

2001

Book Reviews

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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (2001) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 80: No. 2, Article 7.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol80/iss2/7>

Book Reviews

200 Quick Looks at Florida History. By James C. Clark. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, Inc. 205 pp. Acknowledgments, index, b&w photos. \$12.95 paper.)

James C. Clark wrote hundreds of articles about Florida history that were published in both the *Sun Sentinel* and the *Orlando Sentinel* over a ten-year period. *200 Quick Looks at Florida History* is a collection of many of these brief but informative articles written in a succinct and entertaining style. The articles are about well-known aspects of Florida history such as the founding of St. Augustine by the Spanish and the 1920s land boom. Also included are lesser known stories from the state's past such as Major Jeremiah Dashiell's unfortunate tendency to lose military payroll in the mid-1800s, and the revelation that Walt Disney's parents married in Daytona Beach and operated the Halifax Hotel before moving to Chicago.

The articles are grouped into various categories based on the subjects they explore. "The First Floridians," "Early Florida," and "The Civil War" address particular periods in Florida history. Other categories such as "African-Americans in Florida," "Crime and Criminals," and "Politics and Politicians" do not focus on a specific period and offer insights about individual events, issues, and people from the state's past. The last section of articles, called "Footnotes to Florida History," has the greatest breadth, covering subjects as diverse as the writing of Florida's state song, vacationing in Kissimmee, in the 1880s, and the breaking of baseball's color barrier in Florida.

Newspaper readers throughout central and south Florida have enjoyed Clark's articles about the state's history for over a decade. More than just a list of dates and facts, Clark's well-written vi-

gnettes often offer information in a style that transports the reader to a specific event as it is unfolding. Clark also presents amusing stories excluded from traditional history books such as the origin of the word "barbecue" (the Timucuan word *barbacoa*, used to describe the torture of Spanish soldier Juan Ortiz by placing him on a grill) and the controversial discovery, in 1896, of a five-ton octopus on the beach near St. Augustine (some argue the dead animal was actually a whale or a squid). Many fans of Clark's writing will be gratified to see this compilation of his work.

As the title of the book states, it contains two hundred vignettes but is not intended to be a complete survey of the state's past. The articles are best read in this context. Since the book is a collection of separate articles, it is well suited as coffee table and night stand literature. Also included are well-chosen black-and-white illustrations that augment the text. Because the articles are not presented in a chronological or sequential order, the reader can open the book at any point and enjoy a brief story or two in a short sitting. In fact, read continuously from beginning to end, the book becomes repetitious in places. For example, in the section on "Early Florida," we are told four times over six pages (in separate articles) that Pedro Menendez was the first to settle St. Augustine.

While this book contains much valuable information, a few additions to the text would have made it much more useful for scholars and students of Florida history. Footnotes or endnotes citing the sources of Clark's information would have been helpful, even though they were not required for the original newspaper articles. An introduction and conclusion offering some cohesion to the text would also have added to the collection. As it is, the book ends abruptly with an article about the early days of football at Florida State University. Ironically, what can be viewed as this book's most significant flaw is also its greatest strength: it leaves the reader wanting to know even more about the history of Florida.

BENJAMIN D. BROTEMARKLE

Brevard Community College

Spanish Colonial Gold Coins in the Florida Collection. By Alan K. Craig. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xiv, 94 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, foreword, preface, notes, appendices, glossary, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

The State of Florida's collection of Spanish colonial gold coins is recognized as the most complete and comprehensive holding of

its kind. The coins from Florida shipwrecks, in theory one-quarter of those recovered by commercial salvors from the 1960s until the present, were analyzed and described by Alan Craig in *Gold Coins of the 1715 Spanish Plate Fleet* (published in 1988 but now out of print). This is an updated version of that work, with more than one hundred new coins, additional data and illustrations, and minor corrections. Together with its companion volume, *Spanish Colonial Silver Coins in the Florida Collection* by the same author, the study presented current numismatic standards for categorization, analysis, and publication of coins. Both volumes also are intended to bring alive the importance and fascination of the Florida Collection to the nonspecialist.

Florida's coin collection began forty years ago as a result of commercial salvaging of Spanish shipwrecks along the peninsula's east coast and southern keys. Merchant convoys returning to Spain from the Americas risked shoals and storms in the Straits of Florida, and on two occasions—in 1715 and 1733—hurricanes drove major fleets ashore. The sunken flotillas were rediscovered in the twentieth century by fishermen, scuba divers, and treasure hunters who found remnants of the ships and their cargoes on shallow reefs and under shifting sands. Shipwreck sites of the 1715 fleet, in particular, contained portions of their original consignments in specie and bullion, prompting a modern gold rush. To preserve a portion of the finds in public custody, the State of Florida assumed administration of modern salvage activities by granting leases and contracts to private firms and retaining 25 percent of their recoveries.

The state's accumulation of salvaged materials thus includes more than fifteen hundred gold coins, which have been studied by Craig, Professor Emeritus of Geography at Florida Atlantic University, and are described in this handsomely produced book. The doubloon collection consists of coins in four denominations (1, 2, 4, and 8 *escudos*) from four colonial American mints (Lima, Cuzco, Mexico, and Bogotá). A chapter is devoted to the production of coins from each of these mints with examples from the collection, tables of denominations, assayers, and weights, and illustrated details of die makers' marks. In the center of the book are sixteen vivid color plates of selected coins from each mint. Some are reproduced at 150, 200, and 400 percent to highlight details and characteristics of the engravers' art. An illustrated appendix on the typology of Mexican die varieties, based on the work of Frances

Keith, reflects not only the changing political climate of colonial times but the idiosyncrasies of Mexican engravers. A second appendix provides an inventory of illustrated coins, sorted by coin and plate number. In addition to a brief section of notes, there is small glossary of numismatic terms.

Craig points out that in contrast to others the Florida collection is neither a true hoard nor a true collection, but rather a representative accumulation of Latin American doubloons offering a varied and numismatically important insight into colonial minting methods. His study of the largest single collection of publicly owned Spanish gold coins demystifies the lure of sunken treasure, even as it conveys the unique role that these salvaged coins had in the history of minting and transport of human wealth.

ROGER C. SMITH

Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research

Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal. By James Taylor Carson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999. xiv, 185 pp. List of illustrations, series editors' introduction, acknowledgments, introduction, list of abbreviations for document collections, notes, index. \$40.00 cloth.)

In *Searching for the Bright Path*, James Taylor Carson has transformed his doctoral dissertation into a thought provoking study of the Choctaws from the Mississippian era to the removal period. Deviating from the old declension interpretation which has long cast a pall over Native American historical analysis, Carson argues that "certain basic features" of Choctaw culture "persisted" in spite of an "enormous range of changes in the ways they governed themselves, fed themselves and thought of themselves and their place in the world." Using the Choctaws as his laboratory, Carson borrows the theoretical constructs of several social scientists to build his case. His introduction, in fact, follows the analysis of British sociologist Anthony Giddens. Giddens is an apt authority, for he places the individual in a crucial role, maintaining that the consequences of individuals' behaviors shape social and cultural change. Scholars in Native American history will find his introductory chapter helpful in determining the analytical framework of his study.

The book is tightly argued, based on a close reading of the primary and secondary sources for Choctaw history as well as appropriate theoretical studies. In the first chapter, Carson sketches the Mississippian foundations of Choctaw culture from 950 to 1700 CE, but this is not the usual ho-hum introduction to Southeastern Indian history. Instead, the author is laying out the baseline to measure the long duration, as the *Annales* historians would call it, to determine whether or not certain "basic cultural structures persisted over the centuries and survived in Choctaw culture." In subsequent chapters, he outlines the evolution of Choctaw society after European contact. He presents a convincing argument against the pervasive "dependency theory," pointing out that not all European goods inculcated dependency and that the relationship between Choctaws, animal and plant worlds, town and countryside changed very little. He even challenges the popular "alcohol abuse" theory, pointing out that the rum problem was tied to a particular generation with specific and concrete causes.

