil War Generals in Defeat is a collection of seven essays in which several scholars attempt to reason why certain capable, well-trained professional soldiers failed in their respective leadership roles during the war. In this volume, historians such as Steven E. Woodworth, Michael Ballard, Brooks D. Simpson, and Stephen Sears, among others, probe deeply into the complex questions of Civil War command, the circumstances that pervaded each battle,

and the losing general's role in it. It is not enough to say that the defeated generals were simply incompetent fools. Each of the commanders addressed in this insightful volume had earned their rank based on their abilities, intelligence, and experience.

Woodworth, a history professor at Texas Christian University, begins the volume fittingly with a perceptive analysis of Albert Sidney Johnston's failure in the 1861-1862 winter campaign in Tennessee. Though Johnston enjoyed an enormous reputation in the prewar army based on his prodigious talents and practical experience, he failed miserably in his first major command. Woodworth adeptly argues that Johnston was too ingrained in old army ways and failed to follow up on his direct orders to subordinates in the new volunteer army to verify that they were obeyed. Johnston failed to perceive weaknesses of his subordinates quickly enough and also neglected to personally oversee key areas of command. Ironically, once Johnston learned this lesson, he received a mortal wound at Shiloh while personally leading his troops.

The other essays in the collection offer comparable examples of perceptive analysis. Alan Downs probes into Joseph E. Johnston's absorption to his family's legacy and explicates how that devotion to his ancestors, and the concomitant self-imposed high expectations, drove him to be too cautious in his tactics in Virginia in 1862. Michael Ballard offers a cogent argument regarding John C. Pemberton's shortcomings at Vicksburg. Asserting that Pemberton's expertise lay in administration, not combat, Ballard faults the Confederate high command for placing a general so poorly suited for the role in such a strategic position.

Similarly, Stephen Engle expostulates that during the summer of 1862, Don Carlos Buell's campaign through Tennessee and northern Alabama foundered largely because the general failed to adapt his conciliatory policy to fit the changing nature of the war. Brooks D. Simpson contends that Confederate defeat at Gettysburg was the result of a weakness of the Army of Northern Virginia's command structure and style, coupled with a strong, concerted effort by the Union generals. Simpson does not focus his discussion on Lee, but rather presents a broader argument that views the interaction of Union and Confederate command in order to expose the weaknesses of the latter.

The two most controversial essays in the collection are those dealing with the most notable failures in the Union Army of the Potomac, George B. McClellan and Joseph Hooker. Ethan Rafuse, a

doctoral student at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, presents an apologetic and not very convincing defense of the "Young Napoleon." Undoubtedly, many scholars would take issue with Rafuse's bold statement, "When viewed from a purely rational perspective—which McClellan maintained throughout the campaign—the merits of his generalship during the peninsula campaign are difficult to dispute." Besides sending several irrational telegrams in which he denounced Lincoln and the War Department, McClellan also allowed his army to be split by a swollen river and left the critical battles of Glendale and Malvern Hill in the hands of his subordinates.

Perhaps the most overreaching conclusions are those posed by Stephen Sears regarding Joseph Hooker. Sears is aggressive and overzealous in his defense of "Fighting Joe." The oft-published author does ably refute the charge that Hooker confessed to losing faith in himself, and he presents a convincing case that Hooker was not drunk during the battle of Chancellorsville. Yet Sears fails to persuade the reader that Hooker's defeat resulted solely from his injury by a shell on the morning of the third day of the battle.

Woodworth's edition renders a very thorough, engaging, and challenging chronicle to the Civil War literature. Many biographies have been written about heroes, but few have seriously studied the reasons behind failures. Each essay in this volume offers a fresh perspective on an old problem: how to explain the defeats of generals who held such high promise in their nations' eyes.

University of Georgia

JUDKIN BROWNING

Lincoln on Lincoln. By Paul M. Zall. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999. xiii, 198 pp. Preface, some important dates, introduction, list of abbreviations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$25.00 cloth.)

