

2002

Book Reviews

Florida Historical Society
membership@myfloridahistory.org

 Part of the [American Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Book Review is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Florida Historical Quarterly by an authorized editor of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (2002) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 81: No. 1, Article 9.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol81/iss1/9>

Book Reviews

Sinking Columbus: Contested History, Cultural Politics, and Mythmaking during the Quincentenary. By Stephen J. Summerhill and John Alexander Williams. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xii, 219 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Summerhill and Williams, both academicians, were involved in the 500th anniversary celebration of Christopher Columbus in 1992. They tell a fascinating tale of the evolution of this recent commemoration from awe of the great admiral to the wish that he had never darkened the American shores. The celebration, they say, was upgraded from “an innocuous ethnic celebration” to a “battleground for our entire view of Western culture.” They sketch the characters who shaped the commemorative activities, spelling out institutional rivalries, generational conflicts, ethnic pride, and hostilities.

The authors describe several commemorative plans, both in the United States and abroad, in considerable detail. Spain spent lavishly; Italy had a traditional celebration; the Dominican Republic, where Columbus actually landed, was enthusiastic, but underfunded; Mexico was subdued. In the United States, John Alexander Williams served as director of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission for two years. The commission was troubled by ethnic struggles, sparse funding, and serious conflicts of interest. For example, its plans for the 1992 Chicago World’s Fair, which planners had hoped would equal the Columbian Exposition of 1893, became a victim of ethnic and party tension and conflict between the old guard and the ethnic neighborhood.

Celebrations of Columbus, most old-fashioned and ineffectual, failed. Traditional commemorative events did not ignite public interest. Still, the celebration was not so much disregarded as redirected. "Truths" about Columbus were reinterpreted in new frameworks that recognized the imperialist ethnocentrism and oppression of native peoples during European colonization. As the planners discovered, traditional Columbian programs, insensitive to indigenous people, were shipwrecked on populist shores.

How could poor heroic Columbus be so demonized? For the previous two hundred years, he had benefited from selective memory. Every bad thing he ever did, long a part of the public record, had been forgotten. In 1992, he was newly blamed and condemned for his rediscovered faults. Earlier Columbus had been forgiven much because he was gallant and brave, a poor boy who succeeded, a devout Christian, and most importantly, because he was needed to begin the American story. Now our story has other first chapters. We no longer need Columbus to begin the Western Hemisphere and the United States, and he has consequently fallen from grace.

Columbus's discovery has been redefined as an encounter, as the exchange of people, plants, and diseases. Whether Columbus was the first European to arrive in the western hemisphere is now beside the point. Someone else would have opened the "new world" soon enough. Columbus, however, achieved a public relations coup. As the book notes, he returned to Europe, held a press conference, and got government funding to return.

According to Summerhill and Williams, some successful activities did take place in his name. The "Honeymoon Project" was a symbolic "wedding of worlds" of the Statue of Liberty and Columbus; Miss Liberty's immense trousseau was displayed in Las Vegas in commemoration. Two Washington exhibitions, "Circa 1492" at the National Gallery and "Seeds of Change" at the Smithsonian, got high marks, but neither had much to say about the Admiral of the Ocean Seas. "Expo 92" in Seville was a success. The tour of reproduction caravels was admired, though only one proved seaworthy. The authors celebrate the opening of the New York branch of the Museum of the American Indian in the neo-classical Custom House, with its imperialist sculpture and stained-glass Columbus.

While the official Quincentenary may have failed, the authors argue that it succeeded because it failed. It became a celebration

of the other. Columbus is now in disgrace, but he provided the context for debating diversity and tolerance, myth and history. In the mirror of Columbus we reevaluated the meaning of the past five hundred years. From this experience, we can expect that Columbus will continue to reemerge reinterpreted, enhanced, and diminished as the world debates the future meaning of the past. Our present disgust is another phase of his enduring myth, the great admiral led home in chains. Despite the criticism in 1992, he was surely celebrated even by those who wrote negative books and poured blood on his statues.

Meanwhile, this detailed retrospection should be required reading by anyone planning a celebration. There are many lessons here.

