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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Black Society in Spanish Florida. By Jane Landers. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999. xiv, 395 pp. Foreword by Peter H. Wood, acknowledgments, introduction, afterword, appendices, notes, index. \$19.95 paper).

In her finely crafted study, Jane Landers has provided, as her title promises, an analysis of the society created by enslaved and free blacks in the remote and forbidding colony of Spanish Florida. Placing the region and its populace—slave and free, black and white—within the wider Atlantic world of the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe, Landers demonstrates how Florida's black society evolved as a product of Iberian colonial policy and international rivalry. In so doing, she sheds light on the previously unknown world of Spanish Florida and the discrete nature of its black society.

In his foreword, Peter H. Wood points out how Landers has both followed and joined a noted group of scholars (John Tate Lanning, John TePaske, Amy Bushnell, and David Weber) who have written impressive books on the borderlands. However, as he notes, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* is more than just another book on the topic. By Wood's reckoning, this book not only steps outside anglocentric studies by focusing upon early Florida, but it offers an intriguing, even surprising, view of black society in this hitherto unfurrowed ground.

Landers expertly mines a wealth of previously unused primary documentation in order to fully portray the complex and detailed society within which people of African descent took advantage of law, custom, and frontier conditions to create community and opportunity. And as she so ably demonstrates from her expert use of the sources, black society in Spanish Florida evolved in sharp contrast to those in neighboring Anglo colonies. Bound Floridians, unlike their counterparts in the British Carolinas, were guaranteed a

variety of avenues out of slavery by Castilian law and tradition, which deemed slavery an unnatural state. Freed slaves and their descendants were often linked to Europeans and their descendants through marriage, concubinage, and godparentage and consequently occupied an important, albeit intermediate place within Florida's colonial society. Blacks in Spanish Florida, unlike their counterparts in the Anglo slaveholding South, coexisted with white Spaniards and Creoles, sharing their culture and taking advantage of the corporate nature of their society.

Before portraying the evolution of black society in Florida, Landers sets the stage by purposefully wading into the rough waters stirred by scholars who have attempted to discern differences in slave societies of the Americas. Comparing and contrasting her findings on Spanish Florida with those of Frank Tannenbaum and Stanley Elkins, members of what is sometimes described as the culturalist school, Landers enters a debate that was initiated more than a half century ago when Tannenbaum argued in his path-breaking book that the culture—institutions, laws, and traditions—of slave systems exerted the most influence on conditions of slavery and freedom. Primarily pitting Spanish colonial policy against that of Britain, Tannenbaum argued that Catholicism and the legal system in Spain placed greater value upon a slave's humanity and upon freedom as an ideal than did Protestantism and the legal system in Britain. In short, enslaved and free Africans in the Spanish colonies enjoyed more favorable conditions than did their counterparts in the British colonies. Tannenbaum's thesis was reiterated approximately a decade later when Elkins made a similar argument in *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*.

Though the Tannenbaum-Elkins thesis broke new and important ground, other scholars were quick to disagree. Indeed, some claimed that the culturists' portrait of a more ameliorative Spanish system of slavery was nothing short of idealistic. These scholars argued that material conditions, rather than culture, were more important determinants of slave treatment and race relations. To materialist scholars like Herbert Klein and David Brian Davis, crop types, profitability, demographic patterns, and geographical distance from the center of authority were definitive.

In focusing her study upon free blacks, Landers demonstrates how she was confronted, from the beginning, with the same issues that inspired Tannenbaum to make his culturalist argument. Landers focuses upon that segment of the population which could

be the beneficiary of cultural factors; and she finds in the sources the kind of detailed description that enables her to weigh the impact of cultural and material influence necessary for such a comparison. As Landers concedes in her introduction, while Tannenbaum's thesis has proven to be flawed when examined within plantation regions where monocrop agriculture rapidly produced export economies and thus a deterioration of slave life, it can be more appropriate when applied to a slave society like Spanish Florida and its frontier. Both Floridians and Carolinians existed within competing slave systems (those of Spain and Britain) that were relatively equally developed. Neither was based in monocrop agriculture nor in its concomitant culture of chattel slavery. Spanish Florida, settled for geopolitical reasons and suffering from depopulation and labor shortages, had more to offer people of African descent than did the British colonies to the north. Landers demonstrates that geography, labor organization and availability, and cultural factors such as law and religion shaped the institution of slavery and mitigated its most oppressive nature. As she points out, a paucity of bound Africans, labor organized by task, the advantages offered in the frontier and coastal zone, the paternal mode of management, and Spanish law and custom ameliorated the conditions of slavery and paved the way for the formation of a significant free black society. Landers compares her findings in Florida with those detailed in Michael Mullins' *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736-1831*.

Running throughout Lander's account of the discrete social and legal positions of blacks in Spanish Florida is her explicitly stated belief that the enslavement, manumission, miscegenation, congregation, limited political autonomy, and religious incorporation of Africans were modified from those of medieval Castile to fit conditions in Florida and the Caribbean. Early Castilian monarchs ruled over "multicultural and polyglot" kingdoms composed of Christians, Jews, and Muslims. And while it's true that Muslims and Jews were required to swear loyalty to the Crown and to pay tribute in order to remain in their ancient homeland, the monarchs overwhelmingly accommodated them by allowing them to continue to practice their own religions, to retain laws and customs, and to hold properties. Indeed, as Landers argues, Spain had such a diverse population by the thirteenth century that its monarchs "developed legal and social traditions that accommodated difference" (7).

Adding to the already diverse population in medieval Spain were large numbers of ethnically and racially distinct slaves. Some, captured in war, were condemned as slaves; others sold themselves into slavery; still others were Africans who had crossed into southern Spain after 711 with the Muslims. In a thirteenth-century move toward a more standardized form of governance, Alfonso X codified Spain's extant slave traditions and laws into the *Siete Partidas*, which acknowledged and defined slaves' rights and obligations. Slavery was not defined by race, and the *Siete Partidas* favored leniency towards at least some slaves, guaranteeing them avenues to freedom and allowing them to hold and transfer property. It was not unusual for Africans in thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century Spain to live as free men and women in barrios that they governed themselves. Free Africans in Seville served as *Mayorales*, arbitrating disputes and defending their subjects in court. This practice of allowing free Africans active social, economic, and political roles, as Landers points out, foreshadowed Spanish practice in the Americas.

From the outset, Spain involved enslaved and free Africans in its colonial American endeavors. People of African descent accompanied Spanish explorers as they plied the waters of the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and the Gulf of Mexico. Indeed, though they could form dangerous alliances with native populations, African slaves were viewed as necessary allies by Spanish colonizers who swept across the Caribbean and onto the mainlands of the Americas in the sixteenth century. They accompanied the Spaniards who explored and conquered Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba, and Florida; and as these Iberian societies developed, a two-tiered system of slavery evolved, distinguishing the unacculturated *bozales* who did the backbreaking work associated with mining, ranching, and plantation labor from urban slaves who were more acculturated and skilled. As a group, Landers points out, urban slaves usually received better treatment than their rural counterparts who were excluded from legal and religious protections, from opportunities to establish long-term relationships, and from participating, even if only sporadically, in the cash economy available to urban slaves.

The privilege that was available and even typical for slaves in Spanish American urban centers was especially important for the evolution of black society in Spanish Florida. After 1570, Spain kept a military presence and a few slaves in St. Augustine, though Spanish forces were not sufficient to secure or develop the region.

It was only in 1580, with the arrival of twenty-three African men and seven African women, that the original fortress was supplemented with a church and several other structures and that fields were cleared for planting. Yet even then, epidemics regularly decimated African and native populations, leaving Florida only sparsely settled until well into the eighteenth century.

Spain's precarious presence in Florida was made especially difficult after Barbadians settled at Charles Town and the borders between the two colonial empires, as weak as they were, led to an international struggle that continued for the next century. The ever-present antagonism between Florida and the British colonies was played out in a number of ways. Europeans, Creoles, Indians, and free and enslaved Africans regularly carried out raids that disrupted British colonial expansion and productivity. The increasing stream of slaves leaving the Carolinas and then Georgia for safety and freedom in Florida proved particularly irksome to Anglo slaveholders and their officials. And, rather than stem the flow by cooperating with angered Anglo colonists, the Spanish welcomed the incoming slaves, offering them refuge and safety. The heart of this book explores the ways in which these blacks formed Mose, the first black town in what is now the United States.

Landers takes us into the remote communities created by free and enslaved blacks, allowing those brought aboard slavers, those who fled, and their descendants to tell their stories. Exploring the ways in which they fit personal goals within societal prescriptions, Landers sheds light on these previously unknown settlers and the world in which they recreated themselves and their society. Still, she keeps the geopolitical struggles of the colony in the story, explaining at each turn how political circumstances directly influenced black entrepreneurialism, property holding, religion, women, slavery, crime and punishment, the militia, and the reactions of colonial officials.

Returning time and again to the way in which Spanish law and custom informed colonial practice, Landers portrays the many ways free blacks used those laws and customs and how the geopolitics of the colony, which left it always vulnerable and underpopulated, advanced their opportunities even further. She details the important place that free blacks and slaves occupied in the tenuous frontier colony and further demonstrates how successive generations leveraged the possibilities available to them to obtain citizenship, property, and status.

Black Society in Spanish Florida is important on several levels. While focusing upon the least understood segment of population, it advances a sophisticated discussion of the way in which Spanish law and custom framed law and custom in Florida. At the same time, it presents the parallel reality of the geopolitical struggle played out by colonial officials and their populace. Those twin themes draw together the political conditions of colonial development. Heretofore, our understanding of that part of Florida's history has been fragmented and scattered. This narrative also offers a detailed account of the struggles between the British colonies and Spanish Florida and in the process reveals how those struggles influenced enslaved Africans. In so doing, it teases out the political acuity of colonial Africans in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida. This book, unlike any other, portrays the evolution of a black society in Florida. By focusing upon the identities and experiences of the people of African descent, it forces us to recognize the extent to which they were active participants in the making of their world. And finally, Landers' use of real people to flesh out imperial policy is an extremely successful strategy. While reading about the circumstances of the lives of early black Floridians, we see the harsh conditions within which they built their lives and a colony, and we see them caught within a system that marginalized them at the same time it valued their presence and their contributions. Most importantly, we catch a glimpse of these dynamic people.

Because we began our journey through this finely crafted book with a question, we are, at the end, left to ask: Did culture matter? Landers suggests that it did. While she certainly agrees that slavery was an oppressive institution, she argues that Spanish law and custom granted enslaved Africans a moral and judicial personality, and it offered them rights and protections not found in other slave systems. While circumstances sometimes mitigated those rights and protections, the enslaved took advantage of the institutional rights of freedom. And as Landers further points out, the creative and persistent efforts made by slaves were usually aided by community support. The belief of Spanish Floridians, black and white, was that slaves had a natural right to freedom and the citizenship that followed. In fact, many free black Floridians spoke with their feet when Florida was ceded to the United States in 1821. Groups of black immigrants left Florida with white Spaniards, though some stayed in order to secure their hard won property. Still, many of those left, joining their comrades in Cuba, Mexico, and Haiti as a

more racially restrictive slave system that defined free blacks within a two-caste system took root in Florida.

This book is not only beautifully conceived and well executed, it intrigues with its stories of the many people who played out their lives in a frontier society about which we have known so very little. Landers is to be congratulated on her fine study.

Our Lady of Holy Cross College

VIRGINIA GOULD

Art in Florida, 1564-1945. By Maybelle Mann. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1999. ix, 191 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, introduction, artists, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$44.95 cloth).

Art in Florida, 1564-1945 adds to a growing body of recent literature devoted to regional art. Within that subject the topic of Florida art is one of particular interest that has been receiving increasing attention. This book follows a succession of exhibitions—among which were *Florida Visionaries: 1870-1930* at the University of Florida, Gainesville, in 1989; *Images of Old Florida (1890-1950)* at the Boca Raton Museum of Art in 1991; *The Flowering of Florida Art: Tropical Landscapes from the 19th and 20th Centuries* at Eckert Fine Art, Naples, in 1997; *The Florida Landscape: Revisited* at the Polk Museum of Art, Lakeland, in 1992; and *A Society of Painters: Flagler's St. Augustine Art Colony* at the Flagler Museum in 1998—that were accompanied by publications dedicated to the same subject. This lavishly published volume, however, differs from previous efforts in that it is the first comprehensive overview of the art produced within this state from its beginnings up through World War II.

Art in Florida presents material in a narrative encyclopedic format, generally offering a brief biographical outline of each artist, the artist's connection to Florida, and, whenever possible, at least one example of the artist's Florida production with some comment relating to that particular work of art. Beginning with early topographical views and illustrations, the publication contains 160 illustrations, all of which are reproduced in color. The large number of reproductions in the book make it an invaluable resource, though the uneven photographic quality of the images compromises the overall caliber of the publication.

Art in Florida presents material in an accessible manner using a straight factual approach addressing which artists worked in Florida and when, making it a useful reference tool. The book includes examples of an immense number of painters who came to Florida, from the work of the most well-known such as Winslow Homer, Martin Johnson Heade, John Singer Sargent, and George Inness, to quite obscure artists who were brief visitors to the state. It is a well-researched endeavor that has assembled much new material and presents many images never before reproduced.

The book relies on historical fact rather than on stylistic analysis or art historical developments and, through the reproduced images, provides a visual record of the state's growth and development. The chapters are arranged in a basic chronological order though they are also divided by some thematic subjects, such as a chapter devoted to the Seminoles and another on art created under government sponsorship during the New Deal. The introductory chapter, entitled "Origins," offers a more interpretive approach, providing some social and historical context for the growth of artistic interest in Florida. As the book progresses, however, the text becomes essentially a loosely woven narrative that is largely a compendium of who came to Florida to paint, artist-by-artist, with no apparent logic to the organization of the information presented within each chapter. The factors that lured artists to Florida and the makeup of the work they produced here—such as the unique topography and natural bounty of the region which offered a pristine tropical paradise resulting in a preponderance of landscape subjects, and the multi-cultural population—are ideas that are marginally raised in the introduction, but are unfortunately rarely reintroduced throughout the course of the text.

Another weakness in *Art in Florida* is the coverage of photography in Florida. A few examples are given within the chapter on the twentieth century. Still, the author left out, for example, the Florida work of such notable photographers as William Henry Jackson and Lewis Hine. Florida photography warrants considerably more in-depth treatment in the form of a separate chapter.

Art in Florida provides a basic foundation of information on the subject of artists who worked in Florida. It is well-researched, compiling information from a wide array of sources, and brings much new information to light on which future scholarship can build.

Madeira Beach, Fla.

VALERIE ANN LEEDS

Native Americans in Florida. By Kevin McCarthy. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, 1999. v, 194 pp. Foreword, introduction, appendices, index. \$25.95 hardcover, \$18.95 paper.)

