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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Juan Ponce de Leon and the Spanish Discovery of Puerto Rico and Florida. By Robert H. Fuson. (Blacksburg, Va.: McDonald and Woodward Publishing Co., 2000. xvi, 250 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, prologue, epilogue, endnotes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

Robert Fuson is an enthusiastic researcher, always in search of primary documents which combined with extensive field trips have made his publications worthy of attention. His central interest has been Columbus's arrivals and explorations in the Caribbean, and the Florida peninsula is an integral part of the region. Over the years he has published many books and articles that have been seminal for the history of Spanish explorations. To be sure, some of Fuson's conclusions such as the original landing place of Columbus in 1492 in what today is the Bahamas are controversial. He is both a respected researcher and an occasional revisionist.

Now Fuson has given us a study of Ponce de Leon, who is considered the first European pioneer ("discoverer" is now obsolete and indeed technically not correct) of Puerto Rico and Florida. With de Leon's arrival in 1513, the continuous recorded history of Florida began. This useful book, without academic jargon, is easy to read and yet it is scholarly and has ample charts and photos. It is a well-measured presentation that is highly recommendable.

Ponce de Leon most likely was part of Columbus's second voyage in 1493 but this is based on indirect evidence, and there are no records of de Leon from early 1494 until 1504. What is certain is that he came to America as a minor figure but by 1504 had risen to eminence through dedication and enterprise. This culminated with his task in 1508 to settle what today is the island of Puerto

Rico, of which he soon became Spanish Governor. He was a competent administrator and has become known for his benevolent treatment of the natives. He lost the governorship of Puerto Rico because of internal politics and squabbles among the leading authorities of Spain's expanding Caribbean domain. He was given permission to "colonize land to the north that was known to the king . . . to explore, settle, and govern 'Beimeni'" (83).

This then led to the arrival of Ponce de Leon in a new land which he named La Florida. This core chapter for Florida's history is well done, avoiding the misinformation and myth that have crept into the history books. The 1513-1514 de Leon voyage to what now was called La Florida, believed to be an island although different from "Beimeni," was basically a failure and led to no settlements or expansion of Spain's growing colony. Ponce de Leon maintained his rights to Florida and Bimini, but he did not return to Florida until 1521 for many reasons.

Fuscon's study is straightforward, not engaging in the useless speculation present in the writings of some authors dealing with this voyage. As Fuson says, there is a "paucity of written records" (168) which permits only basic known facts. The expedition sailed to the Gulf of Mexico to select a site for a colony "at an undisclosed location on the west coast of Florida" (170). There is also the possibility that the location changed several times. We know that on July 21, 1521, natives (probably Caloosa Indians) attacked the Spanish and "overwhelmed" them (172). This ended the expedition. Ponce de Leon was hit by an arrow in the thigh. He died from the consequences of his wound after his return to Havana. The second expedition was also a failure and it ended the life of a remarkable conquistador who showed greater humanity than his fellow conquerors.

The last chapter, entitled "From the Dream of Juan Ponce to the Reality of Saint Augustine," deals with the time from the death of Ponce de Leon in 1521 to the founding of St. Augustine in 1565 when permanent Spanish settlement in Florida began. These pages are basically a summary history of that period such as the failed expeditions of Narvaez, De Soto, and Tristan de Luna. The epilogue summarizes Ponce de Leon's accomplishments and how he is remembered.

There is a five-page bibliography: all of the entries are books with the exception of one article by the author. These books are important to Ponce de Leon research, but there should have been

more pertinent research articles. It is assumed Fuson is aware of them, including those which are controversial, as in his preface he states that he "read everything I could that pertained to Ponce de Leon" (x).

Fuson also wrote in his preface, "The primary objective of this book is to document, as much as possible, the life of Juan Ponce de Leon. . . . In addition, I hope to dispose of the myths about Juan Ponce de Leon. . . ." (xi). For example, there is the claim by the prolific Puerto Rican historian Aurelio Tio (one of his books is cited in the bibliography) that Ponce de Leon touched Yucatan on his return trip in 1513 after discovering Florida and that in 1516 he made another trip to the Caribbean coast of Mexico. Therefore Tio claimed that de Leon was the real discoverer of Mexico. Tio deplored that this significant discovery has been ignored. Tio's claim could be dismissed as one more of the many that circulate for this period, mostly by amateurs or vested interests, but Tio was a celebrated Puerto Rican historian and for decades he dominated the academic *Boletín de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia*. In numerous issues he crusaded for his claim, trying to base it on historical data. Ponce de Leon is often considered the most significant historical figure of Puerto Rico and the Tio writings strike a chord of pride and nationalism for Puerto Rico. To accomplish his goal to dispose of myths, Fuson needed to tackle, not simply ignore, the Tio claim which I understand is not accepted by any responsible historian.

Fuson has given us a fine new updated biography of Juan Ponce de Leon based on the most reliable documentation. A paramount figure in Florida history, de Leon's significance to Puerto Rico is fundamental as well.

University of South Florida

CHARLES W. ARNADE

Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory. Edited by Bonnie G. McEwan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xvi, 336 pp. List of figures, list of tables, acknowledgments, introduction, editor's note, contributors, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

For the past decade the study of the native South has flourished as ethnohistorians have replaced the old story of the defeat and disappearance of the region's native population with new his-

tories that have shown the Indians to have been some of the American South's founding peoples. Archaeologists have played an important part in this ethnohistorical revisionism, but their work still is often hard to find and relatively inaccessible to lay readers. By summarizing archaeological work on a number of southern tribes, the eleven essays that comprise *Indians of the Greater Southeast* have opened a vast store of research to a wide audience.

The essays' strengths are also something of an overall weakness. Because each essay summarizes archaeological research and individual tribal history, many of them tend to fall a bit flat in terms of arguments and interpretations. Still, several of the contributors push the study of the native South in new directions. Jay K. Johnson's study of the Chickasaws stands out because he uses the location of villages to show how the Chickasaws were, like the Creeks and Choctaws, divided into distinct factions that may have reflected ethnic differences. The existence of Large and Small Prairie villages and the division of their respective leaders into peace and war chiefs challenges historians' assumptions about the uniformity of Chickasaw society. Karl G. Lorenz's interpretation of the Natchez chiefdom also packs a historiographical punch. His attempt to explain why the chiefdom collapsed synthesizes theories about kinship, marriages, classes, and town alliances. In his article, George Sabo III has ventured farther afield than have most students of southern Indians by examining the thought world of the Arkansas Quapaws. How Quapaws understood themselves and their relationship to Europeans, he argues, is essential to understanding their lives after contact.

For readers interested in Florida's natives, Brent Weisman's study of Seminole identity bears special consideration. He shows how Creeks who migrated into Florida transformed slowly into Seminoles, and the second Seminole War (1835-1842) was crucial. "Put simply," he writes, "the Indians of Florida did not consider themselves Seminole until they met and resisted an invading force that was not Seminole" (308).

What would a Seminole think about such a statement? The question is important because recently native Americans have called for more involvement in the writing of their histories. With a few exceptions, the essays in this volume neglect native oral history and tradition as source material. Indeed, the absence of native voices is jarring given the changing sensibilities in the field,

and a native perspective would provide a welcome counterpoint to Weisman's conclusions and those of the other authors.

Most of the authors focus on questions of cultural change and persistence. For example, material goods like weapons and cookware changed far more rapidly than did native people's beliefs. Settlement patterns also changed: from towns and villages that dotted the region before contact, disease and trade pushed and pulled native peoples into smaller and smaller settlements. By the early nineteenth century, individual homesteads had replaced towns as basic units of social organization. Such trends are important because they signal the beginnings of a cogent regional history of the native population. The omission of the Choctaws, Catawbas, and Indians of coastal North Carolina and Virginia from the book, however, is regrettable because their histories would have added greatly to the broad themes addressed by the essays. *Indians of the Greater South* has distilled an enormous amount of archaeological research into an accessible and interesting set of essays. Useful both as a source and as a scholarly work in its own right, the collection marks a significant milepost in the rewriting of southern native history.

Queen's University, Ontario

JAMES TAYLOR CARSON

Spanish Colonial Silver Coins in the Florida Collection. By Alan K. Craig. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xxv, 317 pp. Maps, illustrations, figures, tables, foreword, preface, appendices, notes, references, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Far more than a description of Spanish silver coins in the State of Florida collection, Alan Craig's new book explores the colonial world of mining, manufacture, and transportation of precious metals that accompanied the Spanish conquest of America. Professor emeritus of geography at Florida Atlantic University, Craig also is a geologist with a keen interest in Spanish numismatics, which led him to publish a popular book in 1988 on the state's holdings of gold coins (a revised second edition of this study has just been released by the University Press of Florida). Once the gold coin collection had been cataloged, studied, and published, Craig turned his attention to the vastly larger silver coin collection. With assistance from staff of the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, he has prepared a scholarly inventory and description that

will be welcomed by historians, archaeologists, and coin collectors. For the general reader with an interest in Latin American topics, the book provides a fascinating window into the culture, technology, and economics of New World mining and minting. It also provides a glimpse of "the other side of the coin"—a system riddled with graft, greed, corruption, and intrigue.

Florida's coin collection is a result of forty years of commercial salvage on Spanish shipwrecks that lie in shallow waters along a major maritime route followed by ships returning to Spain from the Americas. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, heavily laden galleons and merchant vessels risked shoals and storms in the Straits of Florida; on two occasions in particular, hurricanes drove major fleets ashore. In 1715, a combined convoy carrying a four-year accumulation of treasure aboard eleven vessels was wrecked along the eastern Florida shore. Eighteen years later, more than twenty-two ships were stranded in the Florida Keys by a hurricane. Twentieth-century rediscovery of these sunken flotillas by scuba divers and treasure hunters caused a modern gold rush, prompting the state to assume administration of salvage activities and to retain a percentage of finds in public custody.

Craig's book is divided into two parts. The first provides an overview of the Spanish colonial political economy, describes the organization of colonial mints, and follows the silver as it was mined, refined, minted, and registered. Craig relates how, despite strict regulations from the Crown, counterfeiting became commonplace, and how resulting scandals exposed collusion, conspiracy, bribery, and theft. For instance, at the Potosí mint, assayers secretly added large quantities of copper to the silver alloy so that legally struck coinage had the required appearance and weight, but not the required amount of silver. Eventually, debased coinage became so ubiquitous that Potosí merchants refused to accept coins from their own mint. Over time, lengthy inquisitions by royal inspectors rooted out scores of guilty parties, who often were condemned to death and their estates confiscated.

Of particular interest is Craig's description of how Spanish colonial coins, or "cobs," were made by hand from strips of poured silver, which were cut and hammered against engraved iron dies to produce crude but unique pieces in various denominations. To further illustrate this process, the reader is taken on a "virtual visit" to the Potosí mint of 1700 where Indian laborers pour molten silver from furnaces into molds and spend days cutting, hammer-

ing, weighing, annealing, blanching, counting, and recounting under the watchful eyes of overseers.

The second part of the book is a detailed study of silver coins from the mints of Mexico City, Potosí, Lima, and elsewhere. Exceptional examples of silver coins in the Florida collection are illustrated by photographs that are enlarged to depict features discussed by Craig in the text. Elements of workmanship from various mints are contrasted, defects from poorly annealed metal are noted, and the effects of resharpened dies, multiple strikes, secondary hammering, and defective planchets are explained. The evolution of die designs is described as reflected in examples from the collection. Successions of assayers at the mints and the numbers of coins produced in each denomination are provided in lengthy tables.

Craig has given the largest existing assemblage of colonial coins from Spanish shipwrecks a place in history far beyond its intrinsic value as the spoils of salvage. This book, with its companion study of gold coins, demonstrates the value of public collections retained for research and analysis, as opposed to simple photographic records of coins dispersed long ago into private hands. As Craig concluded, Florida's unique collection promises future researchers of archaeology and metallurgy the opportunity to make new discoveries about the role of Spanish colonial mints at the dawn of modern global commerce.

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research

ROGER C. SMITH

William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier.

By Edward J. Cashin. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. xv, 319 pp. Illustrations and maps, preface, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Between the spring of 1773 and the autumn of 1776, William Bartram, the Philadelphia botanist, made a remarkable series of journeys across the southern frontier, including the Savannah River valley, coastal Georgia and East Florida, the Cherokee mountains, the Creek country of present-day Alabama and Georgia, the West Florida gulf coast, and the lower Mississippi valley. These journeys, from which Bartram sent plant specimens and drawings to Dr. John Fothergill, his patron in London, became famous in 1791 with the publication of Bartram's *Travels*. Based on this account, scholars have written much about the region's flora and

fauna, about the culture of its native peoples, and about the mental and intellectual world of a peculiar individual who was strongly influenced both by his Quaker faith and by the Enlightenment.

In *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*, Edward J. Cashin takes a different approach, describing the larger historical context that Bartram's writings did not directly reflect as he moved from place to place during these crucial years. Bartram basically ignored anything that threatened his "faith in the natural goodness of man" (148), including politics, war, and economic exploitation. However, Cashin logically argued that the turmoil of the period must have shaped the Philadelphian's experience. Moreover, Cashin regards Bartram's travels over time and space as an excellent framework in which to survey major events.

On one level, Cashin and the reader become latter-day travelers who accompany Bartram and his occasional companions from place to place. Numerous scenes occur that highlight the frontier's peculiar circumstances, such as Euro-American traders with Indian or African wives and Bartram's battles with alligators on the St. John's River. However, Cashin goes far beyond relating observations from the naturalist's writings, mainly gossiping with the reader about the historical context of places and people encountered on the journey. Fortunately for Cashin's purposes, Bartram "had a habit of meeting prominent people wherever he went" (80) and a "penchant for happening along just as events of historical importance occurred" (121). Therefore, as Bartram met British, colonial, and Native American leaders, Cashin informs the reader about their backgrounds and current situation in the midst of a rapidly changing frontier. So encyclopedic is the author's knowledge, in fact, that readers unfamiliar with the setting may occasionally be confused by numerous details as he sketches earlier historical developments and rapidly moves back and forth in time.

Ultimately, though, Cashin provides more than a hodgepodge of historical vignettes associated in place and/or time with Bartram's journeys. First, he uses the traveler's context to demonstrate the "coherence" of a vast region "where events in one part had an impact on all the others" (100). For example, the Cherokee-Creek land cession of 1773 which Bartram witnessed, the trade embargo of 1774 in response to frontier violence, and the division and fighting that the American Revolution produced beginning in 1775 affected most inhabitants from the Carolinas to the Mississippi and southward to the Floridas.

At the same time, Cashin portrays the vast changes brought about by the American Revolution. The colonial frontier that Bartram encountered in 1773, despite its interconnections, was relatively unformed. For example, the prevailing outlook in Georgia's St. John's parish, which had been settled by New Englanders, differed greatly from that of Scots in St. Andrew's parish just to the south. Moreover, centers of power were relatively localized and diffused, both within particular colonies and among the various native tribes. As Bartram witnessed, however, the American Revolution changed this picture substantially. Paradoxically, it reduced local autonomy and concentrated real power in fewer hands, often at the expense of frontier traders, of Indians, and of dissenting colonists in East and West Florida. It marked, in fact, a major step toward the subjugation and dispossession of most southern Indians. Even the relatively detached Bartram, who loved the "wilder-ness" and who admired American Indians, regarded Indian country as "useless" (40) and favored the careful expansion of "American civilization" (171).