Carson continues his analysis, looking at the market revolution occurring during the early nineteenth century when the Choctaws replaced the deerskin trade with livestock and cotton production, thereby entering the American market economy. Here he notes both persistence and change in the culture: for example, the persistence of gender specific tasks in the midst of an economic system based on sale, profit, and surplus production. In the final chapters, he traces the last years of the Choctaws' tenure in the southeast. He makes a strong case for abandoning the old analysis of conflict between progressive "mixed bloods" versus reactionary "full blood" leaders, stating plainly what many historians of Southeastern Indians have come to believe—that notions of blood and ancestry determining political, social, and economic behaviors are anachronistic and untenable. Those who have studied Creeks, Cherokees, and others can join him in identifying biracial men who supported traditionalist policies or who opposed them. Carson argues for a theory that posits a contest of ideologies between those who were inspired by post-Mississippian patterns of trade, government, religion, and ethnicity, which he calls a "primordialist ideology," and those who adopted Anglo-American behavior and actions.

He breaks new ground in Choctaw studies when he devotes a chapter to the influence of religion on events in the period immediately prior to the Removal. He shows how they "fashioned a

syncretic faith" interweaving indigenous religion with Christianity, more specifically the evangelical Christianity of the Second Great Awakening. The cosmopolitan or modernizing chiefs used this new faith to bolster their political power, and so religion became another basis for conflict in Choctaw society. These cultural, religious, and political conflicts undermined the Choctaw leaders' ability to resist removal to Indian territory. As Carson admits, the history of the Choctaws "involved a complex interaction between received culture and personal choice." He concludes by pointing to the future: removal of the Choctaws was not the final chapter, but rather a new effort to find the "bright path."

This small volume contains tightly packed history. At times the burden of social science lingo becomes a bit heavy, but it does not limit comprehension. This reviewer would have appreciated a clear map of Choctaw country. Still, this is excellent ethnohistory, worth the effort to read though it will probably appeal more to scholars and students of Native American history. But it is certainly not beyond the general reader seeking to understand more about a complex and difficult period in the story of Indian and Euro-American relations.

JANE E. DYSART

University of West Florida

Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood. By Peter S. Onuf. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000, xi, 250 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95 cloth.)

Thomas Jefferson, the "Sage of Monticello," has long been a central figure and a heroic symbol of the American republic. As the principal author of the Declaration of Independence, Secretary of State, and as our third President, Jefferson's political ideology dominated America's vision of the future through the nineteenth century. As the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation Professor of History at the University of Virginia, Peter S. Onuf undertakes a reinterpretation of Jefferson's thinking, and his interpretation brings a fresh perspective to Jefferson's ideology.

As professor Onuf relates in his introductory chapter, the ultimate vision of what the nation would eventually become was uncertain to Jefferson. The themes of "empire" and "nation" are central to understanding Jefferson's thought process, and the in-

terpretation of these very words had different meanings in different times: "For American Revolutionaries 'empire' did not necessarily suggest, as it does now, dangerous concentrations of power and schemes of world domination. Jefferson envisioned 'an empire for liberty,' an expanding union of republics held together by ties of interest and affection.

Onuf's work is not the conventional biographical or chronological narrative. Rather, Jefferson appears in these pages as "responding with feelings to the ideological currents of his day, currents that he hoped to direct, but that sometimes, flowed in unexpected directions." Crucial to Jefferson's vision of the future was the sheer size of the new nation and the idea of westward expansion. Additionally, there was also the issue of displacing the Native Americans. As America's population doubled, the Indians' ability to resist the pressure of settlement dwindled, although as Onuf says "it was subject to obstacles and reverses, particularly during the Revolutionary era when Britain mobilized Indian allies in assaults on the new nation's frontiers." Jefferson's revolutionary thinking led him to initially see the conduct of Native Americans as "merciless savages" who ravaged the frontier at the direction of the British king. But as one reads further into Onuf's work, Jefferson became more benevolent in his thoughts towards the Indians and encouraged them to embrace Republican values.

The concepts of "empire" and "nationhood" manifested in several other ways. The presidential election of 1800 was, in itself, a second American "revolution," according to Jefferson, "as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form; not affected indeed by the sword, as that, but by the rational and peaceable instrument of reform, the suffrage of the people." While the patriots had declared and defended their independence, constituting a union of free states, the union was given a more perfect form under the federal Constitution and provided the framework for American nationhood. Jefferson's empire was further articulated in disputes between America's two major political factions, the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans. While the Federalists of Jefferson's time were referred to as monarchs, aristocrats, and even foreigners, given their British heritage, the Jeffersonian Republicans claimed to represent all the people, avoided foreign entanglements, and focused on self-government in order to promote nationhood. It is no surprise then that Jefferson wrote to Thomas Pinckney in May 1797 that

"foreign influence is the present and just object of public hue and cry."

Onuf makes effective use of Jefferson's writings to further refine the definition of nationhood as the country grew. This becomes quite evident in Jefferson's first inaugural address, a speech which Onuf calls "one of the great texts in the American libertarian tradition." Onuf's discussion of Jefferson and slavery situates Jefferson as an insightful observer of the limitations of the nationhood he sought. "Virginia slaves were a people without a country, a captive nation forcibly restrained from vindicating their rights against their white oppressors." They helped to justify Jefferson's panacea for slavery—colonization.

Thomas Jefferson believed that the American Revolution was a transformative moment in the history of political civilization. His efforts as a founding statesman and theorist helped to construct a progressive and enlightened order for the new American nation that would be a model and inspiration for the world. The author provides the reader with a superb interpretation of the Jeffersonian legacy, one which gives us considerable insight into his adaptive political ideology. His notes and bibliography at the end of the text lead the reader to additional information on Jefferson's world. Clearly, it is a work that will have relevance in the context of how we, as Americans, continue to deal with our cultural and political differences.

MICHAEL E. LONG

St. Petersburg Junior College

Dueling Eagles: Reinterpreting the U.S.-Mexican War, 1846-1848. Edited by Richard V. Francaviglia and Douglas W. Richmond. (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2000. xiii. 191 pp. Introduction, selected reading and viewing, the contributors, index. \$16.95 paper.)

Cries of "God, Glory, and Mexico" echoed through the Halls of Montezuma as the United States launched the first successful offensive war in its history, a conflict that changed the landscape of America and the course of history for two nations. After years of neglect, this struggle is receiving renewed academic interest. *Dueling Eagles* is a refreshing contribution to this historiographic awakening. While ignoring neither the diplomatic nor military aspects of the war, the authors of the eight essays put a new spin on

these topics, making a major contribution by introducing heretofore slighted subjects.

Richard V. Francaviglia provocatively explores the impact of geography, climate, and topography on the war. The Yankee invaders wisely obtained reliable maps and information on water, roads, and settlements. While these factors played a dramatic role in both military activity and diplomatic resolution, the author also notes the post-war geographic consequences: railroad fever that prompted expansion to the Pacific, the mineral riches of lands acquired in the Mexican Cession, and the Hispanic place names that resonate in towns throughout the Southwest.

Sam Haynes details the American perception of Great Britain in the conflict. Washington believed that Mexico functioned as a hemispheric surrogate for the Crown. Britain obstructed American expansion, encouraged Mexican efforts to recapture Texas, meddled in California, promoted a Mexican monarchy, and, particularly, pushed the Mexicans towards war. The author argues instead that the Mexicans operated unilaterally to preserve honor and territory while the British sought to resolve issues involving California, Oregon, and Mexico without a clash.

"Young America" formed the leadership of those promoting Manifest Destiny in the 1840s. Veteran historian Robert Johannsen investigates the American crusade as the embodiment of progress, salvation, and perfectionism. America's youth and vitality struck foreigners as thinly veiled arrogance and impetuosity. The union experienced a rite of passage from youth to manhood, evolving into a self perceived "model republic," but the Young Americans failed to produce an enduring national literature to support their vision.

Introducing a Mexican perspective, Josefina Zoraida Vazquez and Miguel A. Gonzalez-Quiroga weigh in on the causes of the war and the impact south of the Rio Grande. While blaming American expansionism, Vazquez attacks the notion that Mexico was "a sick country" rife with internal divisions. However, she acknowledges that political instability favored the Americans in this "unjust war of conquest."

Mexican leaders labored unsuccessfully to resolve the painful loss of Texas and numerous dubious reparations claims. Gonzalez-Quiroga concurs with the notion of American imperialism as the primary cause of the war, suggesting that "Manifest Destiny was a graceful way to justify something unjustifiable. He explores, how-

ever, the issue of internal dissent in the northern state of Nuevo Leon and the critical absence of passion for the Mexican nation.