Paul M. Zall, editor of an estimable collection of humorous stories told by and about Lincoln including *Abe Lincoln Laughing* (Berkeley, 1982), has compiled another useful volume that might be titled "Lincoln's Autobiography." Zall, a senior researcher at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, has supplemented the sixteenth president's two autobiographical sketches with excerpts from letters, poems, speeches, interviews, and reminiscences to create a self-portrait.

Zall weaves these materials together smoothly, arranging them in chronological order. He provides connective narrative headnotes which are for the most part accurate, though a few errors creep in; e.g., his assertion that Lincoln "never mentioned" his romance with Ann Rutledge (1). In fact, he did so in a conversation with Isaac Cogdal [see Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, eds., *Herndon's Informants: Letters, Interviews, and Statements about Abraham Lincoln* (Urbana, Ill., 1998), 440].

The selections are judicious, though Zall omits some important autobiographical material confided to Illinois colleagues at the bar. One notable example is Lincoln's famous "buggy-ride confession," made to his law partner William H. Herndon, in which Lincoln acknowledged that his mother was born out of wedlock and attributed his ambition and talent to her aristocratic father (see Paul M. Angle, ed., *Herndon's Life of Lincoln: The History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln as Originally Written by William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik* [Cleveland, 1942], 1-2). Another example is a conversation Lincoln had in 1853 with his good friend, attorney Leonard Swett, about the "pretty pinching times" he experienced as a youth (see Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* [New York, 1886], 457-58).

Moreover, Zall (like almost every other Lincoln scholar) ignores a remarkable 1860 campaign biography by John Locke Scripps. In an important letter that has curiously been overlooked, Scripps reported that in the brief biography, "statements . . . as respects the facts and incidents of the early life of Lincoln are substantially as communicated by him to me—some of them in written memoranda, others orally, in answer to my queries" (Scripps to William H. Herndon, 20 June 1865, in Grace Locke Scripps Dyche, "John Locke Scripps, Lincoln's Campaign Biographer," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 17 [1924]: 346). The passages in Scripps's biography dealing with Lincoln's early life thus reflect what Lincoln himself recalled. As William E. Barton correctly observed, Scripps's biography "has almost the value of an autobiography" (Barton, "The Lincoln of the Biographers," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* 36 [1929]: 70).

Another source that Zall might have profitably used is Henry C. Whitney. On May 27, 1856, Whitney and Lincoln strolled about Decatur, Illinois. As they reached the court house, Lincoln announced that "Here on this spot, twenty-six years ago, I made my

first halt in Illinois; here I stood, and there our wagon stood, with all that we owned in the world." Obviously in a nostalgic mood, Lincoln then told Whitney "of his early adventures in both Macon and Sangamon counties, the Hanks family, etc.; also his early struggles in life" (see Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, ed. Paul M. Angle [Caldwell, Idaho, 1940], 43, 90-91). In both *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* and *Lincoln the Citizen* (vol. 1 of *A Life of Lincoln*, ed. Marion Mills Miller, 2 vols. [New York, 1908]), Whitney reproduced what he claimed were stories Lincoln had told him about his earlier life. A useful contribution to Lincoln scholarship would be the republication of *Lincoln the Citizen* with the passages excised by the editor restored. Many of those omitted passages contain information about Lincoln's early life that seem to reflect what Lincoln himself confided to Whitney.

Zall's volume, then, provides a compact but incomplete overview of Lincoln's life as he remembered it and a sensible selection of his most important letters and state papers.

Connecticut College

MICHAEL BURLINGAME

Bolivia and the United States: A Limited Partnership. By Kenneth D. Lehman. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xxvii, 296 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$20.00 paper.)

Kenneth Lehman's fine book does a splendid job narrating this history of the inter-relationship between the United States and Bolivia within the overarching structure of United States-Latin American relations.

Lehman begins by noting that United States-Latin American diplomacy went through a number of significant turning points. The crucial watersheds were the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the 1890s, and finally the 1940s. In the first period, the United States laid the groundwork for its future economic power on the international scene. In the second era, it asserted itself politically and militarily in Latin America. Finally, by the 1940s, the United States projected its cultural presence throughout the hemisphere.