Cashin thus essentially uses Bartram and his journeys as a device for probing the broad realities of a changing region. He also enhances our sense of Bartram's experiences, even though, despite Bartram's later statement that the American Revolution represented "the unfolding of a grand providential plan for the betterment of mankind" (120), the naturalist's view of political and military events on the southern frontier will always remain to some extent a mystery. This book does not offer a substantially new view either of Bartram or of the American Revolution on the southern frontier, but it helps the reader better appreciate both by bringing the two together.

Davidson College

J. RUSSELL SNAPP

An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean. By Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. xviii, 344 pp. List of illustrations, preface, maps, list of abbreviations, notes, select bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.50 paper.)

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, a substantial body of scholarship emerged that shifted focus southward away from New England Puritans to slaveholding planters in explaining

broad patterns of colonial settlement and growth in what would become the United States. For the British, as well as for their French and Dutch rivals, the Caribbean islands served as stepping stones in the expansion of the plantation system to the mainland. When Paul Revere rode, King George III reigned over twenty-six colonies in the Americas that were bound tightly together by trade in an intricate web of interdependency. The thirteen mainland colonies rebelled against metropolitan rule; Britain's West Indian possessions remained loyal. Andrew O'Shaughnessy, better than anyone else, explains this dichotomy.

He begins by exploring the structure of loyalty in the British West Indies. All of the mainland colonies had slaves; the most southern mainland colonies had developed slave societies; and South Carolina, with a slave majority and an affluent and powerful planter elite, looked more like Jamaica than Massachusetts. Yet even South Carolina's whites developed a fervent anticolonial creole patriotism found nowhere in the islands. O'Shaughnessy blames the difference on, among other things, high rates of planter absenteeism in the British West Indies, which in some places at some times amounted to more than half of all planters. Those whites who did reside on the islands tended to act as hustling sojourners not as committed settlers. Slaves formed a great majority of the insular population and were dangerously concentrated on sugar plantations; whites of the middling sort existed only in small numbers and typically lived dependent on the planter elite. Island assemblies had a strong, oligarchical flavor. What Carl Bridenbaugh concluded decades ago for the seventeenth century, O'Shaughnessy, in essence, repeats for the eighteenth century: British colonization in the Caribbean led to spectacular economic success and tragic social failure. Exposed and vulnerable, particularly to slave revolt, the small white minority in the British Caribbean paid for and embraced a British military presence that their mainland counterparts rejected.

British Caribbean sugar planters could not raise their collective voices against restrictive mercantilist policies to the same decibel as the mainland colonists when sugar received the benefit of a protected domestic market. Whites in the Leeward Islands did riot against the Stamp Act (1765), but they did so, as O'Shaughnessy argues, under heavy pressure from North American merchants on whom they were desperately dependent for provisions, including the basic diet of the enslaved masses. From 1766, when

the Stamp Act was repealed, until 1774, the islands' whites "remained aloof from the growing imperial crisis" (81). O'Shaughnessy takes issue with several prominent historians on the depth and extent of republican sentiment in the British West Indies. The official correspondence, he contends, offers misleading evidence, for island governors in their missives often confused opposition to their person with support for mainland rebellion. Island and mainland colonists could chorus in their demands for a centralizing imperial administration to rollback certain restrictive policies and to restrain imperious governors. But as protest to the north turned into a full-fledged independence movement, West Indian whites parted company and clung tightly to the realm. For O'Shaughnessy, July 1776 was indeed a crucial moment, for the Declaration of Independence preceded by little more than a week the discovery in Jamaica of an island-wide slave conspiracy that had timed an insurrection to coincide with the departure of shiploads of troops for service on the mainland.

The American Revolution inflicted considerable hardship on the West Indian planters and subsequently cost them political influence within the empire. During the Revolution prices rose, profits dropped, provisions dwindled. Famine struck down many slaves, and the arming of persons of color to participate in the imperial defense intensified the insecurities of whites who were chronically nervous about slave revolt. Little wonder that the planter-dominated island assemblies repeatedly voted contributions to support the military.

With impressive archival research O'Shaughnessy shows how few white West Indians, in word or in deed, supported the American Revolution. Although he downplays the role of British West Indian merchants in supplying the revolutionaries, he sees the Caribbean as a major theater of operations. In the final section he reexamines Admiral Rodney's capture of the Dutch entrepot of St. Eustatius and the impact his plundering of the island's multicultural contrabandists had on the strategic deployment of British ships before the decisive battle of Yorktown.

In placing emphasis on the real and imagined fears of slave revolt among West Indian whites as a key determinant of their loyalty, O'Shaughnessy might have explained why after the Jamaican plot of 1776 no serious slave revolt broke out in the British West Indies until years after Yorktown. His book also could have used additional editing to eliminate repetition and stylistic infe-

licities. Still, *Empire Divided* stands as a major contribution to our understanding of the founding of the Republic and to British imperial history.

Hamilton College

ROBERT L. PAQUETTE

John Laurens and the American Revolution. By Gregory D. Massey. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. 352 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

With the publication of this thorough and perceptive study, Gregory Massey has brought well deserved attention to one of the best documented, but least remembered, figures of the American Revolution. The main reason for John Laurens's small place in American memory is the brevity of his career. Laurens was only twenty-seven when he was killed in a meaningless skirmish in the last months of the Revolution, and it was only five years earlier, in the fall of 1777, that Laurens first joined the Continental Army as an aide to General Washington. But, as Massey correctly asserts, Laurens packed an extraordinary amount into a brief half-decade of public service. After eighteen months on Washington's staff, Laurens joined the Southern Continental Army and distinguished himself by his reckless bravery during the failed Franco-American attack on Savannah in December 1779. The following spring, Laurens, along with the entire Southern Continental Army, was captured at the fall of Charleston. Upon being paroled and exchanged, Laurens traveled to France as a plenipotentiary from the Continental Congress but returned to America in time to help negotiate the British surrender at Yorktown in October 1781. Afterwards, Laurens went back to South Carolina, where he was elected to the state legislature and was appointed to command the light infantry corps in the reconstituted Southern Continental army. It was in this post that he was killed in August 1782.

While Laurens's career is remarkable in itself, what makes him a most significant historical subject are the extraordinary number of his surviving letters, and the prominent people with whom he corresponded and interacted. At the start of the revolution, Laurens's father, Henry, a South Carolina slave master and rice planter, was one of the wealthiest men in America and John was a law student at the Inns of Court in London. By the fall of 1777, when John defied his father's wishes and returned to America to

take an active part in the war, Henry was serving as the president of the Continental Congress. This fact alone probably explains John's appointment to join Washington's staff. During the Valley Forge winter of 1777-78, the two Laurens, father and son, played a key role in defending Washington against those in the Congress and the army who were questioning his abilities and advocating his removal. Laurens befriended a fellow aide-de-camp, Alexander Hamilton, and after Laurens left Washington's staff, the two wrote frequently until the end of Laurens's life.

Laurens and Hamilton were members of a remarkable revolutionary "brotherhood" of young officers that also included Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, James Monroe, John Marshall, and Aaron Burr. These men, all born in the mid-1750s, came of age in the army and went on to play key roles in the political life of the new nation. While Laurens's death denied him any post-war role, his wartime letters provide a fascinating glimpse of one member of this group during this formative period. As Massey portrays him, Laurens was motivated by a powerful, and somewhat paradoxical, mixture of patriotic self-sacrifice and a desire for personal fame and martial glory. Laurens imbibed the tenets of revolutionary republicanism and its call for individual welfare to be subordinated to the public good. Hearing news of a fire in Charleston in 1778, for example, he replied that "if it effects only a number of rich men & will contribute to equalizing estates I will not regret it" (101). At the same time, however, Laurens perpetually pestered his father with requests for elaborate uniforms, expensive horses, a personal servant (i.e., a slave), and other accoutrements of personal comfort and status.

But Laurens's most radical idea, and the one for which he is best known, was his advocacy of plans to arm slaves to fight for the revolutionary cause in exchange for their freedom. When he first proposed this idea to his father in 1778, Laurens hoped to raise a regiment from among the family's own slaves. Despite Henry's misgivings, John pursued this notion with great enthusiasm, even suggesting that his private battalion of slave-soldiers be uniformed in white coats with red trim as this would best set off their skin color. While John wanted to prove that slaves could be made into good soldiers and hence worthy of being free citizens of the republic, anti-slavery was not his only motivation, nor was the well being of the slaves themselves a major concern. When told that the family's three hundred slaves only included forty men of military

age, John's first response was to suggest that the women and children be sold to purchase more men. Likewise, in another letter, John wrote that since slavery was a state worse than death, slave-soldiers who lost their lives "would not lose much" (95). In 1779, when Laurens traveled to South Carolina to join the Southern Continental Army, he carried with him the Continental Congress's suggestion that South Carolina arm three thousand slaves for its defense. In 1782, as a member of the South Carolina legislature, John introduced a measure to recruit a brigade of slaves confiscated from loyalists' plantations. That both of these plans were regarded with horror by the South Carolina establishment and were overwhelmingly defeated reveals the powerful prejudices and hopeless odds against which Laurens contended. In this light, perhaps Laurens's death was a fortunate fall, for had he lived into the post-war period, he would have inevitably been forced to choose between his republican and anti-slavery principles and political expediency.

University of Texas at Austin

ROBERT OLWELL

Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market. By Walter Johnson. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999. 283 pp. Introduction, abbreviations, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$26.00 cloth.)

In this stunning first book, Walter Johnson chronicles the horrors of the antebellum slave market. Johnson's study recreates with chilling detail the sights and sounds of the New Orleans slave pens. Presenting his narrative in prose that is at once graceful, poignant, and incisive, Johnson unlocks the moral problems that rested at the heart of the Southern system of bondage. Equally significant, he advances a theory of the master-slave relationship that will force scholars of every historiographical camp to reassess their own theories about Southern bondage.

In addition to African American slave narratives, slaveowners' letters, and the slave traders' legal and economic records, Johnson employs court records from some two hundred Louisiana Supreme Court cases involving disgruntled purchasers of slaves who believed they had been tricked into buying defective human property. These disputes between slave traders and their customers provide Johnson with telling details about white perceptions of

slave character, white strategies to market slave property, and African American efforts to maintain their humanity in the face of economic transactions that reduced them to commodities. As Johnson himself acknowledges, *Soul by Soul* offers few quantitative insights into the scale and contours of the antebellum domestic slave trade. Taking as his starting point the numbers provided by historians such as Michael Tushman and Thomas D. Russell, Johnson concentrates on the social and ideological meaning of the two million antebellum slave sales around which, the author asserts, all of Southern history turned.

Johnson organizes his work conceptually rather than chronologically. His first chapter drives home the degree to which the prospect of slave sale consistently influenced both white and black perceptions of the master-slave relationship. Here, Johnson surveys not only the slaves' "perpetual dread" of sale (23) but also their owners' constant efforts to frame even their starkest economic exploitation of their slaves in terms of a "paternalistic" rationalization of their mastery. Johnson's second chapter examines the world of the slave traders—businessmen who, at first glance, seemed utterly removed from the planters' elaborately embroidered identities as men who supposedly valued human relations more than financial gain. The traders operated within a series of tangled commitments to and rivalries with other traders, sometimes "acting as brokers for men who were in theory their competitors," writes Johnson (53). Their business practices sought to strip the slaves of their individual human identities, to rob them of their capacity to resist their transportation, and, with alarming frequency, to render them pliant objects of their oppressors' sexual urges. Amid these terrors, African Americans miraculously "began to transform the coffin into a community" (69).

In chapters three and four, Johnson pieces together ways in which "slaveholders small and large were constructing themselves out of their slaves." The genius of Johnson's interpretation rests in his ability to shatter the interpretive dichotomy drawn between the slaves' roles as economic tools and their roles as unwitting actors in a drama in which whites vied for social stature. Sensitive to the different ways in which white men and women conceptualized black men and women, the author integrates theories of race and gender into a reading of the power dynamics undergirding the plantation system. Johnson finds that the traders marketed their

human wares with an eye toward the paternalistic fantasies and racial fears of their white customers.

The degree to which race was a fluid concept that could be employed to meet the varying needs of those with power receives considerable attention in chapter five. While this racial agenda sought ceaselessly to categorize and subordinate African Americans, the slaves themselves struggled for redress at every moment. In chapter six, Johnson depicts the slaves' efforts to return the gaze of their prospective buyers in order to determine their relative merits and to "create themselves in the slave market, matching their self-representations to their own hoped-for outcomes" (176-177). Johnson's final chapter strikes home the degree to which the slave market cast a shadow over plantation society. The planters themselves liked to depict the slave trade as an unusual series of transactions that contradicted the core values of a Southern society ostensibly built upon organic social relations. Johnson's work shatters this self-serving claim. The sadistic abuse of black slaves by white masters was not, to use Johnson's memorable phrasing, "a violation of the mutuality of master and slave" but rather "the essence of that grim mutuality: the natural result of slaveholders' inevitable failure to live through the stolen bodies of their slaves" (206). This is one of the very best secondary accounts of Southern slavery that I have read.

Georgia Southern University

JEFFREY ROBERT YOUNG

A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery, Consistently with the Interests of All Parties Concerned. By Moses E. Levy. Edited by Chris Monaco. (Micanopy, Fla.: Wacahoota Press, 1999. xxix, 34 pp. Introduction, illustrations, about the editor. \$14.95 hardcover.)

Moses Elias Levy, nineteenth-century East Florida sugar planter, is best known as the father of David Levy Yulee, a fierce pro-slavery advocate and the first Jewish member of the United States Senate. Chris Monaco's edited publication of a little known abolitionist tract authored by Moses Levy serves as an important contribution to Jewish history and to the study of slavery in Florida. *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery* was first published anonymously in 1828 in London, while Levy was there on an extended stay. Levy was himself a major slaveholder and investor in Florida and, as a result, kept secret his abolitionist sympathies throughout his life-

time. Monaco's introduction convincingly establishes Levy's authorship of the pamphlet, and this recent publication provides an opportunity to explore a fundamental contradiction: How could a man be both a slaveholder and an advocate of abolition?

In his introduction to a *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, Monaco points to some central elements of Levy's abolitionist thought. Like William Lloyd Garrison, Levy challenged slavery from a theistic position and insisted that only through "Divine Revelation" could the institution successfully be overturned. Yet Levy's writing was unique, because it demonstrated that moral opposition to slavery was not only Christian in nature; it could be founded in Judaism as well. Monaco observes that Levy invoked a religious appeal based on "the bible," without reference to Jesus Christ. What Monaco does not point out is that Levy's appeal was also an economic one. Years before the Free Soil and Republican Parties, Levy argued that slavery limited the economic options of the free. Similar to the Brazilian abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco, he denounced slavery as an impediment to economic and social development. Levy's worldview, like that of many of his contemporaries, was profoundly racist. He placed much of the onus for economic inefficiency of the slave system on bondpeople themselves. Emancipation, he insisted, should be carried out gradually, since "the slaves, being naturally indolent, deceitful, and vicious, from the effects of their abject state, should be suffered to die as slaves, and even continue, with some gradual alterations, under the accustomed oppressive government in which they were born and bred" (12n1).