Douglas Richmond follows up the theme of Mexican regionalism with a penetrating examination of collaboration with the United States. The states farthest removed from Mexico City appeared the most "cooperative." Motivated by both principle (strong feeling against the central government) and profit (the Americans eagerly paid cash for goods), collaboration was widespread.

Richard Bruce Winders presents a microcosm of military dissent in his analysis of the rebellion of the 1st North Carolina in August 1847. The mutiny involved issues of discipline and honor, but mostly politics. Winders reveals how a Whig officer could feel the sting of contentious Democrat troops under his command. President Polk's involvement in this fracas reminds us that politics is not far separated from war.

Linking the courageous war correspondents who covered the battlefields with the emerging world of technology (the telegraph and penny press), Mitchel Roth discusses their trials and tribulations in and out of combat. He also explores the little known newspapers established by the Americans during their occupation of Mexico and the war literature that glamorized the conflict for the home folk.

The editors deserve kudos for these series of balanced, tightly argued, and thoughtful essays. Some readers may differ, however, with Francaviglia's view that the ability of the United States to seize additional Mexican territory in 1848 was "doubtful," and Vazquez's contention that Andrew Jackson permitted "an avalanche of North American volunteers and arms to Texas." Nonetheless, this is a well-edited effort that focuses on topics that will enlighten both the undergraduate and the experienced historian.

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK

University of South Florida

Atlanta 1864: Last Chance for the Confederacy. By Richard M. McMurry (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. xvi, 230 pp. List of illustrations, list of maps, series editors' introduction, preface, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

In this relatively brief volume, Richard M. McMurry offers a concise narrative of General William T. Sherman's Overland cam-

paing of 1864 that resulted in the Union capture of Atlanta. As part of the "Great Campaigns of the Civil War" series edited by Anne J. Bailey and Brooks D. Simpson, McMurry's volume does not concentrate on the tactical minutiae of the campaign's battles, but rather presents a synthesis of the campaign, drawing from recent scholarship in the field. In this way, McMurry owes a heavy debt to Albert Castel's noteworthy *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864* (1992), while offering his own nuanced interpretation of the military and political significance of the campaign.

The series redresses a common flaw among military historians—the tendency to view military campaigns as isolated events that seemingly take place within a vacuum, with only token acknowledgment of outside socio-political factors. McMurry's book successfully achieves the goal of "looking beyond the battlefield and headquarters tent to the wider political and social context within which the campaigns unfolded." Throughout the work (with the exception of a caveat in the fourth appendix) McMurry accepts Castel's interpretation that if the Confederacy had been able to hold Atlanta through the November election of 1864, then Lincoln would have been defeated. True to his subtitle, McMurry presents an argument that Atlanta was politically "the last chance for the Confederacy"—the Confederate failure to hold the city led to its ultimate defeat.

McMurry essentially lays the blame on General Joseph E. Johnston, and to a lesser extent, Jefferson Davis. McMurry finds Johnston at fault for nearly every strategic decision the general made and for his overall campaign. Davis receives blame for allowing his relationships with his western generals to deteriorate to such a degree that by 1864 they were irreparable. In fact, few generals, North or South, emerge in a positive light in McMurry's eyes. Grant erred in appointing Sherman commander of the Union forces in the West. Sherman proved almost as incapable as Johnston, except that he knew the political importance of his campaign. Johnston never grasped the political liability of continued retreat. Two commanders who appear in a relatively positive light are Union general George Thomas, who McMurry boldly asserts would have crushed Johnston's army in two or three weeks had he been named commander instead of Sherman; and the much-maligned John Bell Hood who the author credits for stalling Sherman's advance for a month after Hood's three ill-fated attacks outside of Atlanta in late July 1864.

McMurry comes across as a bit heavy-handed in his deterministic theme that the campaign was lost the day it began. He repeatedly asserts that the seizure of Snake Creek Gap outside of Dalton on May 8, Sherman's very first maneuver, decided the outcome of the campaign and implies that the campaign could not have been won after May 8. This seems to run counter to his own attempts to rethink each of Johnston's strategic maneuvers and speculate on what actions the conservative general should have taken to change the outcome. Also, rather surprisingly for a student of Bell Irwin Wiley, McMurry does not spend much time on the social aspects of the campaign, especially the soldiers or the civilians involved. Instead, he focuses on the political importance of the campaign.

Besides some minor blemishes—such as the author's annoying insistence on using "secessionists" interchangeably with "Confederates," "southerners," and "rebels," and likewise identifying "Unionists" as "Federalists" and "Yankees"—McMurry's prose is well-written and entertaining. While confining his primary sources to the *Official Records*, some published primary sources, and just a handful of manuscript collections, the author adeptly utilizes these and many secondary sources to construct and enhance his narrative. Though his account of the campaign does not offer much new material in the way of strategy and tactics to historians of the campaign, his interpretation on where blame lies and the political significance of Atlanta for both Union and Confederate hopes will be stimulating to scholars and non-scholars alike.

JUDKIN BROWNING

University of Georgia

Ninety-Eight Days: A Geographer's View of the Vicksburg Campaign. By Warren E. Grabau. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000. xxviii, 687 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, calendar for early summer 1863, abbreviations, conventions and definitions, notes, principal sources, index. \$48.00 cloth.)

Geography and logistics—these are two elements of the military art that too few historians recognize as being essential to success on the battlefield. The Vicksburg campaign is a prime example where these factors influenced almost every operational and tactical decision made throughout its ninety-eight days. While volumes have been written about Ulysses Grant's efforts to reduce the Vicksburg fortress, few of those works have focused on the

critical role that geography played in Grant's thinking. The role of logistics has usually been reduced to the myth that Grant "cut loose" from his lines of communications as he advanced against the Confederate citadel. Grabau attacks these elements head-on by weaving together the influence of the region's land and water features, the primacy of logistics in any military operation, and the operational and tactical decisions made by both Union and Confederate generals to present a tapestry of the Vicksburg campaign that is rarely available except in bits and pieces.

Grabau's detailed narrative extends beyond the main effort of the Vicksburg campaign—the landing at Bruinsburg and the advance to invade the city. The author rightly examines operations west of the Mississippi River prior to the river crossing. He correctly gives the Union navy its due, because, without naval support, the crossing would have been impossible. Although the effect of Confederate cavalry raids against the Union supply depot at Holly Springs is mentioned only in passing, Grabau does examine the impact of Colonel Benjamin Grierson's raid on the decisions that Confederate Lieutenant General Pemberton made.

Grabau writes about the role that geography played in the Union and Confederate decisions and movements in May 1863. His descriptions of the battles are excellent, with one exception. In the chapter about the Union attack on Vicksburg of 22 May, he makes no mention of McPherson's role. This is a glaring omission, considering that McPherson's corps comprised one-third of the Union forces engaged.

Few previous accounts mention Confederate attacks in June 1863 against Union forces at Lake Providence, Milliken's Bend, and Young's Point, Louisiana, as they are overshadowed by corresponding events of the Vicksburg siege. Yet Grabau, with a keen eye on the logistics of both Union and Confederate armies, provides valuable perspective on these operations.

With the exception of Edwin Bearss's three-volume work on the Vicksburg campaign, few authors pay attention to the Mechanicsburg corridor that was most likely to witness a breakout by the Confederate garrison or an attempt to break the siege by an attack from General Joe Johnston's forces. Again, the author focuses on the geographic and logistic implications of such maneuvers. Grabau even relates Confederate attacks on Helena, Arkansas, to the Vicksburg campaign by forcing the reader to understand how such

an attack could have hindered traffic on the Mississippi and compounded the difficulty of supplying Grant's army.

There are sixty-eight detailed maps, all placed at the end of the book. While this facilitates the use of the same map for several chapters, it is distracting to have to search through the sixty-eight to find the one or two that relate to a specific chapter. Including the maps in the corresponding chapter would have benefited the reader significantly.

