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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

An Early Florida Adventure Story. By Andrés de San Miguel. Translated by John H. Hann. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. 109 pp. Notes. \$49.95 cloth).

John Hann's translation of Fray Andrés de San Miguel's 1595 "adventure" in modern-day Georgia and Florida is a valuable addition to the primary literature on the sixteenth-century Southeast. Fray Andrés de San Miguel, "Andrés de Segura" prior to his 1598 entrance into The Carmelite order, survived the sinking of a *nao*, the *Nuestra Señora de la Merced* (Our Lady of Mercy), off the coast of Georgia in March 1595. Years later, long after Andrés had become a Carmelite lay brother in Mexico, thereby fulfilling a promise he made to God contingent upon his surviving the wreck, he penned this account. André's storytelling relates the wreck, the futile effort to keep the ship afloat, the deceit of desperate fellow passengers, a harrowing ten-day journey to the Georgia Sea Islands aboard a makeshift boat, and his adventure that brought him to St. Augustine, Havana and ultimately Cádiz.

In 1593, at the age of sixteen, Andrés de Segura set out for the New World on the ill-fated *Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, which comprised part of the *Nueva España* fleet. After remaining in the port of San Juan de Ulloa for almost a year, awaiting silver to carry back to Spain, the *nao* rendezvoused with the South American *Tierra Firme* fleet in Havana for the return trip to Cádiz. The combined fleets sailed in March 1595. Five days out of Havana, however, the *Nuestra Señora* was battered by a violent storm and began to break up and sink. With the ship sinking fast "twelve and three-quarter (*una pica*) in a little more than two hours," Andrés and all but a handful of the last remaining passengers and sailors evacuated on a makeshift launch (the *nao*'s regular launch was gone, having

been commandeered earlier by another group). After a week and a half in the launch with little food and water, Andrés and his shipmates came ashore at either Wolf Island or Little St. Simons Island off the Georgia coast. With the aid of Guale Indians, they began their trek back to St. Augustine, an adventure that concluded in 1596, with Andrés's eyewitness account of the British siege and burning of Cádiz.

Andrés's story is reflective of the spirit and religiosity of the age. The account, written years after the events occurred, contains errors in chronology, geography, place names, and family names. Hann, however, astutely alerts the reader to each of these in an introductory essay. Moreover, Hann's translation provides the North American reader a window into the Spanish and Native American past, which includes descriptions of the shortcomings, corruption, and inefficiencies of the royal fleet system and the richness of Indian culture in the sixteenth-century Southeast. Andrés de San Miguel blamed delays, corruption and rapid, inadequate deployment "for so many vessels perishing and for the sea swallowing them with all their people." Through Hann's careful translations we learn what Guale women wore: "The clothing of the women (*dellas*) is a sort of sack-like garment (*una manera de gueypil*) and under-petticoats (*naguas*) made from a long plant (*del pastle largo*) that grows in the trees, made after the fashion of flounces (*a manera de fluecos*)." In addition, it is a glimpse into an age when God was seemingly everywhere, ever present in the course of human events.

First published by Genero García in 1902 as one of two works under the title *Dos Antiguas Relaciones de la Florida*—the other was Bartolomé Barriento's "Los Naturales de America bajo la Dominación Española"—this translated edition is a fascinating tale of adventure in early Spanish Florida.

John James Clune

University of West Florida

Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida. Edited by Jane G. Landers. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. 232 pp. Acknowledgments, chronology, bibliographic notes, appendix, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

The collection of essays edited by Jane Landers is not especially ambitious: the anthology is designed to shed light on the too-

often overlooked colonial plantations of Florida. It is also meant to serve as a vehicle for exploring the commercial and social links that joined Florida to the wider Atlantic world. While such objectives are relatively modest, the editor and authors achieve their purpose and much more. Collectively, the essays remind readers that Florida has always served as a beacon for the ambitious, an unrelenting workhouse for the poor, and a land peopled by a polyglot mixture of ethnic groups.

An introductory essay by Landers, and a final one by James Gregory Cusick which seeks to contextualize colonial Florida in terms of the Atlantic World, frame the main body of essays. Of the essays that comprise the bulk of the anthology, they can be divided into two types. The first five essays focus on individuals and the plantations they carved from the landscape. The remaining three are more thematic.

Daniel Schafer's "A Swamp of an Investment" chronicles the origins and fate of Richard Oswald's twenty-thousand-acre Mount Oswald plantation. In the mid-1760s, partnering with British Governor James Grant, Oswald invested heavily in the plantation, purchasing slaves, paying managers, and experimenting with sugar cane culture. The ultimate collapse of Mount Oswald owed not to mismanagement or the uncooperative nature of Florida but instead to exigencies caused the American Revolution.

In her essay "Blue Gold," Patricia Griffin identified Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna plantation as a model of scientific agriculture. Operating between 1768 and 1777, New Smyrna produced indigo and used Minorcan labor to do so. Like Schafer, Griffin argued that the failure of Turnbull's venture owed to complex international rivalries and economic factors more than to deficiencies in the land and management.

Essays about two plantations that were more successful over the long-term follow: Susan R. Parker's contribution about Francis Philip Fatio's New Switzerland Plantation and Jane Lander's essay about Francisco Xavier Sánchez. Both plantations succeeded because their proprietors proved to be more chameleon-like than either Oswald or Turnbull. Both Fatio and Sánchez engaged in multicontinental ventures and adapted their enterprises to their Florida surroundings by focusing to varying degrees on cattle-raising, timber cutting, and producing naval stores and staple crops.

The final biographical treatment, Daniel Schafer's essay about Zephaniah Kingsley's Laurel Grove Plantation, turns more direct-

ly than its predecessors to the role of African slaves on Florida plantations. The shift in focus might be expected when one considers Kingsley's heavy reliance on multi-ethnic managers, his marriage to a Wolof woman, his support for the elastic multi-caste system of race relations fomented by Spanish authorities, and his decision to sell off his Florida properties and move to Haiti rather than suffer the emerging reconfiguration of racial relations propelled by Anglo immigration into Florida.

The next three essays in the book—Landers's essay on free black plantations, Brent R. Weisman's contribution about Seminole Indians and Black Seminoles, and Susan R. Parker's essay about the cattle trade—are more compelling than the previous chapters. All three emphasize the economic opportunities and activities that are so often marginalized by historians of the southeast.

The essays in the anthology are generally of an even quality, and they reflect the usefulness of such volumes, especially those that rely on authors who employ diverse approaches and methods. If the book suffers a serious flaw, the flaw resides in the title, which falsely promises the non-specialist a tedious experience. In fact, *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida* merits the attention of readers interested in early Florida and more broadly those interested in the South within an Atlantic World context.

Bradley G. Bond

University of Southern Mississippi

An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean. By Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. xvi, 357 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.50 paper.)

The British Caribbean has always posed an interpretive challenge for historians of the American Revolution. As with the English-speaking colonies to the north, Britain's six colonies in the West Indies—Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward Islands, Grenada and Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica—were places of extraordinary wealth and prosperity. As in the Chesapeake and Lower South, the planter elite of the West Indies consciously mimicked metropolitan norms and customs, including (despite the islands' heavy dependence on slavery) the English cult of liberty. The two

oldest of Britain's Caribbean possessions, Jamaica and Barbados, had a history of representative government that stretched back to the seventeenth century, and white West Indians were no less jealous (or assertive) of their rights and privileges than their fellow subjects to the north. Although they shared much with the continental colonies, however, the vast majority of West Indians remained resolutely—if somewhat grudgingly—loyal.

Despite this paradox, neither American nor West Indian historians have paid much attention to the Revolution's impact on the British Caribbean. For this reason alone, Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy's splendid new book, *An Empire Divided*, is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature. Taking as his main question why the West Indies did not rebel, O'Shaughnessy argues that three factors made such a course unthinkable: widespread absenteeism among the planter elite, the presence of an overwhelming, increasingly restive, black majority, and the islands' heavy (and growing) economic dependence upon the British sugar monopoly. None of these stopped West Indians from sparring with British officials when they thought their rights were under threat. Indeed, as O'Shaughnessy notes, the late 1760s and early 1770s witnessed a series of protracted confrontations between royal governors and assemblies in the Caribbean, the most serious of which involved a running dispute over the governor's judicial powers in Jamaica. (The assembly ultimately triumphed, notwithstanding repeated warnings from the Privy Council and threats of parliamentary intervention.) If the course of politics appeared similar to that on the mainland, however, West Indians had little stomach for explicit rejections of parliamentary sovereignty. Except for St. Kitts and Nevis, whose extreme dependence on the North American provisioning trade made them vulnerable to pressure by American patriots, the British Caribbean produced little sustained opposition to the Stamp Act (1765), and there were few subsequent expressions of support for the Revolution, despite a brief moment of pro-Americanism in late 1774 and 1775.

By opposing the American Revolution, West Indian planters hoped to preserve the imperial status quo. In this, they were sorely disappointed. Thanks to the West India lobby's successful defense of the British monopoly, profits from sugar production remained high. But in every other respect, the Revolution ushered in a new period of difficulty for the planter elite. Although Britain devoted considerable naval resources to the West Indies' defense,

the intervention of France in 1778 left even Jamaica vulnerable to invasion, and by the war's end Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and St. Kitts had all fallen into enemy hands. One consequence was renewed threat of slave insurrection and warfare with maroons and Caribs; another was a potentially explosive trend toward arming free blacks and coloreds for colonial defense. Of the various challenges to confront the British West Indies, however, the most serious came from Britain itself. During the 1780s, the British movement to abolish slavery gathered force. Where an earlier generation could have made common cause with slave colonies in the Chesapeake and Lower South, the British Caribbean had to face the growing power of metropolitan abolitionism on its own.

Thoroughly researched and ably written, O'Shaughnessy's book makes an important contribution to the scholarly literature on the American Revolution, as well as that dealing with the West Indies and the British Atlantic as a whole. It is, without question, a work that historians in all three fields will read with interest for years to come.

Eliga H. Gould

University of New Hampshire

The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860.

By Leonard L. Richards. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000. x, 228 pp. Preface, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

In *The Slave Power: The Free North and Southern Domination, 1780-1860*, Leonard Richards resurrects a long dormant historiographical debate and adds new insight into the political culture of the antebellum era. Richards investigates the idea, popular among antebellum northern politicians, that a slave oligarchy had managed to dominate national politics through special privileges granted to the South in the Constitution. His book will lead historians to reconsider the time frame, ideologies, and political orientation that shaped the sectional crisis.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, historians had accepted the idea that the slaveholding states had utilized the exceptional powers granted them by the Constitution to dominate national politics during the antebellum era. Chauncey S. Boucher, however, successfully put the argument to rest in an influential 1921 article.

Boucher argued that the South never reached the level of unity implied by the Slave Power conspiracy theory and that only a handful of northern extremists actually expounded the notion. Most succeeding historians have followed in Boucher's footsteps and have discounted the Slave Power thesis.

Richards challenges Boucher's conclusions. He argues that the South wielded an inordinate amount of power and exhibited a remarkable record of unity on national issues regarding slavery. He traces the origins of the Slave Power to the Constitutional Convention. The 3/5 compromise, the postponement of the ban on the slave trade, and equal state representation in the Senate operated to swell the influence of the South in national political affairs. Later, in battles over the Missouri crisis, the gag rule, the annexation of Texas, the Fugitive Slave Law, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and other struggles, the South pulled together and continually emerged victorious. Furthermore, the South fielded an overwhelming number of presidents, cabinet members, and other high level positions. Richard's book operates in tandem with works dealing with southern politics of the time, such as William Cooper Jr.'s *The Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856* and John McCardell's *The Idea of a Southern Nation*, both of which stress the record of southern unity on slavery issues.