Levy's call for abolition extended beyond national boundaries. He insisted that for emancipation to be successful, slavery had to be abolished throughout the Americas. Monaco characterizes this global appeal as "anti-nationalistic." Levy traveled extensively during his lifetime, and that experience led him to recognize slavery as a problem that affected the entire Atlantic world. Rather than being anti-nationalistic, Levy understood that solutions limited to national boundaries were inadequate. He was after all a slaveowner and a sugar planter. Part of Levy's appeal for universal yet gradual abolition came from his own concerns for the profitability of East Florida sugar estates. More than an abolitionist treatise, Levy's pamphlet can also be read as a planter's proposal to ameliorate slavery. Present within the text is evidence of Levy's own ideological struggle between his economic dependence on slavery and recognition that the institution was morally unjust. Future re-

search might take on the question of whether Levy's position as a silent abolitionist substantively influenced the way in which he ran his plantation and how he treated his slaves.

Monaco's introduction to *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery* provides useful background information on Levy's life and points to some interesting questions raised in the text. The complex yet readable nature of the pamphlet makes it appropriate for courses on Florida or Jewish history, and it is also worthwhile for those interested in planter ideology more generally.

Florida Atlantic University

ALEXANDRA K. BROWN

Pensacola During the Civil War: A Thorn in the Side of the Confederacy.

By George F. Pearce. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xii, 286 pp. Figures and maps, foreword, preface, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Civil War studies entered the growing field of community studies some years ago. By focusing on local events and interpreting them through the fiery lens of war, New Orleans, Mobile, and other areas have been examined by a new generation of students. These treatments of communities have advanced an understanding of the nature of war and its impact on society as well as illuminated new ground for military historians. Charles F. Pearce's *Pensacola During the Civil War: A Thorn in the Side of the Confederacy* makes a gallant attempt to carve out a place for west Florida within the larger fabric of the great conflict. It largely succeeds.

Pearce maintains that Pensacola's role in the war deserves another look, that its role as a Union supply base and navy yard provided the Yankees with fortified shelter needed to mount the successful sea-going campaigns along the Gulf as well as support the blockade. A lively narrative history sustains Pearce's story.

Pensacola attracted the European colonial powers' attention with its large bay and magnificent stand of oak trees suitable for ship construction. After the United States acquired all of Florida from Spain, Americans planned a navy yard close by the ancient trees and ringed the deep bay with modern fortifications. By the late 1850s, Pensacola achieved modest prosperity limited only by a twist of geographic fate: no navigable interior river system drained into the bay comparable to those which linked New Orleans and Mobile to inland trade. The coming of the railroad eventually

provided a substitute for water connections of the north. Shipping flourished and Pensacola's economy developed accordingly.

Pearce weaves local issues into the national concerns explaining secession, which Pensacolans reluctantly supported. A long-time resident of the city, William H. Chase, became commander of the army Florida assembled to secure the city. Ironically, as a U. S. officer, Chase supervised the building of the harbor fortifications. The largest of these, Fort Pickens, was occupied by defiant Yankees committed to defending the last bastion in national hands on the bay. A stalemate ensued. When Florida's forces joined the Provisional Army of the Confederate States, Braxton Bragg assumed command.

Throughout the first year of the Civil War, the civilian population suffered along with the soldiers. In their beachfront camps, young men from the Gulf states sweltered in the summer and shivered during the winter while their blue-clad antagonists on Santa Rosa Island's Fort Pickens benefitted from regular supplies and growing reinforcements. Bragg's troops mounted an assault on the Union forces. It failed. As civilians anticipated a Confederate withdrawal from Pensacola, they began to leave the city.

When the Confederates concentrated their western armies at Corinth, Mississippi, in anticipation of a spring offensive, Pensacola was abandoned to the Yankees. After restoring the navy yard and the Confederate fortifications, the Federals turned Pensacola against the South. Pearce traces the history of naval campaigns against Mobile and the long story of logistical support given to the blockading Union squadrons. In addition, Union soldiers waged a near-guerilla struggle against Confederate forces which threatened lines of communication and outposts. In the closing land campaign aimed at Mobile, Pensacola was a major staging area for E. R. S. Canby's Union army and provided a convenient base for cavalry raids into Alabama.

The civilian population of Pensacola dwindled, forced into exile by hardship and by Union soldiery intent on making certain that a quiet, loyal population remained. By the war's end, few people lived in Pensacola. Wreckage littered the city as former Confederates and their families drifted home.

The impressive breadth of Pearce's study is marred by several omissions. Though the author admirably summarizes the pro-Confederate activities of Francisco Moreno, the Spanish Consul-

General, he fails to note that this officer was the father-in-law of rebel secretary of the navy Stephen A. Mallory.

Detailed information regarding a vast array of minor details possesses the potential of blocking the larger view. For instance, Pearce's disrupting habit of introducing biographical information parenthetically breaks the flow of his narrative.

For the serious student of the great conflict, *Pensacola During the Civil War* offers little that is new. As a fine introductory history to an important war-time city, the breadth of the author's effort points to the possibilities for further work on the Gulf of Mexico as a theater of operations.

Northwest-Shoals Community College

BOB ENGLAND

***Griswoldville*.** By William Harris Bragg (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2000. 200 pp. Dedication, notes, selected sources, afterword and acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

The Civil War, like most wars, had a habit of making small towns famous and a few immortal when armies clashed near them. Griswoldville, Georgia, was one such rural hamlet that got caught in the flood tide of battle and never fully recovered. In November 1864, its streets and adjacent fields witnessed combat between Confederate troops and Sherman's "bummers" as they made their way across the state to Savannah. William Harris Bragg looks at what turned out to be the only major infantry engagement on the March to the Sea in an entertaining volume that touches on many of the key aspects of the South's Confederate experience.

Griswoldville begins by chronicling the rise of an antebellum Southern industrial center near Macon. Samuel Griswold (1789-1867) came to southwest Georgia to make his fortune and succeeded by the 1830s. The Connecticut-born tinker managed to design, build, and market a popular cotton gin that found a ready group of buyers during the flush times in the Cotton Kingdom. Allied with entrepreneurs like Daniel Platt, Griswold prospered and, by the 1850s, created his own company town along the line of the Central of Georgia Railroad. This community supported the gin factory as well as Griswold's other business interests.

Secession and the coming of the Civil War altered Griswold's plans and the future of the town that bore his name. The effort to convert cotton fields to food production beginning in 1861 greatly

hampered the market for Griswold cotton gins. But like so many other Southern manufacturers he adapted to wartime realities and converted to the production of weapons for the Confederate government. Ploughshares indeed became swords as the plant began turning out metal pikes for use by rebel soldiers without rifles. More practical weapons came off the line beginning in 1862 when the Griswold works shifted to pistol manufacture. By the end of that year Griswoldville was clearly an important satellite of the greater Macon industrial complex that even rated a short visit by President Jefferson Davis. Unfortunately such significance made the pistol works and the town prime targets should Union forces penetrate deeply into Georgia.

1864 saw the Yankees strike deep into that very region with the intent of inflicting maximum property damage. Union General George Stoneman led a cavalry raid in July to strike at Macon's factories and with luck free Federal prisoners languishing in Andersonville. The incursion threatened the Griswoldville area; though the town itself escaped major harm at the hands of Stoneman's troopers. The Yankees were eventually turned back and routed by elements of the state Confederate Reserves and the Georgia Militia. The Militia, known derisively as "Joe Brown's Pets," had gone on active duty to help defend Atlanta from Sherman. Eventually Stoneman's raid fell apart, and he and many of his men ended up prisoners of war themselves and not the liberators they hoped to be.

By November, Atlanta fell, and the Federals began their march through Georgia to the sea. Union cavalry under General Judson "Kil-Cavalry" Kilpatrick ranged on Sherman's right flank, and on November 20, his 9th Michigan Cavalry all but destroyed the town of Griswoldville. Two days later, a rebel force made up mainly of Georgia militiamen attacked well-entrenched bluecoats in what became known as the battle of Griswoldville. The Georgians suffered heavy losses as they made reckless, repeated charges against Union guns. Though a minor action when compared to the rest of the war, the clash at Griswoldville did in the eyes of many redeem the honor of the state militia men who died in a vain attempt to halt the Northern invasion.

Griswoldville is a well-researched and well-written account of one small Southern community's birth and near-death in the 1860s. It contains many rare maps and illustrations that support the author's effort to tell his story. Some readers might wish that

Bragg had touched more on the slave community in and around Griswoldville and how it met the challenges brought by the war. This aside, the author manages to make a positive contribution to the rich literature of Georgia history and of the Civil War as well.

Florida Institute of Technology

ROBERT A. TAYLOR

This Astounding Close: The Road to Bennett Place. By Mark L. Bradley. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xix, 404 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, epilogue, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

It is an illuminating commentary on the plethora of Civil War studies that an author can devote an entire book to the relatively insignificant battle of Bentonville, North Carolina, and then follow it up with another volume covering the five weeks following that engagement when no important military action whatever occurred. Yet, that is precisely what Mark L. Bradley, a Raleigh historian, has done. The result, somewhat surprisingly, is micro-history at its best.

Basing his study on prodigious research in manuscript sources from more than forty archival depositories as well as on numerous published primary works, contemporary newspapers, regimental histories, and, of course, the indispensable *Official Records*, Bradley has constructed a detailed account of the last days of the war in North Carolina, from the indecisive battle of Bentonville on March 19-20, 1865, to the controversial surrender negotiations between Union general William T. Sherman and Confederate general Joseph E. Johnston a month later. Although these two army commanders are the chief protagonists, the author also provides interesting portraits of such secondary military figures as diehard Confederate cavalry leader Wade Hampton and his rather unsavory Union counterpart, Major General Judson Kilpatrick, and such notable North Carolinians as Governor Zebulon B. Vance and University of North Carolina president David L. Swain. Throughout his descriptive narrative, Bradley apprizes the reader of the reaction of combatants and civilians on both sides to the closing events of the war.

Although the author has performed a herculean task in piecing together the movements of the various military units in the

weeks immediately preceding the surrender, it is his careful analysis of the surrender negotiations that constitutes the most useful contribution of this book. Bradley claims that on the eve of those talks, Johnston's Army of Tennessee, although outnumbered three to one by Sherman's Grand Army, still remained "a viable fighting force" (153, 290). Consequently, when the two commanders met at the Bennett House near Durham's Station on April 17-18, Johnston was able to secure exceedingly generous terms from the victor. Based upon a memorandum prepared by Confederate Postmaster General John H. Reagan, the Sherman-Johnston agreement of April 18 included a guarantee of the personal, property, and political rights of the vanquished Southerners; recognition of the existing state governments; and a general amnesty to all Confederates, including President Davis. As the author argues convincingly, Johnston emerged as "the true victor" (176) in this initial agreement. Not surprisingly, this Sherman-Johnston Memorandum was immediately repudiated by the Washington administration, and Sherman was pilloried in the press by Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. Eight days later, the angry but somewhat chastened Sherman accepted the formal surrender of Johnston's army under the same terms that had governed Lee's capitulation to Grant at Appomattox Court House two and one-half weeks earlier, with the addition of six supplemental terms, one of which permitted each unit to retain one-seventh of its small arms until they were deposited in their respective state capitals.

If a hero emerges in these pages, it is clearly Joseph E. Johnston. "No other Confederate general," asserts Bradley, "could have accomplished more with so few resources and in such a brief span" (264). Even in defeat, with his army beginning to disintegrate around him, he was able to obtain "fair terms of peace" (264) in his negotiations with Sherman. The latter, according to Bradley, merits credit for his forbearance in sparing Raleigh the fate that had befallen Columbia two months before and for his offer of "generous peace terms" (266) to Johnston—an offer characterized as "misplaced generosity" (231) by the general's brother, Senator John Sherman of Ohio. Nevertheless, the author faults the Union commander for his failure to crush Johnston at Bentonville and for not mounting a more aggressive pursuit in the days that followed.

This book will appeal to specialists and Civil War buffs alike. For the former, it provides a definitive account of the events just before the surrender of the last major Confederate army. The

latter, especially those most familiar with the geographic setting, will be enthralled by the human drama that marked the final days of the war. There is little to criticize. One might object to the author's frequent use of "Old Joe" and "Uncle Billy" as appellations for Johnston and Sherman, respectively. Some of the footnote citations, most of which are to multiple sources, also seem a bit inflated, but this may simply be a testimony to Bradley's indefatigable research efforts. On the whole, this is an impressive and thoroughly interesting work.

University of Southern Mississippi

WILLIAM K. SCARBOROUGH

Jefferson Davis: Unconquerable Heart. By Felicity Allen. (Columbus: University of Missouri Press, 2000. xx, 809 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, editorial notes, appendices, notes, select bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

Few major figures of the Civil War era have fared worse at the hands of historians than Confederate President Jefferson Davis. Scholars have variously held him responsible for strategic errors contributing to the South's eventual military defeat, failing to inspire public confidence or rally the Confederacy's common people behind the war effort, ineffective administration, and failing to work in harmony with his new nation's other political leaders. Although some recent works to some extent have challenged these interpretations—William C. Davis's 1991 biography, for example—probably no other modern author has presented as overwhelmingly favorable a portrait of Jefferson Davis as does Felicity Allen, an independent historian from Alabama.

Allen's biography traces in painstaking detail the full sweep of Jefferson Davis's remarkable career. She devotes substantial space to his prewar career, including his years as a cadet at West Point, his entry into Mississippi politics, his battlefield heroism in the Mexican War while serving under father-in-law Zachary Taylor, and his years in the U.S. Senate and friend Franklin Pierce's cabinet. Davis's stormy service as the Confederacy's only president receives ample coverage, as do his postwar captivity while awaiting his never-held trial for treason and his final years.

Allen provides a richly documented and thoroughly researched narrative of the life of Jefferson Davis. Her major theme,

the dominant importance of religion in her subject's life, is argued convincingly, if somewhat to the exclusion of other factors in his ideological development. His unbending dedication to Christian ideals of duty, self-control, self-sacrifice, and charity as he understood them, she demonstrates, remained a lifelong constant if not obsession. He believed in a rigidly hierarchical religion, with slaves owing obedience to their masters, wives to their husbands, and eventually, all citizens of the Confederacy to him as their president. At times the book suffers from the overuse of quotations, although there is something to be said for hearing the words of the historical actors themselves. Still, often the material quoted could have been paraphrased and more smoothly incorporated into the flow of the book's generally lively and direct prose.

Some aspects of Davis's life and career cry out for more substantial analysis than Allen accords them. What are historians to make of his many bitter, personal rivalries with other Southern leaders, such as General Joseph E. Johnston and Vice President Alexander Stephens, along with a host of other prominent Confederates, which did so much damage to their mutual cause? His role in the ultimately unsuccessful effort to create a new, distinctively Southern nationalism also calls for closer examination, as do his economic, diplomatic, and financial policies. Although Allen succeeds in crafting a quite readable, detailed chronology of her subject's varied experiences, her work would likely have benefitted from a more interpretive approach.