This steady growth in U.S. influence had a large impact on the northern hegemon's relations with the other nations in the hemi-

sphere. When discussing the asymmetric power relationship between Bolivia and the United States, the author argues a patron-client nexus quickly developed between the United States and Bolivia, and he finds that this connection remained basically unchanged up through the present day. Historically, the United States has tried to foster pro-United States stability in the Andean country. Although Bolivia has clearly been a dependent in this "limited partnership," Lehman singles out instances where Bolivia influenced the overall relationship between the two nations, such as in the late 1960s when anti-*norteamericano* (an adjective commonly used in Latin America to denote members of U.S. society) sentiment helped expel the Peace Corps and nationalize Gulf Oil. As a consequence of their long-standing relationship with the United States, Bolivians' views of the northern giant have been divided—some *bolivianos* have seen the *norteamericanos* as presenting a developmental model to be copied, and others denounced them as imperialist aggressors.

Lehman compellingly relates how by the early 1800s, United States and Bolivia were on totally different trajectories. For its part, the United States had set up a series of governmental and social institutions that gave it the power to absorb very different cultural entities, including the Spanish territory of Florida. Later, in similar fashion, the United States would take a large chunk of Mexico, further boosting U.S. confidence and propelling it to world-power status. Bolivia, however, was mired in long-term economic, social, and political crises; a deeply-rooted, self-critical pessimism resulted. From these distinct premises, Lehman deftly articulates how the poorer South American nation became dependent on the United States. A key aspect of this dependency has been Bolivia's reliance on U.S. economic and military assistance since the 1950s.

Although the author admirably discusses the development of the Bolivian polity over time, he could have given readers a fuller understanding of the profound racial/cultural splits in the nation. Two examples suffice. For one thing, Lehman seems to imply that some dashed policy options by the Bolivian government in the mid-to late nineteenth century could have somehow led to the further inclusion of Indians in the national polity. He states that "The dependence [of the Bolivian state] on [Indian] tribute meant that [Antonio José de] Sucre's efforts to incorporate natives into national life were also terminated" (27). Although the economic importance of tribute is clear, I suspect that deep-seated anti-Indian

racism on the part of Bolivians of European background and mestizos (mixed-ancestry people) was a more significant obstacle to the Indians' societal integration.

Second, and more broadly, he does not fully explicate the idea that Bolivia is at least two nations: Indian and white-mestizo class. And the Indians had totally different views of the proper form of the nation-state, an important subject of interest among historians in Bolivia today.

Still, for both its content and innovative methodology, this monograph would be very good for classroom use.

Angelo State University

JAMES F. SIEKMEIER

Testing the Limits: George Armistead Smathers and Cold War America.

By Brian Lewis Crispell. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xvii, 234 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, prologue, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 hardcover.)

Among the more popular and powerful Florida politicians of the post World War II era, George Smathers served two terms in the U.S. Congress (1946-1950) and three terms in the Senate (1950-1968). The consummate Congressional insider, Smathers was a close confidante of two Democratic presidents, a key power broker within the Senate, and a leading Democratic spokesman on foreign policy issues, especially those pertaining to Latin America. He was, moreover, perhaps the dominant figure within state politics for nearly two decades, even emerging as Florida's favorite-son candidate for the presidency in 1960. Eminently worthy of a full-scale biography, Smathers has thus far received surprisingly scant attention from scholars.

Brian Lewis Crispell bids to fill that void with this competent, if narrowly cast, study of Smathers's political career. Drawing from a range of public and archival materials, Crispell has produced a useful account that focuses primarily on Smathers's record as a politician, legislator, foreign policy advocate, and state and national political figure. *Testing the Limits* fails, however, to go much beyond the surface. The "quintessential Cold Warrior," as Crispell aptly describes him, remains a rather wooden figure in this narrative, little more than the sum total of his public positions and speeches. The author never manages to bring his subject to life; the forces driving and shaping both the inner man and the remarkable public career

he forged remain hidden from view. One cannot help but suspect the existence of a considerably more complex individual than the one pictured in this straightforwardly heroic account.