Although books including David Potter's *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* and William Gienapp's *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* have mentioned the importance of the Slave Power thesis in the political culture of the North, they have not included the idea as a central part of their works and have generally focused on the 1830s or later as witnessing the birth of opposition to the Slave Power. Richards, however, discovers that attacks on the slave oligarchy had been common since 1787. Majestically utilizing an impressive number of manuscript collections, published writings and autobiographies, and congressional records, Richards pieces together a long list of other northern politicians who used the Slave Power thesis to drum up voter support. Politicians including Gouverneur Morris, Josiah Quincy, John Quincy Adams, Horace Greeley, and Abraham Lincoln all railed against the unequal advantages of the South. Moreover, northern politicians were anything but unified in their definition of the Slave Power. Some traced the origins of southern domination to the Constitution. Others believed the slave oligarchy first gained control during the latter years of the Jacksonian era. Many defined the Slave Power as

a small cadre of wealthy planters, while others expanded the definition to include the majority of the population of the South.

Finally, Richards discusses in detail one crucial "pillar" of Slave Power control. The northern "doughfaces" who continually voted with the South proved crucial in maintaining southern domination. Relying first on Martin Van Buren's Bucktails and later on northern Democrats from Pennsylvania and the Old Northwest, the South became dependent on northern support to maintain control. With northern backlash over the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the election of Abraham Lincoln, and the ensuing secession, the domination of national politics by the southern states ended.

Leonard Richards has successfully reestablished the Slave Power thesis as an important component in the politics of antebellum America. Although the book would have benefitted from the incorporation of newspapers and other evidence of popular perceptions of the Slave Power idea, he has convincingly demonstrated the powerful attraction of the opposition to southern domination among northern politicians and voters. Furthermore, his book lends credence to the argument for southern unity in national politics during the antebellum era. Richards's book is a must read for anyone with an interest in nineteenth-century American politics.

Justin C. Eaddy

University of Southern Mississippi

Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815-1895. By Lester Stephens. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xviii, 338 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, scientific terms used in this work, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Several aims motivate Lester Stephens's work on the Charleston circle of naturalists. He wants to relate the lives and accomplishments of the South Carolina scientists on whom he focuses: paleontologist Edmund Ravenel; John Edwards Holbrook, a pioneering student of reptiles, amphibians, and fishes; the polymathic Lewis Gibbes, scholar of crustaceans; Francis Holmes, collector of fossils and curator of the Charleston Museum; John McCrady, expert on marine invertebrates; and above all, mammalogist John Bachman. The book serves as collective biography with

a special focus on Bachman, the unofficial elder statesman and leader of the circle. It also seeks to supersede works like William Stanton's *The Leopard's Spots*. Stanton, charges Stephens argued wrongly that Bachman's proslavery views undermined his public arguments against racist "polygenists" who claimed that black and white human beings were of different species. Finally, Stephens's work attempts to make the argument that—contrary to claims made by both Southern historians and historians of science—"the institution of slavery did not deter scientific inquiry and activity."

Any book that attempts to carry out so many different tasks runs the risk of becoming an shapeless stew that succeeds neither in proving its points nor in providing the reader with a tasty narrative. Stephens certainly avoids the latter catastrophe. *Science, Race, and Religion* is well written, a warm invitation to the reader with even a passing interest in the natural sciences to walk with the author into the world of nineteenth-century natural history. The reader sees Edmund Ravenel stooping in the midst of his daily walks on the beaches of Sullivan's Island near Charleston. As the scion of lowcountry aristocracy peers at the sand, his heart beats faster and he hopes the object on the sand might be some unknown mollusk. The reader sees young John McCrady leaning over the gunwales of a tiny boat in Charleston harbor, straining to scoop up a tiny, nearly invisible medusa (a sort of jellyfish). And the reader follows the passionate arguments between nineteenth-century scientists who debated race, evolution, and creation. Telling stories that, in their unwinding, unwrap the meanings of important debates about nature of our biological world, Stephens also humanizes his scientists. By the end of the book, the reader may not agree with John McCrady's stubborn apologia for the slaveholding South, but we feel for him as he shivers in unreconstructed exile at Harvard, and we admire that part of John Bachman that seeks to act upon his own religious principles by forgiving the Union soldiers who beat him mercilessly as they wrested from him his last possession—a small comb given to him by his daughter.

But then there are those pesky points that Stephens said he would prove about the standing of Southern science in the antebellum economy of learning, and its relationship to slavery and race. While Stephens implies that Charleston was important in the world of nineteenth-century natural science, he also provides con-

siderable evidence to undermine that contention. In the eyes of contemporaries, the Charleston naturalists lost most of their arguments with scholars from Great Britain, Philadelphia, Cambridge, and even New Orleans. Stephens explains that the Circle sometimes published identifications of new species that had already been described by scientists elsewhere. He can excuse them by noting the inadequate access to journals and books in Charleston, but by so doing, he proves the scientists' relative isolation. And while he argues that slavery "clearly" did not "stunt" the intellectual work of these naturalists, his book leaves one with more ambiguous conclusions. For he also admits that the enslavement of half their city's population limited the Charleston scientists' human resources, that many of the Circle's most talented members frittered away their powers on the defense of an inhuman system, and that a war set in motion by the obsessive desire to protect the peculiar institution at any cost destroyed their families, communities, and society. Stephens concludes by stating "history must deal with what did occur, not with what might have been." Indeed it must. While Stephens does an exemplary job of narrating what was, he goes astray when he distinguishes the stature of Bachman and his colleagues from what might have been.

Edward Baptist

University of Miami

The Florida War. By John T. Sprague. (Tampa, Fla.: University of Tampa Press, 2000. xxx, 597 pp. Introductory, preface, appendix, index. \$30.00 paper.)

John T. Sprague's *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* is a well-written, first-hand account of the Second Seminole War. Originally published in 1848, it was reprinted in 1964 by the University of Florida and most recently in 2000 by the Seminole Wars Historic Foundation. To this day, it remains one of the few complete histories of the longest and most costly of the American Indian wars.

The Second Seminole War raged from 1835 to 1842. Sprague, an active duty Army captain, wrote the book while posted to Florida in 1846. He had an excellent perspective during the final year and a half of the conflict, serving as the aide-de-camp to com-

manding officer General William Worth. Assigned to the Eighth Infantry Regiment, he remained behind when his unit left to participate in the War with Mexico. As a result, the fame and glory that accompanied participation in that conflict eluded him, and in the decades that followed he would see his peers promoted past him. Nonetheless, Sprague retired at the rank of colonel in 1870 after thirty-three years of military service. Until the publishing of John K. Mahon's *The Second Seminole War* in 1964, Sprague's work was the only complete history of the war.

Sprague uses hundreds of official papers and letters in his book. In fact, nearly half of *The Florida War* is comprised of reproduced documents. His writings provide continuity, explanation, and editorial comment between these documents, many of which would be permanently lost if not for his efforts. Written only four years after the cessation of hostilities, Sprague's work shows remarkable balance in his descriptions of the Seminoles. Though he often refers to them as savages and writes of their natural tendencies toward treachery and bloody revenge, he recognizes the wrongs perpetrated by the federal and state governments and aggressive settlers. These misdeeds included making false promises and constantly provoking the Indians. He acknowledges the courage of the warrior fighting for his land and the tragedy of a people forcibly uprooted from their homes. An officer who wrote these criticisms in 1846 was bold indeed, a strong indication that Sprague was an independent thinker.

The accuracy of Sprague's perspective was no doubt increased when he married General Worth's oldest daughter Mary. As both son-in-law and aide-de-camp, he was part of the commander's inner circle of advisors. The final chapters of *The Florida War* record the events of the last eighteen months of conflict in great detail. Unfortunately, Sprague devotes only one chapter to the critical years 1836 to 1840, making his book chronologically lopsided.

General Worth's performance is not magnified, but neither is it criticized. The campaigns of Generals Winfield Scott and Thomas Jesup receive similar treatment. Sprague provides factual accounts of the performances of senior officers that rely heavily on reprinted documents; he does not expend any literary effort in evaluating their successes or failures. One must view his approach from the perspective of a military officer in 1846. The Army, a highly politicized institution in the nineteenth century, was com-

manded by General Winfield Scott from 1841 to 1861. To criticize Scott was tantamount to ending one's career. Indeed, Sprague's slow climb through the ranks may have been partially the result of a bitter feud between Scott and Worth that lasted until the latter's death in 1849.

Slaves played a key role in the Second Seminole War. Often employed as highly paid interpreters by the Army, they had a vested interest in prolonging the fighting. Though many were owned by Seminoles, blacks received much better treatment at the hand of an Indian master. Sprague places the importance of slaves in context, asserting that they "did more to aggravate and prolong the war than any other cause." He points to blacks' unique ability to influence events by slightly changing the meaning of verbal statements while interpreting.

Sprague's book withstands the test of more than 150 years of historical perspective. Though he focuses heavily on the portions of the Second Seminole War in which he participated, the book provides the fascinating insight of a military professional who obeyed orders, but was privately reluctant to support his government. Whether the independent streak revealed by *The Florida War* was a factor in Sprague's slow career progression is uncertain. However, his literary efforts in 1846 have made a permanent and invaluable contribution to the history of the Seminole Wars.

Jay Jennings

Erin, Tenn.

Bluegrass Confederate: The Headquarters Diary of Edward O. Guerrant.

Edited by William C. Davis and Meredith L. Swentor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. xi, 716 pp. Preface, abbreviations, introduction, appendix, index. \$49.95 cloth).

So many collections of letters and diaries of Civil War soldiers have been published in the past several decades that truly significant editions are in danger of being forgotten in the deluge. Hopefully that will not be the case with the current volume, in which William C. Davis and Meredith L. Swentor have skillfully edited the remarkable diaries of a young Confederate officer that

shed light on the neglected fighting in southwest Virginia, Kentucky, and east Tennessee.

Born in Sharpsburg, Kentucky in 1838, Edward Guerrant attended Danville's Centre College, from which he graduated as salutatorian in 1860. He taught school and briefly studied for the ministry before the Civil War intervened. Sympathetic to the Confederate cause, Guerrant joined the First Battalion, Kentucky Mounted Rifles in early 1862. Brigadier General Humphrey Marshall utilized Guerrant as a clerk until the young Kentuckian was discharged in June 1862 due to illness. He would rejoin Confederate service the following month, first as a civilian volunteer and then as a captain and assistant adjutant general to Marshall. He was later on the staff of generals William Preston and John Williams, and served in Colonel Henry Giltner's Fourth Kentucky Cavalry under John Hunt Morgan.