In this publication from Pineapple Press, yet another recapitulation of the traditionalist Eurocentric rendering of Native Florida history, both the complex and the simple have become simplistic. According to the press release, the author, a professor of English at the University of Florida, ostensibly has prepared the work for students, although this is not made clear anywhere in the Foreword or Introduction. The approach and the text rely heavily upon the discipline of archaeology. Indeed, the introductory chapter is entitled "Archaeology," a term that many archaeologists and all Indians recognize today as exclusionary, since it subsumes American Indian culture sites, once again, in the Eurocentric sphere of power and interests.

The four sections in which the work is arranged (three sections plus appendixes) rely entirely upon a Euroamerican chronology, which has only the most limited value in the American Indian world. A gratuitous chapter on the controversies surrounding the use of Indian mascots by non-Native groups reinforces the classic in:out dichotomy and concludes only that the question of whether to cease "our" use of "them" is "a difficult one" (15-16). Section Three, entitled "Tribes," contains chapters on Betty Mae Jumper, the Green Corn Dance, and "Florida's Pocahontas," among other anomalies. As Ms. Jumper often has said to me, however, "I wish they'd get somebody else to talk about once in a while. They act like I'm the only Seminole there ever was!"

Numerous images accompany the text but do little to educate and much to perpetuate the objectification of Indians and denigration of their culture. As an example, Jacques Le Moyne is mentioned as the sixteenth-century source of images of Florida's Natives, and several of his images are reproduced throughout the book, but not one is identified by its accurate source much less used for its interpretive value in any but the most reductionist manner. In the case of nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographs, as has so long been the cultural wont, individual Indians are denied the dignity of their personal identities, which are ignored in favor of generic captions, such as, "A Seminole woman . . ." (63, 95, 99), "A Seminole child . . ." (106), and "these men . . ." (98).

A "Calendar" of historic events is arranged by months rather than by years, and contains a jumble of events relating to Florida,

the United States, American Indians, Florida Indians, and Euroamerican history. The "Florida Native American Heritage Trail" suffers from a similar identity crisis. It maps 185 sites or agencies around the state that ostensibly pertain to Florida Native heritage but, in fact, it contains much extraneous information concerning Euroamerican settlement, Indian depredations against Euroamericans, and U.S. military fortifications.

The most egregious shortcoming of the book, however, is the author's failure to confront, or even offer a valid discussion of, the critical issues that the text raises or should raise. Cultural stereotyping, the arbitrary imposition of cultural expectations, the uses and misuses of archaeology, the objectification of the cultural Other, and the myriad ramifications of critical Sovereignty issues for Native Americans—all are alluded to without discussion, at best, or elided, at worst, in favor of facile reductionisms. Apparently, the author has no confidence in the ability of students, of any age, to conceptualize profound issues. Florida's students will find little food for thought here.

Seminole Tribe of Florida

PATRICIA WICKMAN

Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola. Edited by Judith A. Bense. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xviii, 294 pp. Dedication, list of illustrations, list of tables, foreword, preface, appendices, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

This compilation of historical and archaeological information on Pensacola's colonial era (to 1821) contains six essays. William S. Coker leads off with a chronologically ordered series of short descriptions of the major events, periods, survey plans, and reports on Pensacola, mostly after 1686. Jane Dysart examines the virtual absence of Indians during the Spanish occupations (1698-1763, 1781-1821) as contrasted to the vibrant British trade relationship with them (1763-1781) that rapidly decayed during the second Spanish period. Roger Smith notes that surveys of abandoned or wrecked watercraft in and around Pensacola Bay have turned up forty so far. He then discusses the British-era Deadman's Island wreck and (at greater length) the Emanuel Point ship, thought to have been one of Tristan De Luna's 1559 vessels. The longest essay is Judith A. Bense's analysis of the results of excavations at twelve sites (dating 1756-1821) in downtown Pensacola during the years

1982-97. This is followed by a second Bense essay placing her findings in regional historical and archaeological contexts. Finally, Thomas Muir Jr. discusses how, after years of mutual incomprehension and conflict, the public, city officials, archaeologists, and other interested parties have developed a partnership that takes pride in securing and interpreting for the public the study of the city's archaeological heritage.

While the book serves as an overview of the historical, nautical, and land archaeological history of Pensacola, the central point of the work is to show that even with only a few closed, datable contexts from the 1756-63 Spanish period (twelve, of which only one is clearly datable to the period), the archaeology of Pensacola (1756-1821) has produced general patterns of ceramic associations that fit with those documented elsewhere in the region. That is, before the British period (1763-81), Spanish ceramics associated with food production and consumption predominated, but during both the British period and the second Spanish period (1781-1821), English ceramics (and imported stonewares) displaced all others. In addition, differences in the quality of ceramics in wealthy, elite contexts (here the commanding officer's quarters of the fort area) and in those of common folk (soldiers) show up in Colonial Pensacola as they do elsewhere. But Indian ceramics, present in pre-1770s Spanish communities elsewhere in the Southeast, are notably absent, a fact ably explained by Dysart's essay.

Readers unfamiliar with archaeological reports will find Bense's central essay a difficult read even though she has made an excellent effort to use summary statistics and graphics. A few photographs of excavations add interest. Curiously, interesting artifacts such as British regimental buttons are not illustrated as they often are in essays of this type. And, unfortunately, the shadings picked for graphs are not always distinguishable. Yet, her second essay is easily accessible and admirably brings history and archaeology together.

In sum, the work is an excellent introduction to its subject and a handy reference for students of Pensacola's history, especially for the years 1756 to 1821. It is particularly notable for the maps that show the transformations under the British and Spanish (second period) and as a guide to the "grey literature" of the excavations reported here.

Louisiana State University

PAUL E. HOFFMAN

The Atlantic Slave Trade. By Herbert S. Klein. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. xxi, 234 pp. List of maps, figures, and tables, introduction, tables, appendix, bibliographic essay, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

Herbert Klein's *The Atlantic Slave Trade* examines the causation, economic structure, and social and economic ramifications of the trans-Atlantic trade in enslaved Africans. The work also examines the causes and consequences of its abolition. The text, while applicable for all undergraduates and general reading audiences, is more practical for the serious student of history who may be more inclined to appreciate the academic nature of the material. Although Kline does not bring any new insight or fresh thought to the topic, his writing style is forward and direct, the chapters are well organized and researched, the graphs and maps are easy to read, and the sources are the standard for this topic.

In a world which is becoming increasingly pluralistic, Kline's Eurocentric bias is a throwback to a bygone era. It is true that slavery is a difficult topic to teach. Quite often white students feel guilty, and African American students appear ashamed about their forefathers' bondage. Kline, however, frees the reader of any emotional sentiment. In the first chapter Kline explains that slavery was a system of labor which was based on economic needs, and race and racism were not factors in the trade. Kline delineates, "Before examining the history of the forced African migration to the Americas, it is therefore essential to understand why Europeans turned to Africans to populate their mines, factories, and farms in such numbers. Much has been written of the relative 'otherness' of Africans to northern Europeans or the alienness of African culture" (3). A number of factors, however, "makes one doubt the importance of this phenomenon." Furthermore, "the extensive history of Europeans enslaving each other would suggest that there was nothing special about the Africans and slavery in the European mind at the end of the fifteenth century" (17).

Unfortunately, not only is race not a determining factor in Kline's mind, but the Africans' humanity is also not important, as the work dehumanizes Africans to the level of cargo. For example, concerning Spain's trade in enslaved Africans in the Caribbean he writes, "by the 1830s the island reached its maximum slave popula-

tion of 42,000 Africans and the local sugar estates were averaging 40 slaves per unit" (40). One would wonder as to whether he is referring to humans or livestock. Africans were enslaved, they were not slaves. Slavery, which was a system of exploitation, attempted to dehumanize the African, and in many instances vestiges of human dignity were lost, but in no instance did Africans ever stop being human.

Some would argue that political correctness has no place in academia; however, this maxim is usually only when applied to Africans and people of color. Neither Kline nor any other writer would publish a book on the Jewish holocaust and refer to the Jews as "units." One of the greatest problems with this and many texts on slavery is that they are written as if there was no human face attached to those who were enslaved; but there was. Kline's work makes no attempt to bring a human side to this ghastly story. As teachers and authors, historians should work to sensitize students to the historical struggles and pains suffered by others. This text unfortunately reduces slavery to a set of facts and figures. Africans are never viewed as subjects—in control of their own history and destiny. Instead, in chapter after chapter, they are simply acted upon—first by Islam and then by Europe.

Middle Tennessee State University

ADONIJAH BAKARI

A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816. By Claudio Saunt. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. xiv, 298 pp. Illustrations and maps, abbreviations, acknowledgments, introduction, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

University of Georgia historian Claudio Saunt offers up the latest contribution to the distinguished Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History series. A revision of Saunt's 1996 doctoral dissertation at Duke University, *A New Order of Things* promises to be an oft-cited, though imperfect, source on pre-Removal Creek Indian history. Saunt traces the impact that notions of private property and material wealth accumulation had on the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Creeks. This is a topic of increasing importance within ethnohistory as more attention is paid to the precise ways that American Indian societies and individuals

grappled with the ideological, political, and economic changes precipitated by the Euroamerican presence and intrusion. In many ways, *A New Order of Things* lives up to the promise of this new scholarship.

According to Saunt, in the first-half of the eighteenth century, Creeks, "to whom the possession and accumulation of things meant so little," failed to collect European manufactured items or other forms of financial wealth for the sake of gain (38). By the 1760s, however, British traders introduced both cattle raising and slave ownership into Creek country. Saunt examines the role of the bi-cultural Creek chief Alexander McGillivray in solidifying notions of private property ownership, the profit-motive, and a more centralized form of government among the Creeks during the 1770s and 1780s. McGillivray and other persons of mixed Creek and European ancestry insisted that other Creeks adopt what Saunt calls the "social compact," whereby notions of private property and a coercive governmental structure were forced upon "the mostly unwilling inhabitants of the region" (90). By the 1780s, Creek society had become stratified between wealthy property owners who sought augmentation of their status and Creeks who owned little to no property.

This increasingly violent division within Creek society eventually culminated in the Redstick War of the 1810s. Though acknowledging that other factors also played a role in that civil war, Saunt privileges evidence that demonstrates that traditionally-minded Creeks (and scores of African American slaves owned by wealthy Creeks) sought to destroy the material possessions and the new definitions of power arising from the accumulation of private property by their wealthy countrymen. The rebellion proved unsuccessful as surviving Indian and African American Redsticks fled east and south to join their Seminole brethren, and the "mestizo" Creek vision of a law and order government asserted its dominance. Building on the work of historian Gregory Dowd who discerned a growing "nativist" versus "accommodationist" polarization among eighteenth-century eastern Indians, Saunt has demonstrated that an ideological split had occurred within Creek society as well.

Throughout *A New Order of Things*, Saunt places particular emphasis on the role of "mestizo" Creeks like McGillivray who seem to overwhelmingly have supported Euroamerican economic and political concepts. There were exceptions to this rule, duly

noted by Saunt, but such individuals still serve as the engine of cultural change in Saunt's interpretation. The problem with this approach is two-fold: too much credit is given to racial and biological causes of human action, and too little attention is paid to Creek culture and Creek notions of power, spirituality, and social structure.

The Creeks (including their "mestizo" populace) were not a people simply awaiting exposure to notions of private property ownership in order to adopt the political and economic beliefs of their European neighbors, though a reader can deduce such an interpretation in summarizing *A New Order of Things*. In order to understand how the amazingly complex Creek confederacy worked, how Creeks interpreted the world around them, which individuals reached positions of leadership and why, and how all those characteristics changed over time, an ethnohistorical focus on the Creeks as a unique society with a unique history and cultural beliefs must be attempted. Saunt recognizes the potential pitfalls of a cultural emphasis as attempted by anthropologists and ethnohistorians in "making Creek history static and unchanging" (82). But, whereas Saunt provides excellent material (including previously under-utilized Spanish documentary sources) to demonstrate the rapidity and extent of social change among the Creeks, these notions are presented in largely Anglo-American terms and categories, not Creek ones. Why, for example, begin this study with the founding of British Georgia in 1733? Creeks had interacted with the British, French, and Spanish for decades prior to 1733, and much of that interaction involved the selling of captives for the British slave trade. Slave raids on other Indians were motivated (wholly or in part) by an economic incentive to acquire private property in the form of European trade goods. Therefore, a story explaining the Creek adoption of the profit-motive and private property should begin earlier.

There is little doubt, however, that an ideological rupture along the lines described by Saunt took place in late eighteenth-century Creek society. *A New Order of Things* provides the reader a good entry into this topic, and its findings will need to be addressed by future scholarship on southern Indians.

University of Southern Mississippi

GREG O'BRIEN

Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle. By Robert S. Weddle. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999. xiv, 291 pp. Introduction to new edition, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. \$16.95 paper.)

The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henri Joutel, 1684-1687. Edited by William C. Foster. Translated by Johanna S. Warren. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1998. x, 350 pp. List of illustrations, preface, introduction, appendices, translator notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

In 1995, the high-tech sleuthing of marine archaeologists working under the auspices of the Texas Historical Commission led to the discovery of the *Belle*, one of the ships of French explorer Robert Cavalier Sieur de la Salle's expedition lost over three hundred years earlier in 1686 in Matagorda Bay off the coast of Texas—a shipwreck discovery many archaeologists and historians have deemed the most important in North America. In January 2000, the Texas Historical Commission began excavation of yet another new and remarkable discovery—the site of Fort Saint Louis, the fortified settlement established by La Salle (also site of one of the earliest Spanish presidios in Texas, Nuestra Señora de Loreto, commonly called La Bahía, which was built over the French remains almost forty years later). Together, these two excavations have renewed popular and scholarly interest in the story of the ill-fated 1684-87 expedition of La Salle who traveled from France to the Gulf Coast to establish a fort and colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River but overshot its mark by four hundred miles and landed instead on the coast of present-day Texas. Two books by independent scholars of early Spanish Texas history, Robert S. Weddle's *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle* and William C. Foster's *The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henri Joutel, 1684-1687*, together chronicle the Spanish and French sides to this story of imperial rivalries in the Americas and French-Spanish competition for control of the Gulf Coast.

In *Wilderness Manhunt*, Robert Weddle offers a vivid narrative history of Spanish reaction to the encroachment upon their territory represented by La Salle's expedition. In 1685, reports reached viceregal officials in Mexico City and eventually the War Council for the Indies in Madrid, warning of a serious threat to Spain's colonial possessions in the Americas. A "Monsieur de Salaz" had gath-

ered a maritime expedition, made up of four ships carrying 250 people, including soldiers, craftsmen, missionaries, settlers, and at least four women, to establish a colony at a place called "Micipipi" along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico in Spanish territory. Well-provisioned with guns, tools, and merchandise for trade, the French planned to build a fortress from which they could win over Indian allies and ultimately assert control over the rich mines they had been told lay within reach of the Mississippi. The Spanish could only conclude that these mines were in fact their own and that the colonization plans represented a scheme to conquer the northern settlements of New Spain.