The author does, to be sure, provide a reliable chronicle and analysis of Smathers's rise to prominence and high public office. He offers as well an expert appraisal of Smathers's ruthless approach to political campaigning and, among other notable contributions, provides a careful examination of the Dade County native's evolving views and positions on social reform, civil rights, economic growth, foreign policy, and other contentious policy questions. In so doing, Crispell seeks to counter what he identifies as the longstanding "conventional wisdom" about Smathers. That view—an unfairly negative one, in the author's judgment—holds that the Florida Democrat was an unscrupulous and unprincipled opportunist who squandered his considerable personal and oratorical gifts in the naked pursuit of power; that he amounted to little more, as the oft-repeated jibe would have it, than "a lackadaisical, inconsequential, playboy politician" (ix).

Exhibit A in this standard indictment is the notorious 1950 senatorial campaign that Smathers mounted against incumbent Claude Pepper, a former friend and patron. Where others have seen crass disloyalty and deplorable race- and red-baiting tactics, Crispell sees a sincere, conservative nationalist determined to offer a righteous alternative to Pepper's misguided pro-Soviet inclinations. Admitting that Smathers was "opportunistic" and exhibited "an instinct for the political jugular" (56), the author clearly admires the sincere political convictions that lay behind his subject's hard-hitting tactics. Rejecting the unflattering comparison with Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy advanced by Smathers's critics, Crispell insists that "unlike the ill-fated and twisted Wisconsin senator, Smathers kept his arguments within the realm of possibility" (83).

Smathers's staunch, deeply ingrained anti-communism, typical of the "GI generation" of which he was a charter member, formed the backbone of the Floridian's public career—and serves as this book's central theme. Crispell shows that the senator's persistent espousal of greater economic aid for and attention to Latin America stemmed from Smathers's deep-seated fears about the spread of communism into a region of increasing economic importance to his home state. "The Senator from Latin America," as he was dubbed by a senatorial colleague, probably achieved his greatest

renown as an inveterately aggressive opponent of the Cuban regime of Fidel Castro. Yet, as the author also emphasizes, the hawkish Smathers was wholly unprepared for and perplexed by the sudden collapse of the country's Cold War consensus during the Vietnam War, a development that helped prompt his political retirement in 1968.

Testing the Limits, if hardly the last word on George Smathers, is a valuable study of an important figure. It is especially recommended for students of modern Florida politics.

University of Florida

ROBERT J. MCMAHON

Historic American Towns Along the Atlantic Coast. By Warren Boeschstein. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. xv, 331 pp. Preface, appendix, notes, references and bibliography, index, about the author. \$39.95, hardcover.)

What can we learn through the examination of Atlantic coastal towns? In short chapters, a vivid picture emerges of each of nine distinctive communities. Some of these chapters—such as those on Castine (Maine), Ocean Grove (New Jersey), and Beaufort (South Carolina)—are more successful in presenting the towns comprehensively. Descriptions of others such as Saint Augustine (Florida), New Castle (Delaware), and Kennebunk's Port (Maine) seem to touch on only the highlights, failing to give a full picture of the whole town. However, I suspect that the seeming inequality of treatment relates to the individuality of each community, a point important to the author who has distinguished these particular towns for their livable qualities.

The organization of the book is logically made along the lines of the usual geographical grouping of Atlantic coastal regions. In three sections, nine towns are described in detail. Each of the three sections begins with an overview of the region containing brief discussions of an additional five to ten towns. No attempt is made to create an equal division of subjects according to geographical region. The North Atlantic section includes four towns, the Mid-Atlantic covers only two, the South Atlantic includes three towns. Nor are the same issues discussed uniformly in every section on each town. Logically, there are different issues of more or less importance in individual towns, such as the importance of the Spanish plan for colonial cities to Saint Augustine, while certain issues such

as orientation of streets to topography are of enough significance to be discussed for each subject town.