Guerrant took part in a number of campaigns, including the disappointing Confederate invasion of Kentucky in the late summer and fall of 1862. The failure of most Kentuckians to support the Confederacy disillusioned Guerrant, who sarcastically commented on October 21: "We solved the problem—long in solution—as to whether Kentuckians will defend their liberties or not: *whether they are fit to be free or not!!* It is answered! And Oh! The answer!!!" For the remainder of the war, Guerrant campaigned in southwest Virginia, Kentucky, and east Tennessee. He was present in a number of small engagements such as Big Creek, Tennessee, and Cove Gap, Virginia. A great admirer of John Hunt Morgan, Guerrant was pleased when, in 1864, his brigade was attached to the forces of the famous Confederate cavalryman. The thieving tactics of Morgan's men, however, soon changed the Kentuckian's views: "Am perfectly disgusted with Morganism," he wrote, "The whole programme seemed plundering, which the 'old hands' call 'bumming' . . . Am ashamed to be caught in such company."

Of particular interest is Guerrant's description of the October 2, 1864 battle of Saltville, Virginia and its aftermath. Giltner's Brigade participated in the engagement, which took place when Federal troops threatened vital Confederate salt works in southwestern Virginia. In addition to providing a detailed account of the bloody encounter, Guerrant also commented on the murder of Union black soldiers left on the battlefield. The day after the battle he matter-of-factly recorded:

"Scouts were sent, & went all over the field, and the continued ring of the rifle, sung the death knell of many a poor negro who was unfortunate enough not to be killed yesterday. Our men took no Negro prisoners. Great numbers of them were killed yesterday & today."

After serving in the Shenandoah Valley during the fall of 1864, Guerrant's unit returned to southwest Virginia, where he took part in the battle of Marion in December 1864. With the approaching defeat of the Confederacy, his entries for early 1865 grew more despondent until that of April 11, which simply stated "It is finished." Following the war, Guerrant studied and then practiced medicine before entering the ministry. He authored several books on religion and was a popular speaker among Confederate veteran groups until his death in 1916.

No mere recitation of distances traveled and rations consumed, Guerrant's diary entries, some of which run to several pages in length, are extremely detailed and literate. The young officer was both observant and fluent. He commented on everything from the weather to religion, from flora and fauna, and from the details of military life in the field to his views on the major events and personalities of the war.

The original transcription of Guerrant's diaries numbered nearly two thousand pages. Editors Davis and Swentor reduced this massive document to publishable size by eliminating repetitive and purely personal entries. The result is a work about 30 percent shorter than the original, though in published format it still numbers over seven hundred pages. To the editors' credit, the diary entries read smoothly, and there is little indication that significant portions were excised. In working with such a large manuscript, Davis and S. Wentor wisely determined not to clutter it with long explanatory footnotes. With a light editorial touch they identify individuals and events mentioned in the diary, and add brief introductions to each chapter in order to place Guerrant's activities into the larger context of the war. They also include a thirteen-page introduction that provides biographical details on Guerrant's pre- and post-war life, as well as his wartime service. The result is a fine work—probably the most detailed diary written by a Kentuckian during the war and one of the best Civil War primary sources published in the past few decades.

David Coles

Longwood College

The Collapse of the Confederacy. Edited by Mark Grimsley and Brooks D. Simpson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. vii, 201 pp. List of maps, index. \$47.50 cloth.)

In this, the inaugural volume in the *Key Issues of the Civil War Era* series from the University of Nebraska Press, Mark Grimsley of Ohio State University and Brooks Simpson of Arizona State University examine the final days of the Confederacy. Scholars have generally avoided the end of the Civil War, but Grimsley and Simpson contend that by studying the last months of the conflict, modern students can find the roots of the subsequent peace and much that came later. For this task, the editors chose six fine Civil War scholars to argue the case.

Steven Woodworth's contribution looks at the Confederate leaders' final duty in overseeing the dissolution of the government and negotiating a settlement. He outlines the Confederacy's attempts to negotiate peace with the Lincoln administration, along with the difficulties posed by fissures within Jefferson Davis's political family. Woodworth places on Davis the full blame for the Confederacy's failure to negotiate a peace before being forced into an unconditional surrender. It was the president who either derailed or complicated all attempts to negotiate a peace rather than trying to salvage what he could of his constantly shrinking nation.

Whereas Woodworth examined the politics of ending the war, Grimsley studied the Confederacy's martial leadership to see the military aspects of winding down the campaign. The major question in late 1864 and early 1865 was what to do with Sherman's massive army as it approached a rendezvous with Grant's doubly larger force. Confederate numbers, outside of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia which could not move out of position to help with Sherman, were tiny in comparison with their opponent's. As he had at the beginning of the war, P.G.T. Beauregard took over what remained of the Confederate army outside of Virginia. He coordinated troop movements from the western theater to help support the few thousand Confederates standing between Sherman and Grant. Unfortunately for the southern cause, Beauregard's men failed to arrive in the numbers and timeliness expected, and Joseph Johnston was left alone to hold Sherman in check.

Simpson counters Grimsley's southern approach with an anti-

cle that evaluates the collapse of the Confederacy from the standpoint of the Union generals. The real difficulty here was achieving victory without driving Confederate soldiers to guerrilla tactics. Additionally, Simpson argues that Grant knew as well as Lincoln that the nature of the Union peace would do much to dictate the future political climate in the postwar South.

William Feis's article reexamines the Confederacy's guerrilla option. He argues that Jefferson Davis opposed the idea of partisan warfare where other scholars have suggested that the president encouraged his generals to send their troops away in partisan bands to continue the fight throughout the South. Feis argues that Davis's questionable statement of April 4, 1865, was not a call for partisan methods, but for a strengthened southern resolve.

George Rable's contribution reevaluates the state of Confederate morale at war's end. Much has been made of the vast numbers of Confederate deserters, but Rable argues that while the waning of southern will has been noted frequently, many soldiers and civilians maintained their motivation throughout the conflict, with some even strengthening their resolve in the war's final days. Whether or not this southern confidence was sincere cannot be known, but Rable paints an enlightening portrait of the complexity of Confederate sentiment.

The final essay is Jean Berlin's historiographical response to Drew Gilpin Faust's contention that southern women's disillusionment with the war contributed significantly to dissatisfaction within the ranks and, ultimately, the failure of the war effort. Berlin convincingly suggests that most southern women, despite their hardships, remained steadfast in their support for the Confederacy and reserved their anger and resentment for Lincoln's Union rather than for their own government.

Grimsley and Simpson's *The Collapse of the Confederacy* is an illuminating read. Unlike most edited works, the essays fit together well and offer alternative ways of looking at the Civil War. With the exception of the Feis article, which hints at counterfactualism and seems to refuse to believe Jefferson Davis's own words, this volume is a worthwhile read for any person interested in keeping abreast of the modern scholarly arguments. With such a strong first volume, future installments of the *Key Issues of the Civil War Era* series should be anxiously awaited by all.

Brian D. McKnight

Mississippi State University

A Southern Practice: The Diary and Autobiography of Charles A. Hentz, M.D. Edited by Steven M. Stowe. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000. x, 646 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, appendix, index. \$64.50 cloth.)

Most currently available primary source perspectives highlighting development in the nineteenth-century South are the work of planters, politicians, northern adventurers, and the like. Although they frequently include radically different perspectives on events, in general they overwhelmingly demonstrate the ideals and values of the elite. While this new volume from the University Press of Virginia also originates from one who should be considered among the southern elite, the writings of Charles A. Hentz provide a refreshing new perspective in that his work as a medical doctor exposed him all classes of southerners, from the wealthiest members of the planting class to the slaves.

Although born in North Carolina, Hentz traveled across significant portions of the South spending much of his most productive time in the wilds of mid-nineteenth-century Florida. Accordingly, his diary offers a consistent perspective on the challenges of life that separated those residing in the more cosmopolitan Upper South from those along the remaining frontiers of the Deep South. Hentz provides dramatic accounts of his efforts to heal suffering in an age when medicine was both suspect and unreliable. Those interested in the art of early medical practices will find his recording of events among the finest of such compilations. The drama of childbirth, treatment plans for sick children and slaves, as well as the antiquated care rendered to victims of violent confrontations all amid the ever present fear of uncontrollable epidemics will serve to captivate the reader's imagination.

In addition to the diary, editor Steven Stowe includes an autobiography penned by Hentz that provides additional details of events while also demonstrating the value of subsequent reflection. Likewise, the appendix of a series of poems and notes that Hentz pasted into his manuscripts suggests the values and concerns dearest to his heart. The greatest contribution of this volume may be its emphasis on the ordinary. Hentz may not be a household name, but the centrality of his involvement in the daily challenges of life that confronted the common people provides important insight into their world, as well as the personal feelings of one who

sought to mitigate their suffering. In short, this book offers a fresh perspective on the demands of life in the nineteenth-century South.

Samuel C. Hyde Jr.

Southeastern Louisiana University

Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908. By Michael Perman. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

The collapse of Reconstruction during the mid-1870s heralded the return of conservative Democratic rule and white supremacy to the South. However, it did not, as Michael Perman reminds us, end black political influence or allay Democratic concerns about maintaining their tenuous grip on power. Throughout the 1880s, and in many states through the mid-1890s, large numbers of southern blacks continued to vote and pose a threat to Democratic hegemony by allying with Republicans, Greenbacks, Populists, and other advocates of change. Therefore, in the minds of the disfranchisers, Redemption had constituted an incomplete counter-revolution—the Reconstructionists had been ousted but not destroyed. As long as blacks remained eligible to vote, the resurgence of a Reconstruction-type regime remained a possibility; only the complete disfranchisement of African Americans could secure white supremacy. Indeed, the proponents of disfranchisement often justified their efforts with reformist rhetoric. Because extensive ballot fraud and manipulation had been required to maintain white supremacy, the elimination of the black vote would yield much cleaner elections.

According to Perman, three factors coalesced around 1890 to trigger intensified efforts by most southern states to disfranchise African Americans: concern that the Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison would interfere with southern elections, increased popularity of the secret ballot, and growing urgency among southern whites to settle the “race problem” once and for all. Perman speculates that the desire to move quickly toward disfranchisement stemmed in part from a growing realization among southern white leaders that African American fortunes were on the upswing, contrary to Social Darwinian predictions that the

"African race" would languish following emancipation. Tennessee and Arkansas initiated the disfranchisement movement beginning in 1889, and by 1908 all of the former Confederate states had effectively eliminated the African American vote through legislative action, constitutional amendments, or both. The political circumstances and the nature of the debate varied from state to state, but the results were remarkably similar—poll taxes, white primaries, literacy tests, multiple ballot boxes, and secret ballots.

The campaign to abolish black voting met with stiff resistance in most states—not just from the Democrats' adversaries, but sometimes from black belt Democrats and more often from representatives of poor, predominantly white counties. Before disfranchisement could be accomplished, black belt Democrats needed to be assured that if they surrendered African American votes they already controlled through fraud, they would not be relinquishing influence within the party. To appease representatives who had largely poor and illiterate constituencies, revised state constitutions included "saving" or "grandfather" clauses that exempted whites from the literacy and property qualifications designed to eliminate the black vote.

Curiously, Perman pays only fleeting attention to Florida's disfranchisement efforts. Although admitting that the state's 1889 multibox election (incorrectly dated 1884 on page 68) and poll tax laws had dramatically reduced voting, he argues unconvincingly that "Florida's place in the history of southern disfranchisement was. . . secondary" because the sunshine state's "Democrats neither took the lead in nor experimented with introducing...new methods and approaches" to disfranchise African Americans. Yet Perman seems to contradict himself when he refers to Florida "Democrats' successful effort to remove the black vote..." that began with the poll tax provision in the 1885 constitution and ended "with passage by the 1889 legislature of an eight-ballot box law." He might have also pointed to Florida's adoption of the secret ballot in 1895—further evidence that Florida's Democrats moved aggressively and effectively during the Gilded Age to extinguish the black vote. Despite Perman's neglect of Florida, scholars of the sunshine state's late nineteenth-century election "reforms" will find the book quite useful for comparing the process of change in Florida to that in other southern states.