The author deserves full credit, however, for succeeding admirably in what she set out to do. Allen frankly confesses in her preface that she was inspired by a longstanding outrage with works that stressed Davis's faults but did not pay enough attention to his virtues. *Jefferson Davis: Unconquerable Heart* suffers from exactly the opposite problem, making it at least useful in restoring some balance to Davis scholarship. Allen does not, however, provide what is even more needed, an exploration of the Confederate president's role in the political, military, economic, and ideological failure of the Southern cause. William J. Cooper's forthcoming biography is more likely to emerge as the standard modern biography of Jefferson Davis, although for now William C. Davis's *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* remains the best available work on this enigmatic, important figure.

Pennsylvania State University

MICHAEL THOMAS SMITH

Ben Tillman & the Reconstruction of White Supremacy. By Stephen Kantrowitz. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. 422 pp. Introduction, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Despite Ben Tillman's significance in southern history, only one biography has appeared—the sympathetic 1944 treatment by Francis B. Simkins, a major southern historian who, like Tillman, hailed from South Carolina's notorious Edgefield County. Stephen Kantrowitz's study is therefore most welcome, although it is less a biography than an intensive examination of Tillman's worldview and his role in southern and national history as the Era of Segregation emerged at the turn of the twentieth century.

Tillman has usually been seen as the precursor of the southern demagogues of the twentieth century who aroused the fear and hostility of the white masses toward not just blacks but the planter and industrial elite as well, employing colorful rhetoric and rabble-rousing campaign techniques yet providing little in the way of programs or policies to benefit their followers. Unlike his contemporaries Tom Watson or Marion Butler who rallied their state's farmers through the Populist Party, Tillman organized them within the Democratic Party as later leaders of the agrarian masses would do. But Kantrowitz claims that Tillman was engaged in a larger movement as architect of a crusade to restore the mastery that southerners had enjoyed during slavery by redefining it as white supremacy and creating an ideology based on an innate race instinct that required whites to reassert undisputed control by using coercion and violence. Because Pitchfork Ben's source of political support was the white farmers who felt disadvantaged and exploited, he tied white supremacy to reform by attacking privilege, corruption, and "the money power," thereby giving white supremacy a specificity and a political focus. Nevertheless, once he left South Carolina for the U.S. Senate where he served for four terms from 1895 until his death in 1918, he used the Senate and the lecture circuit as platforms for describing "the race problem" as a national dilemma and offering white supremacy as defined by the South as the nation's remedy.

This study is a considerably expanded and revised version of the author's Ph.D. dissertation. It examines in great detail the components of the slaveholders' ideology that Tillman was trying to restore, as well as the campaign to overthrow Reconstruction (in

particular the Red Shirt movement in which Tillman himself participated), that restored white rule through force and violence. The author also explains how the insurgent farmers' movement was organized and the South Carolina leader's own ideology formulated. In the process, the doctrine of white supremacy is treated more seriously and subjected to more intensive analysis than is usually granted. Moreover, Kantrowitz's discussion of this topic is broadened by his introduction of two recent developments in historical research. The first is the role of gender in history. As a result, the author expands the definition of white supremacy to argue that the whites whose supremacy was to be asserted were male, as heads of household and voters, by contrast with the farming women who needed their men to protect them from black predators and from the world of politics. And second, Kantrowitz subscribes to the newly emergent, though hardly novel, view that racial identity is not a given but has to be created consciously and publicly. Thus, white supremacy is presented as a doctrine, a program, not just an emotional rallying-cry. In these two respects, Kantrowitz's treatment adds scope and complexity to the notion of white supremacy.

Interesting though these insights are, they do not change the picture too much. While it is noteworthy that white supremacy had a gendered component, it was still essentially a racial concept, and it could only be addressed to the men who were the voters and protectors. Similarly, the notion that white supremacy had to be created is interesting, but, in Tillman's case, the ingredients seem not to have been formulated in any coherent fashion and then elaborated systematically in speeches or writings. Furthermore, to claim a pivotal role for Tillman in developing this dogma is questionable. For example, Tom Watson, Senator John T. Morgan, and novelist Thomas Dixon were also major contributors to the southernization of the nation's "race problem" at the turn of the century. Tillman may have given more speeches, especially in his northern speaking tours, but he was not a lone pioneer.

Nonetheless, even though some of the author's claims for Tillman's uniqueness and influence may be excessive, this is still a most valuable study. Tillman himself is depicted far more accurately and with more insight than ever before, as are the racial hostility and obsessions swirling through white society and politics in the South and the nation a century ago.

University of Illinois at Chicago

MICHAEL PERMAN

Lawyering for the Railroad: Business, Law, and Power in the New South. By William G. Thomas. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. xx, 318 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations used in notes, selected bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper, \$47.50 cloth.)

William G. Thomas has revised his 1995 dissertation into an ambitious, pioneering, but imperfect first book that describes the role played by railroad attorneys in the South's political economy, from 1880 to 1920. An uneven attempt to synthesize legal, business, and political history, his work should nonetheless enjoy a wide readership.

Thomas earned his Ph.D. at the University of Virginia, where he now directs the Virginia Center for Digital History. Among the center's achievements is the much-acclaimed "Valley of the Shadow" web project. In researching his book, Thomas consulted the records of dozens of railroad legal departments as well as the manuscript collections of many lawyers and railroad executives. Appropriately, he concentrated on the largest interstate systems in the South, such as the Southern Railway, Illinois Central, Louisville & Nashville, and Southern Pacific.

Railroads became the South's first large interstate corporations and their lawyers the region's first corporate attorneys. In the 1880s, as the South's rail network was still being constructed, lawyers worked to acquire charters, tax breaks, and rights-of-way. Although often challenged by disputed land titles or suits arising from construction damages, counsel generally operated in a pro-development atmosphere that favored the railroads. This situation changed in the 1890s, however, as the depression focused attention on monopoly power and helped spur the rise of the Populists. The decade also witnessed a significant increase in personal-injury suits brought by workers, passengers, and bystanders. The South's railroads proved the nation's most dangerous, with lines such as the Georgia Pacific earning horrid safety records. This in turn contributed to the division of the Southern bar into corporate and personal-injury attorneys, a development partly caused by the railroad companies' own attempt to monopolize legal talent at the state and local levels.

To meet the increased demands for regulation and the abundance of personal injury claims, railroad legal departments both reorganized and used a variety of sometimes unsavory tactics. Sev-

eral systems experimented with a three-part model of general counsel, district attorneys at the state level, and local lawyers kept on retainer. Railroad attorneys also functioned as lobbyists in state legislatures and Congress. They funneled corporate funds into political campaigns and freely dispensed rail passes to lawmakers. In dealing with injury suits, railroad counsel took advantage of such legal doctrines as the fellow-servant rule and contributory negligence. They also relied on sympathetic judges, often with pockets full of passes, and plotted preemptive strikes using claims agents and company doctors. Sometimes the simple ownership of the facts gave the railroads advantages over plaintiffs. For example, Thomas reveals that the Louisville & Nashville's lawyers deliberately concealed damaging evidence to reduce its liability in the notorious Cahaba River wreck in Alabama in 1896.

The early 1900s witnessed two national developments that transformed the work of railroad legal departments: the consolidation of interstate railroads into a handful of huge systems and the Progressive movement's push for increased regulation. Unique to the South, railroad lawyers also had to contend with the hardening of the Jim Crow system. Despite the sacrifice of efficiency and the rights of their black employees, the railroads eventually cooperated with segregation statutes regarding separate cars and waiting rooms. And after years of opposing regulation, railroad lawyer-lobbyists came to appreciate the stability promised by the 1906 and 1908 Federal Employers' Liability Acts as well as the Hepburn (1906) and Mann-Elkins Acts (1910). Increasingly, railroad attorneys sought to remove cases to federal courts where they expected more predictable treatment.

Thomas's account of railroad lawyers suffers from his attempt to accomplish too much in one book, especially one culled from a much longer dissertation. The result is a sometimes confusing work with repetitions, gaps, and illogical chapter divisions. Students of Florida history will find little specifically on their state, partly because Thomas did not locate any legal department records for the parent companies of the CSX system. He does recap the story of Florida's railroad commission, created in 1887, eliminated in 1891, and refounded in 1897. However, this episode involving the conflict between U.S. Senator Wilkinson Call and Pensacola railroad king William Chipley is better told by others, most recently by Tracey Danese in a 1996 *Quarterly* article.

Still, Thomas deserves credit for attempting to combine political, business, and legal developments with a social history of Southern lawyers. Rich in anecdotes and suitable quoting from sources, his book will interest a variety of readers even as it frustrates some. Perhaps it will inspire a focused study of Florida's first railroad attorneys.

Jacksonville University

ERIC THOMAS

Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950. By Tom Pendergast. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000. x, 289 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In his new study of twentieth-century masculinity, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture 1900-1950*, Tom Pendergast announces two intentions. He wants to avoid what he deems the either/or extremes of male studies: the feminist model which posits an ascent to self-expressive liberation, or the crisis model which assumes a descent from the stable selfhood that characterized American society prior to the rise of consumer capitalism. Secondly, and quite laudably, Pendergast aims to incorporate material that moves beyond the usual class (middle) and race (white) norms. Popular periodicals are the key. By utilizing magazines as a vehicle to map representations of masculinity, the author feels he can steer a middle course between optimistic and pessimistic readings of evolving male identity, and achieve desirable breadth with the inclusion of African American periodicals.

It is an ambitious project, but one stymied by a lapse in logic that undercuts the book's core premise. If I understand correctly, Pendergast's aim is to problematize the relationship between the periodical industry's economic basis in advertising and various magazines' representation of masculinity. He argues that most scholars overemphasize corporate capitalism's ability to dictate construction of values within popular culture. Instead he wants to demonstrate that the "consuming male" did not immediately appear in response to advertisers' needs but evolved slowly and variously, and especially in black periodicals did not really emerge until 1945 with the founding of *Ebony*. But here is the contradiction. As Pendergast shows, before *Ebony*, no black owned or operated magazine was consistently underwritten by national ad-

vertisers. So in paralleling magazines like *Colored American* (six pages of advertising) or *Crisis* (sponsored by the NAACP) to *McClures* or *Vanity Fair*, *Creating the Modern Man* lines up representations of masculinity that are in no way comparable outgrowths of the commercial mainstream. And what results is the unintentional bias that has tainted so much scholarship of the past three decades—the book presents black culture as a marginal phenomenon, not seen on its own terms but taken to be a less successful, smaller scale version of its majority counterpart.

Pendergast acknowledges his apples/oranges problem by alternating chapters on black and white magazines. Each type of examination has its virtues. Pendergast really knows the circumstances and personalities that built the mainstream periodicals industry, and he is very interesting on the time lag between the commercialization of that industry and its presentation of masculine prototypes created in the consumer mold. He lets us see how the entrepreneurs who built the business tended to identify with Victorian notions of the self-made man and encouraged editorial content that celebrated character and pluck, not self-expressive individuality. Arguing that attempts to construct images of masculinity embedded in a consuming lifestyle did not occur until the founding of *Vanity Fair* in the twenties and *Esquire* in the thirties, Pendergast shows that such magazines were really a new kind of product which consciously attempted to align itself with the interests of its advertisers.

The book's treatment of black magazines is narrower in focus and concentrates on the conflict between Booker T. Washington's "accommodationism" and W.E.B. Du Bois's "radicalism" which Pendergast feels determined editorial character between 1900 and the 1940s. Pendergast traces the intricate cultural politics this conflict produced, and shows how each side represented black masculinity in terms that implicitly condemned the other ("truckling lackey" versus "immature hothead"). But while the author has amassed much interesting historical detail, his analysis feels partial because his thesis pushes him to see these magazines largely as (failed) commercial entities. This leads him to such embarrassingly obvious assertions as, "Like plants that fail to thrive in an environment that is too cold or dry, advertisements fall flat in an editorial environment that rails at the racial status quo, that supports sweeping economic change, or that is radical or confrontational" (82). That same thesis forces the author to treat *Ebony* as

the happy climax to his narrative (finally, plentiful circulation and advertising!), while he is clearly skeptical about the magazine's evasive ambiguity about racism. In a notably perceptive discussion, Pendergast makes clear that *Ebony* finessed the whole issue of racism by showcasing lifestyles of prominent blacks without discussing the struggles (not to mention anomalies) of their achievements.

Although I appreciated much of what *Creating the Modern Man* has to offer, I ultimately was brought up short by the lapses and inconsistencies of the book's overall argument. At heart is the contradiction I have already mentioned—a good portion of his book discusses magazines that have little relevance to the author's thesis. In turn, that leads Pendergast to ignore important questions of language and intention. For instance, he does not problematize crucial signifiers having to do with masculine identity and thus fails to make clear that Du Bois's patriarchal use of "man"—meaning "the black community"—has nothing like the same gendered meaning as *Esquire's* use of "men"—meaning "not women"—to refer to its readership. In sum, for informative, focused analysis of the magazines in question, this is a good book, but as a contribution to the theoretical scholarship of men's studies, it breaks no new ground.

California State University at Northridge

KENON BREAZEALE

American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century.

By Michael Kammen. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1999. xxvii, 322 pp. Introduction, selective chronology, appendix, notes, acknowledgments, index, a note about the author, a note on the type. \$30.00 cloth.)

Michael Kammen has done it again—turned a lens on culture in order to illuminate widespread social change in America. In his most recent study, Kammen reveals cultural evolution in the United States by defining three overlapping periods: an initial *commercialized popular culture* stage between 1885 and 1935; a *proto mass culture* period from the 1930s through the 1950s; and finally, an era of full-blown *commodified mass culture*, ushered in by postwar prosperity, increasingly sophisticated technology, and rhetorical loyalty to democracy. Kammen's evidence is rich and engaging, veiled only occasionally by dense prose.

Kammen begins with definitions, admonishing those who cavalierly interchange the adjectives "popular" and "mass" when

referring to culture, and convincingly revealing the differences between the two. Popular culture, often reflected in folk, local, or regional activities and rituals, thrived before the advent of mass media in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Kammen points out that although remnants of popular culture have persisted in rural areas and small towns, where county fairs and local music festivals still flourish, the forces of mass culture have been tremendously successful in their ability to break down regional or parochial boundaries. Perhaps that is because mass culture thrives on seducing its followers. As Kammen explains, "In the realm of popular culture, a great many people never seem to tire of old favorites . . . like certain beverages, and cartoon characters. With mass culture, by contrast, novelty is necessary in order to maximize sales, initiate fads, and excite audiences" (12).