During the next four years, Spanish officials sent eleven different expeditions, five by land and six by water, in search of the French colony. This massive search resulted in the comprehensive charting of the Gulf from Pensacola, Florida, to Tampico, Mexico. When a party led by Alonso de León finally found La Salle's Fort St. Louis on Matagorda Bay along the coast of what would later become the Spanish province of Texas, the French colony had been destroyed by disease and by a Karankawa Indian attack in retaliation for French aggressions. Only a handful of French deserters and children living among the Caddos and Karankawas were left to tell the Spanish of the initial goals and ultimate fate of La Salle and his colony. It mattered not to Spanish officials that the grand scheme lay in ruins and the schemer himself was dead at the hands of his own men, however. Steps had to be taken to stop another possible French invasion. Weddle concludes his story by detailing the fate of the various French survivors and the steps taken by the Spanish government to insure protection against further French aggressions. The primary response was the earliest Spanish settlement of "Texas."

Although the new introduction mentions that changes have been made to the text, *Wilderness Manhunt* is simply a new edition of the original 1973 text. Weddle does point to areas of the book which have become outdated by more recent scholarly research, particularly the discovery of the diary of maritime pilot Juan Enríquez Barotto. Happily for the reader interested in following this story further, Barotto's diary as well as the fascinating account of Pierre and Jean Baptiste Talon (two of the French children whom the Spanish found living among the Caddos and Karankawas) are readily available in translation in *La Salle, the Mississippi and the Gulf: Three Primary Documents*, another volume edited by Weddle.

The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henri Joutel, 1684-1687 represents the latest of William C. Foster's efforts to make available English translations of significant seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish and French diaries, journals, and histories relating to early Texas. Henri Joutel acted as post commander of the French colony at Fort St. Louis and his journal, written from notes he kept during the period, is the most comprehensive and authoritative account of the La Salle expedition (the two others being the much shorter accounts of Father Anastase Douay and La Salle's brother Abbé Jean Cavelier).

Beginning with the expedition's departure from La Rochelle, France, Joutel chronicles their voyage to the Gulf of Mexico via Saint Domingue, the search for the mouth of the Mississippi, the landing at Matagorda Bay, and the steadily mounting ill-fortune of the colony of Fort Saint Louis over the next two years. As Joutel detailed the daily experiences of the colonists, he tells a compelling story of the rising tensions of the small group whose goals had quickly been reduced from conquest to survival in the face of the loss of two ships, their conflicts with local Indians, and their struggles to subsist in an unfamiliar environment. Joutel further laid out the events of the small party, of which he was member, which traveled inland in 1687 in search of a route to French Canada and relief for the colony, the trip during which La Salle was murdered by his own men. Joutel provides three different accounts of La Salle's assassination—one from his own perspective, another told him by Douay who witnessed the death, and a third version later told him by Jean L'Archevêque, one of the accomplices to the murder. A fourth account, given to Spanish interrogators by Pierre Meunier, one of the soldiers also in the party, is provided in an appendix.

After La Salle's death, the remaining members of the party regrouped and renegotiated (a falling out among the assassins resulted in further killings) while staying among Hasinai bands of Caddo Indians. The Caddos, the people known to the Spanish as the "Tejas" from whom the region would take its name, represented one of the most influential native groups in the history of the region. Joutel's journal provides some of the earliest, detailed, and thus important first-hand European observations of the Caddos, describing customs of greeting, sign language, diplomacy, warfare, hunting, agriculture, housing, dress, and ceremony. Joutel ended his journal with an account of how he and the few remaining survivors crossed northeast Texas and southwest Arkansas to

the Mississippi River and eventually found their way upriver to French settlements in Canada. It was some time after these events had taken place that the Karankawas attacked and destroyed the colony left on the coast, the sad remnants of which the Spanish discovered two years later.

Foster's volume represents a translation of Joutel's journal as printed in Volume III of Pierre Margry's *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1754*. To date, French archivist and historian Margry's edition offers the only full-length version of Joutel's journal. The new translation by Johanna S. Warren thus offers the first definitive English translation, a marked improvement over the 1714 English translation upon which most American scholars have relied. The 1714 translation, which appears in many texts including Volume I of Benjamin F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana* (1846) and Volume II of Isaac J. Cox's *The Journeys of René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle* (1963), was made of an abbreviated and altered version of the journal published in 1713 by French editor Jean Michel—a version roundly criticized by Joutel himself as seriously flawed. Warren has rendered Joutel's account in readable English, making for a more coherent and flowing narrative. The specialist, however, will miss the inclusion of the original French. Though publishing costs often make it unfeasible to provide the original text alongside the translation, the opportunity to compare the two is often invaluable to the scholar seeking to use such translations for research of his or her own. That said, the works of Weddle and Foster both offer lively and enjoyable readings about the competitions and costs of French and Spanish imperial visions in the New World.

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

JULIANA BARR

Founding Friendship: George Washington, James Madison, and the Creation of the American Republic. By Stuart Leibiger. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999. x, 284 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

In the past half-century, James Madison emerged from the shadow of his fellow Virginia Republican, Thomas Jefferson, into recognition as perhaps the most consequential of the American

revolutionaries (with one notable exception). Madison has been the subject of a flood of outstanding works focusing on almost every facet and period of his career. What has been missing, though, is a work focusing on Madison's relationship with the only revolutionary who continues to be seen as clearly more significant than him: George Washington. Stuart Leibiger, the author of this new book, deserves the thanks of his fellow scholars and of citizens at large. Not only has he described the relationship between the first and fourth presidents, but he has done so in such an exemplary way as to surprise even those who are most thoroughly familiar with the Madison literature.

One might think, in short, that there was very little that had not already been said about Madison's political and personal dealings with his chief. Anyone who has read the leading works on the establishment of the American federal regimes knows, for example, that the two of them both played key roles in bringing about the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, seeing it to a successful conclusion, and securing ratification of the new constitution. Leibiger's contribution, though, is to demonstrate how thoroughly the two great Virginians coordinated their efforts in the three years leading up to ratification. Similarly, Washington's reliance on Madison for constitutional and other advice in the first months of the older man's tenure as president is no secret; Leibiger's achievement lies in fleshing out Madison's contribution and showing how completely Washington trusted and respected his fellow Old Dominion native, politically and personally.

The Jefferson-John Adams and Madison-Jefferson correspondence make great reading for people whose interest tend to the historical, and the Madison teaming with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay as "Publius" yielded one of the great monuments of American political writing. George Washington, despite being steeped (as Leibiger shows in perhaps unexpected ways) in the thought of his day, was not given to self-revelation *à la* John Adams or to philosophical spouting off in the Jeffersonian mode, so his thought has drawn less attention than that of his presidential successors. Leibiger shows that this slighting of Washington is undeserved, that he was a careful steward of his office who almost always decided correctly, and that turning to James Madison for advice was one of the wisest tendencies in his personality. Madison's influence, in Leibiger's account, sometimes outweighed Hamilton's even when the latter supposedly was at the zenith of his power.

George Washington, despite some earlier portrayals, always remained securely in command of his administration's policies.

Leibiger judges Madison harshly for his decision to forego the opportunity to replace Jefferson as Washington's secretary of state. Not only did the decision to do so help lead to the end of the two great Virginians' fruitful partnership, but it also rendered impossible the achievement of Washington's goal of nonpartisan execution of his duties. Jefferson, Leibiger asserts, deserves a good portion of the blame for Madison's decision (and thus for the "political violence of the 1790s") because the secretary of state interpreted a string of negotiated compromises in Washington's cabinet as utter defeats for his own position—and convinced Madison not to endure similar tribulations. Washington, on his side, took the growing political estrangement personally, especially when Madison condoned attacks on the first magistrate; like Jefferson, Madison found himself *persona non grata* with Washington after he turned against the Washington Administration. (For his part, Madison decorated his plantation house with abundant depictions of Washington and revered the late general to the end of his very long life.)

Leibiger argues that the Washington-Madison team's sustained, brilliant performance gave Americans the federal constitution of 1787, the capital at Washington D.C., the Bill of Rights, and the constitutional precedents that still shape the presidential office and the executive's relationship to the Congress. Madison gave Washington long, faithful service; Washington arguably enabled Madison to secure a marriage to the woman of his desires. After Washington's death, Madison carefully tended his late friend's reputation. This account is a must read.

John Jay College, CUNY

CONSTANTINE GUTZMAN

Religion and the Antebellum Debate Over Slavery. Edited by John R. McKivigan and Mitchell Snay. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. viii, 391 pp. Introduction, contributors, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$25.00 paper.)

Historians have given extensive attention to abolitionism in all of its aspects, including its religious roots. Such attention or even obsession extends to the religious origins and shape of the proslavery argument. *Religion and the Antebellum Debate over Slavery* does

not rehash the familiar debates, but broadens and deepens our understanding of the relationships of religious Americans to the increasingly pressing question of slavery.

Editors McKivigan and Snay have assembled twelve essays for this volume. Several of the essays focus on a single state. Two consider the early national period, while several concentrate on the period after 1845. Some focus on individuals; only one focuses specifically on women.

Several significant themes emerge from these essays. First, they demonstrate that many Protestants in the 1830s and 1840s avoided extremes in the religious debate over slavery. Hugh Davis's Congregationalist Leonard Bacon, Deborah Van Broekhoven's Baptist Francis Wayland, Christopher Owen's Georgia Methodists, and the "traditionalists" among Randy Sparks's Mississippi evangelicals all shunned extremes and saw a middle ground as the appropriate religious response to slavery. Second, these essays show the significance of change over time. Certainly, the change represented by the schisms was significant, but authors represented here examine changes already in process before the splits and those that continued or emerged afterwards. Chris Padgett traces the emergence of evangelicalism, the influence on and participation of evangelicals in the political culture of the day, and the appearance of the Oberlin alternative in both doctrine and politics as significant trends in the Western Reserve that were related but not limited to the demise of the Plan of Union and the split of the Presbyterian churches. Laura Mitchell's examination of northern clergy's responses to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 demonstrates significant change in the last decade before the Civil War; Van Broekhoven, too, finds important change in the 1850s, in her case in her interpretation of Wayland.

Third, some of these essays urge historians to take more seriously the biblical emphasis of nineteenth-century believers. In his provocative essay, "Slavery and the Evangelical Enlightenment," Robert P. Forbes goes so far as to point to the "antireligious animus" (83) of scholars; more specifically, he asks that scholars not take the easy way of labeling certain approaches to the Bible as "literal" for the very good reason that literal readings are so diverse as to make the label itself almost meaningless. Mitchell, too, takes antebellum Bible-reading seriously, and she brings biblical models for rendition—the return of fugitive slaves—to the center of her creative discussion. Related to this tendency to accept the seriousness

of the attachment to the Bible among antebellum believers is a willingness to look again at denominations themselves as significant. Beth Barton Schweiger, for example, argues that the local church of the first half of the nineteenth century was replaced by a denominational institution—one that tied the congregation to other congregations but, more significantly, shifted the loyalties and aspirations of the clergy away from the local congregation outward to the denomination and the world which the denomination sought to influence.

None of the essays in this collection looks primarily at African Americans. The fact that the editors recognize this omission does not necessarily excuse it. African American churches and church people in the North were active in antislavery. This volume might have contributed some additional insight into the theological bases and contributions of those activists. Although Mitchell does discuss the question of how northerners imagined their communities—and whether blacks counted as neighbors to northern whites—the question of how white people perceived the religiousness of blacks remains largely unaddressed.

The geographic coverage within these essays is also uneven. Douglas Ambrose, Elizabeth R. Varon, and Schweiger all discuss Virginia, but not a single author focuses on Florida. The wide-ranging work of Forbes applies across state lines. Owen's observations on Methodism in Georgia open the way for comparisons with Georgia's neighbor. The picture of denominationalism and professionalization that Schweiger traces in Virginia will only be deepened by further state-level studies. If Crowther is correct that white Protestant southerners agreed that they should settle their own future with reference to slavery, that slavery was not in itself a violation of biblical teachings, and that immediatist abolitionism was a sin, then those agreements must apply in Florida as elsewhere.

The editors welcome their readers with an introduction that summarizes the northern religious situation and its relationship to slavery, the southern situation, and the essays to come. The editors and their publisher have also made the wise decision to include an index—all too rare in volumes of essays. This structure will allow readers to seek out those essays and parts of essays most valuable for their own interests and research. Specialists in the antebellum period and in religion in the United States will be rewarded in such a search.

Hollins University

RUTH ALDEN DOAN

Arkansas, 1800-1860: Restless and Remote. By S. Charles Bolton. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998. xvi, 207 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, introduction, suggested readings, index. \$28.00 cloth, \$15.00 paper.)

Arkansas, 1800-1860: Restless and Remote is a synthetic book aimed at a general readership. As the title conveys, the work maintains that Arkansas was indeed "remote," the settlers "restless." But, as S. Charles Bolton is at pains to point out, "Arkansans were less idiosyncratic" than they are often depicted and "more like other Americans" (91). As such, Bolton carefully traces the intersection of events in Arkansas with national currents and, significantly, thereby avoids the localistic pitfalls of the state and local history genre. Indeed, if from the professional's viewpoint Bolton often does little more than provide Arkansan examples of national patterns delineated by other historians, the general reader—to whom the book is obviously aimed—should learn a great deal from this well-crafted introduction to the state's antebellum history.

The study is built around a logically organized, fast-moving narrative. After a quick survey of the state's geographic and demographic setting, Bolton relates the political history of Arkansas: the machinations of the state's early politicians and land speculators, the dispossession of the native Arkansans, and, finally, the state's involvement in the Mexican War and its road to secession. Due attention is also given to the social and cultural aspects of early Arkansas, including well-informed discussions of religion and family, women's lives, and slavery. Along the way, Bolton sketches a number of fascinating and revealing portraits of individual Arkansans. Thus, to give only two examples, we are introduced to individuals whose stories illustrate the racial landscape (and landmines) of early Arkansas: Hardy Banks and Mark Kuykendall. Banks was a small landholder who owned a slave family and upon whose semi-subsistence farm "the line between master and slave seems to have been blurred. The two families lived side by side in 'dogtrot' log cabins, and the men all hunted together" (130). Kuykendall, a free mulatto, shot and killed Benjamin Kuykendall, the son of his former master (and emancipator). The fact that Mark was assisted in escaping from prison by unknown white persons, that he had his charge reduced by an all-white jury, and that he was ultimately pardoned by the governor leads Bolton to speculate that Mark's crime in fact may have been fratricide. In other words, Benjamin was very

likely his brother, the murder was probably the result of a conflict over inheritance, and a large section of the white community was well aware of the mitigating circumstances and acted accordingly.

In unearthing these stories of early Arkansas, Bolton takes full advantage of an eclectic array of sources: tax lists, estate inventories, architectural remains, and paintings. He also makes judicious use of antebellum fiction writers—most notably the work of Charles Fenton Mercer Noland—to illuminate the boisterous nature of early Arkansas society.