Perman's inadequate treatment of Florida is, in the final analysis, only a minor blemish on an extraordinarily well-researched and

engaging book that does a masterful job of immersing the reader in the cauldron of southern politics of a century ago. *Struggle for Mastery* molds detailed examinations of individual state efforts to eliminate the African American vote into a cohesive regional analysis of disfranchisement. The book underscores the unique political circumstances that faced each southern state, while identifying the common political and ideological threads running through the region that compelled it to remove African Americans from the election process. *Struggle for Mastery* is a welcome addition to the scholarship on Gilded Age politics and race relations in the South.

Leonard Lempel

Daytona Beach Community College

Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies. By Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xii, 198 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

"Freedom is not a natural state. It is a social construct, a collectively shared set of values reinforced by ritual, philosophical, literary, and everyday discourse." The three thoughtful and challenging essays that make up *Beyond Slavery* explore the development, dimensions, definitions, contradictions, and limitations of the concepts of freedom that rose from the remains of slavery. The essays deal with black labor and citizenship in postemancipation Jamaica, Cuba, Louisiana, and Africa. The authors have defined the postemancipation period broadly, perhaps too expansively, encompassing the time from the end of slavery to the present. Each essay is remarkably incisive and insightful. All of them analyze the common ways in which governments "would eventually retreat from the full promise of emancipation."

Thomas C. Holt's essay is a concise restatement of the elegant, rigorous analysis that he constructed at length in *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938*. His thesis is that freedom was no match for the free market's inexorable imperative to establish and maintain inequalities that would in turn create large pools of "free" workers who would continue to labor much as they had during slavery. Independent, self-reliant, small farmers would have undermined this grand design, and so

such populations could not be allowed to develop. Former slaves had to be denied land and political power, and their options had to be limited until they would freely "chose" to become a tractable agricultural proletariat.

When black Jamaicans contested their assigned roles during the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, they found that the "invisible hand" of the market quickly transformed into the iron fist of repression. Holt explains that even high-minded colonial officials like Lord Glenelg failed to realize that their ideals were hopelessly incompatible with the demands of the market. When things did not work out as planned, problems were blamed on the backwardness of semi-civilized, pre-modern blacks.

In her essay, Rebecca J. Scott compares postemancipation Louisiana and Cuba. Scott extends the rich findings of her path-breaking study, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899*. She shows how bloody, brute force was used to discipline striking black workers in Louisiana in 1887 and in Cuba in 1912, in the same way that violence was used in Jamaica in 1865. But Scott's thesis is about race, not repression. She explains how subtle and supple racial identities were in both sugar-producing societies, until the forces of repression chose to make racial divisions salient and impervious in order to control and separate black and white workers. The effort to divide and exploit was effective in both Louisiana and Cuba, although a trans-racial Cuban national identity managed to survive racial manipulation, and the racist influences of U.S. troops and policy makers on the island.

Frederick Cooper contributes a fascinating perspective on the issues of race and freedom in his essay on "imperialism and free labor ideology in Africa." Cooper shows that the same European powers that fueled and shaped the horrors of the Atlantic Slave trade for several centuries later justified colonial rule as a way to end slavery in Africa. Further, he points out that by 1910 the colonial powers actually "had ended the legal status of slavery in most of Africa." But, just as in the New World, forced labor continued in different forms with different names.

As a rule, traditional male control of the labor of women was not interfered with by Europeans who "were generally happy to define one of the most important forms of enslavement into the category of 'marriage.'" Europeans themselves pressed Africans into forced labor for government projects and for private interests, sometimes with mind-numbing brutality, as was the case in the Congo under

Belgium's King Leopold. Still, Cooper's essay ends with the story of how workers in French West Africa were able to secure advances through modern industrial labor organization after World War II. Africans were also able to secure citizenship in the French Union, which meant they would no longer be subject to forced labor.

With this volume, Professors Cooper, Holt, and Scott have helped define the contours of an emerging field of study, and have presented issues and interpretations that will engage a generation of historians. These essays are must reading for all students of Emancipation and beyond.

Reginald F. Hildebrand *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Black Judas: William Hannibal Thomas and the American Negro. By John David Smith. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. xxvi, 386 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

John David Smith has written a fine biography of William Hannibal Thomas, anchoring him securely in the complex and certainly ambiguously political and social era in which he lived. This thorough book tells the story of Thomas's metamorphosis from a constructive critic and observer of conditions for blacks in the South prior to 1901 to an angry black Negrophobe who viciously blamed black Americans for their own problems as explained in his book, *The American Negro*. Clearly, William H. Thomas could be described as an enigma. On the one hand, Thomas's book became probably one of his greatest accomplishments. But on the other hand, *The American Negro* placed him at odds with many African Americans of his day.

Smith first explores Thomas's family background. In many ways, the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made Thomas a complex man. Born a free black in Jackson Township, Pickaway County, Ohio, Thomas's background remains murky given scarce source materials. At age seven, the youth was not living with his family but resided with the family of Henry Whiting, a black farmer in the area. Allowed to attend school in Ohio for a few months, Thomas had to leave because of threats on his life by white classmates. By 1860, he joined the Union army and lost an arm by war's end.

Experiencing discrimination and prejudice in school and in

the army, Thomas became an advocate for the human and civil rights of blacks in the South after the Civil War. He served as a minister, teacher, and racial leader within the ranks of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church in several states. He later would assume other positions throughout the North and South, only to leave repeatedly when charges of impropriety were brought against him.

Here, Smith gives a psychohistorical analysis of Thomas's perplexing life. How could a man accuse his race of immoral and scandalous behavior, only to be repeatedly brought up on similar charges throughout his life? Smith explains the attitudes, ideas, and behavior of this complicated man from his uncertain background through his youth and participation in the Union army. Like the best biographers, Smith develops a well-controlled affection for his subject, yet he clearly details his wayward and corrupt behavior and how these factors clouded most of Thomas's life.

The 1880s represented the apex of scientific racism and influenced how white Americans placed blacks into their racial imagination. Thomas's book *The American Negro* only added fuel to the fire, justifying the abusive treatment by some whites toward blacks. Thomas's life and times tell us much about race in society and how law and social practice made one black man hate himself so much that he turned against his own race in the process.

Smith has written an interesting and meticulously researched book which deserves to be read by professionals and lay people alike. It brings the shady life of William Hannibal Thomas and *The American Negro* out of oblivion and into the light with careful and thorough analysis based on well-marshaled primary sources. This study makes an important contribution to our understanding of African American, United States, and Southern History.

Larry E. Rivers

Florida A&M University

Teaching Equality: Black Schools in the Age of Jim Crow. By Adam Fairclough. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001. x, 110 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

The three essays in Adam Fairclough's brief but excellent and attractive book originated as the Lamar Memorial Lectures at

Mercer University. The writing is of uniformly high quality, and the research is solidly based in a wide variety of sources as indicated by endnotes that run to one-third the length of the text. This fine work should find an appreciative audience among scholars and informed general readers.

Adam Fairclough's subject is the part that black teachers played in shaping the drive for racial equality in the South. His thesis is that black teachers, including administrators, acted as "double agents." In Fairclough's words, "if the teacher appeared to appease whites and play the role of 'Uncle Tom,' it was for the larger purpose of serving the black community." The difficulty with a double agent is his having "to play two sides against each other" so that one cannot easily determine his "ultimate loyalty." In the realm of actual spying the final "test of loyalty" is the "profit and loss account," a "process in which the known good an agent has done is weighed against the suspected harm he has done."

Initially, the author applies the profit and loss account to Booker T. Washington and concludes that much of the damage to the black cause Washington allegedly inflicted "occurred independently of anything he said or did, through factors completely beyond his control." Fairclough finds that Washington not only founded Tuskegee Institute, but he also helped create other southern schools, urged northern capitalists to help finance black education, promoted the Rosenwald school construction program, and launched a "political machine that exerted influence in the higher ranks of the government." Washington instilled black pride and confidence, stood up for "black humanity," and never surrendered the final goal of total equality. Put another way, "Washington and other teachers kept hope alive; however much it appeared otherwise, they were educating for equality."

Robert Russa Moton, Washington's successor at Tuskegee, serves as the focal point of an essay on the "Travail of the Black College President." Moton was elevated to Tuskegee's presidency in 1916 with the expectation that he "could be relied upon to accept the guidance of white paternalists." Regardless of expectations and of attacks on Moton by such figures as W.E.B. DuBois, he went his own way and "pursued his course in private, seeking to influence whites with calm reason, knowing that angry rhetoric would merely alienate them." Moton, according to Fairclough, had three primary goals: he sought benefits for Tuskegee Institute, improvements in black education generally, and movement

toward racial equality. The last was the most elusive, but Moton pursued it "doggedly and sometimes courageously," for "he never envisaged segregation as a natural or permanent condition." Fairclough asserts that Tuskegee under Moton's guidance and other historically black colleges were "true citadel[s] of an uncommon American tradition: that of radical acceptance of the principle of human equality."

The third essay, dealing with "Black Teachers and the Civil Rights Movement," is the longest and perhaps also the most problematic. To determine the motives and aims of a large group of people is much more difficult than to ascertain those of a single individual such as Washington or Moton. Here exists the danger of drawing unwarranted conclusions and making dangerous generalizations. Fairclough is aware of the problems for he notes that "the Civil Rights movement sometimes prompted harsh judgments about black teachers" and that complaints abounded that "black teachers failed to support the struggle against segregation." He opines nevertheless that the harsh judgments often were overwrought and that black teachers generally made significant contributions to undermining segregation. Fairclough concludes that they maintained their integrity, remained focused on their larger purpose, strove to better education in a political system that denied political rights to blacks, inspired students to learn and sometimes to excel, and opposed the "racial stereotypes that constantly threatened to sap black self-respect." They opposed the basic tenets of white supremacy and thus helped weaken Jim Crow. Fairclough's final word is that black teachers insisted upon the "sanctity of knowledge and the innate humanity of black children" and consequently "they performed political work of the most far-reaching kind."

Joseph A. Tomberlin

Valdosta State University

Cassadaga: The South's Oldest Spiritualist Community. Edited by John J. Guthrie, Jr., Phillip Charles Lucas, and Gary Monroe. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xix, 241 pp. \$29.95 cloth.)

Central Florida, a region known for its religious and social conservatism, is not an environment where religious scholars

expect to discover exotic expressions of religion in America. It is thus fascinating to learn that the oldest Spiritualist community in the South is the picturesque town of Cassadaga, located twenty-five miles north of Orlando. Formally called the Southern Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association, the camp opened in 1894 as a southern winter retreat to its northern counterpart, the Cassadaga Lake Free Association in Chautauqua, New York.

In this first scholarly treatment of Cassadaga, a trio of editors has assembled a variety of essays depicting the history, people, beliefs, rituals, and cultural environment of what the Cassadagans call a "metaphysical mecca." Drawing upon a range of sources, including pictorial archives, newspaper accounts, interviews, and participant-observer perspectives, and utilizing recent methods and theories in history and ethnography, the contributors explore the intriguing history of this community from its origins to the present.