With this organization, the reader, while dealing with the specifics of each individual town, may wonder where are we going? What are the over-arching points the author is making? Professor Boeschstein provides the answers in his introductory chapter where he articulates the design lessons professionals might learn from the chosen communities. In this section, comparison with the New Urbanism seems appropriate for the New Urbanists also look for design principles they can adopt from successful communities of the past. The present work makes a fine contribution in this direction by giving such specific definition to the qualities that seem to make communities attractive places to live. For instance, Boeschstein demonstrates how his chosen towns demonstrate such characteristics of the New Urbanist canon as structures built to the property line in Stonington (Connecticut) and oriented to the street in Beaufort (South Carolina). He provides an added layer of depth to the thinking of the New Urbanists. In its specificity and clarity, *Historic American Towns along the Atlantic Coast* makes a welcome addition to the examination of what makes a successful community.

The towns chosen share four distinctive qualities: location, community, time and scale. The author seeks to recognize the definable physical features of each of these qualities—note that the accent here is on the visual aspect of desirable community qualities. The qualities of location and community seem very broadly drawn, covering a wide range of aspects in to which every town described can fit. The problem is that so could towns which do not qualify as good models. The quality of time is clearly the physical expression of a viable history—buildings and landscapes from other periods built when these towns went through periods of prosperity and left in place, by benign neglect, when the economic low times hit. It is this pervasive evidence of time, persisting in the core that balances the visual impact of post-World War II suburban development on these communities. The author attests to the importance of preserving this evidence of time, but leaves us wondering how this quality could be recreated elsewhere. The fourth quality, human scale, may be defined as a compact density of structures, determined by both topography and history.

The author credits the present success of these American coastal towns to the preservation of their individual architectural

histories. History is presented as vital to the quality of life in the chosen community. Boeschstein identifies individual characteristics of each example by explaining how their histories influenced their development. Historians may take heart in the message that the preservation of history pays in quality of life.

Smithsonian Institution

CYNTHIA R. FIELD

A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s. By Rebecca Klatch. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. xiv, 386 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

Rebecca Klatch's sociological study of "a generation divided" follows her previous work on *Women of the New Right* (Philadelphia, 1987). Since Klatch has also published articles on the same topic, she is well situated to write a comparative study of the Sixties' generations. Inspired by Karl Mannheim's essay, "The Problem of Generations," Klatch conducted extensive interviews in an effort to understand the ideals of both Left and Right, and then to analyze how they clashed (and at times meshed) with one another. Her approach is a thematic one, examining in turn the emergence of dissent in the 1960s, the backgrounds of activists, and the splits between traditionalists, anarchists, and radicals. Subsequent chapters explore the counterculture and its impact on both Left and Right, the "Woman Question," and why these movements declined at the end of the decade. Final chapters follow her interviewees into the 1970s and beyond in an effort to determine if their earlier commitment to activism disappeared with the movements they had joined. Her story, she notes in the Introduction, is "about two wings of one generation: their relationships, their tensions, their compatibilities, their fates" (2). Klatch concludes that while many issues divided Left from Right (chiefly ideology), there was also much that joined them, such as a commitment to activism and to changing the Liberal paradigm.

As the literature on the Sixties grows by leaps and bounds, perhaps the fundamental question to ask of any new work is how it changes what we know about the decade. In this respect, while Klatch provides a new window into the activists and their motives, what they tell us does not contradict what we already knew about the history of these years. Her most significant contribution, and it is important, lies in her comparative approach. She has removed both

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) from their isolation. By placing them in juxtaposition to each other, as they were in the 1960s, we can better understand not only dissent in the Sixties but those dissenters in the decades that followed. In this sense her work enlarges on Paul Lyons's study of *New Left, New Right, and the Legacy of the Sixties* (Philadelphia, 1996). Only a few years ago there was almost nothing in Sixties' literature about the right-wing, beyond studies from that era that largely warned about the dangers of right-wing groups and attributed their zeal to an assortment of personality defects. During the 1990s, however, that has changed. We now have several studies of the Right, especially youth, that are at least empathetic if not always sympathetic. Conservatism has taken its place as a factor in the debates of the 1960s and is more than just Barry Goldwater. Klatch's nuanced portraits of activists complicates our understanding of both SDS and YAF. The oral testimonies are at times very compelling.