Among Kammen's lines of argument, the most original and certainly the most highly readable is his discussion of taste levels in the United States. At mid-century, the American preoccupation with highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow tastes revealed itself in numerous and widely-published surveys and charts. The blurring of these taste levels had begun as early as the 1930s, when jazz/swing musician Benny Goodman appeared on the Carnegie Hall stage, a venue previously reserved for musicians playing high culture repertoires. A few years later, Walt Disney spoke during the intermission of a Metropolitan Opera radio broadcast, deriding the notion of taste castes. In his commentary on the subject "Our American Culture," Disney expressed his suspicion of the word "culture" and of those who might think they could dictate proper taste. Disney insisted that culture belonged "equally" to everyone in America. That he chose to challenge a hierarchy of tastes in a high culture setting is a powerful testament to the democratization of American culture. That Kammen relates this story and bolsters such evidence with theoretical underpinnings, like the influence of postmodernism on "mingling categories" in general, shows the true syncretism of his examination of cultural evolution.

Inextricably bound to a blurring of taste levels was the transformation of cultural authority, argues Kammen. Public intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century gave way to more democratic authorities, the latter spurred on by mass media outlets that reached millions. Kammen views television as the most crucial technological innovation in promoting mass culture; with its widespread use by the 1960s and an accompanying postmodern spirit

that suggested every person's opinion or interpretation had validity, cultural power overtook cultural authority. The role of cultural critics like Lionel and Diana Trilling gave way to voices geared toward advising (and entertaining) the millions—Johnny Carson, Martha Stewart, and perhaps most powerfully, Oprah Winfrey, whose book suggestions have propelled previously unknown authors to instant stardom. Driven by audiences, sales, ratings, and competition, cultural power forces came to dominate the American social climate. Kammen points out that the free market economy has not merely commercialized but has commodified culture in the last forty years, but what is missing in his argument is the role of postwar affluence. Although he mentions that disposable income and “the dramatic expansion of higher education” obscured lower cultural levels, Kammen does not develop these vital pieces in the cultural commodification puzzle.

In this impressive examination of American culture in the last century, Kammen reminds us that mass culture has promoted passivity and privatized social life, taking Americans inside their homes to enjoy their leisure. These phenomena would not be so alarming if their by-products were not so disturbing—retreat from civic life, escape into channel surfing, and heightened frustration when domestic noise, even family conversation, drowns out the all-important voice on the TV.

Hope for change in the twenty-first century may be found in the new interactive technologies of virtual reality, where the dictates of participation do, at very least, get one off the couch.

Transylvania University

MELISSA A. MCEUEN

Richard Archbold and the Archbold Biological Station. By Roger A. Morse. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. x, 108 pp. Foreword, appendix, notes, references cited, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

In *Richard Archbold and the Archbold Biological Station*, Roger Morse, the late Cornell University entomologist, pays tribute to his friend Richard Archbold. Drawing on Archbold's unpublished papers, his friends' reminiscences, and published accounts, Morse creates a brief sketch of Archbold's life and work. The concluding chapter was contributed by Richard Archbold's sister, Frances Archbold Huffy.

Morse deserves credit for tracing Archbold's career as a biologist and philanthropist. Much of the book's value comes from the author's careful selection and use of long excerpts drawn from the recollections of Archbold's friends and colleagues to reveal Archbold's character. Morse succeeds in tracing an outline of Archbold's life and the factors which led to the creation of the field station. Readers will be disappointed if they look to this book for a detailed analysis of either Archbold's scientific work or an examination of the research performed at the Archbold Biological Station.

Richard Archbold (1907-1976) was a twentieth-century original. His grandfather, John D. Archbold, was one of John D. Rockefeller's confederates and succeeded Rockefeller as the second president of the Standard Oil Company. When John D. Archbold died in 1916, he left his descendants both a sizeable fortune and a philanthropic connection with the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

Richard Archbold inherited his grandfather's passion for natural history. In 1929, Dr. Leonard Sanford approached Archbold's father and proposed that he underwrite the American Museum's portion of a planned expedition to Madagascar. John Archbold agreed with the stipulation that his twenty-two-year-old son must be allowed to join the expedition. Morse believes that Archbold's father hoped the expedition would give his son an opportunity to do something constructive with his life. Thus began Richard Archbold's forty-seven year career as a biological explorer.

The Madagascar expedition was a success. Three additional expeditions to New Guinea followed in the 1930s. In 1939, Archbold won international fame for his daring flight around the world in an amphibious aircraft. Americans learned of Archbold's exploits from popular radio broadcaster Lowell Thomas. "There was an ocean," Thomas declared, "that no one had ever flown before—he flew it. There was a vast jungle that no white man had ever entered—he explored it. Yet few people have even heard of Richard Archbold—publicity scares him" (24).

Archbold planned to continue his work in New Guinea in 1940. The worsening political situation in the Pacific, however, made this impossible. Austin Rand, one of Archbold's closest friends, described Archbold's quandary in a 1941 *Natural History* magazine article. Archbold had established Archbold Expeditions to conduct scientific explorations of new territories. "We were left

with an organization for exploration,” Rand explained, “and no place to explore.” This crisis forced Archbold to rethink his career as an explorer. Archbold concluded that the time had come to turn his attention to “discovering facts, not things” (34).

Serendipity played an important role in the establishment of the Archbold Biological Station. Late in 1940, Archbold encountered his old school friend, Donald Reeling, in New York City. Reeling’s mother, Margaret, was an avid botanist. She planned to use the family’s Red Hill property in Florida for her botanical researches. In the late 1920s, Margaret Reeling became one of the prime movers in establishing Highlands Hammock State Park in Florida. After her death in 1930, her husband continued work on the Red Hill property.

In 1941, Donald Reeling’s father sold the Red Hill property to Richard Archbold for one dollar. The land consisted of roughly one thousand acres. During the next three years Archbold formulated a plan for creating a biological research station. In 1944, Archbold announced that the “Archbold Expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History” was prepared to open its facilities to workers in any field of biological research.

For the next thirty-two years, Richard Archbold led the station. Frances Archbold Huffly contends that her brother should be remembered as a facilitator. Huffly is right. Richard Archbold was one of those rare individuals who created opportunities for others. His greatness does not lie in his own scientific work. Rather, Archbold’s accomplishment was the creation of an institution where future generations of biologists will continue to make discoveries about Florida’s flora and fauna.

Florida Institute of Technology

GORDON PATTERSON

The Churches of Christ in the 20th Century: Homer Hailey’s Personal Journey of Faith. By David Edwin Harrell Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000. xvii, 473 pp. Preface, notes, bibliographical essay, index, about the author. \$34.95 cloth.)

David Edwin Harrell Jr., a professor of history at Auburn, is the author of, among other things, a definitive study of the healing and charismatic revival in twentieth century American religion and a fine biography of faith-healer Oral Roberts. He is also an active lay member of the Church of Christ. His latest work is really two

books, the subjects of which are announced in the title and subtitle of the work. A little over one-half of the study is a detailed analysis of his community of faith since the Churches of Christ separated off from the Disciples of Christ/Christian Church early in the twentieth century. The balance of the book, then, attempts to illuminate that analysis through the biography of one Homer Hailey, one of the leading pastors in the Churches of Christ who spent the first part of his career as a minister and educator in Texas before finally teaching for twenty-two years at Florida Christian College in Temple Terrace.

The Disciples of Christ/Christian Church emerged as part of the movement to "restore" the purity of first-century worship and ecclesiology during the great revival on the American frontiers in the early nineteenth century. Additionally, this "restoration" movement opposed the movement toward denomination creation that attended the revival and decried the efforts to establish and impose creeds on those denominational communities. The "Christian" movement instead was aggressively congregational and insisted on subscribing only to those practices and beliefs that were prescribed in the New Testament. Inevitably, the movement produced disagreements over what those practices and beliefs might be. By 1906, a substantial segment of the Christian movement had grown sufficiently unhappy with the larger group that they designated themselves in the national religious census of that year as simply "The Churches of Christ." The best known of the disagreements was over the use of instrumental music in worship. But the more important long-term disagreement was over the creation of denominational institutions to carry out the work of the Lord—more specifically, the formation of a denominational agency to sustain foreign and domestic missionary. The Churches of Christ could find no New Testament basis for such an effort.

The twentieth-century history of the Churches of Christ has been marked by a succession of debates, fights, and then schisms in the Churches of Christ between two abiding polarities within the restoration community. One, more conservative, Harrell sees as legalist, narrow, and propositional; the other, more tolerant, uncertain, more willing to allow for the contingency of things. And all of this conflict and contention occurs in an absolutely congregational community without a semblance of institutional denomination framework: no offices or officials, no bureaucracy, no institutional structures to conquer and utilize. There are, instead,

newspapers and periodicals, lectureships and institutions of higher learning. And the contention over these institutions is constant and often ferocious.

Harrell describes this culture of contention in excruciating, sometimes stupefying, detail without seeming to understand just how amazing and incomprehensible it might seem to the outsider. He does not really attempt to explain exactly how it came to pass that the Churches of Christ are so contentious. Instead, he tells about Homer Hailey. As a minister, author, and professor at Abilene Christian College until the middle of the century, Hailey, a rather unremarkable but genial enough man, maneuvered his way through most conflicts of the thirties and forties. By 1950, he had allied himself with the more conservative wing of the community and found it expedient to leave Texas for Florida Christian College, whose lectureship series had for decades been a focal point of the more conservative Churches of Christ (600).

The two parts of Harrell's book do not really work together to create a coherent and compelling whole. This is perhaps due to the amazing detail in each of the two sections. Harrell is not always able to hold his narrative together as he moves from the account of this or that contention to the narrative of Hailey's life and work. In many ways the section on Hailey is a welcome relief from the endless contendings of the larger history of the fellowship. And it also points out in an unintended way a possible explanation for the culture of contention. It is only in his discussion of Hailey's first and second marriages that Harrell discusses women. The culture he describes is absolutely and exclusively male.

University of Texas at Austin

HOWARD MILLER

Walker Evans Florida. Compiled, with an essay by Robert Plunket. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000. xii, 68 pp. Introduction. \$19.95 cloth).

Before retiring to Sarasota in 1935, Karl Bickel had been a journalist, media consultant to Charles Lindbergh, and President of United Press Associates (later known as UPI). Upon relocating to Florida, he became active in civic matters and writing about the state. Bickel drew on the name of a plant which grows half in and half out of water for the title of *The Mangrove Coast* (1942), an area he defined as extending from Anclote Anchorage south "to the

distant mouth of the shark" (vii). To illustrate the local history, natural beauty, and reminiscences of *The Mangrove Coast*, Bickel hired Walker Evans (1903-1975), one of the most gifted yet difficult and demanding photographers in America.

Although Evans found nature uninteresting, he accepted the assignment because money from his Guggenheim fellowship was running low, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* was a sales flop, and he had recently married. In 1941, Evans spent six weeks honeymooning and photographing in Florida with his wife. A portfolio of thirty-two Evans photographs was printed, with obligatory shots of tabby construction ruins, fishermen and shuffleboard players, elderly retirees sitting on green benches, a cypress swamp, banyan tree, and pelicans. Some subjects and themes with which Evans was personally fond also appeared. A blind couple at City Hall in Tampa provided commentary on not simply sight and sightlessness but connections with such photographic influences as Paul Strand's imagery of beggars. Evans was also attracted to vernacular signs, roadside buildings, and smaller objects like hood ornaments and postcard displays which made larger statements about people and places.

While not enamored with natural Florida, Evans was attracted to the Ringling Brothers circus with its exotic animals and ornate equipment, and Tarpon Springs with its rich ethnic culture and sponge diving industry. Evans's imagery of camp grounds speaks of people living insular and self-contained lives on their little pieces of turf and trailers. A junkyard becomes an automobile graveyard, treated with the same reverence as other burial grounds for the departed, and revealing racism taken to the grave.

Most provocative about Evans's assignment was the way he used photography for cultural satire. His photographs did not simply record resorts, tourists, and retirees, but contained carefully crafted messages about them. For example, he captured a tall female photographer (who could be considered part of his interest in photographers-at-large), wearing a dress and turban as she awkwardly squatted behind a tripod to snap a picture. The subject, an old lady, sat on a sea wall accompanied by artificiality. A fake palm tree, alligator, and boat serve not simply as props symbolic of Florida popular culture icons but provide commentary on what Evans saw as the state's love affair with tackiness and phoniness. Evans waited to snap his picture at the moment when a breeze lifted the photographer's dress to expose the top of her stockings

and thigh. The photographer was, after all, as much an agent of myth and reality as other elements in the picture.

Evans's photographs were dropped from subsequent editions. The fifty-four gelatin silver images printed here from the J. Paul Getty Museum, the largest depository of prints by Evans, are a welcomed resurrection of his visions of Florida. The essay written by Robert Plunket, a Sarasota gossip columnist, has many wry observations such as his point that in Florida "the really interesting artistic endeavors are usually disguised as something else—a theme park, a mystery novel, a coconut, even a simple vacation photograph" (2). One wishes, however, that more information had been provided on Evans's work for reasons of perspective and appreciation, like the picture of a listing palm tree stripped of fronds, which Evans took on December 7, 1941, the day the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Belinda Rathbone's *Walker Evans: A Biography* (1995), Judith Keller's *Walker Evans: The Getty Museum Collection* (1995), and James R. Mellow's *Walker Evans* (1999) examine the full range of Evans's life and place in our visual heritage. *Walker Evans Florida* is very different in content, stepping away from his coverage of Victorian buildings and old cities, eroded land and impoverished sharecroppers. The images nonetheless underscore a straight style, timeless tone, emphasis on subject, and complicated persona. *Walker Evans Florida* affirms why so many critics have said he had a vision comparable to the novels of Melville and Twain, the poetry of Dickinson and Whitman, and the paintings of Eakins and Ryder.

University of South Florida

ROBERT E. SNYDER

A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War. By Williamson Murry and Allan R. Millett. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000. xiv, 656 pp. Epilogue, appendixes, notes, suggested reading, acknowledgments, illustration credits, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

The Second World War, by some estimates, has produced more books than any other nonfiction subject. Nevertheless, the number of up-to-date and readable one-volume accounts of the entire war is surprisingly limited. Unlike Gerhard Weinberg's *A World at Arms*, Murry and Millett's book makes no attempt to be encyclopedic and is much less reliant on primary sources. However, its lively narrative style, succinctness, insights, and personality

descriptions will be enthusiastically welcomed by students of the war.

There are relatively few stunning revelations in *A War to be Won*, but by no means all of its facts are common knowledge. For example, the authors maintain that the mid-summer pause in Operation Barbarossa was caused not by Hitler's indecisiveness but by the Germans' inability to transport sufficient supplies to the front. Leningraders suffered so horribly through the winter of 1941-42 because local authorities did not want to appear "defeatist" by evacuating children and the elderly or by stockpiling provisions for a siege. Investments in developing the V-2 rocket could have produced 24,000 fighter aircraft. Many readers will also be surprised to learn that 11,000 U.S. POWs in Japanese custody were killed by American submarines and airplanes.

Most of the conclusions reached by Murray and Millett are sound and non-controversial. Not all historians would agree, however, that a second European war was "inevitable" because the German Army was still on foreign soil in November 1918 (2) or that Germany "lost little territory of value" after World War I (3) or that Baltic countries "begged for inclusion in the workers' and peasants paradise" of the Soviet Union in 1940 (111).