The weaknesses of the book are, for the most part, generic problems associated with synthetic works of this type. Bolton sometimes fails to plumb the depths of the material, his descriptions are occasionally thin, and his analysis is sometimes derivative. Thus, when Bolton analyzes the experience of the slaves, his discussion does not add much to the generally accepted notions that family and religion and a previously unappreciated degree of autonomy shaped their lives. Bolton also, while doing a fine job of documenting the evolution of the region's white social structure and the inequality which quickly came to characterize it, fails to explore the ramifications of this widening gulf between the classes.

But, by and large, such is to be expected from a work which aims at a large audience, and, taken for what the book intends to do, it is an admirably executed piece of scholarship. Bolton's prose is concise, his analysis generally astute. All in all, *Arkansas, 1800-1860: Restless and Remote* is a well-crafted introduction to antebellum Arkansas, one that at once deftly relays the existing work on the state (and, not incidentally, clearly delineates what is yet to be done). For those interested in Arkansas history, it is a well-organized, solid primer.

Kentucky Wesleyan College

MATTHEW SCHOENBACHLER

Concealed Weapon Laws of the Early Republic: Dueling, Southern Violence, and Moral Reform. By Clayton E. Cramer. (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1999. ix, 181 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, selected bibliography, index, about the author. \$55.00 cloth.)

Most states did not enact laws against the wearing of concealed weapons until early in the twentieth century and recently a number of states have relaxed those statutes by allowing law-abiding citizens

to carry such weapons. However, as an exception to this general pattern of long-standing tolerance, eight states of the early republic did enact prohibitions against the wearing of concealed weapons. The eight states were Kentucky, Louisiana, Indiana, Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and Alabama. This study endeavors to discover the purpose of these statutes.

Each of the eight states experienced much homicidal violence due to a heightened sense of manly honor. Manly honor meant that adult males manifested extreme sensitivity about their reputations and the reputations of family members and easily resorted to homicidal vengeance because of perceived slights of those reputations, no matter how minor the slighting. The culture of honor often stemmed from the ethnic predilections of early settlers such as the Scots-Irish of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Arkansas, who brought from their homeland a rich tradition of homicidal vengeance. Slavery, an important institution in all of the states save Indiana (and many emigrated to Indiana from slave states), also contributed to the bloodletting. The legal right to own and to abuse unfree human beings led to a toleration of the abuse and even killing of free human beings. Some have even argued, and Cramer finds the arguments plausible, that the hotter temperatures of most of the states contributed to their homicidal tendencies. For example, hot weather apparently increases testosterone levels that increase tendencies towards violent behavior. Further, the tremendous thirst and intake of cheap and readily available whiskey in the eight states reinforced the killing instincts of the male residents.

Given their violent nature, it is not surprising that the eight states in this study enacted concealed weapons laws. What intrigues is the connection between these statutes and efforts to eradicate dueling. The code duello constituted a formal mechanism for aggrieved men to implement their notions of honor, a ritual that sometimes resulted in non-violent settlements. But, too often the ritual ended in homicide or serious wounding, prompting state legislatures, including those of most of the eight states being studied in this book, to seek to end dueling, usually by requiring public officials, lawyers, and sometimes others to take oaths that they had never dueled or aided and abetted duels. According to Cramer, the oaths had the desired effect of reducing the number of duels, but had the unintended effect of creating an epidemic of street fights as the way to avenge dishonor. Deprived of the duel, honorable and, too often, dishonorable men began to wear concealed weap-

ons so as to be ever ready to avenge dishonor. When dishonor occurred, the avenging occurred instantaneously, often unfairly and, just as often, fatally. Whereas the code duello required courage and a fair fight and sometimes resulted in a non-violent settlement, the street fight rewarded cowardly attacks that usually killed. Further, there were many more street fights than duels. Thus, shortly after legislatures prohibited dueling, they also outlawed concealed weapons as a way to end street fights. Whereas the lawmakers had considerable success in their anti-dueling campaigns, they failed to end the street fights as their laws against concealed weapons did not end the practice in any substantial way. Cramer not only offers the dueling connection as his thesis, but dismisses previous explanations for concealed weapons laws that have described them as efforts to control free blacks and/or abolitionists or responses to deadlier pistols and/or urbanization. He also argues that modern relaxation of concealed weapons laws has not produced predicted violence because of the decline and fall of the code of honor.

Relying on secondary as well as primary sources, Cramer has fashioned a fairly solid explanation of the purpose of the earliest laws against the wearing of concealed weapons. His study is somewhat handicapped by the lack of direct sources on the subject, as he readily admits. Further, he has made no effort to study the realities of the enforcement of the concealed weapon statutes, relying instead on the incomplete studies of others. In balance, however, Cramer has provided the best explanation to date of the origins of concealed weapons statutes in America.

University of Kentucky

ROBERT IRELAND

The Abolitionists and the South, 1831-1861. By Stanley Harrold. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999. x, 245 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.00 paper.)

Stanley Harrold's bold, revisionist account of abolitionism in the antebellum period challenges the overwhelming emphasis in abolitionist scholarship on the movement's northern, and specifically New England, origins and influences. Not only have most studies failed to appreciate the significant efforts against slavery in the South itself, they have also missed the important contributions of these southern activities to the "development of abolitionist reform

culture" in the North (4). Harrold's work takes on two dominant ideas in the historiography. First, he maintains that abolitionists did *not* abandon direct confrontation with southern slaveholders after the mid-1830s. Second, Harrold challenges generations of consensus and new political historians who have marginalized the abolitionist movement as a factor in the coming of the Civil War.

After an informative and cogent analysis of the immense historiography on the abolitionist movement, Harrold presents his argument thematically. Northern abolitionists looked toward a group of southern white "emancipators," including James Birney, Cassius Clay, and lesser-known figures like Joseph Evans Snodgrass and John C. Vaughan, whose actions gave them hope that pervasive latent antislavery sentiment existed among southern whites, waiting to be awakened by committed leaders. While the efforts of these southern agitators often fell short of expectations, northern abolitionists were reluctant to condemn them. As Harrold puts it, the southern emancipator served as both a "harbinger of progress" and a "symbol of southern intransigence" (37). The persistence of indigenous antislavery action provided a rallying call to northerners skeptical of the movement's possibilities for success, while the image of the persecuted antislavery southerner roused northern hostility to the proslavery regime.

Just as they embraced southern white emancipators, northern abolitionists also supported the efforts of blacks to liberate themselves. While most disavowed any encouragement of slave rebellion, a few abolitionists, notably Gerrit Smith and Henry Highland Garnet, advocated slave resistance as a "viable means of promoting general emancipation" (63). In this context, John Brown's attempt to spark a slave rebellion in 1859 represented not only the increasingly violent sectional conflict of the 1850s but also an "abolitionist vision of southern black antislavery action" that had existed for decades (62).

Other chapters chronicle the efforts of northern slave rescuers who ventured southward to liberate slaves personally, abolitionist missionaries in the border and upper South who preached a "whole, antislavery gospel" to mixed-race congregations, and northern entrepreneurs who attempted to establish free labor colonies in the border states. Unlike other historians, Harrold places these brave individuals within the mainstream of an increasingly radical abolitionist reform culture, which by the 1840s "had come to value direct physical confrontation with slavery in the South" (83). The limited success of these ventures was not as important as

their very existence. Building on William W. Freehling's work, Harrold maintains that abolitionist activity in the upper reaches of the South fueled Deep South fears that slavery was vulnerable on its flanks and played "at least as important a role" in stoking the fires of secession as did the territorial controversies (106). Finally, Harrold calls attention to the close ties between northern abolitionists and southern antislavery politicians like Cassius Clay and John Fee who, in 1849, tried unsuccessfully to include a gradual emancipation clause in Kentucky's constitution.

The major thrust of Harrold's work is to restore abolitionists in the North and South as major players in the antebellum sectional conflict, and for the most part he succeeds admirably. Yet at times Harrold presents a rather rosy picture of northern and southern antislavery collaboration and minimizes the "compromises and qualifications" that differentiated southern emancipators from their northern abolitionist allies. Few southern political abolitionists ever espoused the doctrine of immediate, uncompensated emancipation, although most at least rejected colonization, and several of them were actively hostile to northern abolitionists whom they blamed for the slow pace of antislavery progress in the South. Harrold's emphasis on southern "abolitionists" excludes other southern unionists and critics of slavery in the upper South who had negligible ties to northern abolitionism but whose activities were just as worrisome to proslavery southerners. Moreover, as Harrold concedes, the Garrisonians harbored no illusions of converting southerners after 1835, and by the 1850s other northern abolitionists had become disillusioned with southern antislavery efforts. Nevertheless, this concise, well-researched, and highly readable study presents a refreshingly vigorous challenge to settled notions about the abolitionist movement, one that future scholars will certainly have to reckon with.

Harvard University

SUSAN WYLY-JONES

Tampa before the Civil War. By Canter Brown Jr. (Tampa, Fla.: University of Tampa Press, 1999. x, 197 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00 hardback.)

In *Tampa before the Civil War*, Canter Brown provides a history of Tampa before cigar rollers arrived in Ybor City and Teddy

Roosevelt rode down Seventh Avenue. Brown begins with Colonel George Brooke floating up Hillsborough Bay in 1824 and traces the community through the difficult years leading up to the Civil War. In Brown's telling, Tampa was not an inevitable community but one that was formed by a series of determined settlers, sharp-eyed speculators and local politicians who saw rays of promise through the clouds of hostile weather, frontier war, and endemic disease. Brown writes a sturdy and useful study that shows the broad sweep of Tampa's past and combines the detail of an academic text with the accessibility of a popular history.

The development of the city did not come quickly or easily. Established by the American army as Fort Brooke, many of the soldiers stationed there saw the civilians of Tampa Town as a nuisance. Consequently, several of the commanding officers tried to prevent the growth of Tampa and even attempted to completely eliminate the civilian presence. Tampa's early development was hindered by this constant battle with military authorities, the proximity to ongoing conflicts with Native Americans, and the occasional hurricane which destroyed the young settlement during its struggle to become a real community rather than a collection of wooden shacks on the outskirts of Fort Brooke. Often, it seemed as though Tampa, like so many other towns founded in nineteenth-century Florida, was doomed to disappear. The future of the community was never clear in the antebellum period—sixteen years after the first settlement at Fort Brooke, Tampa still had less than one hundred civilian residents.

Throughout the text, Brown successfully integrates Tampa into the history of antebellum America and shows that the fate of the city was intertwined with national events. The success or failure of Tampa was intimately connected to the court culture of Washington politics in the 1820s and 1830s and the political battles between Democrats and Know-Nothings in the 1850s. This approach mixes a traditional form of local history, which focuses on the experiences of individuals in the Tampa area, with an understanding that many of the decisions that profoundly influenced the city's development were made in Tallahassee or Washington. Brown vividly describes the exasperating battles between local, state, and federal officials over land rights and governmental organization. One common, and perhaps inherent, limitation in writing this blend of local and national history is that the reader often sees the effects of larger processes without fully understanding the causes. For exam-

ple, the Panic of 1837 and the continual personnel changes in the War Department had a considerable impact on local affairs, but Brown is unable to fully explain the connection between these national events and their impact on Tampa. However, the fact that Brown raises questions about characters and events located far from Tampa is a sign that the book has successfully integrated local affairs into a larger historical framework.

The history of Tampa has always been a story of immigration, and Brown gives considerable attention to the importance of northern businessmen, Spanish and Cuban fishermen, and the movement of southerners, slaves, and Native Americans into the young community. Brown persuasively shows how the Tampa of the antebellum period was the product of the mix of cultures—military, Indian, African-American, Latin, northern, and southern.

One of the greatest strengths of the book is that Brown provides a map to the territory that future scholars will use to do more focused studies. Often, however, there is a lack of analysis in favor of covering the details of storms, disease, and war. Also, though written in clear and accessible prose, Brown's writing is sometimes interrupted by long lists of names that would be better suited to footnotes. Overall, *Tampa before the Civil War* serves as an interesting and well-written introduction to the characters and issues that mark this period in Tampa's history. Utilizing a large number of unused or underutilized sources, Brown has provided a compelling portrait of the complex political, social, meteorological, and military environments that marked the struggle to create Tampa and make it a viable community.

Stanford University

STEPHEN D. ANDREWS

George B. McClellan & Civil War History: In the Shadow of Grant and Sherman. By Thomas J. Rowland. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1998. xi, 248 pp. Preface, note on sources, index. \$28.00 cloth.)

Throngs of American and international visitors descend on Washington, D.C., each year to visit, among other national "shrines," memorials to the nation's great leaders. Few who pay tribute to Abraham Lincoln, however, also make the trek two miles to the northwest to view George B. McClellan's statue. Other than

professional historians who often hold conferences at nearby hotels, there is little reason for most tourists to stumble upon the granite likeness of the Civil War general. And as Thomas J. Rowland shows in his historiographical study, *George B. McClellan & Civil War History*, the much-maligned Union commander would no doubt embrace anonymity and apathy over most of the attention his war record and character have received over the past 135 years. Indeed, the role of few other American military and political leaders has proven fodder for comparable vilification.

Rowland, an instructor at the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, questions the prevailing wisdom on George McClellan. In a well-written and persuasive book, he takes on the "consensus truths" about McClellan and identifies more reasonable approaches for evaluating the general-in-chief of the Army of the Potomac. The book is for professional historians and other serious students of the war. Rowland starts by examining forays by scholars into the realm of psychohistory that identify McClellan as delusional, paranoid, manic depressive, and/or the victim of a messianic complex. Rowland shows how such "pop psychology" pronouncements are not only products of sloppy scholarship but have inhibited meaningful assessment of McClellan's behavior. The commander could be arrogant, pretentious, and secretive, but his personality flaws were not at all unlike those of other prominent decision-makers of the era, and besides, these tendencies hardly doomed him to military failure. More important, evidence of genuine mental illness simply does not exist.

The subtitle of Rowland's work, "In the Shadow of Grant and Sherman," reflects accurately the basic theme of the study. The author compares McClellan's abilities and experiences to the two Union heroes to show that failure was hardly a stranger to any of them early in the war. Though most "Unionist" historians have been reluctant to impugn the "larger than life" images of the others, or of Lincoln, they have analyzed McClellan's weaknesses and mistakes ad nauseam. Grant and Sherman were the victors of 1865, McClellan the loser of 1862. Yet to compare the results of two different periods of the war, given the dramatically changed context of the fighting by 1864 and 1865, represents poor scholarship. A better comparison, as Rowland suggests, would focus on the record of the generals before Lincoln removed McClellan from his command position.

In all studies of the war, "Little Mac" receives credit for organizing, training, and supplying the Army of the Potomac after the First

Manassas debacle. The talented administrator then emerges as the principal scapegoat of the Peninsula and Maryland campaigns. Too cautious and indecisive, McClellan deserves criticism, but as Rowland points out, there were a variety of reasons behind Union failures. "His early tenure," the author notes, "deprived him of the advantage of leading matured and seasoned civilian soldiers, adapted to the demands of a new age of warfare" (165). As Ulysses Grant suggested, anyone in charge would have met the same fate as McClellan. "If he did not succeed," Grant observed, "it was because the conditions of success were so trying." Elaboration upon this point represents the most valuable aspect of Rowland's work. The old "battles and leaders" approach to military history contributes to overemphasis on the role of individuals. Identifying causation is usually a more complex process than placing black and white hats on historical figures.