Spiritualism, an American original of the mid-nineteenth century, rejected institutional religion, rebelled against the harsh Protestant doctrines of hell and judgment, affirmed the goodness of God, and declared that the spirits of the dead communicated with the living. Though debunked as "humbug," it expanded rapidly in the 1850s and by 1906 had over 450 churches and a membership in the thousands. As Bret Carroll demonstrates in his contextually rich opening chapter on the beginnings of Spiritualism, Cassadaga represented the fruit of this growth. In chapter two, John Guthrie examines the first four decades of Cassadaga's history (1893-1933). Despite a belief system at odds with the region's predominant Protestant presence (by 1887 there were four Protestant churches in nearby DeLand), the camp flourished by accentuating its cultural sympathies with the host environment. According to Guthrie, the locals perceived the Spiritualists not "as radical communarians who professed to communicate with the dead," but "as a group of ordinary people who came to the county seeking their version of the American dream."

In chapter three, Phillip Lucas shifts our historical gaze to the present. Employing a phenomenological, participant-observer method, he focuses on the community's core beliefs and ritual expressions, the crucial role of mediums and healing, and the transforming effect of New Age influences on the community. With a keen sense of the dynamics of change, Lucas detects festering tensions between older, traditional Spiritualists who hold pub-

lic seances and worship in Christian-looking ways, and younger Spiritualists who find New Age beliefs and practices more appealing.

The last four chapters are divided between the architectural aspects and photographic images of the camp (chapters 4 and 7) and sketches of prominent, older members of the community (chapters 5 and 6). Sidney Johnston examines the town's first plan (250 building lots covering 60 acres) and the historic architecture of the community from 1894 to 1945. He observes that the camp's traditional Victorian homes, now listed in the National Register of Historic Places, embodied "the culture of mainstream American middle-class residents who happened to be Spiritualists."

Gary Monroe, whose photographs are interspersed throughout the book, concludes the volume with evocative photographic images of present day Cassadaga's activities, ceremonies, and rituals. Sandwiched between these chapters on material culture and visual representations are profiles of living Cassadagans. In their discussion of four current members, Ann and Paul Croce not only emphasize the personal backgrounds and contributions of these Spiritualists to the community but also tease out common themes from their biographical sketches. In chapter six, Anne Morgan offers a sensitive portrait of the Rev. Eloise Page, a ninety-year-old medium and teacher with whom Morgan studied for ten years.

There is much to praise in this volume. Drawing upon multiple methodological and disciplinary perspectives, it offers a splendid account of the neglected history of an important Spiritualist community. At the same time, this work has several weaknesses, related in part to the challenges inherent in an edited volume with many contributors. First, nothing comparable to Guthrie's early historical account fills in the half-century following 1933, and so we lack a complete accounting of Cassadaga's history. Second, although the chapters by Lucas, the Croces, and Morgan offer insights into the lives and religious dynamics of the present-day community, we have little sense of its current size and permanence. Its members express optimism about the community's future, but it is difficult to know if such optimism is real or unfounded. Third, Morgan's chapter offers the welcomed perspective of a Spiritualist devotee, but her filio-pietistic reverence for Eloise Page lacks critical insight.

Still, these shortcomings should not detract from the valuable contribution of this volume. *Cassadaga* illuminates how a religious

community on the periphery exists not only by maintaining its distinctive beliefs but also by its ability to adapt and blend into the surrounding environment. Indeed, as the authors convincingly demonstrate, Florida-style Spiritualism bears the indelible stamp, "made in the U.S.A."

David W. Kling

University of Miami

Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South. By Celeste Ray. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. xix, 256 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, appendix, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95 paper, \$29.95 cloth.)

Highland Heritage is a valuable ethnography of Scottish American heritage celebrations in the Southeastern United States, somewhat weakened analytically by anthropologist Celeste Ray's apparent unfamiliarity with the extensive historiographies of the construction of historical memory and ethnic and racial identity. The strength of the work is Ray's nuanced examination of 1990s Scottish heritage celebrations, based on her field research in the Southeast and in Scotland and on her analysis of Scottish heritage publications. For Ray, North Carolina, the site of one of the largest concentrations of Scottish immigration in the eighteenth century, holds a particularly central role in the creation of the current Scottish American heritage movement and consequently receives the most attention.

"Heritage" in this study is a construct of the present, consisting of "traditions" perceived by their practitioners as continuous and identical with those practiced by the immigrant ancestors. Ray devotes a considerable amount of space in her early chapters to explaining how 1990s Scottish-American traditions were based less on the actual practices of colonial immigrants and more on Highlandism, a nostalgic reconstruction of northern Scottish culture popularized in the nineteenth century by the writings of Sir Walter Scott. She explains how Highlandism, centered around romanticized legends of Jacobite Highlanders who were repressed or exiled for their support of Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1746, has come to represent "heritage" for all people of Scottish descent, whether of Highland, Lowland, or Scots-Irish origins. However,

Ray emphatically states that her purpose is not to use the constructedness of the Highland tradition to devalue Scottish heritage celebration. Rather, she finds heritage celebrations important precisely because their inventiveness provides a window into the emotional needs of their creators.

Herein lies the real strength of the study. Ray uses interlinked descriptions of Scottish American clan societies, Highland Games, and Scottish heritage tourism to explicate the ways in which Scottish heritage celebrations provide practitioners with significant feelings of family, community, and connectedness with the past. Heritage celebrations, she argues, enable people to emphasize values that they feel are missing in today's rapidly changing American society. Ray identifies the values most frequently reiterated by her informants as strong connection to family and place, emphasis on patriarchal authority and traditional gender roles; practice of Protestant—particularity Presbyterian—religion, and traditions of military service and prowess. In a fascinating section at the end of the book, Ray notes the similarities of these themes to those central to the white Southern myth of the antebellum plantation gentry, and describes the frequent juxtaposition of Scottish and Confederate symbols at Scottish heritage events in the South. While emphatically dismissing the claims of some scholars that antebellum white Southern culture derived many of its practices from the Celtic heritage of its population, Ray persuasively argues that the reason that Scottish heritage celebrations are currently popular in the Southeast is because cultural traditions shaped around the Lost Cause of the Jacobites and the Lost Cause of the Confederacy have much in common thematically. She offers the intriguing idea that, for white Southerners, Scottish heritage has become a way to celebrate key elements of the antebellum tradition without their morally problematic connection to slavery and the Civil War.

However, Ray most clearly exhibits the limits imposed by her unfamiliarity with current historiography when she expands this analysis to argue that "Southern Scottish Americans are not celebrating whiteness," a claim primarily based on the fact that very few of her informants told her that they were KKK members. Such an analysis is somewhat naive, given that the display of Confederate symbols has become too politicized in the contemporary South to be a race-neutral act. Moreover, the expanding historiography of the construction of historical memory and racial identity in the

United States suggests that celebration of colonial-era forbearers, particularly of ancestors from the British Isles, has been intimately tied to attempts to assert and maintain social status, cultural authority, and racial identity during times of social change similar to that currently being experienced in the Southeast. Although Ray may be correct to argue that Scottish heritage celebrations have emotional meaning beyond the assertion of racial identity, she is wrong to dismiss whiteness entirely as a component of this tradition.

Anne Brophy

Georgia State University

Florida Atlantic University. By Donald W. Curl. The College History Series. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2000. 128 pp. \$18.95 paper.)

On the eve of Florida Atlantic University's 40th anniversary (if one goes by the official seal, well-known Florida historian Donald W. Curl has provided readers with a firsthand and first-rate pictorial history of the university's development. He was a member of the faculty when the school opened in the fall of 1964 and still teaches history part of the year.

There is a two-page introduction, and each of the five chapters, covering the opening years and then focusing around the leadership of its four presidents, contains a brief commentary, as does virtually all of the 230 photos which comprise the volume. It is unfortunate that the author's modesty resulted in the inclusion of only one photo of himself, small and unidentified among all of the early members of the College of Humanities. He has played a significant role not only in the history of the university, but in promoting the study of the history of Boca Raton as well as many aspects of Palm Beach County related to Florida Atlantic University.

Chapter One, covering 1955 to 1966, contains some excellent pictures of Boca Raton dating to the era of World War Two and photographs of the first new buildings on campus which arose among the abandoned but now remodeled structures left on the old air base. A second chapter covers 1966 to 1973 as "The Williams Years," a bit confusing since Kenneth R. Williams, as Curl acknowledges, was President from the early beginnings in 1962.

The photos vividly illustrate, however, the effort to incorporate into the university landscape some of the learning technologies of the day, including the library. Anticipations were that this upper division school drawing upon the expanding community colleges would be deluged by South Florida. Also nicely covered is the shift toward a more traditional university, evident by 1967. Curl might have explained further that a reason for Boca Raton's selection was its distance from the University of Miami. In 1964, Interstate linkages did not exist that would later help make the university a popular commuter school. For several years after, students were in short supply.

A third chapter examines the presidency of Glenwood Creech, 1973-1983. Creech was a superb fund-raiser, and there are excellent pictures of the donors and recipients of several of the Eminent Scholar Chairs established during these years. This was a period of inflation and declining enrollments nationally. Still, FAU held its own even as Florida International University opened in Miami. Creech used a disagreement with Chancellor Barbara Newell as an excuse to step down at the end of ten years, but as he had told several faculty members years earlier, after his "interrogation" by the regents at the end of his first five years, he would not subject himself to another such experience.

The presidency of Helen Popovich, 1983 to 1990, is explored through photographs in the fourth chapter. The first woman president in the State University System (SUS), she developed new programs for minorities but fell afoul of reports by State Auditors. There was no evidence of "criminal wrong doing," but even after the removal of the vice presidents in the areas involved, it was clear Popovich lacked support within the SUS. She resigned in 1988 to take the presidency at Ferris State in Michigan where, in the 1990s, she also experienced problems and controversy before stepping down.

The final chapter deals with the administration of Anthony J. Catanese which began in 1990 and continues a decade later. He has overseen the development of a truly regional university with campuses and classes across seven counties. This has included a host of new programs, the development of new campuses in Broward, Palm Beach, and Martin Counties, and an incredible redevelopment and landscaping of the campus in Boca Raton. The black and white photos cannot do justice to this last aspect. Athletics have been expanded and football added to what has become America's fastest growing university.

What can one say by way of critique of this fine book? The frontispiece map omits the Treasure Coast campus although there are photos of these buildings later in the volume. There are a couple of factual errors in several of the photo descriptions, but these are trivial. Perhaps because of space, there is no discussion nor photos reflecting Catanese's tremendous effort to move FAU toward a Type I Research Institution, probably the most important aspect of the school's future, or of his commitment to the International Studies Program,

Perhaps more consequential is what was not included by Curl's own criterion. In an interview with the *Boca Raton News* introducing the book, he observed that "what he remembers the most were the anti-war movement of the 1960s and the 1968 presidential campaign." Yet, the only photos are of a sparse crowd at the Vietnam Bombing Moratorium (mistakenly called a "War" Moratorium) in 1969 and a Kent State memorial observation in 1970. Actually, FAU faculty and students were considerably more involved in both the civil rights and earlier Vietnam debates than any of Curl's selection of photos would indicate. It is worth recalling that while the Ku Klux Klan burned a huge cross at a large meeting in Fort Lauderdale in 1965, FAU faculty volunteers were working with Black and Chicano migrants before there was an Office of Economic Opportunity and several later became consultants in the work of that agency. Some were active in helping to write grants for programs in the Black community and were reported to the Provost by the police chief from his "informers" as "preaching revolution" in Pearl City. A march was organized there by faculty to coincide with the Selma March which was later called off by Martin Luther King, in what he came to see as the great mistake in his career.