At the same time, Klatch's study raises some questions. She has interviewed seventy-four individuals who were active during the 1960s. How representative are they? Is this more than an anecdotal history of the period? Or of SDS and YAF? In particular, what made these individuals different from non-activist youth? Can we accurately define what created activists on the Left and Right without looking at profiles of non-activists? Finally, Klatch's book will disappoint some readers of this journal because it says little about the South. In that sense, unfortunately, it resembles almost everything else written about movements and activists of the Sixties.

Questions and criticisms aside, this is an important study of activist youth. It details not only differences and similarities in values, religious ideals, political ideologies, and dreams for the future, it also highlights differences within each of the movements that eventually led to splits on both Left and Right. Many of those differences are still with us today.

Franklin & Marshall College

JOHN ANDREW

NASA and the Space Industry. By Joan Lisa Bromberg. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. x, 247 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$38.50 cloth.)

In *NASA and the Space Industry*, historian Joan Lisa Bromberg presents an insightful analysis of five decades of American space

history. This book marks the author's first venture into this area. In 1993, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration contracted Bromberg to survey NASA's relationship with the private sector in the development of the space industry. Despite the fact that Bromberg's account relies almost entirely on secondary literature, trade and business magazine articles, and congressional hearings, the book succeeds in making a valuable contribution to historians' understanding of the development of the American space program.

Bromberg divides her analysis of the fifty years of American space history into seven chapters. Her first chapter provides an overview of some of the issues involved in innovation and commercialization. Chapters 2 through 7 offer a detailed and readable portrait of the principle features of the changing relationship between NASA and the large and small companies and contractors, which constitute the core of the space industry.

Bromberg traces the emergence of the space industry in the 1940s through 1960 in her second chapter. President Eisenhower's decision to ask Congress for authorization to create NASA was part of a larger debate about the relationship between the public and private sectors as well as the military and civilian needs of society. By 1958, the relationship between the military and the civilian aerospace companies had grown acrimonious. Much of the contentiousness in the space industry in the 1950s grew out of differences in the military's procurement programs. The army relied on an "arsenal" approach in which research and development of missile and rocket systems was conducted "in-house" within existing army facilities. The air force preferred a "weapon's system" approach in which companies submitted bids to become the prime contractor for a missile or an aircraft. In 1958, NASA adopted a research and procurement strategy, which combined the army and air force approaches.

The eight years from 1961 to 1969 created new opportunities and challenges for NASA. President Kennedy's commitment to landing an American on the moon by the end of the decade compelled NASA to take a leading role in the innovation process of new technologies and space products. The Apollo program gave NASA tremendous political and economic leverage. Bromberg provides a detailed analysis of how the agency used its power in the selection of North American as a prime contractor in the Apollo program.

NASA played, however, a different role during this period in the development of communication satellites. In this area, the private sector took the lead in creating a network of geosynchronous satellites. Drawing on David Whalen's arguments in his study of communication satellite program (1997), Bromberg shows how the Hughes Corporation was able to use innovative ideas to win a dominant position in the production of communication satellites.

Bromberg argues that the 1970s marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of the space industry. Ironically, the success of the Apollo program brought with it a major challenge for NASA and the nascent space industry. Public interest in the space program flagged. Budgets plummeted while NASA sought for a means to continue the human exploration of space. The space shuttle was NASA's solution to this problem.

Bromberg's two chapters treating the development of the space shuttle and the 1986 Challenger disaster are especially useful. The space shuttle posed a paradox from its conception. On the one hand, NASA portrayed the shuttle as a means to continue the grand enterprise of exploring space. On the other, NASA presented the shuttle as a low cost launch vehicle that would lead to the commercialization of space. The shuttle developed in a different way than the Apollo program. In the 1970s NASA lacked the political clout that it had possessed in the sixties. Thus, industry played a greater innovative role in the shuttle's evolution.