Even more debatable are the conclusions the authors reach about the strategic bombing of German cities. The authors appear to contradict themselves. They reject the argument that the "costs of bombing were excessive in comparison to its gains" (332), maintaining instead that "strategic bombing was crucial to the Allied victory" (334) and that it was "effective" (335). It may indeed have been crucial and effective, but the authors provide plenty of evidence that it was not nearly as effective as it could have been. They point out that the bomber offensive of 1940-41 had more a political than a military function: to prove "to foreign and domestic observers alike that Britain remained firmly in the war" (306). The RAF leadership opposed using long-range planes to protect convoys "with a fervor that bordered on fanaticism" (260). Arthur "Bomber" Harris, the man in charge of the bombing campaign, "disliked the idea of attacks on economic choke points such as ball-bearing factories or oil plants—'panacea' targets, he called them" (307). The fact that the half million German men and women manning anti-aircraft guns were not available for service on the front is not very significant because the work was part-time, and many of the men were incapable of front-line service.

Equally questionable and contradictory are the authors' arguments about the possibility of a cross channel invasion in 1943. The Allied forces, they say, "were not capable of interdicting the landing area and preventing the Germans from moving rapidly against the invasion" (299). Yet, elsewhere they point out that the Germans did not even begin serious preparations for an invasion until 1944 and had occupied France with only weak or poorly equipped divisions "with little mobility" (411). Moreover, the largest first-day amphibious operation of the war occurred not in Normandy, but Sicily, and not in 1944, but in 1943 as the authors themselves point out! Is it possible that an invasion of France in 1943 did not occur because no long-range plans for such an invasion were ever made and that the West pursued a Mediterranean campaign and strategic bombing of German cities instead?

A War to be Won is enhanced with sixty unnumbered pages of photographs, many of them unfamiliar; twenty-four maps; nineteen pages of endnotes; and sixteen pages of suggested readings arranged topically. Despite containing a few dubious facts and conclusions this book is well suited for both World War II buffs and advanced undergraduates.

University of Central Florida

BRUCE F. PAULEY

Hitler's Soldiers in the Sunshine State: POWs in Florida. By Robert D. Billinger Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xix, 263 pp. Series editors' foreword, preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Readers of this fine book will find it a significant contribution to the history of Florida during World II. It is well documented, well organized, and written in a clear style. Except for those who lived in Florida during WWII, few people are acquainted with the story of German prisoners of war in this state. Only recently has it been addressed, albeit sporadically, mostly by the local press in a few locations where there were POW camps.

For instance, newspapers in Tampa, Dade City, and Belle Glade have published accounts, and in 1995 the Pasco County Preservation Board erected a historical marker on the site of the Dade City prison camp (88). At the unveiling, attended by county and city officials, one ex-prisoner of the camp was in attendance, having come from Germany for the occasion. In the last chapter

entitled "Graves, Alumni, and Memories," author Billinger describes the resurgent interest and collection of data from still living persons—American officials, soldiers, prisoners, and Florida residents—who were close to or part of these prison camps. More than one ex-prisoner later migrated to the United States and became citizens; others returned for visits to their camps as tourists.

In 1942, the first contingent of German prisoners—U-boat crews and members of the famous North African Rommel Korps—arrived in Florida. The last German prisoners did not leave until mid-1946. The central camp was at Camp Blanding near Starke and a smaller one at Camp Gordon Johnston near Carabelle. Each of these had side camps. For Blanding they were in the Banana River Naval Air Station, Belle Glade, Bell Haven, Clewiston, Dade City, Daytona Beach, Drew Field (Tampa), Green Cove Springs, Homestead, Jacksonville, Kendall, Leeburg, MacDill Field, Melbourne, Orlando, Page Field (Fort Myers), Venice, White Springs, Winter Haven, and for a short time in Hastings. For Camp Gordon Johnston the side camps were at Dale Mabry Field (near Tallahassee), Eglin Field, and Telogia. The side camps at Marianna and Whiting Field Naval Auxiliary Air Station (Milton) were controlled from central camps in Georgia and Alabama. In total there were almost ten thousand German prisoners in the Florida camps. Billinger's main attention is on the Camp Blanding camp and its side camps but not totally to the exclusion of the few others.

In the initial chapter, Billinger places the Florida POWs within the national context. There were 378,000 in the U.S., so Florida had only between 3 and 4 percent of them. Subsequent chapters deal with the types and personalities of the POWs, their work assignments and related problems, escapes and riots, a celebrated suicide in the Clewiston camp, the arrival of the Africa Korps prisoners at Camp Blanding, and the designation of the Clewiston camp as the "worst camp in America." There are detailed accounts of the intense tensions within the camps between prisoners who were anti-Nazi and those who were loyal or fanatic Nazis. These tensions were greater than those between the prisoners and their American guards.

The U.S. intention was to obey the 1929 Geneva Convention that dealt with humane treatment of POWs, hoping that Germany would reciprocate. It should be remembered that there was food rationing during WWII, so there were accusations often carried in the press that the German POWs had better food, including candy

and cigarettes, than the local population. The *Tampa Morning Tribune's* adamant coverage "helped ignite a congressional investigation" (123). A subsequent chapter deals with termination of the camps, which extended far beyond V-E and V-J Days. In Florida by mid-May 1946, over two hundred POWs were left. Of these, 120 were in Telogia, which even today is a tiny community in Liberty County. The final chapter has more recent accounts of these POW men and the growing historical interest in this facet of WWII in Florida.

The Billinger book should give further impetus to encouraging attention in localities which had prisoner camps and perhaps more historical markers such as the one in Pasco County. Each camp could provide a good senior or even master's thesis. High school term papers would be welcome. The author tells us about a teacher in Hernando County whose students communicated by mail with an ex-Florida POW (189).

There is an appendix which is a most revealing account by a prisoner at Camp Blanding who was a spokesman for the POWs. He was permitted to accompany a representative of the international YMCA on an inspection tour in February 1945 to the Blanding side camps. POW Hans Bremer then wrote his impressions for the camp paper, *Zeitspiegel*. Not only is it a crucial document for the history of German POWs in Florida, but it is also a picture of Florida during WWII by an acute foreign observer who saw, for instance, the Everglades as "a true natural paradise" (201).

Billinger has used American (federal, military, state, local, and private) and German sources, and those of the International Red Cross and YMCA, all extensively cited in the footnotes and the bibliography. There are also interesting photos, some previously unseen. The index is good. We certainly have here a valuable book.

University of South Florida

CHARLES W. ARNADE

Fifty Years of Segregation: Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-1954. By John A. Hardin. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997. vii, 200 pp. Epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth \$29.95.)

John Hardin concisely and crisply reconstructed the accomplishments and vicissitudes faced by African Americans in Kentucky in pursuit of higher education, especially from 1904 to 1954. A topical and chronological study in large measure, this book

demonstrates the "internal struggles and institutional adaptations" made by blacks resulting from racism and prejudice (7). The author posits that on the surface, Kentucky differed little from any other southern state, except it was not located in the Deep South. But closer examination reveals that urban blacks in Kentucky during the age of Jim Crow were allowed to vote and become politically active. Nonetheless, white Kentuckians sought to impose a type of "civil or polite racism" to limit their rights and aspirations. While most civil rights historians ignore Kentucky's role in the struggle for "higher education equity, these confrontations from 1904 to 1954 served both as early, critical skirmishes in the national struggles for *de jure* civil rights and as test sites for activist strategies," according to the author (8). These are the major points Hardin sets forth in his thesis.

Hardin begins by discussing the events that led to what he calls the "hardening [of] the color line" (11). This discourse centers around Berea College and the infamous Day Law, named after Democratic state legislator, Carl Day. This law prevented bi-racial education at Berea and throughout the state, and became a formidable obstacle that blacks confronted for decades. In response to this new dilemma, blacks formed their own "separate but equal" educational facilities like Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute and Eckstein Norton Institute, and marshaled their support behind those already in existence. Many of Kentucky's black leaders accepted Booker T. Washington's philosophy of industrial education training, which validated many prejudices held by Kentucky whites about black intelligence. Seeing no reasonable alternative, some black leaders willfully acquiesced to white "civil racism" so they could establish separate black schools. Early on black college presidents exercised considerable political clout not directly related to education. They had to deal with their constituents in the academic environment as well as state legislators, who, at times, placed them in a precarious situation.

During the Depression, black institutions of higher learning suffered immensely. White officials cut back funding even further. Meanwhile, black Kentuckians gradually started shifting their support to liberal arts education over Washington's industrial education program. Kentucky State, under the leadership of Rufus Atwood, went the farthest in this direction. Louisville Municipal College emerged as another black liberal arts school, established as an alternative to the all-white University of Louisville.

As they moved into the 1940s, blacks became more demanding and aggressive in securing equal accommodations. Black leaders, along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's legal team, began to litigate for equality in higher education in Kentucky. Black Kentuckians experienced successes and defeats in this arena. One major success came with the Lyman Johnson case where Johnson successfully sued for the right to enter the University of Kentucky's Ph.D. program in history. Hardin does an excellent job in placing the cases he discusses in Kentucky in national context, juxtaposing them against other national cases like *Sweatt v. University of Texas Law School*.

The more legal victories they achieved, the more African Americans began to push for complete desegregation. Faced with no real alternatives, white Kentuckians began to slowly acquiesce to black demands. By the time of the Brown decision in 1954, Kentucky was already primed to comply with the law. Unfortunately, many of the court decisions did not apply to the public schools in Kentucky. Even more troubling is the fact that after the state desegregated its schools, they were still separate. In the aftermath of desegregation, black colleges in Kentucky were faced with a new obstacle: they had to fight for their mere survival. Some people callously thought that black colleges were no longer necessary.

Hardin did a good job in supporting his thesis and discussing the struggle for equality in higher education in Kentucky. The greatest strength of this study stems from his examination of so many black institutions of higher learning in such a concise manner, a task many historians might find difficult. Nevertheless, as with most books, there are some minor issues that deserved better explanation. For example, his discussion of James Hathaway's ideological shift from supporting liberal arts schooling to his acceptance of industrial education after he met with Booker T. Washington (the godfather of industrial education) could be explained another way. Although Hardin suggests some reasons, he does not show how this shift could have arisen from Washington's promise to help Hathaway secure more white largesse for the school. Washington operated this way, and black educators fully understood that by joining his camp, it became easier to secure badly needed financial resources.

Another minor problem is Hardin's mild treatment of Rufus Atwood as compared with the other black college presidents he

examines. Atwood's biographer, Gerald Smith, is much more critical in pointing out Atwood's shortcomings as an administrator. Last, the author did not address the violence black Kentuckians experienced in this era. Mob violence and lynchings were so common against African Americans in Kentucky during this time that George C. Wright in his book *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940* (1990) asserted that "it became clear that racial violence, the reverse of polite racism . . . was probably more prevalent than polite racism" (1). Although Hardin discusses "polite racism," the reader does not get a sense of the violence blacks faced as they pursued higher education.

Outside of minor problems like these, this book contributes significantly to the history of black higher education in Kentucky and throughout the nation as well as the Civil Rights movement. This book will be of interest to students of African American, American, and Southern History.

Florida A&M University

DAVID H. JACKSON JR.

Mount Dora: The Rest of the Story, Plus! By R. Eugene Burley. (Gainesville: Displays for Schools, 2000. x, 161 pp. Dedication, map, preface, acknowledgments, introduction. \$19.95 paper.)

Much has been written about the little Lake County town, Mount Dora. Historically, it has been the Florida vacation destination of presidents, actors, business tycoons, and their families. It is noted for its friendliness, superb hunting and fishing, and accompanying outdoor activities such as boating, swimming and picnicking. Little attention has been given, however, to the people of color who called Mount Dora home. Many of them worked in the hotels and supporting businesses that hosted vacationers. Others worked on farms and in stores and mills.

Eugene Burley begins his volume with an interesting dissertation about the first African American families to settle in Mount Dora. Most were former slaves, and Burley offers a unique and interesting perspective about their lives as they wrestled with the everyday realities of assimilating into society. Through the solicitation of family histories, he tells some rather poignant stories including one about "a funny little house" that was built by newly freed slaves.

Burley then turns to a confusing and exhausting description of various sections of town. Although some "Mount Dorans" will disagree with his interpretation of the neighborhoods, it is important only to understand that there were several sections of town and that each had their own characteristics and "personas." Specific groups of people lived in each section, and the interactions between the various factions were governed by strict societal rules.

Surprisingly, Burley then launches into a lengthy autobiographical sketch from the time that he left Mount Dora in the 1950s through his years in the military, school, and his career in the North. It was obviously an interesting time for a black man, and Burley contextualizes his experience with references to Martin Luther King, Jesse Jackson, Rosa Park, Alex Haley, and others. His strong faith is evidenced throughout the book with repeated references to the Bible.

Burley returned to Mount Dora in the 1980s to find that the "color lines" were fading. Obviously, Mount Dora was not unique in this trend. But the making of history was not suspended in Mount Dora in the interim that Burley was absent, and little is mentioned of the events that occurred, including the violent Ku Klux Klan activity in Lake County which engulfed Mount Dora.

The first portion of the book is interesting from an historical point of view. It adds depth to the history of African Americans in Lake County and Mount Dora from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the autobiographical story that comprises the last portion of the text is less rewarding and seems out of place in the context of this volume. Those interested in Lake County history may be better served by Vivian Owens's *The Mount Dorans—African American History Notes of a Florida Town*, which more successfully provides pieces to the historical puzzle of Mount Dora.

Lake County Historical Museum

DIANE KEMP

Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s. By Pete Daniel. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xiii, 378 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$19.95 paper, \$45.00 cloth.)

The vignettes might seem widely disparate: pesticide-induced fish kills; Elvis Presley's eye shadow; lesbian softball games in Mem-

phis; beer-soaked stock car races; Orval Faubus and the Little Rock crisis; and the USDA's farm policies. But Pete Daniel successfully weaves these and other images into whole cloth. By bringing together elements of the 1950s South usually treated separately, Daniel creates a complex and fascinating analysis of a multifaceted decade. In the process, he demonstrates the historiographic value of blending political, economic, and cultural events together.

The story begins, appropriately, with the southern agricultural economy. Spurred by post-war federal farm policies that favored the creation of agribusiness, millions of southerners (black and white) were pushed off the farm. This enclosure movement, as Daniel terms it, exported southern rural values to the towns and cities where former sharecroppers now took factory jobs. Chafing under the demands of routine, discipline, and middle-class proprieties, these working-class southerners pursued leisure activities that permitted frequent escape from their work lives, and from the social control of the middle class and elites. NASCAR races and rock 'n' roll music were two of the products of this generation's transition from rural sharecropper to urban proletariat.

This cultural ferment, with its overt rejection of middle-class values, had a dynamic energy that might have been harnessed on behalf of positive social change. However, in the absence of constructive political leadership, this potentially powerful cultural impulse was instead captured by capitalist opportunists. Stock car racing and rock 'n' roll music alike were diverted into tame—but hugely profitable—businesses. Politics was left to the vocal and organized racial conservatives.