In the anti-war protests, a couple of wealthy FAU students, Al and Jo Sipporta, donated the funds for Senator Ernest Gruening, one of two who had voted against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, to speak at FAU and at a large teach-in at the University of Miami sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society. The International Affairs Club published the first student publication on campus with faculty debating the war, as well as sponsoring a Deep South Model United Nations which drew over two hundred students from as far north as Washington, D.C., and which was later selected as the outstanding Model UN regional meeting that year. That remains probably the largest student meeting ever held

at the University, at which the featured speaker was the noted radical historian, William Appleman Williams, who spoke about how to get this country out of the Empire game. The Club also sponsored several debates about the war, including one between Nathaniel Weyl, the author of *Red Star Over Cuba*, and Prof. James Tedeschi, an anti-war critic at the University of Miami, and sponsor of the SDS chapter there. In short, FAU was not a "johnnie-come-lately" to the protest movements which Curl remembers so fondly, but rather active, despite a less than enthusiastic administration.

William Marina

Florida Atlantic University

Purified by Fire: A History of Cremation in America. By Stephen Prothero. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. xiv, 266 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, timeline, abbreviations, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$27.50 cloth.)

Readers may initially shudder at Stephen Prothero's topic, but this book is a concise, engaging, and insightful addition to the expanding list of scholarly works dealing with death in American history. Prothero's examination of the historical development of cremation—a practice that historians have generally ignored but which now makes up 25 percent of the corpse disposals in the United States and 46 percent of those in Florida—is firmly grounded in the broader context of Americans' evolving attitudes toward death, religious culture, and commercial life from 1874 to the present. As the author notes in his introduction, "Whether to bury or to burn is, therefore, no trivial matter. It touches on issues as important as perceptions of the self, attitudes toward the body, views of history, styles of ritual, and beliefs in God and the afterlife. In other words, it amounts to a choice of worlds to inhabit."

Prothero believes the development of cremation does not represent a move from religious consciousness to secularization; rather, cremation's growth reflects an increasingly pluralistic sense of religious belief and ritual practice. Three major chronological sections trace what he accurately labels "a fascinating tale." "Birth, 1874-1896" focuses on the first organized efforts to cremate among Anglo-Americans. Prothero begins with a lively description of Dr.

Francis LeMoyné's staging of America's first fully-promoted public cremation in Washington, Pennsylvania in 1876, but he masterfully anchors this account in a broader discussion of the sanitary reform movement, concern about grave-robbing, and contemporary views of bodily resurrection and religious ritual. Comparison of the arguments used by both proponents and opponents of cremation add to this wide-ranging discussion. For example, cremationists extolled the sanitary virtues of hastening the natural decay of the corpse and thereby avoiding exposure to the reputedly harmful by-products of this process. In contrast, traditionalists asked readers to visualize the actual process of cremation by imagining "the crisping, crackling, roasting, steaming, shriveling, blazing features and hands that yesterday were your soul's delight."

Prothero continues this effective format throughout the book. He relates the modest development of cremation in "Bricks and Mortar, 1896-1963" to proponents' increasing emphasis on the business of cremation and the resultant accommodating relationships they sought with traditional foes such as cemetery superintendents and even funeral directors. In good Progressive fashion, they organized the Cremation Association of America in 1913 and gave increased attention to the infrastructure and technology of their craft. Many of them also rejected scattering and supported the movement to memorialize loved ones by preserving their ashes in urns buried in the ground or placed in columbaria.

The context for the rapid growth of cremation described in "Boom, 1963-Present" is the increasingly shrill criticism of the funeral industry that followed the publication of Jessica Mitford's *The American Way of Death* in 1963 and the assertive individualism of post-1960s Americans. Prothero effectively links these characteristics with the growing number of stylistic choices apparent in contemporary cremation. Individuals or their survivors can select the mode of disposal and memorialization that fits the person and his or her circumstances. The golf bag urn, designed as the final lie for the ashes of deceased golfers, is just one of many examples of how "Cremation . . . allowed baby boomers to do death in their own way."

Although specialists may quibble with Prothero's interpretation of Puritan funeral customs and his essentially top-down approach to cremation American style, he has produced a fine piece of scholarship that will stimulate questions and further research among those with serious academic interest in death. In

addition, his engaging writing style and the inclusion of a brief history of cremation prior to 1874, well-chosen illustrations and a time-line make this book equally accessible to the general reading public. Given the growing calls from within and without the academic community for scholarly works that appeal to broader audiences, *Purified by Fire* stands as one model of how to accomplish this difficult assignment, even if the topic does make readers (both academic and general) initially shudder.

Stephen C. Messer

Taylor University

The Wild East: A Biography of the Smoky Mountains. By Margaret Lynn Brown. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xxii, 457 pp. 68 b/w photos, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Margaret Lynn Brown calls her Smoky Mountains history a biography, but it is a biography of the old-fashioned "life and times" variety, wide-ranging and full of interesting and relevant detail. The book is also handsomely published, with well-chosen photographs, a useful bibliography, and informative notes. Academic specialists in a number of fields, including social history, environmental history, forest history, political history, and Appalachian studies, will profit from this highly readable volume.

Brown's social history contribution begins with the peoples who were regarded as "natives" of the mountains at the beginning of the last century—the Cherokees and the descendants of the white backwoodsmen who settled in the Smokies before, during, and after the Cherokee Removal. "Both Cherokee and white farmers in 1900 manifested a powerful sense of place in the Smoky Mountains," she writes. "Without romanticizing what indeed was a very difficult life, it is accurate to say that this sense of place resulted from great ecological knowledge borne of use and spiritual traditions that encouraged them to imbue that use with meaning." That meaning manifested itself in communal land use, formally and self-consciously enforced among the Cherokees, informally preserved among the whites, who relied both on private property and unrestricted access to a forest commons that provided open range for livestock and yielded a rich bounty of forest products such as wild fruits, herbs, and vegetables, game animals,

and timber for construction and firewood. The stinging sense of deprivation that the loss of this commons entailed was at its sharpest during the 1930s, when the Great Depression coincided with the ecological disaster of the chestnut blight and the expropriation of landowners and expulsion of landless tenants to make way for Great Smoky Mountains National Park. "When people moved out, their hearts were broken," Brown quotes one native; "Without a doubt, this [the Park] is one of the grandest natural and historical treasures in the United States. But admiration of the breadth and long-term value of this tremendous achievement should not obliterate the cost incurred to make it happen."

Much of the book consists of institutional history, cataloging the development and impact of the lumber companies whose operations transformed the Smokies' economy and ecology; the conservationists and tourism promoters who collaborated to call the Park into existence; the National Park Service and its sometimes competing, sometimes collaborating fellow federal bureaucracies, the U. S. Forest Service and the Tennessee Valley Authority; the tourists who have come in record-breaking numbers since the Park opened for business in 1934; the developers that these numbers attracted; and finally, the planners, environmentalists, scientists, and advocates who have developed some sort of attachment to or claim on these mountains. Brown is especially good at explicating the cultural clashes between the Park Service, with its paramilitary organizational structure extending even to the wearing of uniforms, and the various natives, scientists, environmentalists, and enthusiasts who looked to the Smokies as a place apart from the bureaucratic world, not one of a series of nodes on a grid centered in Washington.

The book is also an environmental history, detailing the various introductions (such as rainbow trout or "California fish," in native parlance), depletions, and extinctions that have changed the mountains during the last century. Brown lays bare the value conflict between conservation and preservation as it applies to the Park and relates the many conflicts and compromises entailed in the fact that, "The history of the Great Smoky Mountains is not the simple story of preserving of wilderness, but rather the complex narrative of restoring—and even creating—one." However, lest contemporary readers think that the Smokies and the Park are merely another cultural construction of the post-modern era, to be equated with Williamsburg or Graceland, Brown adds in her con-

clusion that "it seems to me a profoundly male instinct to abandon the term 'wilderness,' simply because the land is not 'virgin' or 'pristine.' Through painful relocations, political nightmares, exhaustive research, and resource management, dedicated individuals fought for nature's right to own the Great Smoky Mountains. In the twenty-first century, it is the nearest we shall come to a Wild East."

John Alexander Williams

Appalachian State University

Claude Pepper & Ed Ball: Politics, Purpose, and Power. By Tracy E. Danese. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xiii, 301 pp. List of illustrations, series editors' forward, preface, notes bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In 1925, Claude Pepper arrived in Perry, Florida, armed with a populist heritage, a Harvard law degree, and a strong desire for political office. A young Ed Ball also came to Florida in the 1920s. The brother-in-law of Alfred I. duPont, Ball assumed the stewardship of duPont's many financial ventures in the Sunshine State. In this detailed history of the quest for and exercise of power, Tracy E. Danese shows how Pepper and Ball rose to the tops of their respective professions, clashed in their pursuits of diametrically opposed political interests, and ultimately came to personify liberalism and conservatism in their adopted state.

Pepper's story as presented in this book will be familiar to students of Florida history. Born in rural Alabama in 1900, Pepper graduated from the University of Alabama and received a law degree from Harvard University. After a brief teaching stint at the University of Arkansas Law School, Pepper joined a law firm in Perry, served one term in the Florida House of Representatives, and was elected Florida's United States senator in 1936. In the Senate, Pepper proved to be one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's most loyal New Dealers. Danese does a particularly fine job fleshing out Pepper's liberalism, grounding it in the tortured populist legacy of his Alabama homeland. According to Danese, Pepper's unerring belief in an activist federal government in service of the common good was the source of his insatiable political ambition.

Ed Ball's biography is less familiar to students of Florida and Southern history, and despite Danese's efforts, Ball never fully

emerges from the shadows. Like Pepper, Ball rose to prominence during the 1930s, when he assumed control of the duPont Trust's myriad financial and manufacturing enterprises. Eventually, Ball became a titan in the business world, arguably the most powerful businessman in the state. Not surprisingly, Ball had a very different expectation of government, heralding the sanctity of property rights and "rugged individualism in the pursuit of economic gain."

Pepper and Ball's conflicting ideologies, Danese contends, ultimately led to power struggles that defined Florida politics for much of the twentieth century. With exception of the protracted struggle over Ball's ownership of the Florida East Coast Railway, their various confrontations ultimately cannot carry the explanatory weight given to them. Danese is at his best in navigating the complex developments of Ball's various business and financial operations; however, too often the details of these transactions overwhelm or mask the book's larger point about the functioning of political power. Similarly, readers get little sense of how these various struggles affected the development of Florida politics.

The 1950 U.S. Senate race between Pepper and Congressman George Smathers most clearly illustrates the larger political contours and consequences of the Ball/Pepper conflict; ironically, this contest, which had regional and national significance, was the least direct of their confrontations. In fact, Danese contends that Ball was "but a collateral figure to the main players in the unfolding drama." Not all readers will agree with Danese's analysis of the election. He downplays the scurrilous nature of the race- and red-baiting by the Smathers camp, and deflects responsibility from the candidate, stating that "Smathers would have been mostly occupied with keeping a rigorous travel schedule and raising money, leaving little time for direct involvement in campaign literature production." Although contemporary observers took note of the overheated rhetoric of the Smathers campaign, Danese argues that Pepper's demise was due primarily to the senator's "Soviet apologetics."