Ronald Reagan's election to the presidency and the Challenger disaster added impetus to industry's role in innovative process. The commercialization of space was one of Reagan's priorities. Reagan wanted to dramatically reduce the government's role in the space industry. NASA was directed to encourage the commercialization of space. Paradoxically, the Reagan administration's call for the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) undermined the efforts to create a commercial space program. Lucrative Star Wars contracts lured many companies and contractors away from commercial endeavors. The 1986 Challenger disaster compelled a rethinking of NASA's role in the process of innovation and the commercialization of space. NASA fell under heavy criticism for both technical and managerial mistakes. Challenger forced NASA to rethink the process of innovation and design of space systems.

Bromberg's book possesses many strengths. First, Bromberg presents a cogent summary of the development of space industry

from the 1940s through the 1990s. Second, the author presents a penetrating analysis of the process of innovation and commercialization in the space program. Finally, Bromberg explores the relationship between the public and private sectors in contemporary America. Readers interested in space history, the history of technology, and the formation of public policy will find this a valuable book.

Florida Institute of Technology

GORDON PATTERSON

Confronting Appalachian Stereotypes: Back Talk from an American Region. Edited by Dwight B. Billings, Gurney Norman, and Katherine Ledford. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999. xii, 350 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

When the history of a region is reduced to a story told in even a long play, there is bound to be trouble. If the research for writing the play appears to be little more than impressions gained from reading a couple of books and a brief visit, matters can only get worse. Should such a play then be recognized with an award of a Pulitzer Prize, people who know and care about the region will stand up and start talking back. It is in this sense that Robert Schenkkan's play, *The Kentucky Cycle*, begat *Confronting Appalachian Stereotypes: Back Talk from an American Region*. *The Kentucky Cycle* was a catalyst for this volume, but Appalachian activists and scholars in recent decades have become increasingly concerned over the image of the region in the American mind. The editors enlisted the help of leaders in the field of Appalachian studies and community activists to respond to these stereotypes. The compiled essays in *Confronting Appalachian Stereotypes* go far beyond simply addressing the negative images presented in *The Kentucky Cycle* to encompass a study of the process and results of image creation in Appalachia.

Confronting Appalachian Stereotypes is organized into five sections examining the relationship between the images and history of the region, the development of the hillbilly stereotype in literature, personal responses to stereotypical images, the interplay between activism and stereotypes, and reflections on the play itself. In the first section, Ronald L. Lewis provides an excellent overview of the history of Appalachia with detailed information about the develop-

ment of the region and the diversity within it. His essay also introduces the reader to the differing schools of thought in the history of the field of Appalachian studies. The second section of the book examines stereotypical images of Appalachia from feuds to mountain fools found in the work of local color writers, southern novels, and early travel literature. This group of essays reveals just how these images of violence, poverty, racism, and laziness have come to rest in the American mind. The third section is a more personal response to the negative images encountered by people of the region. These essays are well written and offer first hand insight to the teasing and misunderstanding resulting from these enduring stereotypes. The fourth section recounts the history of activism in the region and examines the role of images in this context. The essays are well documented and a good introduction to Appalachian activism, ranging from coal mining and unions to the health care issues of AIDS patients. In the final section, the writers focus on the catalyst of the book, *The Kentucky Cycle*, analyzing its continuation of Appalachian stereotypes.

Confronting Appalachian Stereotypes is an important addition to scholarly literature about Appalachia and the simplistic images that continue to survive about the region. It joins other important works on the Appalachian stereotype, such as Henry D. Shapiro's *Appalachia on Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness* and J. W. Williamson's *Hillbillyland: What the Movies Did to the Mountains and What the Mountains Did to the Movies*. The value of this work does not end with the Appalachian scholar. By examining the process and negative result of stereotype development in Appalachia, *Confronting Appalachian Stereotypes* offers great insight to anyone interested in images of other regions and other groups of people. By approaching the issue of stereotypes in Appalachia through the writings of individuals from many disciplines and by including such a variety of topics, the book presents a broad view of a region diverse in population, social issues, and history. The writing style found in the compiled essays ranges from very personal, firsthand accounts of an event to detailed documentation and analysis common in scholarly arguments. This inclusive approach ensured that indeed the editors succeeded in confronting the stereotypes that take the complicated issues of a region and simplify them to comic generalizations.