While placement of maps is a minor shortcoming, there are two aspects that are extremely irritating. The author takes far too much "literary license" in a historical account by inserting such phrases as "Grant sighed," "Hurlbut smiled," and "Grierson reflected." These are only three of many such attempts to impart a human element, but none of them are supported by footnotes. Such writing is more suited to fiction than history. Second is the lack of footnotes for information that clearly requires citation. For example, on page 57 the author speaks of a consensus for a course of action, but provides no references to support his contention. On page 273 he examines the worsening of command relations within the Confederate army and states that two of Pemberton's subordinates wanted him removed from command. Again, however, there is no supporting citation. Despite these shortcomings, this work captures much of Bearss's three-volume work, but in a shortened form and with the additional emphasis on those critically important areas of geography and logistics.

RICHARD L. KIPER

Kansas City Kansas Community College

America's Public Holidays, 1865-1920. By Ellen M. Litwicki. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000. ix, 293 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Within the burgeoning literature on history and public memory, Ellen M. Litwicki's *American Public Holidays, 1865-1920* is a book to remember. "Between 1865 and 1920," the author writes, "Americans invented more than twenty-five holidays." Some, like Memorial Day and Labor Day, are still celebrated widely in the United States, while others remained confined to regional or ethnic observances (Confederate Memorial Day or Tadeusz Kosciuszko's Birthday, for example), and still others never really established themselves at all (like Bird Day or Constitution Day).

Litwicki seeks to explain the "frenzy of holiday creativity" she sees in this period, in which Americans renewed traditional fetes (Independence Day, for example) as well as constructed new ones. Six chronologically-overlapping chapters analyze the festive creativity and innovation of various Americans, who used public holidays in their diverse attempts to define Americanism. Public celebration during these turbulent times, Litwicki argues, served different constituencies as they sought to cast themselves in a central role in American life, or—in the case of middle-class civic elites, professional patriots, teachers, and Progressive reformers—to impose their vision of America on the masses.

Thus Memorial Day served white veterans and their families, North and South, through a ritual of mourning designed to focus attention on their extraordinary sacrifice and the debt Americans owed them. Separate regional rites could dwell on unhealed wounds left by the Civil War, but white Union and Confederate veterans' Memorial Days shared much in common, and following the end of Reconstruction, they managed to transform the event into a rite of reconciliation while abandoning African Americans.

Forgotten on Memorial Day, African Americans constructed their own, Emancipation Days, commemorating the events which freed them from slavery. Although offering opportunities for celebration and the cultivation of pride and solidarity among blacks, these holidays—like January 1 (Emancipation Day) or "June-teenth" (June 19, the day black Texans learned of their freedom)—never developed a broader American public constituency and never achieved federal recognition. Their treatment as black holidays merely underscored the reality that the United States, despite the Civil War, remained a "white man's country."

Labor Days—May 1 and the first Monday in September—served constituencies who defined themselves by class and offered organized labor the means to construct a working-class Americanism. But the history of this contested, working-class holiday (despite its official recognition) and the exclusion of labor from other civic celebrations seems to suggest that American civic managers remained as resolutely committed to middle-class ideals as to whiteness. Various ethnic holidays similarly had their own constituencies. Yet immigrants cultivated an ethnic nationalism, constructed from the heritage of both their old and new homelands, not only in their particular fetes but in established national festivals as well. Litwicki emphasizes the uncompromising quality of

ethnic nationalism, which mixed allegiance to natal lands with a real but complex commitment to the United States, well short of assimilation.

Finally, sensing chaos and fragmentation, middle-class reformers (business elites, professionals, Progressives) employed public holidays in their efforts to build community, create better citizens, and improve taste. Though able to mount successful programs and pageants, and to center festive civic education in schools, these reformers failed to monopolize the public sphere or fulfill their transformative agendas. The complexity of this story—of middle-class, veteran, African-American, working-class, and ethnic public festivity—and the fine quality of Litwicky's analysis defies simple summary.

The author's provocative discussion will surely plant questions about the story's end in 1920 and its long-term implications, extending beyond her chronological reach. And other questions might arise: What were the similarities and differences between racial (here African-American) and ethnic nationalism, for example? What were the costs of the staunch ethnic nationalism among hyphenated-Americans that Litwicky describes, particularly as nativism swelled in the early twentieth century? Or, how exactly did the emergence of commercial leisure—seductive and transformative of American culture, but left largely offstage by Litwicky—increasingly distract celebrants and deflate crowds at serious commemorative activities? These points notwithstanding, *America's Public Holidays* is an important book, one that will inform and engage general readers and specialists alike.

MATTHEW DENNIS

University of Oregon

Crime, Sexual Violence, and Clemency: Florida's Pardon Board and the Penal System in the Progressive Era. By Vivien M.L. Miller. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xiv, 366 pp. List of figures, list of tables, foreword, acknowledgments, conclusions and paradoxes, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Scholars have long grappled with the problems of interpreting the complexities and contradictions of the Progressive era. Nowhere are those problems more perplexing than in the Southern states where, for example, black disfranchisement was regularly seen as a "progressive" measure. Experimenting with new forms of

state activism, Southern progressive reformers reconfigured many areas of social policy, including the criminal justice system.

Vivien Miller's new book is not the first to examine the New South's penal institutions, of course. There is a substantial body of literature on crime and punishment in the postemancipation South, including Edward L. Ayers's *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South*, Matthew J. Mancini's *One Dies, Get Another: Convict Leasing in the American South, 1866-1928*, David M. Oshinsky's "Worse than Slavery": *Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*, and Alex Lichtenstein's *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South*. We know a good deal about the institutionalized racism of the region's legal system, the brutality of the convict lease program, and the profits made by private industries utilizing prison labor. We have also come to understand the "New South" imperatives that produced the horrific penal system, including state encouragement of rapid industrial development, a concentration on extractive industries, a resistance to spending money on prisons, and a constant quest for cheap, docile labor.

Miller's book addresses the issues of the southern penal system from a new angle. By focusing on the executive pardon, Miller takes us to the final stage in the criminal justice system. The pardon process, where convicts who had served some portion of their sentence apply to the governor's pardon review board, was the last point of contact with the judicial system for many inmates. As such, it provides an opportunity to view a side of the system obscured by other methodologies—clemency.

Miller analyzes pardon applications for hundreds of Florida convicts over a three-decade period and finds that pardon applications became increasingly formulaic over time, as a handful of lawyers who came to specialize in representing convict-applicants mastered the art of persuading pardon review boards. As members of a common middle-class professional culture, both lawyers and members of the pardon boards shared ideals of honor, respectability, and community, and the attorneys wrote pardon applications that appealed to these ideals. Clemency emphasized several arguments such as that the inmate's health had become so impaired that he or she was no longer able to labor effectively, or that the inmate's "service" to the state had been exemplary and profitable.

Miller also points out that the number of successful pardon applications rose in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Several factors explained this rise. It was partly a product of progressive reform sentiment: as the convict leasing system increasingly came under attack, pardon boards grew more willing to release convicts who seemed unable to meet the physical rigors of the leasing system. It was also partly a product of the emergence of "conditional" pardons. Unlike full pardons, conditional pardons kept convicts under the control of the state longer. The device could be seen as both clemency and control. Finally, the leasees themselves encouraged a more generous pardon system, since it would release them from the obligation of caring for injured, weak, or sick inmates.

Both race and class have been central to historical analyses of crime and punishment in the South, to which Miller now adds the category of gender. Although gender constructions evolved in the New South, the criminal justice system clung tenaciously to traditional gender codes, which produced mixed results for female prisoners. On the one hand, pardon boards seemed to show greater sympathy for women, whether black or white, who were pregnant, frail, or ill. Such women needed the protection of men, allowing the pardon board to act as chivalrous defenders of weak womanhood. On the other hand, pardon boards held little sympathy for women who had acted too strongly on their own behalf, crossing gender boundaries along the way. African American women in particular appeared aggressive and independent to those middle-class white men on the pardon board, with predictable results.

Progressivism in the South has frequently been characterized as paradoxical, and Miller's account of the penal system in Florida adds new evidence for the claim. The liberal use of executive clemency could simultaneously compensate for the inadequacies of the judicial system while undermining popular respect for that system. The executive pardon could both reward good behavior in convicts and relieve the state of the burden of their care once too old or weak to work. A grant of clemency could rectify a judicial error based on racial or gender prejudices, yet clemency pleas themselves were based on those same racial and gender values, and the pardon system thereby reinforced them. Miller's book places Florida's penal system squarely in the Progressive South, while further complicating the very definition of "progressivism."