Possessing two very different visions of the role of government and the future of their adopted state, Claude Pepper and Ed Ball dominated the Florida political scene for nearly half a century. But in the final analysis, they seem to be curiously disconnected from the state. For although Danese provides valuable insight into the source of each man's political ambition, we come away with little sense of the constituencies they represented, interest groups that likewise had particular ideas about the future of Florida.

Pepper and Ball's power derived not only from their personal qualities but from their ability to represent the interests of various constituencies. Only by placing their particular battles within the larger context of the economic, social, and political struggles being waged in the state (and region) can we appreciate their significance.

Kari Frederickson

University of Alabama

To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War. By John Fousek. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xiv, 272 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

There are always a number of considerations that historians address when examining a historical episode: causes and/or origins, conduct, impact, legacy, and termination to name just a few. What is different about the Cold War is that the historical debate about its nature and origins started before the event had ended. The stories of the historiographical disputes and arguments of the 1960s and 1970s are legendary. It says something about a new scholar that he would venture into this terrain and even more that he would have something very different to say on the subject. Such is the case with this book, a converted history dissertation at Cornell University. Fousek, who now works as the associate director of the Center for Global Change and Governance at Rutgers University, argues that "American nationalist ideology provided the principal underpinning for the broad public consensus that supported Cold War foreign policy." He is quick to explain that this work is a study of cultural perceptions of policy rather than an examination of the policy itself, and that public discourse is contested terrain.

Fousek begins by noting that the belief in mission is a major ingredient in U.S. nationalism. Americans thought they had a duty to improve the world; that the planet aspired to the live like them. The nation had a responsibility to provide economic stewardship and moral leadership in world affairs. Certain segments of society—the author focuses on labor and civil rights movements—had different views on how to do this but accepted the basic parameters of national greatness. The wide divergence of opinions about the place of the United States in the world after World

War II had changed by 1947. The public was beginning to grow antagonistic towards the Soviet Union. As Fousek observes about the Truman Doctrine speech, "the ideology it embodied did not spring out of the blue in response to the perceived crisis in the Mediterranean in early 1947" The Korean War ended any lingering doubts about the relationship with the Soviet Union. A decade after the rampage of the Nazi Blitzkrieg through Europe, the American public saw the events on this distant peninsula as the first step of Communist aggression. The only difference was the Soviets were using the North Koreans as proxies when the Nazis had done their own dirty work. The American public lined up behind the White House. The time for disagreement was over. Although Fousek does not make the comparison, the story he tells sounds remarkably like that of the United States's entry into World War II. After Pearl Harbor, the public lined up behind the White House. The time for debate was over.

The effort that went into this book demands respect. Fousek has gone through the letters sent to the White House from ordinary Americans during the Truman years. He also made extensive use of mass circulation magazines, prestige and tabloid New York City newspapers, the black press and the proceedings of the annual conventions of labor unions. One wonders, however, if research in major regional publications like *The Florida Times-Union*, *The Miami Herald*, *The Courier-Journal* in Louisville, *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Seattle Times*, or the Hearst chain might have resulted in different findings. Depending entirely on a media based primarily in cities along the Northeastern seaboard seems a bit narrow.

As impressive as this book is, it strikes this reviewer as a first step. More work needs to be done in exploring grassroots support for the Cold War crusade. While this investigation into the opinions of labor and the African American community is quite impressive, the reviewer keeps wondering about how other elements of society shaped the overall attitude of the nation. What about the clergy and missionaries? What did industrialists think of the United States's role in world affairs? Was their view different from those of financiers? These comments are not to fault the author for failing to do something that he never intended, but rather to indicate that this book is not the final word on the culture that supported and shaped American foreign policy in the 1940s.

Nicholas Evan Sarantakes

Texas A&M University, Commerce

Aiming for the Stars: The Dreamers and Doers of the Space Age. By Tom D. Crouch. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999. xiii, 338 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, preface, acknowledgements, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

To anyone familiar with the relationship between Cape Canaveral Air Force Station and the nearby John F. Kennedy Space Center the opening words of *Aiming for the Stars* are akin to nails flowing down a classroom chalkboard. Author Tom D. Crouch announces, "Roughly three million people visit the John F. Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral, Florida, each year." With these words once again the identity of Cape Canaveral Air Force Station has been lost in the shadow of the vast NASA space center on neighboring North Merritt Island.

Looking beyond this blasphemous beginning, Crouch has succeeded in creating an effective single volume history of those who dared to dream of reaching the stars. Tracing the roots of modern rocketry from the visions of Renaissance astronomers, he concentrates on major turning points in twentieth-century astronautics. Those looking for a readable space history unfettered from overwhelming technical terms will find *Aiming for the Stars* refreshing.

To his credit, Crouch discusses the speculative fiction works of H.G. Wells and Jules Verne and their influence on early space pioneers, most notably American Robert H. Goddard and Russian Konstantin Eduardovich Tsiolkovsky. As an adult Goddard would confess to the aging Wells as to how *War of the Worlds* acted as a touchstone since his childhood. Credited with the first theoretical evidence to utilize liquid propellants for space flight, Tsiolkovsky would himself go on to publish grand works of science fiction envisioning Earth-orbit space stations and solar powered electricity.

An examination of interwar rocketry includes notable Germans Willy Ley, Hermann Oberth, and a youthful Werner von Braun. Greater attention could have been given to the interest of the Stalinist Soviet Union during this embryonic period. Upon moving into the arena of the German scientists and Nazi Germany, Crouch delicately dances between the harsh realities of the slave labor force at the V-2 factory Mittelwerk and the scientific value of Von Braun's contribution to the greater advancement of rocketry. He goes so far to interject that an individual "writing fifty years after the fact, with no personal experience of life in a regime in

which terror is a governing principal, must exercise great caution in commenting on the behavior and the decisions of individuals who passed through that time."

The post-war years provide more than ample coverage of von Braun in his adopted United States's homeland. Perhaps too much regards the von Braun group, however. There are several serious shortcomings in the events leading up to the Soviets' launching of *Sputnik*. The contributions of General Bernard Schriever to the nation's missile program in the 1950s deserves more than a single paragraph. Winged guided missiles such as the *Matador*, *Mace*, and *Snark* (the nation's first intercontinental missile) are glossed over as if they were a poor relation to von Braun's *Redstone*. Finally, the reader would have been better served if Crouch delved into the complexities and dynamics of the political climate in which both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations operated in this crucial period in American missile development.

Sputnik marked the beginning of the "space race," where the dreams of early science fiction writers were soon to become science facts. With only a few minor errors, such as stating that the *Mercury 7* astronauts all held engineering degrees when Scott Carpenter did not, Crouch effectively discusses the *Mercury* and *Gemini* programs, providing not only cold facts but also recounting the feeling of national pride and euphoria surrounding our first astronauts. With *Apollo*, the author notes that the missions up through *Apollo 13* are remembered by the public on an individual basis and the remaining four missions are "compressed, faded, blurred." Unfortunately, *Aiming for the Stars* itself has done the same, with only tincture of time given to the most scientific of all the *Apollo* missions. The post-*Apollo* era is represented by the long duration accomplishments of the Soviet Union and our own Space Shuttle program. Worthy of note is a chapter concerning satellites and unmanned planetary vehicles.

Those who find space a passion will find only glimmers of excitement in *Aiming for the Stars*. But for anyone with only a basic knowledge of the noted figures and events in the history of rocketry, this volume will provide them with an excellent starting point in understanding our space heritage. Floridians can take pride in the history that has taken place on our shores—from no where else has mankind left for a journey to another celestial body.

Lori C. Walters

Florida State University

Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South. Edited by J. Michael Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch-Su. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xv, 351 pp. List of illustrations and tables, preface, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth).

Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South provides a series of related articles discussing the nature and controversies surrounding Confederate symbols such as monuments, museums, and most particularly, the Confederate flag. The book includes essays by an interesting mix of academicians, independent scholars, and professionals in various fields. Though Martinez, et al. write of their initial hesitancy to publish this book because of the highly emotional nature of the battle flag debate, the work includes little that should be viewed as controversial. *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South* is a scholarly approach to discussing these issues and provides a more thoughtful forum than either popular media outlets or state legislatures. The book falls far short of solving these debates or of addressing sensible remedies; then again, it is not meant as a panacea but rather as an insightful book aimed at furthering our understanding of these most contentious issues.

Divided into four sections, the work seeks to explain Southern political thought and its inherently conservative nature, to place the Confederate flag and Confederate monuments into historical perspective, to discuss the various legal challenges to Confederate symbols, and to chronicle the political aspects of the flag debate. It is highly useful in understanding both the Traditionalist (pro-flag) and the Reconstructionist (anti-flag) arguments in a generally dispassionate, scholarly manner. Further, the opening chapters that discuss the evolution of Southern political thought are insightful and generally instructive. Though the authors tend to oversimplify some points and to leave others virtually unexplained, readers will nevertheless gain a general understanding of Southern political philosophy and its shortcomings.

The thesis of the book is clear: the Confederate battle flag flying atop state capitals today, instead of representing the Old South and Confederacy's "cause," more represents the "massive resistance" campaign created in reaction to the United States Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision. The contributors argue that the flag represents and celebrates Jim Crow segregation and southern defiance more so than any concept related to

the mid-nineteenth century. And indeed, in examining the origin of flying the flag over state capitals, it is plain that such symbols were utilized as a direct response to the federal threat to Jim Crow.

But that was in 1954. One of the work's shortcomings is its failure to discuss whether the meaning of the flag has changed once again since the mid-1960s or so. It is intriguing to contemplate what most people today think when they see a confederate battle flag: do they reflect on the Confederacy and on Southern heritage? Or do they instead envision Ku Klux Klan rallies, racial bigotry, state-sponsored segregation and racism, or slavery? Does the flag inspire a different vision today than it did in 1954? And if the flag inspires images of slavery—as is most understandable—do not Confederate museums, road markers, and the literally hundreds of statues and shrines dotting the Southern landscape evoke similar emotions? In that sense, it would seem that as the flag represents Jim Crow, statues and similar structures represent slavery and the Confederacy's attempt to maintain control over its "peculiar institution." *Confederate Symbols* is quite useful in explaining how the same symbols can be viewed differently by various people, and that fact alone explains why the controversy surrounding the flag remains heated.

As is often the case with compilations, *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South* seeks to explain too much with too little information. Each essay could quite easily be broadened into a full-length manuscript. That notwithstanding, the work is an important, scholarly contribution that at least discusses emotional issues in a professional manner. Southern apologists will find little to their liking here, and those professing a firm conviction that the flag represents nothing other than Southern heritage will be sorely disappointed.

Robert Saunders Jr.

Troy State University, Dothan

Journeys Through Paradise: Pioneering Naturalists in the Southeast. By Gail Fishman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xv, 306 pp. List of illustrations, preface, introduction, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Gail Fishman provides informative biographies of thirteen naturalists who explored the American Southeast from 1715 through

the 1940s. She profiles the familiar figures of John and William Bartram, John James Audubon, and John Muir, as well as naturalists whose legacies are less known though they made important contributions to Florida's natural history: Hardy Bryan Croom, Alvan Wentworth Chapman, and John Kunkel Small. Fishman's strength lies in her ability to convey the sense of wonder that compelled these men to brave uncertain geographies, climates, and reptiles in their search for unknown species. Aside from the rugged logistics of travel, Fishman also describes the political contexts that both constrained and determined each naturalist's work, including shifting colonial allegiances, the Civil War, and the campaigns for Indian removal.