Few would agree with Rowland's assertion that "McClellan remains the North's most intriguing personality" (15), but even the most skeptical reader must acknowledge that his reputation has rarely been assessed objectively. *George McClellan & Civil War History* does not create a new historical image for the striking marble figure on horseback that stands next to Connecticut Avenue in Washington. It is not a defense of McClellan's actions or ideas, nor does it tear down the widely accepted views of Lincoln, Sherman, or Grant. Rather, Rowland's book provides a thoughtful reminder for scholars to appreciate the complexity of causation.

Slippery Rock University

JOHN M. CRAIG

Mountain Rebels: East Tennessee Confederates and the Civil War, 1860-1870. By W. Todd Groce. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. xviii, 218 pp. List of illustrations and maps, list of tables, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth.)

To say that the historical literature on the Civil War is extensive is perhaps one of the greatest understatements of all time. Despite the enormity of this scholarship, certain topics remain ripe for exploration. The trick to presenting these unrevealed stories of the American Civil War, it seems, is to be sure that they present unique insight and address important questions. Otherwise, new books in the field can quickly become irrelevant as they are assimilated into

the gargantuan mass of Civil War historiography. In *Mountain Rebels*, W. Todd Groce explores the impact of secession, war, and the early years of Reconstruction upon the men and women of East Tennessee who chose to support the Confederacy. His clearly written and well-evidenced study succeeds in presenting a fascinating portrait of a marginalized people that blends important elements of Appalachian and Civil War history. *Mountain Rebels* might frustrate some students of the period—it is by no means an exhaustive study of East Tennessee's Confederates—but Groce nonetheless raises significant issues and provides a valuable addition to the growing literature on Civil War Appalachia. For this reason alone, *Mountain Rebels* stands apart from the constant barrage of articles, books, and documentaries concerning the Civil War.

Mountain Rebels begins with an overview of East Tennessee's economy and society on the eve of secession. When the residents of this area were forced to grapple with Tennessee's decision to leave the Union, the "rising commercial-professional middle class" (58) provided the leadership for secessionists. In a sense, Groce's secessionists are the mirror image of our traditional conception of Confederate sympathizers. East Tennesseans were hardly the "moonlight and magnolia" brand of southerners. Rather, Groce argues, "the beneficiaries of the wheat boom and railroad lines took up the sword" and supported the Confederacy (59). Slave ownership was not necessarily the key in determining why many East Tennesseans declared allegiance to the Confederacy. Groce argues that the area's strong economic relationship with slave states convinced these "mountain rebels" to support secession. This conclusion falls into line with other works on Appalachian society at the time of the Civil War, most notably the work of John Inscoe on North Carolina and Altina Waller's study of the Kentucky-West Virginia border. Evidence of strong pockets of Confederate support in southern Appalachia, in turn, throw into doubt the assumption held by many historians that the South's mountainous regions remained solidly loyal to the Union. This seems to be one of Groce's major tasks in *Mountain Rebels*, as he struggles against the "myths and stereotypes of mountain Unionism" (159).

Following the heady days of secession, East Tennessee rebels immediately ran into problems. General E. Kirby Smith assumed command of the Department of East Tennessee in March of 1862, and a wedge was driven between East Tennessee Confederates and political authorities in Richmond. Groce suggests that the Florida-

born Smith had little respect for his troops drawn from a supposedly Unionist region, which translated into a legacy of "suspicion, oppression, and conscription" (84) between East Tennessee and the Confederate government. Troops from East Tennessee eventually saw action in the Vicksburg campaign, but seemed to have distinguished themselves very poorly. By 1864, demoralization and desertion took a major toll on East Tennessee Confederates, as many men "simply lost the will to continue the struggle and dropped out of the war" (106).

The conclusion of the Civil War hardly alleviated the miserable position of Groce's mountain rebels in East Tennessee society. As Union forces occupied East Tennessee, a significant number of Confederates in the area chose to take President Lincoln's amnesty oath and redeem their American citizenship. Although such actions, in Groce's words, reflected the "shallowness of their original commitment to secession" (119) and the economic motivation of East Tennessee Confederates, those who chose to support the South suffered severe repercussions for their decision. Parson Brownlow, the Unionist editor of the *Knoxville Whig* (re-named *Brownlow's Whig and Rebel Ventilator* during the Civil War), urged that Confederates in East Tennessee "be made to feel the consequences of their treason" and "be paid back in their own coin" (129). This post-war retribution led about three-quarters of East Tennessee's Confederate officers to leave the region and never return. Those who remained fought unsuccessfully to wash the stink of secession from their reputation for decades.

The long shadow of Parson Brownlee's Unionism continued to obscure East Tennessee's Confederates throughout history. In fact, if there is one major impression that Groce wants to leave with the reader, it is that East Tennessee Confederates lived at all. This is one of the book's few shortcomings, as the author tends to emphasize the mere existence of his subjects rather than focus upon their experience as a significant one for readers outside the fields of Appalachia and the Civil War history. Despite this narrow approach, Groce has provided us with a vibrant portrait of a forgotten people in *Mountain Rebels*, one that certainly enhances our understanding of the major issues of secession and war, but at the same time stresses the uniqueness of East Tennessee Confederates.

Don Carlos Buell: Most Promising of All. By Stephen D. Engle. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xvii, 476 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, and index. \$45.00 cloth.)

In his biography of the Union general Don Carlos Buell, Stephen D. Engle has added a very important volume to Civil War history. Useful and interesting as both biography and military history, this book is even more critical in terms of understanding military philosophy, the art of war, and “the route not taken” by the Federals—or rather, the military way rejected by the Lincoln government.

Born in 1818 in Ohio to family of upstate New York Yankee stock, Buell graduated from West Point in 1841. He made the army his complete life thereafter. The military affected even his domestic career as evidenced by his marriage in 1851 to heiress Margaret Hunter Mason, the widow of Brig. Gen. Richard Mason, formerly military governor of California and commander of Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis. His career included service in the Seminole wars, the Mexican War, campaigns against the Comanches, and a still more notable tenure in the Adjutant General’s office in Washington.

“One of the most sought-after officers in the Federal army” in the summer of 1861, Buell made brigadier in August. In mid-October, after his appointment as general in chief, George McClellan reorganized the western armies and Buell won command of the newly created Department of the Ohio, replacing William Tecumseh Sherman while Henry Halleck agreed to head the Department of the West out of St. Louis. While the two western generals had almost as much conflict with each other as with the Confederates, Buell, as commander of the Army of the Ohio, participated in some of the most notable episodes of the early war, including the river war strategy against Forts Donelson and Henry, the reduction of Nashville, the Corinth campaign, the Battle of Shiloh, the campaign for Chattanooga in the summer, the defense of Kentucky later, and the battle of Perryville in October 1862.

Exasperated by his persistent refusal to “redeem” East Tennessee, the Battle of Perryville and Buell’s failure to destroy Bragg gave the government the excuse, effectively, to cashier the Ohioan for William Roscrans. He fell from grace within a fortnight of the disgrace of his chief friend in the service, fellow Democrat and mili-

tary conservative, George McClellan. Engineered by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, a kangaroo court-like military commission sought to impugn not only Buell's generalship, perhaps easy enough to do, but also to charge him with treasonous conciliation with the rebels. The hearings of this tribunal, amounting to a book of the 128-volume *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, allowed Buell to establish a formal apology for the kind of war he fought and tried to fight.

Buell practiced an "old fashioned" version of limited war as promulgated by the French strategist Antoine Henri Jomini. He was a social and political conservative who eschewed revolutionary means or ends. He rejected abolitionism; he respected, even justified, Southern complaints; he respected property rights of southerners and the legal, constitutional rights of citizens in the rebellious states. He made the sharpest distinctions between the civilian and the military. He sought the reestablishment of the union along the lines of 1787. The alternative to this military philosophy, of course, was total war and revolutionary objectives. In this regard, Engle's book emphasizes over and over that Buell was not simply a poor commander; on the contrary, he stresses that Buell's inadequacies, otherwise defined, arose from a profound and deeply held military philosophy that was as defeated as thoroughly as secession itself by 1865.

Even more critical than illuminating Jominian theories of war, Engle's study also casts brilliant light on the Federals' adoption of total war. The most thoughtful southerners of 1861 might have predicted this turn of events based on their notions of a tyrannical national state previewed in abolitionism, industrial capitalism, and the policies of the Republican Party. Engle himself fails to address this theoretical question of the association of war with ideas, tending rather to make the question more of necessity than theoretical consistency. At the same time, he never questions the validity and legitimacy of the new equation of federal power with a kind of revolutionary imperialism of the Lincoln government. Just so, he tends to assume the equation of this new system with modernity itself, in effect the delegitimization of Jomini, Buell, McClellan, and company permanently. Such assumptions, of course, make Civil War history most profoundly relevant for the conduct of any war in the modern age, and that is not the least merit of this book.

Despite the enormous virtues of this biography, it possesses flaws. Somewhat repetitive in places, it would have profited from

heavier editing either from Engle himself or the press. The index might have been more detailed, the critical Committee on the Conduct of the War, for example, has no entries at all. Still more telling, the bibliography and notes lack full order. Thus authors of articles are listed in the notes but without full citations while the articles complete with journal titles are not listed in the bibliography at all. Engle might have written, in effect, an even more useful book for students of the Civil War and military history in general. Even as is, it should be read by anyone who ever teaches or has any interest at all in the history of the American Civil War.

Florida International University

DARDEN ASBURY PYRON

Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers, and the Making of the Union Movement. By Howard Kimeldorf. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. x, 244 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

With this little book, sociologist Howard Kimeldorf joins a protracted debate that has continued at least since the 1928 publication of another "little" book, Selig Perlman's *Theory of the Labor Movement*. Few labor scholars will likely argue about Kimeldorf's theory seventy-five years from now, but he does add an interesting twist to an ongoing debate. Like so many other writers before him, the author seeks to explain the apparent political and ideological conservatism of American workers, especially as juxtaposed to their economic militancy. The same workers who seemingly embraced capitalism and liberal democracy exhibited a far greater propensity to revolt against their conditions of employment than their socialist counterparts elsewhere. Such industrial radicalism, Kimeldorf concludes, grew from a syndicalist predisposition. Quite simply, American workers privileged collective economic power at the point of production over the gradualism of electoral politics.

To make his case the author employs two interesting case studies: a Philadelphia longshoremen's union and a culinary workers' union in New York City. Both unions were originally organized by the insurgent Industrial Workers of the World during the first quarter of the twentieth century, and both—with few evident changes in convictions, tactics, or even leadership—eventually aligned themselves with the more conservative American Federation of Labor.

In a sense the historical evolution of these two small, rather aberrant unions mirrors the larger experience of the national labor movement. The AFL also flirted with socialism in the early years of the twentieth century before embracing the pure and simple trade unionism of Samuel Gompers and his business unionist cohorts.

In seeking to explain this development, Kimeldorf dismisses the argument that the abandonment of the socialist left followed inevitably from the ideological conservatism of American workers. He also finds the culturalist emphasis of social historians and the structuralist arguments of the "new institutionalists" useful but incomplete; while they arrive at their conclusions via divergent routes, both end up endorsing the earlier notion of "proletarian conservatism." The problem, as Kimeldorf sees it, lies in an overemphasis on the ambiguous concept of working-class mentality while largely ignoring observable working-class behavior at the point of production.

While ideologically poles apart, the IWW and the AFL nonetheless shared many practical tenets. Neither trusted government to serve the interests and needs of the working class. Instead, they both espoused a type of "practical syndicalism." Such working-class militancy, Kimeldorf argues, "represented a fluid mix of organizational practice that combined the industrial brawn of pure and simple unionism with the mobilizing muscle of contemporary working-class insurgency to produce a kind of 'syndicalism, pure and simple'—defined by its point-of-production focus, aggressive job control, and militant direct action" (15).

Still, even at the most practical level, the IWW and the AFL clearly were different. The latter organized strategically-located skilled workers and practiced a type of exclusionary craft-oriented unionism that Kimeldorf characterizes as "business syndicalism." The IWW favored a much more inclusive "industrial syndicalism" which featured labor solidarity, mass mobilization, and unrestricted direct action. Thus the fundamental differences that divided American labor grew less from conflicting ideological doctrines than from differing versions of syndicalist practice at the workplace.

This intriguing, well-written monograph is an example of social science history at its very best. Kimeldorf, whose theses are based on substantial research in both primary and secondary sources, effectively combines social theory with historical analysis. Although, in some important respects, the author's revisionist con-

clusions seem more grounded in semantic distinctions than a radically different perception of what really happened, Kimeldorf does raise fundamental issues that will no doubt attract considerable comment and controversy. This book, which should stimulate wide-ranging seminar discussions on the nature of trade unionism in the United States, is a "must read" for students of American labor.

Georgia State University

GARY M. FINK

King Cotton's Advocate: Oscar G. Johnston and the New Deal. By Lawrence J. Nelson. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. xviii, 331 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$38.00 cloth.)

In the great depression of the 1930s, the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration attempted to alleviate the distress of agriculture by a series of policies calling for crop reductions and price subsidies. These efforts generally stabilized prices but worked in the favor of landlords and large producers at the expense of tenants, sharecroppers, and small farmers. Both the political right and the political left found much fault with the New Deal approach. Conservatives deplored the government's intrusive role in farming while liberals sympathized with the "plight of sharecroppers." After Pearl Harbor, World War II solved the problem by raising prices and creating alternative employment for much of the South's rural population.

The architect of the New Deal cotton program, Oscar Johnston, is the subject of this excellent biography. A lawyer and planter, Johnston in 1927 became the president of the Delta and Pine Land Company, a sprawling 38,000-acre operation at Scott, Mississippi. At the beginning of the New Deal, Agriculture Secretary Henry Wallace asked Johnston to become finance director of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Although he played a key role in creating the Commodity Credit Corporation and the federal Cotton Pool, he generally avoided publicity. A loyal Democrat, he admired Wallace and Roosevelt but was ideologically aligned with conservative pro-business figures such as Jesse Jones, Will Clayton, and Bernard Baruch. By the end of the 1930s he had decided that industry-wide self regulation was a better approach to the problems of King Cotton than government programs—no matter how well meaning—and he turned his efforts in 1939 to the creation of the National Cotton Council of America in hopes of

getting producers, warehousemen, ginner, processors, and shippers to work together to stabilize the industry.