Women Pioneers for the Environment. By Mary Jo Breton. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1999. xiv, 322 pp. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, notes, select bibliography, index. \$26.95 cloth.)

Despite the fact that women have made a substantial contribution to the environmental movement, their names are not yet central to history textbooks. Although most accounts of the Age of Ecology include Rachel Carson, the hundreds of grassroots organizations initiated by American women since the 1970s remain a little-mentioned trend. Mary Jo Breton, a writer and a conservationist with the National Audubon Society, attempts to remedy this situation with *Women Pioneers for the Environment*, a compendium of biographies about significant female environmentalists.

Naturally, the book includes well-known figures such as Carson, Carol Browner, and Petra Kelly, but it also presents many little-mentioned heroines, including Mary Sinclair, an unassuming scientist who took on Dow Chemical; Marjorie Carr, a biologist who halted a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers project on the Ocklawaha River in Florida; and Hazel Wolf, an remarkable centurion who organizes and recruits activists for the Audubon Society. An engaging writer who adopts a journalistic style in these bite-size biographies, Breton's strengths are her eye for characters and spicy quotes, such as this from Wolf, who started her career at age 62: "The chief enemies are greed and ignorance. Education will destroy ignorance, and even the greedy *may* finally realize they cannot survive in a polluted world" (236).

It is not Breton's intention to be theoretical; she provides no insights on ecofeminism, nor does she offer an opinion on the assertion that women have a tie to the earth because of their gender. In a two-page introduction, she asks "Do [women] bring special insights, value systems, and worldviews to environmental issues? What is different about women's approach to resolving ethical, ecological, and economic dilemmas?" (1). She then leaves readers to draw their own conclusions and misses an opportunity to tell us what she thinks after putting together all these stories. Perhaps because her research included few primary sources—she did not, for example, interview each woman and inquire how being female affected her commitment to environmental issues—the level of personal information and insight varies considerably from biography to biography. Many women pioneers for the environment did encounter

obstacles to organizing and speaking out because of their gender; but Breton does not explore whether or not problems also occurred within the movement itself.

To her credit, the author understands the global character of women's environmental concerns, as she retells the compelling stories of the Chipko movement in India, Russian women who defied the KGB to speak out against environmental poisoning, and the Japanese women who have become empowered through environmental activism. She assembles an accessible summary of the scholarly work of Vandana Shiva, the Indian physicist and ecologist whose ideas have so influenced ecofeminism. Only in her selection of quotes, such as this one from Shiva, does she divulge some of her own perspective: "the masculinist paradigm of food production which has come to us under the many labels of 'green revolution,' 'scientific agriculture,' etc., involves the disruption of the essential links between forestry, animal husbandry, and agriculture, which have been the sustainable model" (214).

For all these reasons, the book will be most useful for lecture material and as a reference book for global history, women's history, environmental history, and, interestingly enough, Florida history classes. Of the forty-three international environmentalists Breton profiled, three hail from Florida. She refers to this generous representation as the "Florida environmental matriarchy," and indeed this topic may some day become an excellent Master's thesis or dissertation. However, the Southeast remains seriously under-represented in the book, as she did not include Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (KFEC), Western North Carolina Alliance, Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM), or other member-driven citizens groups where women have played starring roles. Granting Bella Abzug an entire chapter (the only activist so honored) seemed like serious over-representation. Despite these quibbles and distracting inconsistencies in citation style (the book uses MLA form *in addition to* footnotes), *Women Pioneers for the Environment* brings to a popular audience some remarkable women known mostly to women's studies students and the activist community.

Brevard College (N.C.)

MARGARET BROWN