Most importantly, Fishman details the way in which naturalists' personal histories and published accounts intersect—André Michaux retraced William Bartram's travels in the Carolina mountains, Mark Catesby's *Natural History* inspired John Abbot to leave London for Virginia, Roland Harper wrote argumentative letters to John K. Small. In doing so, she provides valuable insight into how the natural history of the southeast emerged as a body of knowledge and, at times, was contested. Each naturalist's research built upon the work of his predecessors, gradually refining the discipline's methodology. The naturalist's requisite skills shifted from taxidermy to taxonomy during these years as well.

Fishman's research goes beyond biography. In the second part of each chapter, she recounts her own journey to rediscover the landscapes that these naturalists chronicled. As the book's title suggests, for Fishman the nature that these naturalists encountered was Paradise—a landscape of verdant splendor, free from the corrupting influence of man. Certainly the nature that these early naturalists explored was *edenic*, both ecologically and philosophically. In fact, the writings of these early naturalists, Bartram and Muir in particular, reveal as much about the influence of the Romantics as they do about the wilderness they documented, a point well made by Ann Vileisis in her excellent *Discovering the Unknown Landscape: A History of America's Wetlands*. This particular vision of nature as Eden is so embedded in our shared cultural assumptions that it is rarely questioned, and Fishman certainly is not prepared to do so. Instead, she revisits the naturalists' paradise in a quest that can only be understood in the epic sense as a search for remnant *nature* (from the Latin word *natura* suggesting both birth and essence).

As this is Fishman's motivation, it is not surprising that her narrative verges on a sad lament of paradise lost: "Some plants and animals have been completely erased" from the Bartrams' St. Johns River; Audubon's Florida Keys "have been discovered. Plants and animals, land and marine, are disappearing, the once turquoise waters are muddied"; Michaux's Appalachian Mountains are now littered with garbage; and the list goes on. As an anthropologist mucking through the same glades that Small eloquently pressed to preserve, I am also saddened by what I see as irrevocable changes to wild nature. Yet as an environmentalist, I find Fishman's "then and now" comparisons too simple.

Environmental historians writing about the New World (David Arnold, William Cronon, Candace Slater, and Ann Vileisis to name a few) demonstrate that the naturalist's ability to explore these unknown landscapes became only *possible* through the process of colonialism, a mindset that equated social progress with the control over nature. In this sense, European colonial governments funded many of these expeditions in the hope of expanding mercantile opportunities. Charles Darwin, Alexander von Humboldt, John and William Bartram not only influenced other naturalists, but inspired poets, painters, rubber tappers, railroad men, and other future scions of American capitalism. I do not suggest that Audubon's portraits of bird life led directly to the unmitigated paving-over of the Florida Keys. What I would suggest is that we cannot hope to understand the process of environmental change without placing the "pioneering" of naturalists within an historical context that leads us to the present. Without this examination, we are left, as Fishman leaves us, only to yearn nostalgically for an Eden that is beyond our grasp.

Laura Ogden

University of Florida

From Season to Season: Sports as American Religion. Edited by Joseph L. Price. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2001. ix, 240 pp. Contributors, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

This is a collection of fifteen essays, seven written by editor Joseph L. Price, a professor of Religious Studies at Whittier College, and the remainder by eight college professors drawn primarily from the fields of Religious Studies, Theology, and English.

As suggested in the subtitle, all of these essays seek to examine sport as religion, primarily in North America. Three of the essays focus on baseball, three on football, and two on basketball, one on hockey, and one on professional wrestling. Three others look at the general subject and its manifestations, and Price offers an introduction and a conclusion. Seven were previously published, and a few clearly suffer from age.

The basic premise of the book, that sport in America has become a religion, seems to be the claim made by many of the authors and is a dubious proposition in and of itself. Oddly, in the concluding essay, Joseph Price seems to back considerably away from this claim when stating emphatically that "sports do not constitute a religion in the sense that Christianity and Islam, Buddhism and Taoism are religions." He quotes Michael Novak, author of *The Joy of Sports*, that sports are a form of religion because they have "organized institutions, disciplines, and liturgies" and because they teach "religious qualities of heart and soul."

It would seem more credible to argue that sport shares some qualities and characteristics with religion, as do a considerable number of other activities that seem to invite near total immersion of the participants. Certainly few would argue with such a position, with the proposition that sport and religion have been heavily linked in American culture, sometimes in the most bizarre manners.

In addition to the problem of definitional focus, no real agreement exists among the authors. Nonetheless this collection remains interesting and stimulating, and will set the mind in motion, which is what provocative essays should do.

Paul Johnson's "The Fetish and McGwire's Balls" examines the scramble for the home run balls off the bats of Sosa and McGwire, the extravagant prices paid for them, and their reverential treatment as holy relics, suggesting interesting religious parallels. In a similar fashion Peter Williams offers an analysis of sports heroes as martyrs which is thought-provoking in its implications. Joseph Price's exegesis of the Super Bowl as a religious festival certainly is convincing, although it might just as easily be described as a secular mid-winter festival of conspicuous consumption.

The insistence by several writers that college sport is "amateur" and that "amateur" sport is somehow qualitatively superior to the professional varieties of sport is surprising. "Amateurism" itself is a concept that is historically rooted in the British aristocratic world

of the 19th century and was designed to deny working and lower class people access to sport. Few scholars who look seriously at the world of sport still give this concept much credibility, although college administrators and coaches continue to wrap themselves in this cloak of hypocrisy.

Then there is the ridiculous. Annie Savoy's assertion in the film "Bull Durham" that there are 108 beads in a Catholic rosary, just as there is 108 stitches on a baseball is mentioned by two authors. It is time that someone count the beads, because 108 is much larger than all the Catholic rosaries I have ever owned including one from the Vatican and one from the Holy Land. The Final Four as a parallel to the final judgement is less than convincing, while the notion that professional wrestling is a sport is ludicrous. However, I would add that the essay on raslin is an extremely well-crafted analysis of this highly visible form of popular culture. The absurd is reached when Bobby Knight is compared to an abbot in a religious monastery, although I must tip my hat to the chutzpah of anyone who would seriously try to make this claim.

In the end it is fair to argue that sport in American popular culture has taken on some of the trappings of religion, but I am not willing to accept any argument that remotely suggests the possibility that Joe DiMaggio died for our sins.

Richard C. Crepeau

University of Central Florida

Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity.

Edited by W. Fitzhugh Brundage. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xi, 366 pp. Illustrations, maps, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

This collection of twelve essays explores how Southerners have molded memory to create a "usable past." The essays are topically diverse and range from the 1790s to the present. Predictably, some Southerners have used history to gain political advantages; others parlayed historical imagery into social and economic advancement. Some have guarded cherished models of the past through historic preservation. In a few cases, boosters nurtured ethnic identities and historical stereotypes to encourage tourism. And their methods have been as varied as their motives.

Michele Gillespie relates how skilled artisans in Georgia fashioned a heroic class identity around their role in the American Revolution. Celebrating their patriotism helped them to secure an honored place in public memory and the emerging capitalist economy of the early republic. As they prospered in the postwar decades, however, they willingly exchanged their former class identity for that of planter and slaveowner.

Two of the volume's best essays study the use of memory during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Anne Sarah Rubins's "Seventy-six and Sixty-one" argues convincingly that Confederates sought to legitimize secession and war by evoking public memory of the American Revolution and linking the current struggle with the former one. Kathleen Clark's "Celebrating Freedom" examines Emancipation Day celebrations in the postwar South. Freedpeople not only honored their recent struggle, but also hailed the opportunity to take their rightful places as citizens. And the prose! Rubin and Clark raise language to the level of music.

Catherine Bashir's essay on turn-of-the-century architecture in Raleigh and Wilmington explores national trends in local settings. While elites in every region erected historical monuments and built fine homes for themselves, North Carolinians conformed to regional models of authority and culture. Colonial Revival architecture, Bashir suggests, reflected prevailing notions of white supremacy and Anglo-Saxon elitism.

Gregg Kimball surveys the complexity of black memory in antebellum Virginia. Excluded from the "public transcript" of the dominant culture, blacks often preserved memories of oppression and resistance through folktales and songs. Ironically, others rejected "subversive" memories and aligned themselves with powerful whites. In her well-written essay, Laurie Maffly-Kipp takes black memory into the early twentieth century as she analyzes "race histories." The writings ranged from Protestant-style calls for advancement through self-help to Afro-centric mythmaking. Rather than bind the race together, however, they often exposed fissures between north and south, the formerly enslaved and the never enslaved.

Bruce Baker's essay "Under the Rope" peers into dark corners of memory. Lynchings are more likely to be remembered if the victim was a local resident and had a large extended family. Ironically, the site of a lynching is often remembered long after the identity of the victim and date of the event are forgotten.

One essay is about forgetting. The author recounts a murder that took place in his hometown in 1895 and suggests that public memory of the event was deliberately suppressed because the killer was gay. His evidence? That the author, born seventy-seven years after the event, had never heard of it.

Two essays address memory within the contexts of gender and historic preservation. In "We Run the Alamo, and You Don't," Holly Brear probes the controversy surrounding the control and interpretation of the Alamo by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. More is involved than ethnicity, Brear suggests, and powerful gender currents move beneath the surface. The DRT views challenges to their custodianship as attempts to re-assert male dominance of the site. In "Rich and Tender Remembering," Stephanie E. Yuhl relates how Charleston women saved two of the city's most important residences: the Manigault House and the Miles-Bruton House. At substantial risk to themselves, these women helped to launch a cultural and economic revival and "bestowed a decidedly female cast" to historic Charleston.

Intersections of ethnicity, memory, and boosterism are examined in other essays. Brenden Martin recounts how Smoky Mountain boosters—both white and Cherokee—promoted the hillbilly and "chief" stereotypes into commercial icons. Tourist dollars flowed into a contrived landscape of rustic cabins and wigwams. Fitzhugh Brundage examines the Acadian Revival in southwest Louisiana. In promoting a distinct Cajun ethnicity, boosters successfully crafted a range of highly marketable products including music, cuisine, and handicrafts. Synthetic Cajun "festivals" drew many tourists to the region.

Fitzhugh Brundage also edited the volume and deftly binds it together with chapter preambles. In his introductory essay, Brundage concedes that terms like "historical," "social," and "public" memory are too elusive for precise definition. Yet, he skillfully constructs a comprehensive model of historical memory employing examples from the essays—and some of his own. Memory, he concludes, is more than organic recollection and includes elements of "official" history, oral tradition, and folklore.

The ultimate question being asked—and sometimes answered—by this book is "What is the value of public memory?" Although the essays abound with historical examples, more recent ones could be cited. For example, memory can be evoked to influence policy. In the late twentieth century, African Americans

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successfully manipulated public memory of their long history of oppression to justify affirmative action. But memory is not always about grievance, and history is not always about race, gender, or class. Sometimes motives are straightforward and mundane. Sometimes people build beautiful homes simply because they enjoy them and can afford them. That, too, is worth remembering.

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