ELNA C. GREEN

Florida State University

Castles in the Sand: The Life and Times of Carl Graham Fisher. By Mark S. Foster. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xvii, 349 pp. List of figures, forward, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

The title juxtaposes the gleam of Miami with the fleeting endeavors of a romantic visionary who ultimately self-destructed. Readers interested in Florida history will suffer gladly through Fisher's other exploits. Born in 1874 to a dysfunctional Indiana family, Fisher was a charismatic boy whose interests strikingly mirrored those of a rapidly modernizing nation. As a youth, he promoted transportation and subsequently built resorts at the end of some of America's great highways.

Fisher instinctively turned hobbies into lucrative businesses. The avid bicyclist opened a shop in Indianapolis and boosted sales with outrageous publicity stunts. As the automobile overshadowed the bicycle, Fisher's early tinkering yielded perhaps his most successful endeavor, a headlight-manufacturing firm. Automobile racing grew from hobby to formalized sport, so Fisher and his colleagues built a safe venue. By 1911, thousands of fans enjoyed high-speed competitions at the Brickyard.

Paving the Indianapolis Speedway made Fisher realize the poor conditions of America's roads. He promoted the Lincoln Highway from inception to its completion in 1916 at a cost of \$15 million. This brief but fascinating era of private roadway funding, in such sharp contrast to federalized postwar highways, could be augmented with further research. Fisher first visited south Florida in 1912 to promote a north-south road, and the sleepy seaside town of Miami beckoned as he rushed to complete the Dixie Highway. In an inaugural 1916 journey, he drove from Chicago to Miami in a record time of fifteen days and soon transformed the beach village into a boomtown.

After offering a brief early history of the area, the narrative relates some colorful haggling under the Florida sun. Fisher and John Collins, another pioneer of Miami development, met during the 1912 roadway visit. Collins funded a bridge project to span Biscayne Bay but soon went bankrupt. Desperate, he contacted Fisher, who loaned him \$50,000. In exchange, Fisher received two

hundred acres of prime oceanfront land on the south end of Miami Beach. Fisher's wife recalled their initial visit to a humid, alligator-infested swamp. "Look, honey!" Carl exclaimed. "I'm going to build a city here!" And so he did.

With Collins's bridge completed in 1913, developers greedily expanded Miami's infrastructure over the next several years. Modern readers may shudder at Fisher's merciless clearing of mangrove swamps and his incessant dredging. By 1920, new highways brought tourists to Fisher's vacation paradise. His dream city offered polo, tennis, golf, boating, and fishing within easy access of numerous luxury hotels. Miami's "boom" era between 1920 to 1925 comes alive along with an especially lucid presentation of Fisher's legal and financial deals. Like a castle in the sand, however, Fisher's Miami soon crumbled. A devastating hurricane in 1926, forecast its downfall. When the Depression collapsed the real estate market, Fisher desperately sought new projects. He relentlessly promoted Montauk, Long Island, as another leisure area, and he briefly attempted a similar development in Michigan. Both ventures failed miserably, and his life began washing out with the tide.

Fisher and his young wife, Jane, welcomed the birth of Carl Jr. in November 1921, but the baby died a few weeks later. Although the couple later adopted a baby boy, they could not reconcile their ill feelings. They divorced in 1924, and Fisher's health subsequently deteriorated until he met a sad, lonely death in July 1939. His declining health is documented in unsparing gastric detail. At times, the story verges on psychohistory, as when the author opines that the Fishers' marriage could have been saved "if they had had professional counseling." Finally, the dates of a few important events sometimes are difficult to ascertain in this fluid narrative. Still, Foster's scholarly biography features strong primary research and skillful connections to national trends. Despite his personal failures, Fisher always will be remembered as an energetic booster of American business. The ongoing fulfillment of his remarkable vision for Miami is the boom made real.

SEAN H. MCMAHON

Lake City Community College

Tuskegee's Truths: Rethinking the Tuskegee Syphilis Study. Edited by Susan M. Reverby. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Press, 2000. xviii, 630 pp. Forward, preface, acknowledgments, introduction, guide to further reading, index. \$69.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

In 1972, an Associated Press journalist exposed a forty-year study in which over four hundred syphilitic African American males were observed yet untreated. The first book length treatment of the Tuskegee study since James H. Jones's *Bad Blood: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment* (1981), Susan Reverby's *Truths* is an anthology of eminently useful sources: historical analyses, interviews and letters of key actors, transcripts of the 1973 senate hearings, and pieces documenting the Clinton administration's 1997 apology. The book includes fictional sources, such as scenes from David Feldshuh's controversial play *Miss Evers' Boys* and two reactionary poems.

The infamous study began after a 1929 assessment of Southern rural communities revealed that Macon County, Alabama, had a higher percentage of African Americans with syphilis than any other county. Initially the information was for use in a projected treatment program, but Dr. Eugene Dibble of the Tuskegee Institute used the information to develop an ongoing surveillance program. Assistant Surgeon General Dr. Taliaferro Clark endorsed the study as "an unparalleled opportunity" to observe the progress of the disease and to confirm, as was both socially and medically understood at the time, that the disease would take a different course in the black male than in the white male.

The most important characteristic of Reverby's treatment of Tuskegee is her inclusion of articles broaching some of the more problematic details of the study. Going beyond race, Reverby's selections deal with the beliefs and feelings of those involved in the study, the status of the experiment as good or bad science, and the literal and symbolic legacies of the experiment in the African American and medical communities.

The subjects believed they were being treated for "bad blood," a condition equated in the African American community with general fatigue and anemia. But did the medical doctors of Tuskegee and, most troubling, African American nurse Eunice Rivers Laurie believe they were harming or helping their patients? Nineteenth-century doctors did advocate the use of purely observational clinical studies; as today, some medical doctors were less interested in treating their patients than in monitoring the disease itself. Letters

and other documents in Reverby's collection verify that Dibble and other medical faculty members never sought to cure their subjects; anticipating information gained through autopsy, Dr. Wegener wrote: "we have no further interest in these patients until they die." Furthermore, interviews reveal that none of the men in the study were warned that their disease was spread by sexual contact, a fact made evident by the prevalence of syphilis in the women and children in the Tuskegee community.

Parallel to the literal legacy of syphilis in Macon County, the moral legacy of Tuskegee continues to spread in America. Several articles in this volume speak to the harm done by the study: distrust of medicine in African American communities, and even comparisons between the Tuskegee experiment and the experiences of African Americans in the age of HIV/AIDS. Looking forward, Reverby includes works of recent authors in which the lessons learned from Tuskegee are applied to the development of medical studies in third world countries. Several articles broach the subject of the study as medical science and the moral and ethical implications of scientific data gained from immoral practices. Reverby's selection lacks profound treatment of this subject, but provides a general overview. Perhaps the collection's greatest flaw is its inadequate connection of this particular American tragedy to the wider range of medical abuses in history.

In the early 1970s, an intern for the Public Health Service leaked his misgivings about the project to a journalist friend and the legal treatment of the study began. In the intervening years writers from many disciplines have examined the *Tuskegee Study*; Reverby's collection of their efforts provides scholars of Southern history, race relations, and the history of medicine with an eminently useful resource.

CORNELIA C. LAMBERT

University of Florida

Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World. Edited by Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000. xvii, 318 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, sources, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Mary McCleod Bethune frequently described herself as a dreamer, even as she pragmatically transformed her dreams into

an extraordinary career. In doing so, she demonstrated a remarkable range of talents that rose to meet each new responsibility. In the early 1900s, she began founding schools for black Floridians; she believed that blacks had an especially difficult time in the state. Broadening her career over the next half century, she carried to national and international levels her fight against racial and gender divisions. In the process, she became one of the twentieth century's preeminent black women.

Editors Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith seek to reveal this multifaceted Bethune. They celebrate her astonishingly effective gift of "at large leadership." Yet, they also attempt to show her partisanship, her political expediency, and her unflinching faith in American ideals, even when these did not seem to apply to the causes she advocated. Their volume presents a realistic picture of an important woman to whom historians of the century should give adequate recognition.

Relying on Bethune's own words, they confine editorial comments to the preface, endnotes, and remarkably insightful essays introducing each of the six sections. They have cleverly arranged the documents topically, in a way that first introduces the reader to this exceptional woman during the 1940s when she had reached the pinnacle of her career. Then the materials uncover the early years of the century when Bethune worked in rural Palatka and Daytona. A roughly chronological progression follows from 1902 through 1955.