Although Johnston preferred to work behind the scenes, he became the object of much scrutiny in 1936 when a Providence, Rhode Island, newspaper revealed that his company had received huge AAA subsidies. A much embarrassed Secretary Wallace insisted that such payments were the exception not the rule, and released a 134-page report detailing all subsidy payments over \$10,000. Delta and Pine Land had fared very well under the New Deal, receiving over \$400,000 between 1933 and 1935. Suddenly the whole world was interested in Oscar Johnston. In 1937, Henry Luce sent a team of *Time/Life* reporters and photographers to Scott, and in March published a lengthy article in *Fortune* which highlighted Johnston's excellent labor relations, his use of scientific farming methods, and his financial wizardry. The article emphasized that Delta and Pine Land made a profit during the depression, even without the AAA payments. Not long afterwards Jonathan Daniels, the North Carolina editor, visited Scott and left filled with admiration, observing that Delta and Pine Land was a model company and that its president was a model landlord.

Plagued by failing eyesight, Johnston gradually withdrew from the cotton business in the years after World War II. He died in 1955.

Professor Nelson based this eminently readable biography on prodigious research. He made use of over thirty manuscript collections; forty oral history interviews (seventeen of which were conducted by the author), state and federal government documents, thirty-eight major periodicals, and numerous secondary works. *King Cotton's Advocate* deserves a wide readership among those interested in New Deal farm policy and the rise of the agribusiness.

Somerset Community College

ROGER TATE

American Dreams in Mississippi: Consumers, Poverty, and Culture, 1830-1998. By Ted Ownby. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xiii, 228 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

During my first visit to Laurel, Mississippi, several years ago, a friend insisted on taking me to the local Wal-Mart on Friday night.

There, she said, I would get an informative glimpse of Laurel society. Ted Ownby takes readers on a similar trip, which begins with Mississippi's earliest shopping venues and ends with the vigorously maligned but heavily shopped Wal-Marts of today. By examining the history of consumer culture in Mississippi, he adds a fresh perspective to one of the most written about states among scholars.

Consumer choices, Ownby points out, reflect more than one's needs and extravagances. Often embodied in the process of selecting goods are meanings of the American Dream. He identifies four of the most powerful in American life: the dream of abundance, as opposed to poverty and hunger; the dream of democracy of goods, meaning that consumption can foster social leveling; the dream of freedom of choice, which attaches pleasure to the selection of goods; and the dream of novelty, which holds the promise of new experiences with the act of consumption. What then, Ownby asks, do consumer goods tell us about Mississippians' relation with the meanings of these freedoms, their experiences of rural life, and their interactions with race and class?

Ownby first looks at the principal shopping venue of nineteenth-century Mississippi—the general store. These typically modest outlets stocked the basic necessities required by rural folk, who grew or raised much of what they ate and made much of what they wore. Shopping in these places was a male responsibility and the stores were a male—mostly white—gathering spot. The excitement in visiting such places came not from consumption but from socialization. Even while women “had a great deal to say about the goods their families used, wore, and ate,” the rural male tended to be a utility shopper rather than an indulgent pleasure seeker (25). Virtually everyone dealt in credit, a practice that clashed with Mississippians' distaste for debt.

Indulgence in the nineteenth century was the privilege of the wealthy. Not general stores but the fine shops of the cities outside the region and abroad inventoried the luxuries of the rich. Displays of wealth were important, but private pleasures and a personal sense of cosmopolitanism made the experience of consumption most complete. Women shared in the experience, and the spending habits of some worried fathers and husbands. The greatest expenditure of concern, however, was that which came with providing for one's slaves.

In the black experience, dreams associated with consumption were often dreams delayed. For slaves who found ways to earn small

sums of money, spending required the permission of one's owner and limited the benefits of consumption to the expression of individualism and the dream of novelty. After freedom, consumption failed to level racial differences even for those blacks who could afford abundance. Despite white beliefs to the contrary, blacks in general were frugal shoppers who wanted to avoid the economic and social trappings of debt and who preferred to save their money to achieve the ultimate of American dreams—owning land.

By the early twentieth century, shopping was acquiring a different look. The number of wage workers was increasing while the number of family farms was decreasing. The old credit policy of the general store was giving way to cash-only exchanges and monthly installment plans. Department stores and specialty stores, including automobile dealerships, were changing the retail landscape. Retailers were increasingly turning to advertising, which sold the twin ideas that shopping was an exciting pastime and that "more consumers could afford to be modern" (90). While white women of all classes were emerging as important figures of shopping, blacks "still had not become significant figures in the stores" (95).

Ownby probably makes his best and most creative contributions in the book's last three chapters. The chapter on blues musicians reveals that purchasing was depicted by artists as a means of enhancing self-esteem, community respect, and romantic rewards. In the chapter on Mississippi's literary giants, Ownby finds that consumer culture in the artistry of the conservative writer, Will Percy, threatened tradition; for the most radical, Richard Wright, "it stood in the way of a meaningful future" (130). During the Civil Rights era, the focus of the last chapter, cataclysmic boycotts were powerful instruments imposed against the white power structure.

Ownby's story fizzles out in the epilogue and the discussion of recent developments, leaving the reader wanting to know more about the shopping-mall culture, the homogenized retail panorama, and the growth of a consumer-based service industry. In general, the book hits the essentials, but detail and description are sometimes sparing. The research is adequate but not terribly thorough. The book is readable, but its narrative and prose lack an engaging richness. Ownby has completed a work of significance. But it hardly seems to have been done as a labor of love.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

JACK E. DAVIS

Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938-1948.

By Barbara Dianne Savage. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xiii, 391 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

Most scholars have acknowledged the importance of the media—especially television—to the African American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. No one before Barbara Dianne Savage, however, had examined the role that radio played in the early years of the civil rights struggle. *Broadcasting Freedom* argues that the debates about race on the radio in the late 1930s and 1940s put in place the “ideological framing” for the later civil rights movement. Throughout the decade scrutinized by this book, African Americans tried to gain access to the national networks for programs about black history and the need for racial equality. Savage’s analysis of the content of the few programs produced by African Americans and their allies demonstrates that important changes occurred in U.S. racial ideologies in the 1940s. These changes laid the foundation for the successes of later civil rights activists.

Savage shows that the ability of African Americans to portray themselves and to call for an end to racial discrimination in national broadcasts was severely circumscribed in the years before World War II. The war offered advocates of racial equality increased access to the national radio audience. After race riots erupted in several U.S. cities in 1943, public affairs programs such as NBC’s *University of Chicago Round Table* and *Town Meeting of the Air* began to address the “Negro question” and “race tensions.” By 1945, however, the producers of both shows had decided that debates about race relations had become too volatile for broadcast; neither program devoted another show to the topic until 1947. By that time, the war had ended, and President Harry S. Truman had responded to the growing political power of African American voters in the North by appointing a Committee on Civil Rights. By the time *Round Table* aired a program endorsing the committee’s report, *To Secure These Rights* in late 1947, producers no longer felt compelled to include a white southerner in panel discussions of racial issues. When producers did include white southerners, other panelists often made them the targets of subtle ridicule. Although the panelists on public affairs programs increasingly supported racial equality, few African Americans were allowed to

represent themselves in these national broadcasts. With conservatives largely relegated to the margins of debates about race relations, opponents of segregation and other forms of blatant racial discrimination were increasingly able to define the terms of these debates.

To emphasize how restricted the national radio debate about race was throughout this period, Savage contrasts national broadcasts with two local programs, *New World A'Coming*, which began its run in 1944 on the independent New York station WMCA, and *Destination Freedom*, which aired between 1948 and 1950 in Chicago. Both programs reported incidents of discrimination and exhorted listeners to take action to eliminate injustice.

Savage's conclusions rest upon careful and thoughtful analysis of an impressive array of sources. To explain why African Americans struggled to gain access to radio and why early programs did not endorse direct action to end discrimination, Savage examined the statements of and correspondence between federal officials, African American intellectuals and community leaders, and network executives. She perused the transcripts of broadcasts in order to trace subtle changes in representations of African Americans and black history. Perhaps the most fascinating sources that Savage analyzed were the letters written by listeners responding to broadcasts. These letters reveal the wide range of racial ideologies embraced by different groups of Americans. Some of the letters also indicate that network officials' fears of arousing hostile reactions from European Americans were not unfounded. When black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier appeared on *Round Table* with sociologist Howard Odum and writer Carey McWilliams, for example, one listener from Tennessee wrote to object to the fact that "the colored participant addressed the other two participants by their last names without a 'Mr.'" (205)

Broadcasting Freedom is informed by theoretical writings about race and media, but it contains no obscure discussions of theory that would prevent readers unfamiliar with the theoretical literature from understanding the argument. It will captivate readers with an interest in race and World War II, the origins of the Civil Rights movement, or the history of radio, and it should be adopted by instructors who teach courses in the history of civil rights, African American history, and U.S. cultural history.

Western Washington University

KEVIN ALLEN LEONARD

Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr. By Ben Green. (New York: Free Press, 1999. 304 pp. Table of Contents, afterword, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$25.00 cloth).

This powerful, moving book makes an important contribution to modern Florida history, especially to the state's race relations history. NAACP activist for many years and ultimately head of the Florida NAACP, Harry T. Moore was killed on Christmas night 1951 when a bomb exploded beneath his small house in Mims, a rural town in Brevard County. Moore's wife Harriette later died from her bomb blast injuries as well. A long, error-filled investigation conducted by the Brevard County Sheriff's Department, the State of Florida, and the FBI never produced any indictments in the Moore murders. The likely culprits—several hard-line racists in the Orlando-area Ku Klux Klan—were well known to the FBI and state investigators; ironically, one committed suicide and two others died of natural causes within a year of the Moore bombing. Author Ben Green's major accomplishment in this book, in addition to recovering the memory of Harry T. Moore and his civil rights work, is to locate the Moore murder in the larger context of mid-century Florida race relations, especially the notorious and long-running Groveland case.

Born in 1905 in rural Suwannee County, Florida, in the declining plantation belt, Moore was educated in Jacksonville and at Florida Memorial College's high school. During his school years, white mobs burned out black communities in Ocoee and Rosewood, and lynchings were commonplace. In 1925 Moore began a career as a teacher and principal in Brevard County's black schools, first in Cocoa and then Titusville. By the early 1930s, he had also become committed to the integrationist goals of the NAACP and organized the Brevard chapter of the NAACP. Over the next fifteen years, Moore became a forceful political and civil rights activist, investigating lynchings, pushing for equalization of black teachers' salaries, and promoting black voter registration. In 1944 he organized the Progressive Voters' League, which within six years had registered over 100,000 African Americans as new Democratic voters in Florida. In addition, he had become president of the Florida State Conference of the NAACP and a tenacious correspondent with governors, legislators, congressmen, senators, newspapers, and justice department officials on Florida civil rights issues. Even na-

tional NAACP leaders had become alarmed about Moore's aggressive challenge to the color line in Florida. By mid-century, Harry T. Moore was perceived by Florida's political establishment as a troublesome and persistent black man, and by Florida segregationists as a threat to white supremacy. These perceptions were strengthened in 1949 and after, when Moore emerged as Florida's most powerful black voice on Groveland. He was, Green writes, "the most hated black man in the state of Florida" (4).

In the 1949 Groveland case, despite flimsy evidence, four young black men had been accused of raping a white woman in central Florida. One of the blacks was killed by a sheriff's posse during a manhunt, while central Florida Klansmen terrorized local black communities in retribution for the alleged attack on southern womanhood. Two years later, another of the accused blacks was shot and killed, and a third badly wounded by Lake County Sheriff Willis McCall while being transported to a legal hearing. The ongoing case galvanized nationwide outrage and civil rights protest over two years. Harry T. Moore spearheaded the Groveland protest in Florida, initially pushing for prosecution of the white terrorists and later attacking McCall for his actions. He also launched his own Groveland investigation, organized mass protests, worked with the national NAACP in the Groveland defense, and vigorously raised funds for the "Groveland boys." It is Green's argument, in fact, that Moore was killed because his relentless activism on Groveland posed a serious threat to Sheriff McCall, southern justice, and white supremacy.

Green has written a compelling story, one with a surprising but inconclusive ending. In 1991, on the basis of apparent new evidence, Governor Lawton Chiles ordered a new investigation of the Moore murders. Behind this decision lay years of investigation and agitation by Florida writer and political activist Stetson Kennedy, who had been battling Sheriff McCall and seeking retribution for Moore's killing since the 1950s. Around the same time Orlando journalist Jim Clark discovered and publicized raw FBI files on the Moore bombing, records that revealed the FBI's belief that Orlando-area Klansmen carried out the bombing. But as in the early 1950s, there were no confessions and no indictments.

Less than a full biography of Harry T. Moore, *Before His Time* is centrally about the Groveland case, the Moore bombing, and the intertwined subsequent investigations of the two events. Seriously researched but written for a general audience, the book fulfills its

goal of recapturing the memory of Moore and his early civil rights work in dangerous times. Missing is the larger national context of mid-century civil rights history. Green erroneously suggests that Moore was killed before there was a civil rights movement. This statement flies in the face of a decade or more of civil rights historiography, which emphasizes agency and activism at the local level *before* a national movement with recognized leaders emerged in the late 1950s and 1960s. Before that time, before the rise of Martin Luther King Jr., there were many unheralded civil rights *movements* around the country, one of which was energized by the inspired work of Harry T. Moore.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

RAYMOND A. MOHL

Idella Parker: From Reddick to Cross Creek. By Idella Parker with Bud and Liz Crussell. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xvi, 213 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography. \$19.95 cloth.)

Max and Marjorie: The Correspondence between Maxwell E. Perkins & Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. Edited by Rodger L. Tarr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xii, 628 pp. Acknowledgments, editorial note, introduction, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In light of the University Press of Florida publishing *Idella: Marjorie Rawlings' "Perfect Maid"* in 1992, the question naturally arises whether the life of a domestic servant deserved another autobiography, and before the decade was out. Idella Parker (1914-), who worked for Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings on-and-off from 1940 to 1950, claims that the readers of the first book wanted "to know more about my experiences with Mrs. Rawlings," and others encouraged her to tell "more about my life, my family, and my times in Reddick and in Cross Creek, Florida" (x). Now that Norton Baskin, Marjorie's second husband, has joined his wife in Antioch Cemetery, it also might be easier, personally and legally, to make certain intimate recollections public.

Idella Parker grew up in an age and place of racial discrimination. Her father did manual labor according to the cycles of Florida industries and the land in Reddick, Palmetto, Fort Myers, and elsewhere, making crates for oranges, replacing ties on the railroad,

waiting on tables, and sharecropping watermelon, okra, beans, peas, and corn. From childhood, Idella had chores and learned domestic skills—babysitting, cleaning, cooking, sewing, laundering—which would serve her later in life. There were no schools for African Americans until the Rosenwald Fund and northern missionaries came along.

The words “segregation,” “integration,” and even “racism” were not known to us. We respected the Whites Only sign and the sign Colored meant that those doors belonged to us. . . . We respected each other and were treated with respect. Blacks were welcome in all the stores in Reddick; there were no separate entrances. There were only a few public places where the separation was really apparent, mainly the churches and the schools (53-54).

After attending segregated Bethune Cookman Institute, Idella secured a certificate to teach, which provided some physical and financial mobility. While Peter Brown’s Hall was one of the few places where African Americans could go for entertainment in Reddick, Idella found that cities like West Palm Beach offered more theaters, restaurants, and clubs. There was, however, the omnipresent fear of whites in Florida: “. . . we never stopped in Island Grove. Blacks never stopped here, for the story was that black were not welcome” (83).