One of the most important themes of the work is the catastrophic consequences of the shortcomings of southern liberalism. The book stands as a powerful indictment of southern white leadership in the post-World War II era. No one stepped forward to harness all the energy, creativity, and ferment of the age, thereby allowing the segregationists to seize the day. Whether at the local, state, or national level, white liberals were too cautious, too timid, too passive, too accommodating. Black leaders emerged as the most significant opponents of segregationists. But without the public, insistent, and uncompromising support of white liberals, the Civil Rights movement was weakened and change came far more slowly and painfully than it should have. The story ends with the 1964 Democratic National Convention's refusal to seat the delegates of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Once again

the failure of white liberals (this time personified by LBJ) to support the effort meant that an important moment was lost. The opportunity to foster a widespread grass roots revolution passed, and the Civil Rights movement began to reject any further white participation.

Much of the story told here is familiar; the Civil Rights movement in particular has received considerable coverage. But Daniel can tell a good story, and the recounting of events such as the integration of Little Rock's Central High School comes across as fresh and still moving. Moreover, his integration of less familiar facets of the period adds depth to that which is already well known.

Engagingly written and heavily illustrated, this book will appeal to a large audience, both inside and outside of the academy. Undergraduates will find it accessible, with enough references to popular culture to keep their attention. Specialists in various areas will undoubtedly find faults (I personally would have liked to see an interpretative framework for women's conservative activism, which is under-analyzed in comparison to the women of the liberal ranks), but the book nevertheless is a richly rewarding read.

Florida State University

ELNA C. GREEN

American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War. By David Kaiser. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. 566 pp. Introduction, abbreviations, notes, acknowledgments, illustrations, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

A quarter century after the fall of Saigon, the Vietnam War continues to evoke the interest of academics as well as the general public. Perhaps the most basic and over-riding question concerns the war's origins: how and why did the United States get involved in such a disastrous undertaking? Over the years, dozens of historians, journalists and participants have produced a rich harvest of accounts attempting to answer this question. George C. Herring, Larry Berman, Frederick Lovegall, George Kahin, John Lewis, David Halberstam, Robert Buzzanco, Richard H. Schultz, Marilyn Young, Lloyd Gardner and many others have provided particularly valuable studies of the roots on American involvement.

The latest contribution to this literature comes from David Kaiser of the Strategy and Policy Department at the Naval War

College. Relying on recently declassified files, Kaiser has produced a well-written and thoughtful book whose conclusions will be debated for some time. Beginning with President Eisenhower's approval of policies recommended by the State and Defense Departments in 1954-1956, the author covers the critical Kennedy years and ends in mid-1965, by which time Lyndon Johnson was publicly committed to intervention. In telling this story he reinterprets the United States' involvement in the conflict and challenges certain widely held assumptions about the roles of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

Kaiser argues that the long-term causes of American involvement go back to the middle years of the Eisenhower administration. "The Vietnam War occurred largely because of Cold War policies adopted by the State and Defense Departments in 1954-1956 and approved secretly by President Eisenhower" he asserts. These policies called for a military response to communist aggression in Southeast Asia. Kaiser makes a convincing case that this military response would include the use of atomic weapons. He cites a revealing National Security Council meeting where Admiral Arthur Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, argued that American tactical nuclear weapons would be decisive in a Southeast Asian land war. Such new archival information, as interpreted by the author, undermines a widely held notion of a relatively restrained Eisenhower foreign policy.

A different picture also emerges of John Kennedy's role in the deepening American involvement. According to Kaiser, Kennedy was a flexible and skeptical president who did not have much faith in the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In his first year in office, the new president withstood strong pressure from advisors to escalate the war and send in American ground troops. Doubting the possibility of maintaining public support for an American war in Vietnam, he prevented the conflict from starting three or four years earlier than it did. Nevertheless, Kaiser's attempt to minimize the Kennedy administration's responsibility for the war is not entirely convincing. He underplays Kennedy's responsibility for the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem as well as his role in the escalation of the conflict, especially the increase in American military advisors to over sixteen thousand by the end of his administration.

The last part of the book covers the eighteen months during which Lyndon Johnson brought the United States fully into the

conflict. At first, Johnson recognized that both Congress and the country were far from ready to intervene. In May of 1964, according to Kaiser, Senator George Smathers of Florida told the president that "all the Southern Democrats opposed a war in Southeast Asia." However, Johnson and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara were able to trick the Senate into voting for the Tonkin Gulf resolution authorizing the widening of the war. Kaiser maintains that Democrats like Smathers supported the resolution in order to ensure Johnson's victory in the November election over Barry Goldwater who was considered dangerously extreme in foreign affairs. Having secured a landslide victory over Goldwater, Johnson commenced serious planning for war. Kaiser's account reflects recent scholarship in emphasizing the "working group" created by the National Security Council in early November to examine courses of action in Southeast Asia. The formation of this group, chaired by William Bundy, became "the crucial step in the country's entry into a new war." By the end of the year, Johnson had approved the group's recommendations in principle and implemented them in March 1965 with the dispatch of ground troops to Vietnam. In analyzing these developments, Kaiser portrays Johnson as basically following through on Eisenhower's commitment to maintain a non-Communist South Vietnam by any means necessary.

As with most previous books on the war's origins, Kaiser's *American Tragedy* emphasizes American decision-making. This approach tends to neglect the important policy decisions of the South Vietnamese and the North Vietnamese. Likewise, the focus on Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson neglects significant developments in the Truman administration (Harry Truman is not mentioned once in 566 pages). The Korean War, the Truman Doctrine and the National Security Council paper known as NSC-68 receive little attention but they remain crucial for an understanding of the origins of the war. Kaiser has nevertheless produced a fascinating and provocative account of what he calls "the greatest policy miscalculation in the history of American foreign relations." Based on fresh archival material, written with clarity and insight, the book confirms what many concluded at the end of the conflict: it was the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy.

Stetson University

KEVIN J. O'KEEFE

Don't Breathe the Air: Air Pollution and U.S. Environmental Politics, 1945-1970. By Scott Hamilton Dewey. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000. 321 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Scott Dewey has produced a valuable study on a subject that has received far too little attention from historians. Based on a dissertation completed at Rice University, *Don't Breathe the Air* is Number 16 in Texas A&M University Press's Environmental History Series.

It is Dewey's contention that air pollution became one of the "main rallying issues" of the environmental movement during the late 1960s, and with water pollution it "largely defined the environmental movement at this crucial time" (3). He also argues that air pollution gained serious public concern and was "perhaps even the single leading issue" propelling federal environmental policy in the period (5). These claims are somewhat overstated, but the book makes a compelling case for the degree to which public protests played a significant role in the anti-pollution debates, and how air pollution helped to define the manner in which federal policy evolved to confront a variety of pollution issues. Dewey's research reconfirms the transition from conservationism to environmentalism in the 1960s, a transition that drew attention to quality of life issues and away from the wise use of natural resources.

As good historians are prone to do, Dewey suggests that the air pollution issue did not originate in the 1960s, but was linked to events before World War II. Chapter 2, although largely derivative, effectively examines the great stinking fogs and killer fogs in England generated by coal smoke, the industrial and residential uses of coal in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, and a variety of issues from smelter pollution to the production of tetraethyl lead (a volatile gasoline additive). He concludes that little progress was made prior to the 1960s in controlling atmospheric contamination. However, he is quick to point out that before World War II: (1) air pollution periodically arose as a public issue; (2) concern over air pollution was not restricted to aesthetics, but to health concerns as well; (3) auto emissions as well as industrial pollutants emerged as serious pollutants; and (4) some technologies were already available to control air pollution. As he perceptively notes, political will, more than technology, was missing from

efforts at air-pollution control before the 1970s. The fundamental theme in the history of air pollution control and general environmental policy, he argues, has been “that of political will for pollution abatement repeatedly faltering in the face of economic considerations and crises, since traditional economic doctrine marginalized many environmental considerations as mere ‘externalities’” (11).

The heart of the book focuses on three case studies in an attempt to demonstrate the range of air pollution issues prior to the 1970s, the various levels of public participation in control or abatement efforts, and the level of success achieved in combating air pollution. The first, most predictably, deals with auto emissions in Los Angeles and California, where modern air pollution control originated. Although the three chapters on Los Angeles rely too heavily on newspaper accounts and secondary literature, Dewey discusses this only genuine “success story” among the three cases. While air pollution control measures did not eliminate the smog problem, it likely kept it from getting worse and helped to establish the world’s first air pollution alert system. Battle lines were quickly drawn between Los Angeles and Detroit, where emissions control was a practice to be ignored, or later, to be obfuscated. Compromise ultimately arose around technical adjustments to the internal combustion engine, rather than through market-based approaches or punitive emissions standards. Dewey argues that public protest was important in raising air pollution as a political issue in the early 1950s and into the 1960s, when the first substantive legislation appeared.

The second case, New York City, also relies much too heavily on newspaper accounts, but makes the strong point that the experience of the Big Apple in dealing with air pollution is more typical of the national pattern than Los Angeles. Dewey concludes that New York’s efforts to deal with a variety of air pollution issues—from incinerator smoke to emissions from New Jersey factories—were unsuccessful. Despite public crusades against polluters, such as energy utility Consolidated Edison, enforcement of emissions standards made little headway. Programs of education and voluntarism failed time and again. The inability to translate public consternation into action was chronic. For example, the negotiation of an interstate compact with New Jersey to mutually reduce air pollution lacked effective enforcement mechanisms.

The third case, and one that should be of interest to readers in Florida, deals with phosphate production in rural central Florida. Dewey points out that air pollution is not an exclusively urban problem. In this case local officials were not inclined to curb emissions from an important regional industry, and thus lose its significant economic impact. This is a central issue that goes beyond rural Florida to the heart of air pollution control everywhere in laying bare economic versus environmental choices. Again, Dewey gives substantial attention to public protests, but these essentially fell on deaf ears for at least twenty years. In what was regarded as an intrastate issue by many, the federal role was largely nonexistent.

The story Dewey outlines in this useful book leave little room for optimism about air pollution control. However, since the study effectively ends with 1970, we get only a few glimmers about the eventual impact of the Clean Air acts to come after that year. In this sense the chronology offers but a truncated assessment of this important anti-pollution issue. Nonetheless, the book gives serious and necessary attention to a major environmental issue. It offers graphic case studies. And it asserts the vital role of grassroots protest, too often forgotten in more traditional regulatory histories. The book is well worth reading.

University of Houston

MARTIN V. MELOSI

Southern Aberrations: Writers of the American South and the Problems of Regionalism. By Richard Gray. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000. xiv, 535 pp. Preface, index. \$75.00 cloth, \$34.95 paper.)

Defining a culture in geographical terms is always a sticky matter. This is especially true for the American South. What it means to be "southern" is a question that has vexed students of the region as long as there has been an idea of the South. Historians, sociologists, literary critics, and others have sought the answer in various places, but no hypothesis, from climate to violence to an affinity for grits and sweetened iced tea, has proved to be a satisfactory definition of southern identity. This being said, most southern scholars have some shorthand in mind when they talk about the region, especially in the realm of southern literature. In *Southern Aberrations*, Richard Gray forces us to reevaluate our assump-

tions about both southern literature and the region as a whole by examining writers who, while recognized as southern, have largely been relegated to the fringes of southern literary studies.

Gray's purpose in dealing with these writers is to examine southern literary construction as an aberration from so-called national norms, while exploring the implications of omitting some forms of southern writing from the regional center. To do this he reviews various southern writers over the last two centuries, from Edgar Allan Poe to Erskine Caldwell to Dorothy Allison. While he devotes chapter-length studies to Poe and Ellen Glasgow, both of whom, he argues, had conflicted relationships with the region, Gray evaluates other authors in terms of genre. His chapter on the Nashville Agrarians offers important insights into the construction of the southern literary canon, while chapters on twentieth-century depictions of poor folk and Appalachia make us rethink the concept of a definitive "southern" type of writing. Students of the South, especially those who find it difficult to keep up with current fiction, will also find his two chapters on southern writers of the 1980s and 1990s especially useful in understanding the intellectual currents of the modern South. Examining literature over such a broad chronology allows Gray to conclude that southern aberrance is largely a product of "Southern self-fashioning," a process of discourse between regional and national cultures. While certain fascinations with the past or death or the macabre may distinguish southern literary forms, there is no definitive characteristic that makes southern literature different. Instead, it is how southern literature has been perceived that has made it distinctly southern.

Gray's work should be of importance to people interested in Florida's history and culture. Some of the authors Gray examines in this work have ties to Florida, a state that has often been characterized as aberrant from both national and regional norms. The works of Zora Neale Hurston, Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, and Harry Crews all receive expert attention from Gray. In addition, Gray's discussion of how regionalism is defined may help students of Florida understand the role of the state's culture in regional and national contexts.

While Gray's work is more than literary criticism, literary analysis lay at the heart of the work. Readers unfamiliar with literary criticism may find the book difficult in spots. In addition, some of the literature the book deals with borders on the esoteric and may

be unfamiliar. However, Gray sets up beautifully each of the works he describes and elegantly leads his explications of the texts back to his main argument. Gray's writing is graceful and, for the most part, jargon-free. His handling of the works will make most readers long for the time to read or reread the literature he discusses. This book deserves a wide reading from all people interested in the cultural life of the South.

College of William and Mary

EVAN P. BENNETT

Romancing the Folk: Public Memory & American Roots Music. By Benjamin Filene. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xi, 325 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, discography, permissions, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Anyone who has contemplated why bluegrass and the blues are played on most public radio stations, while country and soul music are played far less often, will find this book exciting reading. Benjamin Filene's superb volume analyzes *who* decided which music represents America's folk roots, *why* they made those decisions, and *how* they transcribed, recorded, celebrated, and often changed that music.

Filene has an impressive historical scope that encompasses how different collectors, songwriters, music fans, and scholars dealt with the concepts of folk and roots music from the late 1800s through the work of Bob Dylan. An admirable blend of clarity and complexity, the book should work in classes in American Studies, folklore, music, and regionalism.

The author analyzes major figures, all of whom loved music that seemed to represent some admirable something outside the constant change and, most thought, cheapness of commercial music. Ballad collectors such as Cecil Sharp tried in the early twentieth century to write down the "true" British songs that survived in the hills and valleys of Appalachia. John Lomax and his son Alan made an important next step by recording the music they found all over rural America and by "discovering" impressive musicians like Lead Belly, the Louisiana convict who became a 1930s sensation. Filene shows how the Lomaxes and other middlemen cast Lead Belly "as both archetypal ancestor and demon" (63), twin roles that played to audiences wanting both a natural man of the folk and an

exotic and even dangerous outsider. Even more surprising is the author's analysis of Willie Dixon, a blues musician, songwriter, and a kind of insider middleman who helped shape the early career of Muddy Waters. In the late 1940s, Dixon wrote and Waters sang "I Feel Like Going Home" to a market of African Americans who had recently arrived in Chicago and wanted something that spoke to their own roots and frustrations. But a few years later, Waters had his greatest popularity with Dixon's songs that over-did the themes of sexuality and voodoo. Those songs appealed both to more settled African American urbanites and to a growing audience of white teenagers intrigued by what they saw as exoticism and authenticity.