Unfortunately, publishing costs kept the editors from including articles that Bethune wrote for the *Pittsburgh Courier* in 1937 and 1938 that would have provided further insight. Nonetheless, the collection does provide a representative cross section of her papers. The reader is left with a picture of Bethune stepping from local school organization to regional feminist activism, then broadening her role to become a stateswoman and spending her final years concentrating on international issues.

Much of the documentation demonstrates Bethune's national and international interests, but she always maintained her home base in Florida. Thus her papers provide glimpses into the state and the difficulties its black residents faced. Although she had moved to Daytona because some wealthy white citizens lived there, the city itself was scarcely forthcoming with support for her cause. She had to work for eleven years before the mayor brought an official delegation to her school. Similarly, the numerous fund-

raising appeals she sent across the nation indicate that Florida, neither privately nor publicly, provided enough funding to keep Bethune's institutions afloat.

Nevertheless, this energetic activist created alliances with social club women in Daytona, affording her an important network that she used to expand her sphere of influence throughout the state. On that broader level she dealt with deep economic and racial rifts. For example, her 1928 letter to other activist women gives a black's perspective on the impact of a deadly hurricane that hit southeastern Florida. She noted that while the storm had hit blacks and whites alike, those in "Palm Beach Proper" had survived while economically disadvantaged people living in the Everglades had experienced devastating losses and death. Perhaps the most striking indicator of Florida's racial divisions comes from the struggle that Bethune and other prominent blacks faced in opening and maintaining Bethune-Volusia Beach. It is a poignant reminder that Florida's most cherished recreational sites have not always been open to all.

Bethune worked to better her world in a myriad of ways. In doing so, she exemplified what theoreticians have called the multiple consciousness of black women's experiences. She devoted her lifework to combating the interconnected systems of oppression which black women faced in early twentieth-century America. Happily, this edited volume illustrates how a single, determined woman could help transform her world against seemingly intractable odds. It will be a valuable addition to the reading list of undergraduate and graduate classes—especially those in African American history, and women's studies, and Florida history. General readers will gain much from this glimpse into Florida's female, black, and reform-minded world.

NANCY DRISCOL ENGLE

University of Florida

RAF Wings over Florida: Memories of World War II British Air Cadets.

By Will Largent. (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2000. ix, 258 pp. Acknowledgments, editors note, introduction, appendix, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Continuing interest in the myriad aspects of the Second World War has brought about a proliferation of personal recollections during the last decade, and *RAF Wings over Florida* brings together

accounts provided by RAF cadets who underwent flight training in the Sunshine State between 1941 and 1945. The idea of training British pilots in the United States grew out of closer Anglo-American collaboration following the passage of the Lend-Lease Act in 1941 and was given specific shape by Henry H. (Hap) Arnold, the Commander General of the U.S. Army Air Corps, whose proposal was authorized by President Franklin Roosevelt. The "Arnold Plan" envisioned providing primary flight training for cadets at six sites in Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama. Under the relatively favorable flying conditions in these southern states, British students could be rapidly trained by contracted civilian instructors. In Arcadia, Florida, Arcadia's Carlstrom Field, already the site of primary training for American air cadets, became the new home for ninety-nine British cadets in May 1941. In September, a second group arrived at Riddle Field in Lewiston where an additional training center had been rapidly constructed.

RAF Wings over Florida chronicles the challenges that cadets faced in the course of flight training and their reactions to the largely alien society and environment of Florida. Judging by the accounts provided by the British cadets, there was a remarkable uniformity to their experiences and responses. At Carlstrom, an "Arnold Plan" training center, the cadets were subject to Army Air Corps discipline and rules that many found annoying and even degrading. Coming from a nation that had been at war for nearly two years, few British students had much tolerance for regulations and practices that they saw as at best trivial and at worst demoralizing. Those who trained at Riddle, which was organized as a British Flying Training School, were not subject to the West Point codes of conduct and hazing that baffled their countrymen at Carlstrom. If memories of the U.S. military system and the civilian flight instructors were not always positive, recollections of the material abundance in the still neutral United States were universal; the cadets absolutely marveled at the amount, variety and quality of foodstuffs they were offered. All were equally gratified by the enthusiastic reception afforded by Floridians who sought to accommodate the British fliers in every way possible. For many, the single most unsettling aspect of their time in Florida was observing the degrading treatment dispensed to black Floridians in an age of Jim Crow. The personal recollections that comprise a significant portion of this book also include accounts of wartime experiences following graduation and return to the European theater.

RAF Wings over Florida is a logically organized work, devoting separate chapters to the background of the training plan, cadet recollections of Carlstrom and Riddle Field, impressions of the "Yanks" instructors, and relations with Floridians. The author's purpose of producing a memorial history rather than a comprehensive "official" account of the RAF cadets is well accomplished. One comes away from this neatly produced volume with a clear understanding as to the genesis, nature, and implementation of the RAF training program. Perhaps as importantly, the recollections of the individuals involved afford considerable insight into the personal dimensions of a specific wartime experience, which brought two soon-to-be-allied peoples into close proximity for a brief but nonetheless memorable time. The personal narratives presented here are well written and offer insight into the whole range of experiences encountered by student pilots training in a friendly but distinctly alien environment, which brought innumerable unexpected challenges. An entertaining appendix dealing with linguistic difficulties relating to pronunciation, dialect, and slang terms includes an illuminating incident in which a Sarasota high school girl, on meeting her RAF cadet dinner date, announced to the young man that she had hardly eaten all day and now only wanted "to get stuffed." Misapprehending her intention, the delighted student pilot suggested that they retire immediately to his room. Incorporating both the humorous and serious aspects of the British cadet experience, *RAF Wings over Florida* is a solid account of a small corner of the Second World War.

BLAINE T. BROWN

Broward Community College

We Will Have Music: The Story of the Greater Pensacola Symphony Orchestra. By Elizabeth D. Vickers. (Pensacola, Fla.: Historic Photographs, 2000. 191 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$20.00 paper.)

The publication of *We Will Have Music*, commissioned by the Pensacola Symphony Orchestra, came at a most propitious time, since 2001 marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Greater Pensacola Symphony Orchestra. Author Elizabeth Vickers traces the embryonic beginnings of the group, from the early foundations to the present professional symphony, which is a positive

force in the arts in Northwest Florida. She describes the forerunners of the symphony from the 1920s and 1930s, commencing with the Northup Group, a gathering of musicians who performed informally at the home of Edwin S. Northup beginning in 1926. Other contributing organizations were the Pensacola Music Study Club, the Pensacola Civic Orchestra, and the short-lived Pensacola Philharmonic Orchestra (conducted by John W. Borjes). According to the author, there were no concerts presented from 1945 through 1950. On April 29, 1953, the Greater Pensacola Symphony Orchestra was incorporated and officially formed out of the Pensacola Symphony Orchestra.

Vickers lists the conductors *in toto*, with significant achievements noted during their respective tenures. A salient step was taken in the development of the symphony in 1979 with the appointment of Dr. Grier Williams as conductor. Williams was Chairman of the Department of Music at the University of West Florida for twenty-five years and conductor of the symphony from 1979 to 1996. During his tenure as conductor, tremendous growth occurred both in performance quality and programming. Due to the largess of numerous benefactors, there was increasing financial and community support for the organization. Also, for some ten years, beginning around 1972, the New Orleans Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra presented concerts in Pensacola as part of the annual West Florida Music Festival. As a result of this affiliation, Williams expanded the symphony by adding performers from the New Orleans Symphony into the Pensacola Symphony which enhanced performances. This reviewer attended many of the concerts and can attest to the maturation and growth of the symphony during this time. With the appointment in 1997 of Dr. Peter Rubart as conductor, the Greater Pensacola Symphony Orchestra evinced the potential for continuing and even surpassing its history of a high level of artistic performances.

The author attains his objectives "to understand and appreciate the growth process of the symphony orchestra, while acknowledging its role as a significant organization in Pensacola" and "to ask what this musical heritage represents for Pensacola" through a chronological codification of the growth and setbacks of the symphony, supported with fifty-two photographs. The book is well organized, cogent, informative, and highly recommended reading for both music lovers and those with an interest in the history and growth of an organization which started from amateur beginnings

and, over the years, developed into one of the most influential cultural forces in Northwest Florida.