Rawlings hired Idella in October 1940, when she was only twenty-six years old and on the run from a Bahamian boyfriend. Idella worked as a maid, cook, housekeeper, and driver for Rawlings for about ten years. Although Idella appreciated the countryside and job, she felt it resembled a peculiar institution.

It’s strange to me how in those early days at Cross Creek we knew it wasn’t slavery, but our life there must have been similar to plantation life. We lived crowded in the small, unpainted, tin-top tenant house, with little comforts. We had to do what we were told, and we were isolated from other people. We couldn’t leave the place unless Mrs. Rawlings let us use her car or truck, and we were always told what time to be back. The only difference between that and slavery, I think, was that the slaves were not paid like we were (103-104).

Actually, as a struggling grove proprietor and author, Rawlings treated her household and field help better and more considerately than most rural resident labor. Marjorie might not have invited Idella to join her at the dinner table, but she was generous in upgrading furnishings, paying for hospitalizations, underwriting study at cosmetology schools in Atlanta and Tampa, and purchasing items for distribution to the needy at Christmas time. Rawlings also took risks in inviting the maid to ride in the front seat of her Oldsmobile, loaning the automobile to Idella for her needs, taking her to the motion picture theater in Ocala, and protecting her at other times.

As a domestic servant, Idella saw Marjorie in her most private and unguarded moments. She observed Marjorie taking out frustrations over problems with writing, men, neighbors, and money matters through the bottle, cigarettes, food, reckless driving, and people close to her. Idella saw her hit bottom—nude in a heap in her bedroom, and unkempt. Idella felt powerless to stop the physical and psychological decline. When Rawlings regained her senses, she was always apologetic. Although Idella held her tongue at the time, she felt Rawlings only added insult to injury with gratuities of money and gifts. When Rawlings offered her blood for a needed transfusion, Idella's mother refused, saying, "You are not putting that woman's blood in my baby. It's nothing but whiskey in her veins" (124-125). Idella even thought that Marjorie's revelation of a provision in her will for Parker was just another attempt to guarantee her services.

Idella Parker read Rawling's personal correspondence when they were released. She was hurt by the words Rawlings used and felt betrayed by many of the characterizations. "Was she a racist?," Parker rhetorically asks and then offers a typically qualified answer:

Not consciously, I think. She was a product of the times she lived in. I noticed that she used different terms in her letters for different classes of blacks. 'Gechee, the Mickenses, and other so-called lower-class or uneducated blacks she referred to as "niggers" or "darkies." I guess she considered me a "middle-class" black, for I was called her "colored maid," a more polite term. Then her friend, the black writer Zora Neale Hurston, who was higher up in her estimation, was referred to as a "negress." I don't know what went on in her mind, but that's the way it was (146-147).

Although the distance from Reddick to Cross Creek is only about forty miles, it apparently was a longer and more trying journey for Idella Parker than previously indicated.

"Max is dead," Marjorie reportedly remarked to Idella. "What am I going to do?" (143). What makes the statement remarkable is that it was the summer of 1949, two years after Perkins's death. And Rodger L. Tarr, editor of *Max and Marjorie*, offers it and other pieces of correspondence to point directly to the insecurities and dependencies Rawlings experienced as well as reasons for her rise and decline. Maxwell Evarts Perkins (1884-1947) was the most gifted and respected editor of American literature in the twentieth century. At the august publishing house of Charles Scribners, Perkins discovered and developed a stable of talented authors headed by Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Thomas Wolfe. The correspondence between Perkins and Rawlings consists of 698 letters, notes, and wires located at the archives of Princeton University and the University of Florida. The dialogue starts with a letter from Perkins to Rawlings dated November 19, 1930, regarding publication of a story in *Scribner's Magazine*, and ends with a Western Union telegram from Charles Scribner to Rawlings on June 17, 1947, informing her of Perkins's death. The Perkins-Rawlings exchange represents only a slice of the vast publishing operations Scribners engaged in. However, it covered a seventeen-year span of time and casts shards of light on epochal periods, influential people, and pivotal events in state and nation.

In trying to find her way in life and a place in American letters, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings (1896-1953) revealed herself to be a highly talented, yet insecure, woman. Driven by a desire to sustain herself through writing and establish a style and substance of her own, she was also challenged to do justice to a native people and wild region in her midst. Besides crafting an enduring literature about Crackers and the Scrub, she had to contend with hostile critics, financial difficulties, hired help and neighbors, visitors, troubled marriages, attacks of diverticulitis, bouts with alcohol, and the ravages of the great Depression and World War II. Despite the outwardly calm, simple, and pure atmosphere of Cross Creek, Rawlings's life was a complicated mix of personal and artistic despair and triumph. Perkins initially focused on counseling Rawlings about all the technical aspects of writing—structure, titles, scenes, characters, realism, etc.—and publishing—royalties, deadlines, serialization, censorship, publicity. Perkins's role as long distance lit-

erary editor and mentor gradually expanded and became intertwined with that of financial advisor, confidant, confessor, and therapist. Although Rawlings and Perkins grew close and trusting, sharing intimate details about health, spouses, race, class, religion, contemporaries, and human frailties, there was one bridge that neither of them ever crossed—the one to Cross Creek for Perkins, and the way out for Rawlings.

Tarr, University Distinguished Professor at Illinois State University, has engaged in a bibliophilic odyssey with Rawlings, editing *Short Stories by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (1994), compiling *Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: A Descriptive Bibliography* (1996), and cataloguing *Poems by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: Songs of a Housewife* (1997). Although *Max and Marjorie* does bring their correspondence together under one roof, Tarr is remiss in alleging that the Perkins-Rawlings correspondence is “an untold story” (21). Gordon Bigelow and Laura V. Monti already skimmed much of the crème in *Selected Letters of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings* (1983), and biographers of Rawlings (Bigelow, Elizabeth Silverthorne) and friends of Perkins (A. Scott Berg, Malcolm Cowley) have made use of these documents. Tarr has not capitalized on this opportunity the way Laurence G. Avery did, for example, in editing the letters of Paul Green, providing a rich contextual backdrop and copious explanatory notes. If Marjorie’s literary reputation is presently on trial as Tarr asserts, then, this was the time to go all out to make the case for her. In the end, for those who cannot travel to either Gainesville or Princeton to examine the originals first hand, *Max and Marjorie* provides a handy reference work.

University of South Florida

ROBERT E. SNYDER

Politics, Society, and the Klan in Alabama, 1915-1949. By Glenn Feldman. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. xii, 458. Illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index, about the author. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Glenn Feldman reveals, in this thoroughly researched study of the Alabama Klan, how the realities of twentieth-century life fostered tensions various versions of the Klan have exploited. Anxieties generated by economic and social change in the early

twentieth century provided fertile ground for the Klan's message. The Klan was most powerful in Birmingham and other cities where immigrants and Catholics were a significant part of the population. But in Alabama, Feldman demonstrates, the Klan did not rely on its anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant appeals. The organization also embraced a relatively progressive political agenda, including abolition of convict leasing. This political strategy proved effective; by 1926 the Klan had built enough political clout, argues Feldman, to elect Bibb Graves, one of their own, governor.

The Klan was more than another interest group. Klansmen carried out assaults on minorities as well as those they determined to be morally suspect, including women. The "reign of terror" brought expressions of outrage from across the nation and eventually turned prominent Alabamians—"patricians," Feldman calls them—against the Klan. Grover Hall of the *Montgomery Advertiser* led the attack on the organization that, by the 1930s, precipitated its decline. During the 1930s, Klan remnants remained active, however. Feldman documents a range of activities, including attacks on suspected communists, union organizers, and, as always, blacks. Feldman argues that in the 1930s the Klan became a weapon of a group he identifies as "the black belt/big mule coalition, the oligarchy, the patricians." The book concludes with a couple of chapters on Klan activity during and after World War II.

Feldman has done extensive research and the book reflects that. Yet he leaves critical questions unanswered and pushes interpretations unsupported by his own evidence. Feldman has much to say about who might have joined the Klan but does not offer a convincing explanation of why. If the Klan of the 1920s was "middle class," as Feldman suggests, we need to know more about the middle class in Alabama than the author provides. The author might have looked into local politics. Were there struggles locally between suburbanites and those who lived in center city? Was it a coincidence that the Klan's growth in Birmingham came after the pre-World War I expansion of the city?

The author's understanding of the Klan's relationship with the white working class leaves much to be desired as well. Feldman constantly refers to the Klan as anti-labor when writing of the organization's hostility toward unions. Hostility toward unions is not analytically synonymous with hostility toward labor. Evidence exists that suggests that unorganized workers at least sympathized with the Klan in the 1930s and later. We know this because working class

districts around Birmingham tended to vote for Klan-backed candidates. White working class support for Eugene "Bull" Connor and George Wallace in the 1950s and 1960s was widespread. To the extent that Feldman addresses such questions, he embraces the notion that workers supported anti-union organizations because they were dominated by the "oligarchs, patricians, Black Belt/Big Mule alliance."

Perhaps most troubling is Feldman's explanation of the attack on the 1920s Klan. While Feldman clearly objects to Klan violence, he portrays the organization in this part of the book as neo-populists who opposed "elite"-controlled New South industrialization. Feldman makes clear his sympathy with the Klan's program to the extent that it meant undermining the New South program. Yet, as he grudgingly admits, it was the ethos of the New South that moved Alabamians to act when faced with the Klan's outrages. Men interested in building a modern economy understood the need to clean-up the state's image.

In the end, the book provides a valuable resource for those interested in the activities of the Klan. It does not, however, provide fresh insights into the history of Alabama. The so-called "Black Belt/Big Mule alliance," Alabama's version of the southern "elite," defeats the "people," as it does in most histories of Alabama these days. Professor Feldman and many others will argue that they are only writing the "truth." One must ask, however, whether the truth has ever been a simple battle between the sometimes misguided, yet fundamentally right, representatives of the powerless and the always cynical, always evil, forces of the powerful.

University of South Alabama

HENRY M. MCKIVEN JR.

Standing Against Dragons: Three Southern Lawyers in an Era of Fear. By Sarah Hart Brown. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. xx, 308 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$35.00 paper.)

In her study of the careers of three courageous southern lawyers—Clifford Judkins Durr of Montgomery, Alabama, John Moreno Coe of Pensacola, Florida, and Benjamin Smith of New Orleans, Louisiana—Sarah Hart Brown reminds us that the Bill of Rights is ineffective unless it is supported by the judicial bench and

bar. Majorities seeking conformity, when backed by law enforcement, can choke off dissent unless courts stand ready to uphold the rights of unpopular minorities. But judges cannot act unless lawyers formally request them to do so, and in the post-World War II South few practicing attorneys were willing to stand against the winds of conformity that gripped the region. Durr, Coe, and Smith were exceptional in their dedication to civil liberties, particularly to freedom of expression and association.

During the anti-Communist hysteria of the late 1940s and 1950s, Durr and Coe represented people accused of "Red" connections, whether these people had actually been Communist Party members or not. Neither lawyer was a Communist or even Marxist in his philosophy, but because of their bravery in trying to uphold the constitutional rights of others, they too were accused of being disloyal to their country, of being outright Communists, or of being members of organizations that contained Communists.

In the late 1950s, the much younger Benjamin Smith joined Coe and Durr in defending people who were involved in the growing civil rights movement. All three lawyers suffered social ostracism for their efforts, were abandoned by their own fellow lawyers, and were harassed by agencies of the federal and state government. The major civil liberties cases of each attorney are described by Brown, who points out the significant legal issues involved in each one.

Although anti-Communist demagoguery and paranoia were no worse in the South than in other parts of the nation, Brown demonstrates that within the region it was usually connected to racial issues. Southern politicians charged that organizations promoting racial equality were somehow part of a Soviet plot to subvert the American government. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, the region's most rabid segregationist, was also its most avid Communist hunter. All three of Brown's attorneys and many of their clients were bullied by a U.S. Senate committee headed by Eastland, and the author provides dramatic details of the confrontations. Both Clifford Durr and his activist wife, Virginia, were hailed before the Eastland committee and falsely accused of Communist Party membership. The FBI kept files on all three attorneys, and Brown's citations from these records illuminate the frightening extent of the government's witch hunt.

Brown's portrayal of these various legal battles is vivid and important, but the narrative suffers from the relentless movement to

one case after another. While the author includes interesting material about the lawyers' private lives, more about what drove them to become the kind of lawyers they were would have enlivened the story. Benjamin Smith, for instance, was a far less traditional man than either Durr or Coe, held more radical political views than the older men, and seemed driven by demons that Brown fails to explore. Historians may also wonder why Brown chose to write about Durr. His life and work are certainly worthy subjects, but a recent biography of him by John Salmond and the autobiography of his wife Virginia exhaustively cover his career and much that Brown reports appears in those sources.

Those criticisms are minor quibbles, and Brown is to be congratulated for raising the issue of the lawyer's duty to defend the Constitution in unpopular cases. The greatest contribution of Durr, Coe and Smith came from their fight for the right of people to express themselves no matter how offensive their expressions might be to others. In their time, opposition to that ideal came from the far right, and they would no doubt be surprised that a lot of opposition to it now comes from the left, particularly the academic left. The academy can learn from the lives of these southern lawyers a renewed tolerance, civility, commitment to freedom of thought, and respect for other people's ideas.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

SAMUEL L. WEBB

We the People: The Fourteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court. By Michael J. Perry. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. viii, 275 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

The importance of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution can scarcely be overestimated. Adopted in 1868, three years after a bloody civil war established the supremacy of the central government and eliminated slavery from this society, the Amendment defined citizenship for the first time in fundamental law.

Included within the Amendment's five sections were general statements that prohibited state governments from abridging the rights of citizenship, as well as authorization for Congress to enforce such protections. Most contemporaries understood the Fourteenth Amendment at the time of its adoption as a Reconstruction

measure designed to protect newly-freed African Americans. But over time, through U.S. Supreme Court interpretation, this addendum acquired a scope and power that have revolutionized constitutional law.

Since the 1930s, the Amendment has gradually become the legal fulcrum for a transformation of the everyday social environment. Through its provisions, the Supreme Court has determined that the Constitution protects a range of citizenship rights against state action—some of which were not previously recognized as guaranteed by the law of the land.

The more recent applications attract Michael J. Perry's examination in *We the People: the Fourteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court*. His purpose involves an assessment of the debate over Supreme Court decisions that have addressed divisive contemporary issues such as desegregation, affirmative action, women's rights, access to abortion, and physician-assisted suicide. He seeks to develop a general evaluation of the constitutional validity of these decisions. By doing so, Perry explicitly replies to critics who have charged that since Earl Warren's tenure as Chief Justice, Supreme Court jurisprudence has usurped the political process.