Along the way, Filene notes the importance of institutions that tried to define and celebrate roots music. The Library of Congress established its Archive of Folk-Song in 1928 to encourage field recordings. The New Deal's Federal Writers Project expanded earlier definitions of folk music beyond African American spirituals and Appalachian ballads to include other musical traditions. In 1946, Leonard Chess started Aristocrat Records, which turned out numerous records in which artists negotiated the meanings of roots, authentic, and popular. In 1949, Indiana University started the nation's first Ph.D. program in Folklore, a program later energized by the work of Richard Dorson. The folk revival of the late 1950s thrived on festivals such as the Newport Folk Festival, and its energies helped inspire the Smithsonian Institution's first Festival of American Folklife in 1968. In various ways, American cultural leaders hoped to celebrate past strengths without explicitly criticizing the present.

The book is most successful in analyzing what a variety of music lovers loved about music they defined as "folk" or "roots." He is less successful in analyzing songs themselves; extended descriptions of songs by Muddy Waters and Bob Dylan do not have the power of the rest of the book. And the final section on Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan, lacking the many-sided complexity that characterizes most of *Romancing the Folk*, comes close to an old celebratory idea that understanding the past is important because it has produced things we like in the present.

This important volume explains the dual meanings of "romancing the folk." Music middlemen romanticized a folk past as being too pure, too isolated, sometimes too self-reliant or too wild, to be true anywhere outside music. But Filene also shows that in "romancing" musicians, those middlemen were courting them to

find something not present in their own lives. The fact that this issue lives on in decisions people make about festivals, music purchases, and government spending for the arts makes this an essential book.

University of Mississippi

TED OWNBY

Redefining Southern Culture: Mind and Identity in the Modern South. By James C. Cobb. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. x, 251 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes. \$40.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

This collection offers eight examples of historian James C. Cobb's impressive contribution to the Southern Studies revolution of recent times. Cobb covers a variety of times and topics. He addresses the impact of the Civil War and the Second World War on southern society. He explores the Southern Renaissance's significance and Wilbur Cash's influence. He surveys the place of country music and the blues in shaping the region's complex and influential relationship with America as a whole. He offers his thoughts on how black and white southerners in our own time incorporate "southern-ness" into their senses of self and community. An eclectic collection, its thematic coherence derives from Cobb's career-long struggle to understand "the impact of what is commonly referred to as 'modernization' on the American South" (1) and to move the study of that relationship "out of the shadow of the North's experience" (4).

The collection illustrates the value of Cobb's insistence on understanding "the South" as more than a set of fixed categories and identities but rather as a series of evolving processes in which complex and inter-related interests and identities are ceaselessly at play. At their best, these essays challenge and fruitfully re-direct long-running lines of inquiry. Often, a particular focus provides the basis for larger arguments. "Beyond Planters and Industrialists: A New Perspective on the New South," explores the relative influence of persisting planters and emerging industrialists after the Civil War and concludes that, constrained by wider economic circumstances, neither had the freedom of action their historians often assume. The article also makes Cobb's larger point that even fruitful debates can succumb to levels of insularity and self-absorption that historical circumstance seldom allowed to their

subjects. Not all greatest hits are created equal. Cobb's forays into cultural analysis are thought-provoking, but sometimes disappointing. "From Muskogee to Luckenbach: Country Music and the 'Southernization' of America," for example, further reifies the stale and conventional categories ("country," "southern," and so on) that he elsewhere seeks to reinvigorate. The road from Muskogee to Luckenbach cannot bear the weight of the "Southernization of America" juggernaut that Cobb tries to drive along it. Yet even when unconvincing in their particulars, these essays reinforce Cobb's broader arguments. The South emerges from these pages as a place of cultural diversity and demographic fluidity, at once less regionally distinctive and more nationally influential than many Southernists would once have allowed.

It speaks to the thoroughness of the demolition job done by Cobb and others on untenable interpretations of the South that many of Cobb's arguments now seem unexceptionable. Indeed, the amorphous rather than narrow nature of this collection's central terms now offers the severest challenge to the Southernist. How helpful to the historian is a "modern" able to accommodate slaveless planters and Patty Loveless? Is the study of "the South" (so varied within and influential beyond its geographical borders) now any more tenable than the study of, say, "the North"? How much attention is owed to a contemporary popular sense of southern "identity" that seldom transcends the bumper-sticker banality of "Modern By Birth, Southern For the Sake of Being a Bit Different"?

Cobb at times touches on the question of whether redefinition has led to redundancy, of whether "Southern's" relation to "modern" has become merely decorative rather than dialectical. In his concluding essay, "Modernization and the Mind of the South," Cobb points to a future for "the South" and for the growing academic industry that depends upon its continued existence. He calls for cosmopolitanism over provincialism and for a focus on the universal over the unique in considerations of the region's significance. Yet, as the concluding essay's title illustrates, one irony of this particular contribution to southern historiography is that Cobb's determination to offer new understandings of the South is matched only by his commitment to the very terms whose limitations the preceding seven essays do so much to illuminate. Perhaps it is time to stop asking how new meaning can be given to tired terms and to recognize that the terms themselves present a barrier to achieving the more expansive accountings of the region's past

that Cobb rightly champions. Even in modern times, recycling is not always the answer.

Carleton University

JAMES MILLER

A Requiem for the American Village. By Paul K. Conkin, (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000. Foreword by Ted V. McAllister. xvi, 207 pp. \$30.00 cloth.)

A Requiem for the American Village is a collection drawn from Paul Conkin's addresses and lectures and published in 2000, on the eve of his retirement. As reflective essays, meant to be spoken, rather than formal or technical history, they are held together not by a subject but by recurrent themes important to Conkin in his experience of the different American worlds he has inhabited and thought about. Readers and audiences familiar with Conkin's work will know that more than most scholars, he is prepared to embrace, not as inherently superior but as having its own claims to assert, a now receding American rural and small-town life of his youth: the village for which the collection will chant a requiem. Conkin himself, by his own presentation a solitary intellectual, is ambivalent in his evaluation of his native east Tennessee. But it serves him, among other things, as a ballast against the academia whose best values are often compromised by a slickly sophisticated cosmopolitanism. Thus, his careful recounting of the details of the Scopes trial, arguing that almost everyone from the opening of the trial to the present has gotten confused on the issues, dismisses the condescension of the intellectuals toward the culture of Dayton. He prefers the tragic awareness of the modernist skeptic Walter Lippmann of what was irreplaceable in the fading old beliefs. Since I much recommend a reading of the collection as a whole, I want to confine myself here to a few main interlaced cultural interests central to its author.

Distinguishing between two forms of freedom that have sought realization in American institutions, Conkin defines the earlier search as in quest of a liberty that is essentially independence, freedom of the individual from any subjection to other human beings, and a whole line of critics dating at least back to Locke found this liberty to rest on the acquisition of property in soil or other resources. Property of this sort is not, as defenders of the capitalist market would claim, a right to exclude. Though that is a necessary secondary effect of property, its primary object is quite

opposite: well arranged, it gives the individual access to a nature created for the general use of the human race. The parceling out of nature through property is justifiable only because natural resources are useless for anyone unless some method of their individual working and enjoyment is provided. The resulting independence, which early European Americans thought of as a natural right for it looks back to a condition anterior to artificial systems of dependence and subordination, was the original promise of the American states: the possibility that a whole population might be made up of property owners free of employment.

The other kind of liberty Conkin associates with the expressive freedoms by his definition, essentially the liberties identified with the First Amendment. These are not natural rights. They are given, limited, or withheld at the convenience of society, which must protect itself from irresponsible speech even as it may also gain from the variousness and vigor of speech it permits. And as growth of social institutions and the monopolization of land shrinks the liberty that comes of small property holding, the expressive freedoms have become for Americans their central concern in matters of rights and liberties.

These commentaries show Conkin at one of the things he does best: getting exact definitions, in this case cutting away the scrubby undergrowth of meanings that thrives around words like "freedom" and "rights." And in proportion as he demands precision, he raises for the reader questions hidden in vocabularies that do not so clearly mark off the edges of things.

There is no human nature, Conkin insists in another of his founding arguments; in the discovery of words and self-consciousness, the human race has gained the capacity to make and remake itself, its thoughts, its material world, but lost any simple Edenic oneness with itself that might have constituted its nature. A quick assumption would be that humanity most thrives insofar as it enjoys the expressive freedoms prized by modern libertarians. But words bring not only the ability to speak and argue but all the exact arts, both technical and imaginative. And the technical arts—Conkin does not say so, but the conclusion is insistent—are well applied in the cultivation of property. Does that bring us contradictorily full circle back to nature, the Adamic condition from which humankind has expelled itself? Not exactly, for the nature made accessible through property is not an indefinable human nature but the more concrete, limited, providential

nature of soil and rocks and water. Still, the intrusion of the word *nature* into the discussion requires all the more cautious a listening to what the term, in each instance, is saying. In still further complication, the command that the arts possess over nature's land and ores elaborates the modern technologies that have crowded out from nature any chance of widespread individual or familial property holding. Conkin includes entrepreneurship among the expressive freedoms. That activity he does not define with his usual meticulousness, but the projects associated with entrepreneurship by its common understanding may include in any combination landed property, technical skills, managers and employees, and the words of persuasion.

All this amounts to one reading that might connect up diverse reflections within this elegant collection of addresses. Read Conkin on liberty and property. Or read him on history as memory. Or learn from him how local diversity worked to allow diversity of religious practice in early British American settlements; or how the welfare state came about; or on the burden of the southern experience, this last from the peculiar vantage point of a Tennessean whose section of the state was for the most part loyal to the Union during the Civil War and to the Republican Party thereafter. Throughout the book, Conkin converses with his public, not only because he is a good and therefore conversational writer but because his essays began as talks of one kind or another. It is gratifying reading or listening.

Catholic University

THOMAS R. WEST

Encyclopedia of Local History. Edited by Carol Kammen and Norma Prendergast. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2000. xvi, 539 pp. A note about this book, how to use this book, acknowledgments, appendices, about the contributors. \$79.95 cloth.)

Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You. 2d edition. By David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2000. xvi, 284 pp. Preface to the second edition, acknowledgments, appendices, index, about the authors. \$24.95 paper, \$65.00 cloth.)

Since the emergence of professional history in the late 1800s, the pursuit of local history has been a prickly undertaking. Stu-

dents of a particular place have had to balance their studies between a popular history approach (that emphasizes details often at the expense of analysis) and an academic approach (that emphasizes analysis often at the expense of details). Local historians who appreciate the trivia that make a worthwhile story are occasionally dismayed when their manuscripts are rejected by academic presses or journals that seek comparative or analytical interpretations. Throughout the twentieth century, the American Association for State and Local History (originally the Conference for State and Local Historical Societies) has provided a common ground for these two camps, offering “a place to share models of programs that work, and develop solutions for persistent challenges” (Kammen and Prendergast, 14). With this goal in mind, the AASLH offers two new publications: the *Encyclopedia of Local History* and *Nearby History*.

The *Encyclopedia of Local History* is the latest in the AASLH's efforts to maintain a common ground. “One of our goals is to encourage local researchers to think about the context of local events and institutions,” the editors explain, “to move beyond records in a locality in order to understand an event or institution in a broader regional or national context” (ix). Despite their humble claims to the contrary, the editors have done a masterful job of filling the *Encyclopedia* with useful information that will enable local historians of all persuasions to improve their histories. Those who lean more toward a popular approach will find very helpful discussions of the historiographical trends in academic fields like African American history, agricultural history, Asian American history, Chicano history, community studies, environmental history, ethnohistory and local history, family history, labor history and the history of communities, political history, social history, urban history, Western history and local history, women's history, and history of work. All of these entries outline the themes that have driven academic interpretations throughout the twentieth century. Entries for several comparable fields—American Indian history, history of education, gay history, history of religion—are more disappointing, concentrating more on describing what is studied rather than how it is studied.

Those who lean more toward a scholarly approach will benefit from entries on archaeology, architecture and the local historian, archives and local history, boosterism, county historians, county histories, court records, folklore and folklife, genealogy (three dif-

ferent entries), historic preservation, local government records, local history in the U.S., public history, and others that will provide new ways to consider local research and interpretation. There are as well interesting depictions of local history in Canada, China, England, France, Germany, New Zealand, Nigeria, and Scotland that will appeal to academic and popular historians alike.

Additionally, there are entries that every scholar and lay historian should read: copyright, ethics and local history, Freedom of Information Act, historical proof, intellectual property rights, nostalgia. The authors of these entries provided concise and clear ideas about the limitations, both legal and ethical, of historical research and writing.

It is obvious that the editors of the *Encyclopedia* attended specifically to incorporating the world wide web into the volume. In addition to books and articles used in preparing entries, authors listed websites pertinent to the topic. This attention to facilitating further research into the topics carried over into the four appendices. The first two list ethnic groups and religious groups that historians often cross in their research. Rather than lengthy discussions of the identities of these groups, the editors provided extensive references to websites and literature that will provide context for researchers. The final two appendices are rosters of state historical organizations and National Archives and Records Administration facilities.

This book is a tremendous resource for public historians, genealogists, academic historians, and students. There are only two complaints to be had with the volume. First, there is a quirky unevenness to some of the entries—for example, Adventists, ague, ephemera, historiography, mullato, pietist, vernacular, and village. They are often one or two sentences maximum with little direction for further investigation. While they are certainly appropriate to the *Encyclopedia*, one wonders why they were not given the same attention as other, seemingly less significant topics that received significantly more column space—like household, hypotherapy, monuments, and ghost towns (which had two separate entries!).

The second complaint is the price of the book. Of course, the press does need to make a profit, and the quality of the book is worthy of the cost. However, at nearly \$80, the *Encyclopedia* will seldom be used where it would be most effective: in undergraduate or graduate historical methods classes or in local and state histori-

cal society workshops. As a reference book, it is highly recommended; as a educational tool, its usefulness is limited.

In contrast, *Nearby History* is ideal for both reference and educational use. As with the *Encyclopedia*, the AASLH has a hand in *Nearby History* and the authors' attention to the relationship of local history to scholarly historiography is evident throughout the text. Always, the tri-fold purpose of study is emphasized: "description of the past, measurement of change over time, and analysis of cause and consequence" (17). And the final chapter, "Linking the Particular to the Universal," should be required reading for anyone interested in social history and community studies.

But it is the how-to character of the previous eleven chapters that makes this book worthwhile. Covering topics as varied as published and unpublished manuscripts, oral history, material culture, and architecture and land use, the authors address the "traces" of history—those pieces of evidence that inspire historical research. This is very much a text on how to decipher and analyze such traces: it offers techniques for managing photographic and textual archives; it recommends ways in which to conduct oral interviews; it introduces the philosophy and methods of historic preservation; it suggests how storytelling can be employed in developing research strategies; and it even provides guidelines for determining which modern records are worth saving. The book's appendices are packed with sample forms and agreements used in acquiring and managing research information. An addition to this edition is a fourth appendix which provides some internet sites that are useful to local historians.

The *Encyclopedia of Local History* and *Nearby History* are two excellent books. Although much smaller and limited than the *Encyclopedia*, *Nearby History* will prove to be the more useful text. It covers much of the same material but with attention to readers' practical research needs.

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