JOSEPH THOMAS RAWLINS

University of West Florida

The Mount Dorans: African American History Notes of a Florida Town.

By Vivian W. Owens. (Waynesboro, Va.: Eschar Publications, 2000. x, 248 pp. Introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. \$18.95 cloth.)

In his photographic *Lake County Florida: A Pictorial History* (1994), Emmett Peter Jr. wrote that "African American history is almost a blank page in Lake County." That statement stands as a blunt reminder of how much redress is needed from historians and others in order to correct the record and recognize the achievements of black citizens as pioneers and producers, and as shapers of the cultural life of Florida communities. That their achievements came about in the face of monumental bigotry and hostility makes it the more remarkable and worthy of record.

Vivian Williams Owens's new book about Mount Dora helps fill the blank pages. With verve and determination, she chronicles life stories and human events that official historians have long overlooked or at best have relegated to footnotes and afterthoughts. From its earliest days, people of African heritage populated the lovely lands that became the City of Mount Dora. Some came in search of safety from slavemasters. Others were escaping the humiliation and deprivation of Jim Crow laws. Many brought with them a strong commitment to family, community, and church values which they transmitted to succeeding generations.

Owens herself exemplifies the achievements of Black Mount Dorans. The daughter of Essie M. Williams and the late Reverend Charles Williams Jr., early community leaders in Mount Dora, she earned degrees from Tuskegee and James Madison University. Owens pursued a career in industry and education, later turning to writing books, especially for young people. In *The Mount Dorans*, she wrote lovingly of her father's tales about the African American presence in the community and of how he instilled in her the desire to save the stories for posterity. There was an urgency to the task. "My father's generation was passing. If I waited much longer, no one who knew the true stories would be alive. Our history would become as traceless as the breath of a sweeping wind."

Owens reports some facts that are little known to present-day white residents of Mount Dora. Among them is her account of the pioneer residents, Nelson and Cynthia Williams who farmed and lived in the East Town section and raised a family of twelve children, many of whom became contributing citizens. Nelson Williams was born around 1850, making him the first African American child born in what was to become Mount Dora.

The book recounts details of the life of a woman named Nancy Page who became property owner in downtown Mount Dora around the turn of the century. Elderly citizens who were interviewed by Vivian Owens remembered how during the 1920s the city fathers dislocated African Americans from the downtown area, Nancy Page among them. Like other black downtown residents, she was forced to move to a designated area in the northeast section of the little city, an area known as East Town. A striking photo of the indomitable Nancy Page is featured on the cover.

Besides recording stories about many of the legendary early figures of African American life in Mount Dora, Owens touches on social and political issues which profoundly affected the community. Although documentation is scant, there are records from 1886 attesting to the establishment of schooling for black children. It was to be conducted in the one-room village schoolhouse when the white children were not using it. In time, a separate schoolhouse was built. When it burned down around 1922, the Prince Hall Masonic Hall provided temporary school quarters. Owens reports the oft-told story of how community leaders Mamie Lee Gilbert and Lilla Butler set out to raise money for a new school. Eventually they succeeded through a grant from the Rosenwald Fund, matched by a generous gift from a retired white Mount Dora Presbyterian minister, Duncan Chambers Milner. The Milner Rosenwald Academy, as it was named, became a cherished institution despite the inequalities of segregation: "Although Mount Dorans wanted school integration, most felt they lost the community's closeness when the doors of MRA closed."

Despite its informal anecdotal approach and shortage of documentation, *The Mount Dorans* is a treasure trove of information for future students and scholars. It offers much detail about the vibrant business community which once existed in East Town; it relates the story of the public swimming pool which the black community built because their children were denied use of the white swimming pools and beaches in the county. And it provides

thumbnail sketches of many Mount Dorans who went first to the Milner-Rosenwald Academy, who rode the bus to Eustis so they could graduate from high school (it was 1966 before black students graduated from the high school in Mount Dora), and who went on to college or to serve their country during World War II or to write poetry or become school teachers, college professors, and successful business people. Some of them became spokespersons for justice for the Mount Doran African American community, bringing about the integration of the police force, for example, or getting the City of Mount Dora to declare in 1983 that "anyone of any ethnicity could be buried in the Pine Street Cemetery."

Owens not only writes about the past but inquires about the future of the African Americans of Mount Dora. One of the concerns people have is the fear that the city may seek to acquire desirable land in the East Town area. Owens advises them to increase lines of communication with the local government. They also want a renewed emphasis on morals and family values, and she urges that they keep connected through church and community organizations. It is to be hoped that Owens's book will inspire other writers to continue to fill the pages of history with hitherto untold stories of how African American citizens have enriched our culture, built our communities, and enlarged our understanding of the human condition.

SARA FLETCHER LUTHER

Mount Dora, Fla.

Race Against Time: Culture and Separation in Natchez Since 1930. By Jack E. Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001. xiii, 351 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, prologue, epilogue, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Back in the dim depths of the twentieth century, Mississippi was commonly regarded as the most backward, ignorant, intolerant state in the Union. As we now know, Mississippi changed and has become the very paragon of enlightenment and racial harmony. Well perhaps not. Jack E. Davis surely would dissent, and he amply demonstrates why in his thoroughly engaging and thoughtful appraisal of race and culture in Natchez over the past seven decades.

By the mid-twentieth century, no Southern white community more fervently embraced the beauty, gentility, and charm of the Old South and celebrated the ideals of the Confederacy than did

Natchez. White women in particular exalted the Lost Cause as they joined the United Daughters of the Confederacy, supported the erection of a Confederate monument, and paused to recall their fallen heroes each Confederate Memorial Day. Most importantly in 1931 they initiated the Pilgrimage, an annual tour of antebellum homes that glorified the past and quickly became a profitable enterprise.

The Pilgrimage enabled white residents to create and promote a version of the past that extolled the virtues and values of their ancestors while consigning slaves and their descendants to permanent servile status because of the presumed defects of black culture. The white public schools augmented this skewed view of history. In 1935, local high school history teacher Pearl Guyton wrote the state's history textbook, *Our Mississippi*, and for the next quarter century courageous Confederates and Reconstruction villains marched across its pages. These reassuring accounts invariably failed to mention that Natchez surrendered not once, but twice to Union forces during the Civil War.

Given their deeply felt commitment to a past that never existed, white Natchez reacted with hostility and violence to black petitions and demonstrations for change that followed the 1954 Brown decision to desegregate public schools. White students simply could not attend school with black youngsters. Furthermore, it was inconceivable that black people in Natchez were dissatisfied with their status unless they had been provoked by outside agitators and Communists.

Davis has provided not so much a chronological narrative of recent Natchez history as a series of essays based on extensive archival and newspaper research as well as interviews with a cross section of more than one hundred residents. The interviews enrich and enliven the account with splendid anecdotes, stories, and recollections.

Just how typical, however, have been the experiences of the people of Natchez as they have grappled with race and change? In some significant ways Natchez has been unique, if not an aberration. Few other communities dedicated themselves so slavishly to promoting a mythical past wedded to Moonlight and Magnolias. And yet prior to World War II, Natchez welcomed northern industry in the form of the Armstrong Tire and Rubber Company and accepted the plant's unionized work force. Natchez tolerated its Jewish residents and elected two Jewish mayors before the Second

World War. In 1952, Natchez and Adams County broke with the Solid Democratic South and voted for Republican candidate Dwight Eisenhower. With the onset of the Civil Rights movement, white Natchez reacted with venom and violence that was extreme even for Mississippi. The Ku Klux Klan ruled, and black people were threatened, intimidated, and beaten. Two local black men—Ben Chester White and Wharlest Jackson—were brutally slain.

In other ways, Natchez has been strikingly similar to many other Southern communities. White Natchez bitterly resisted school desegregation, and the process was prolonged and wrenching as many white students fled to segregation academies and white parents resented the increasing influence black people gained in the administration of the public schools by the 1980s and 1990s. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 catapulted black people into politics as the percentage of eligible black voters in Adams county increased from 6.7 to 59.8 percent by 1967. Segregated public facilities faded though. The author was astonished to find that, as recently as 1994, all the black patrons at the local Shoney's restaurant were sitting in the smoking section while the non-smoking area was exclusively white.