He contends that constitutional "norms" serve collectively as the interpretive grid for fundamental law. Some norms are "indeterminate"; that is, they do not appear as obvious statements within the text of the Constitution. Such norms have been identified and explicated by Supreme Court decisions over time and reaffirmed through legislation passed by the Congress. The combined weight of the original document, judicial interpretation, and legislative re-statements of how the law shall apply has yielded the postulates or norms that possess legitimate authority over constitutional questions.

Perry further argues that a distinction must be made between interpreting the text of the document to discern what norms it holds, on the one hand, and "determining what shape to give an indeterminate norm in the context of a particular [Constitutional] conflict," on the other (34). Much judicial decision-making in the federal appellate courts thus requires a careful, sustained performance of the latter duty.

According to his analysis, the Supreme Court's decisions in most cases involving contentious social issues since the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* ruling have not represented a usurpation of the political process. Instead, they have reflected an appli-

claims of the gospel to the rights of, first, women and, then, gay and lesbian people.

Hill's essay is more of a rumination and meditation than an analysis. But it is full of stimulating and challenging insights gained from a long and productive career. Any student of American religion or the American South will want to read it carefully and then to be grateful for the republication of what is, by now, a classic in the study of both.

University of Texas at Austin

HOWARD MILLER

The Southern State of Mind. Edited by Jan Nordby Gretlund. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999. xvii, 233 pp. Editor's introduction, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

The southern state of mind, judged on the basis of this interesting collection of essays, remains remarkably resistant to change and decidedly narcissistic. An "obsession of Southerners with their Southernness," as James Cobb writes in one of them, "is a distinguishing cultural characteristic and the basis of a genuine growth industry" (144). This volume forms a part of that growth industry. With the goal of "defining southern identity and mind" (vii) in the 1990s, Jan Nordby Gretlund has brought together brief essays by sixteen distinguished students of the South, some from the region, others from abroad, about equally divided between historians and literary critics.

The historians discuss various topics: Cobb explores the revival of interest in southern identity, Dan Carter traces the growth of ultra-conservatism within southern politics, and Russell Duncan offers Jimmy Carter as the prototypical new southerner. Although all three touch briefly on the issue of race, the other historians make it central to their analysis. Paul Gaston condemns how the nation's memory of Martin Luther King Jr. ignores the radicalism of his goals and how popular culture distorts the history of the Civil Rights movement. Charles Wilson explores a pervasive "myth of the biracial South," (3) and, in the end, questions its validity. Tony Badger leaves little to doubt. Attempts at biracial politics in the 1940s and the 1970s, he shows, ended in failure in the 1950s and 1960s and again in the 1980s and 1990s. C. Vann Woodward reaches a similarly pessimistic conclusion about race relations in general. He criticizes the

courts, the American electorate, and gently, nationalists and separatists within the African American community for abandoning the dreams of the Civil Rights movement in the 1990s. Taken together the essays by Carter, Gaston, Wilson, Badger, and Woodward suggest that white southerners' racial views have changed very little and that racism remains important to white southern identity.

Other authors are more optimistic about southern race relations. Walter Edgar, the most upbeat, celebrates the progress made by black and white South Carolinians in bridging older racial divides and in coming to deal with each other as people. In perhaps the most nuanced discussion of race, novelist Dori Sanders describes the South as an integrated culture in which people still live separate racial lives. She also observes that the South has bound "two races" in a "fatal grip that will perhaps never be severed but will be constantly changing through redefinition, exacerbation, and even open conflict" (123). Certainly she is correct that race will continue to shape southern culture. The positive developments that Edgar highlights need to be acknowledged, but the direction of racial change in the 1990s seems to support the conclusions of the pessimists. In defining southern identity, though, it might also be important to ask if reviving racism really distinguishes southerners from other white Americans.

Whereas the historians at least implicitly render race central to southern identity, Gretlund observes, most of the literary scholars focus on other aspects of southern identity. Another dramatic difference emerges between the essays written by historians and those by literary critics. Among the latter, only Richard Gray relates the concerns of southern writers—whom he groups into three categories, expatriates, mavericks, and homekeepers—to recent changes in southern society. The other literary critics say little about developments in society and ground their discussions of writers in a general postmodern climate and the presumed traditions of southern literature. In an intriguing essay on several southerners who set their fiction in the West, Robert H. Brinkmeyer Jr. raises the possibility of "a remarkable break in the history of Southern literature" (203). The rest of the critics, however, conclude that contemporary southern writers only bring new techniques or variations to old southern themes—the Civil War, other aspects of history, or the grand themes of romanticism.

Historians and literary critics therefore stress different factors but both emphasize how old concerns and patterns of thought still

shape the white southern mind. Such seeming obsessiveness in the face of change, some analysts might conclude, merits electro-shock therapy. Readers will find no such prescription here, only thoughtful discussions of the state of the southern mind and race relations at the end of the century.

Louisiana State University

GAINES M. FOSTER

Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture. By Charles Joyner. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1999. xiii, 361 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

As one of our most distinguished experts on Southern culture, folklore, and history, Charles Joyner offers an unusually rich series of essays in this volume. It is not easy to choose which one is the most enlightening. Much depends on the particular interest of the reader. My first choice, though, is "Guilty of Holiest Crime: The Passion of John Brown." Joyner does more than apprise us of Old Pottawatomie's peculiar nature; he evokes with remarkable literary skill the scene of his execution and proceeds from that gripping narrative to develop an explanation for the coming of the Civil War. Borrowing from cultural anthropologist Victor Turner, Joyner skillfully employs the theme of "social drama," as he calls the interaction of sectional thrusts and responses. "To understand social drama is to understand the process of communication among groups and within groups" (108). As a result Brown became no longer a failed terrorist but a martyr for the North and a Satan for the South. Each turn of the "drama"—from the initial and ill-executed raid through the trial to his status of executed hero—widened the sectional breach. In a memorable passage, Joyner concludes, "In the ultimate act of what Brown and other Christian Yankees would denote as *conscience* he forced the South to become his hangman. . . . In doing so he also forced the South to degrade itself, at least in the eyes of outside observers." Thus Brown "made slavery rather than himself the lost cause" (123).

Almost equally impressive is his essay "'In His Hands': The World of Plantation Slaves." Much has been written on this subject, but Joyner's close reading of plantation records and slave accounts reveals a sensitive understanding of slavery's traumas and sorrows. Unlike the late Herbert Gutman and other sentimentalists who

stress the integrity of the slave household, Joyner forcefully reminds us that "slave marriages were fragile; at any time a husband or wife could be sold away" (53). In heart-wrenching examples, he illustrates how loved ones reacted to the agony of permanent separation. Moreover, he observes how important it was for slaves to have "good" masters who did not permit the brutalizing of their property. But the temperate planter had to meet the objections of his peers who complained that kindness encouraged insurrection. Relentless cruelty, though, could drive the slave to flight (often aborted), madness, and even suicide.

With a doctoral degree in folklore as well as history, Joyner will intrigue readers with his explorations of trickster story-telling, Gullah linguistics, and African American social customs. But his enthusiasm for folk music, both white and black, is a most outstanding feature of the book. For those of us largely ignorant of the borrowing between white and black musicians, Joyner's explications come as a revelation. He points out, for instance, that traditional-minded white performers seldom acknowledged collaboration with dark-skinned musicians, but the music which resulted belied their denials. The first jazz musicians may have played European instruments. Yet, the pieces they produced were, says Joyner, the music that "African Americans had been evolving in the South for more than two centuries, out of pain, poverty, and injustice" (196). The blues-playing horn player did not seek a "pure" tone in the Anglo-American style but rather "an expressive emulation of the human voice" (196). The art of making and playing dulcimers in Appalachia is a subject that may seem arcane, but be assured that Joyner makes the topic lively. A gifted musician himself, the author's knowledge of musicology is quite extraordinary in a profession whose practitioners, one suspects, are often tone-deaf about language as well as music.

In all likelihood, the section devoted to historiography will interest specialists but not general readers. Joyner, however, does show that David Potter's well-known claim that Southern "folk culture" defined the region was sketchy. Cleverly he broadens the scope of that concept. His appreciation of Henry Glassie, the famous folklorist, must also be noted. Indeed, Glassie's work has much influenced Joyner's own studies.

Handsomely produced in paper, this study is more than a collection of random essays but a set of coherent reflections on aspects of Southern history and culture that other scholars have

missed. Joyner's brilliant, accessible, and almost poetic analysis makes the volume mandatory reading for scholars and general readers alike. As a literary artist as well as a deep-thinking historian, Joyner should meet wide acclaim for *Shared Traditions*.

University of Florida

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

Southern Politics in the 1990s. Edited by Alexander P. Lamis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. xv, 490 pp. List of tables, list of figures, preface, notes, contributors, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Since the 1949 publication of V. O. Key's *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, political scientists, historians, journalists, and ardent observers of southern politics have sought to update that seminal work. Alexander Lamis's *The Two Party South*, an assessment of partisan change in the South during the 1960s and 1970s, ranks as one of the best attempts to emend Key's work. In 1999, Lamis continued his examination of the dynamics of the southern two-party system with *Southern Politics in the 1990s*.

For this edited work, Lamis assembled an able group of political scientists and journalists from each of the eleven states of the former Confederacy. Lamis charged the contributors with the task of capturing "the current partisan dynamics at work in each state" (xii). These teams supply not only the data-backed analysis of political science, but also readable explanations, descriptions, and colorful details that journalists provide and political junkies crave. While Lamis tackles the difficult task of an overall assessment of southern politics during the last decade, he relies on his contributors to avoid the dangers of generalizations with a region as varied and ever-changing as the South by including the "untidy details of the complex state by state stories" (xii).

Readers of this journal will relish the illuminating explanation of Florida's political metamorphosis during the 1990s. John Carver and Tom Fiedler describe the state's journey from a largely monolithic political structure to a highly competitive two-party system, albeit with a tilt toward conservatism and the Republican party. Florida, recognized by Key as "different politically" and "scarcely a part of the South," in some ways now represents all of southern politics. "If a single factor dominates Florida politics it is change," the authors explain. "Driving that change has been the continuing in-

flux of new people, bringing their own ideals, values, and traditions" (375). As a result, two distinctive political ideologies embedded within Florida's party system emerged during the last decade.

Southern politics in the 1990s, according to Lamis and his contributors, reflect twin related movements: the consolidation of two-party competition, and the reunification of the region with the nation's political mainstream. Real political rivalries have resulted in dramatic gains for the GOP in this formerly one-party region, and the southern electorate now casts its ballots according to national trends with roughly the same frequency as voters in the rest of the country.

Newfound political competition in the region has also produced internal difficulties on both sides of the partisan divide. A breach in the GOP developed between economic conservatives tied to a restrictive view of the role of government, and the religious right intent on maintaining traditional social and cultural norms. The Republican rift has produced both positive and negative political consequences. Religious conservatives contributed significant organizational strength, energized the party's activist base, and added new voters to the Republican coalition, but the newcomers did "not always mix well with their more secular minded party colleagues," according to the authors of the Georgia chapter who capture the dilemma the GOP confronts with its newfound strength. "Strong conservative positions that help a Republican win a contested primary may make the winning candidate appear too conservative and extreme to win in November" (131).

Southern Democrats also faced internal squabbles as a result of two-party competition in the 1990s. Black-white tensions surfaced most visibly in controversies over black majority districts, but also in other areas. In Louisiana, for example, Cleo Fields, the black gubernatorial Democratic nominee in 1995, received little white support in that race. One black Democrat in South Carolina observed that whites in his party seemed happy to win elections with black votes, but reluctant to share in the fruits of power once in office.

Even the dissensions among black and white members of the Democratic Party, however, indicate the distance the region has traveled toward a truly competitive political system. The Democratic Party, which for generations represented southern white solidarity, emerged in the 1990s as the party of inclusion and biracial coalition. Some see the consequences of this in stark contrasts.

One former North Carolina GOP chairman labeled the Democrats as the party of minorities while the "Republican party is becoming the party of white folks" (384). Lamis argues against this supposed resegregation and claims that "the bulwark against a racially polarized party system is the continued existence of the black-white southern Democratic coalition" (385).

The problem with this work, as with all edited works, lies in achieving a unified theme. If blame must be assigned, however, it should not be meted out to Lamis or his contributors, but toward the South itself. Perhaps the present complexity of the South defies consolidation in a region-wide study. Although the South was never as solid as portrayed in years past, now it is as multifaceted as any other region. The diversity of the South makes a work of this sort difficult, but, in the opinion of this reviewer, even more necessary than in Key's day. Lamis and his contributors have made an admirable effort, with *Southern Politics in the 1990s*, to continue Key's as well as Lamis's own work and to expand the field of knowledge concerning what will always be an intriguing and mystifying topic and region.

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Inventing A School: Expanding the Boundaries of Learning. By Jane Kern. (Tallahassee, Fla.: Sentry Press, 1999. xix, 297 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, preface, introduction, endnotes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Jane Kern has written a strong and enjoyable book. Although it focuses on Kern's efforts to create a private pre-kindergarten to middle school in Naples, Florida, it reads like a solid autobiography. Kern conceived the idea for Seacrest School while working in the Collier County public school system. She believed that students could be better educated with less bureaucracy than she endured, and she wanted her school to be student oriented—that is, geared to the interests, needs, and concerns of students in a highly technological society. With the help of citizens, private donors, and foundations, Kern built her school.

Today, Seacrest School educates approximately 330 students. Residents of Naples have been impressed with its teachers, students, and infrastructure. With the help of local citizens and edu-

cators, Kern selected teachers who were particularly sensitive to the needs of students and were willing to try various innovative approaches to help their charges learn. Given a relatively high tuition that ranged from \$7,440 per year for pre-kindergarten and \$8,240 for kindergarten to eighth grade, a majority of the students presently enrolled are middle- to upper-class white students.

Seacrest School has received accolades for its approach to technology. For its size and number of students, no public school in Collier County can boast having the video conferencing equipment as does Seacrest. The school offers two computer labs with forty 450 MHZ computers as well as a DVD and high-capacity disk drives. Students are computer literate by the time they finish the eighth grade. Pupils learn at the school, for instance, how to create spreadsheets, make data bases, give power point presentations, and conduct research on the Internet as well. Many are prepared to create a website by the seventh grade.

Besides its emphasis on technology, the school encourages students to focus on improving their communication, computation, and analytical skills. Kern encouraged her teachers to get students to think critically instead of just learning isolated facts. Obviously, this approach has helped students since many of them score much higher on standardized tests than do students in public schools. Recently, Kern stepped aside to let a new administration run the school. Other than sharing with the public the story of how her small private school started, Kern felt her work was done.

As an innovated educator, Kern should, in deed, be commended for her efforts. Surely, students are benefiting from the progressive methods employed at the school. With such high tuition, though, stronger effort on the part of school administrators should be made to provide scholarships to highly motivated poor white, black, and Hispanic students. In this way, Seacrest School's student population could better reflect the county's diverse population.

Nonetheless, this book should be read by those interested in the dynamics of making learning enjoyable and successful for students, whether in a public or private school. In keeping with its usual high quality, Sentry Press has done a solid job of editing and otherwise presenting this book.