This is a very good book, but it falls short of perfection. There is an absence of demographic information on changes in income levels and shifts in population and housing patterns. There are no maps or tables. Though the account is solidly documented, there is no bibliography, and there is no list of the people who were interviewed.

Davis, moreover, is not entirely persuasive in insisting that white perceptions of the inferiority of black culture—education, language, music, manners, etc.—were and remain the root of racism. If culture was the critical factor, young people who were the sons and daughters of the black professional class would have attended public school with well-to-do white children, while the sons and daughters of poor, hard scrabble white parents would not. Color has always been more crucial than culture.

Where does Natchez stand at the beginning of the twenty-first century? Like so many American communities, Natchez is a far better place than it was and much worse than it should be.

WILLIAM C. HINE

South Carolina State University

Fast Food: Roadside Restaurants in the Automobile Age. By John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. xiii, 394 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.)

With this volume, John A. Jakle and Keith Sculle, a geographer and historian respectively, have completed their trilogy of roadside America. As they have done previously with gas stations and motels, they examine the development and spread of fast food chains as the outcome of two interrelated processes—place-product-packaging and corporate territoriality. The former refers to “commercial places formed through coordination of architecture, décor, product, service and operating routine across multiple locations,” whereas the latter refers to “the trade territories created as different corporations compete with one another for market share using place product packaging” (x). Thus although the book is organized topically by food type, the focus is not food but rather the social and cultural import of the roadside restaurant as constitutive of place and of landscape.

Chapters One and Two document the rise of the quick service restaurant from the pre-automobile landscape of hotel dining rooms, coffee shops, soda fountains, luncheonettes, cafes, automats, and diners to (with increasing automobile use) an evolving landscape of roadside stands, drive-ins, and ultimately, drive-throughs. Chapter Three examines the application of business-format franchising as a strategy in the development of restaurant chains, using comparative case studies to illustrate differences in method and outcome. Chapters Four through Fifteen link restaurant formats with food emphases, beginning with two chapters devoted to hamburgers in general, a third to McDonalds, followed by sandwiches, ice cream, breakfast, chicken, seafood, pizza, tacos, steak, and, finally, concept restaurants. Chapter Sixteen presents a case study of the changing geography of roadside restaurants in Springfield, Illinois, a city “familiar to both . . . authors over the last 25 years.”

The authors clearly have a passion for the subject, filling the book with postcards and memorabilia, their personal essays, insights from extensive research in corporate archives and trade publications, and oral histories. Because they have taken a topic of such ubiquity and influence in the landscape and have treated it

with great care and attention, they have succeeded in producing a scholarly work of interest to disparate audiences. While the book would not be suitable as an undergraduate textbook, it will be useful as a reference for historians, geographers, and sociologists.

The book is comprehensive in scope, providing both overview and detail for a richly contextualized history that includes well-known successes such as White Castle “the first company to create a distinctive ‘sense of place’ . . . for selling hamburgers” as well as the lost history of otherwise forgotten chains such as the Terre Haute-based Snappy Service. Filled with interesting tidbits, it is, contrary to the authors’ assertion, encyclopedic with regard to company histories and entrepreneurs’ biographies, sometimes to a fault: for example, when we are told that a manager of one chain “left Indiana State Normal . . . out of dissatisfaction with the curriculum.” The authors introduce the language of ecology when they observe, “like life in a vast sea, established and new companies alike give birth in new locations.” I would extend the metaphor further by comparing the book, with its dozens of maps depicting the geographic range and location of restaurant chains, its emphasis on competition and niche, and its intention of interpreting the landscape, to a natural field guide. Here we see at work the tension between diversification, brand recognition, and mimicry of successful places which have produced the distinctive yet homogeneous roadside landscape.

Given the focus on place, competition, and territory, what explanation is given for the success and dominance of a single chain, McDonald’s? With more than double the number of units and triple the sales of its closest rival, Burger King, McDonald’s far outranks its competitors. Jakle and Sculle conclude that it was founder Ray Croc’s “keen sense for the importance of place” so that “site and situation . . . figured highly in his expansion strategy” that catapulted McDonald’s to global dominance. Though they note that Croc initially preferred suburban settings “as incubators for children” and for his early restaurants, they do not explicitly make the connection that McDonald’s executives do: that by targeting children through advertising, toy promotions, playgrounds, and contracts with school districts they can influence the tastes and preferences of this most impressionable growth market. After reading *Fast Food*, one sees with greater acuity and comprehension the landscape and geography of restaurant chains, but because there is

little attention to food in terms of production, nutrition, or health, the view remains limited to the roadside.

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The Chief Justiceship of Warren Burger, 1969-1986. By Earl M. Maltz. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. xvi, 307 pp. Illustrations, tables, series editor's preface, preface, introduction, appendix, selected bibliography, index of cases, subject index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Earl Maltz argues that the work of the Burger Court, in contrast to commonly held beliefs, "produced the most liberal body of constitutional law in the nation's history." Since Warren Burger replaced Earl Warren, the most liberal Chief Justice in our history, Maltz has given historians a great deal to think about in this book. For the most part, his argument is persuasive.

Maltz's central argument, that the Burger Court was the most liberal in American history, is hard to contradict. This was, after all, the Court that ruled in favor of abortion rights, overturned the death penalty, and ordered school busing. However, the contention is hardly controversial. It is easier to think of the Burger Court as transitional: major decisions did carry Warren-era jurisprudence further in some key areas, but personnel changes beginning with four Nixon appointees paved the way for the Rehnquist Court after Burger left in 1986 to lead the Bicentennial celebrations for the Constitution.

As Maltz points out, much of the work of the Burger Court was done by Warren Court holdovers. For the first seven years of Burger's tenure, Warren Court justices made up a majority. So, for example, when the Court decided *Furman v. Georgia* in 1972, none of Richard Nixon's appointees voted to overturn the death penalty. Even after 1976, Warren Court justices continued to have significant influence over the decision-making process. Routinely conservative Justices Burger and William Rehnquist competed with a correspondingly liberal bloc made up of Justices Brennan, Marshall, and, until 1975, Douglas for the votes of swing justices.

The book is divided into short chapters, each focusing on a particular area of the law. Chapters on freedom of speech, the rights of the accused, religion, race, and sexuality are especially

helpful for historians who want some background on specific areas of constitutional development during Burger's tenure. The chapter on race, for example, details the Court's findings on school desegregation including the ambiguous conclusions regarding school busing as well as voting rights and affirmative action. Maltz's analysis of school busing is especially effective. The chapter on abortion and privacy explores both the constitutional and political ramifications of *Roe v. Wade*. Maltz also analyzes *Bowers v. Hardwick*, but because it was one of the last cases of the Burger Court, it gets somewhat less treatment than other major cases we had followed.

The thematic approach is helpful for those desiring a breakdown of the Court's rulings on the rights of accused persons, for example, but it detracts from the sense of evolution in Court doctrine. Sandra Day O'Connor, for example, joins the Court in nearly every chapter, and the implications for her appointment have to be covered for every topic. The same is true for each of the post-Burger appointees. Given, however, that one of Maltz's main arguments is that the personalities and political predilections of the various justices had as much to do with Burger Court jurisprudence as any constitutional doctrine, a little more analysis of the personalities and politics of the time would have been beneficial.

Maltz rightly chooses to focus most of his attention on the "major" cases that the Burger Court confronted. Readers who want a brief yet thorough account of *United States v. Nixon*, the *Pentagon Papers* case, *Roe v. Wade*, or the *Bakke* case will not be disappointed. Maltz covers the historical background, the Court's decision-making, and the decisions in major cases without going too far afield. Lesser known cases receive less attention, and Maltz often assumes legal knowledge that non-specialists may not have. Despite this drawback, the discussion of these lesser known cases contributes a sense of depth to the Court's work that is often lacking in less specialized works.

The audience for this work is likely to be specialists in legal history or constitutional law. Maltz's tendencies to assume some legal knowledge and overuse legal language may deter non-specialists. However, the background discussions of the major decisions of the Burger Court coupled with the book's analysis of lesser known cases and the voting trends of "liberal" and "conservative" justices are very helpful.

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