Claudia L. Bushman

Columbia University

The Wreck of the Belle, The Ruin of La Salle. By Robert S. Weddle. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001. xvii, 327 pp. List of illustrations, foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

As a historian I should know better than to say that any book is the last word on the subject, but I find it difficult to imagine anyone revisiting the complete story of La Salle's effort to establish a French colony on the Texas coast any time soon. *The Wreck of the Belle, The Ruin of La Salle* is as authoritative and detailed a study as we are likely to get, barring the discovery of new documentary sources that might have eluded the author. That seems unlikely, given that Weddle has been on La Salle's trail for over thirty years. In 1973, he published *Wilderness Manhunt: The Spanish Search for La Salle*, and since then he has produced a series of works discussing the Gulf of Mexico and various aspects of the La Salle odyssey that have shed considerable light on the early European colonization of the northern Gulf of Mexico region. With this latest entry, the author comes full circle, tying up all the various threads of research and conjecture while telling the French side of the story.

The title of the book refers to the author's muse, for during the 1990s, archeologists working for the Texas Historical Commission excavated the *Belle*, one of two La Salle ships to wreck

along the Texas coast. Archeological work at the site of La Salle's post near Matagorda Bay has added detail on the doomed French colony. (The archeological evidence backs Weddle's contention that the post on Garcitas Creek was never called "Fort Saint Louis," as historians have come to call it, because it was never substantial enough to merit the designation). Recent documentary investigations and re-translations of existing documents have also shed new light on La Salle's project and on the man himself. Weddle has taken all the new information and rethought what was previously known, believed, and speculated about the subject, and presented us with a reinterpretation of characters, motives, and events.

To begin with, La Salle is no longer the great explorer but bumbling surveyor of past interpretations. He is a deeply flawed and unsympathetic individual: paranoid, egotistical and selfish, and abusive of the people under his command. Weddle's portrait of La Salle is unflattering enough to make his murder at the hands of his own men, if not justifiable, at least understandable. It turns out, however, that La Salle was not only manipulative himself (for instance, hiding the fact that he wanted to sail west of the Mississippi in order to be closer to the silver mines of Mexico) but himself manipulated by his partners and promoters. These, including Louis XIV, hoped to profit in various ways from his scheme to wrest Spain's richest colony from the imbecilic Charles II. Perhaps La Salle's most unpardonable decision was his initial order to shoot Indians on sight (so much for the myth of universally friendly French-Indian relations). By the time the colonists realized the consequences of treating native people as hostile, the Karankawan bands were so incensed that reconciliation was impossible. They killed off the colony as soon as they got their chance.

If La Salle comes out the worse for Weddle's close examination of his previous career and decision-making during the Texas expedition, most of those with him do not fare much better. Recruitment practices that included deception and turning a blind eye to serious character flaws left the expedition handicapped with large numbers of men who were incompetent to establish any sort of viable French presence on the Gulf coast. The clergy that accompanied the expedition consisted of men generally more interested in acquiring rich dioceses for themselves in Mexico than in tending to the spiritual needs of their fellow expeditionaries. At least the young engineer who signed up for the project had sense enough to foresee its failure and return to France on the *Jolly*, a

French naval vessel whose captain had been at odds with La Salle from the beginning. As the extensive primary and secondary sources are analyzed and interpreted by Weddle, it is impossible to find the slightest ray of hope for success in the venture.

The Wreck of the Belle, the Ruin of La Salle is not light reading, but it is rewarding. The author's meticulous analysis and narrative approach has produced a very detailed work, perhaps overly detailed for all but the most diehard fans of exploration history. For historians of North American colonial history, particularly exploration history, it is an indispensable addition to their libraries.

Jesús F. de la Teja

Southwest Texas State University

Assessing Site Significance: A Guide for Archaeologists and Historians.

By Donald L. Hardesty and Barbara Little. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 2000. xi, 184 pp. Foreword, preface, glossary, index, about the authors. \$23.95 paper. \$62.00 cloth.)

Historic archaeological sites are important parts of the archaeological record, and significant sites should be nominated to and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The older the historic archaeological site, the more apparent is its potential significance. For instance, most researchers would agree that a well-preserved early eighteenth-century frontier site that was occupied for only twenty years would be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. However, among archaeologists and cultural resource managers, there is a great deal of debate about the potential significance of more recent historic archaeological sites, such as late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century farmsteads.

In this book, the authors provide a framework for evaluating the significance of all types of historic archaeological sites and for nominating both early and more recent historic archaeological resources to the National Register of Historic Places. It should be noted, however, that the title of this book is somewhat misleading, for it gives the impression that the book is about assessing the significance of all archaeological sites, prehistoric as well as historic. The book only deals with historic archaeological sites. This book would have been applicable to, and used by, a broader segment of

the archaeological community and cultural resource managers if the authors had had included chapters on prehistoric archaeological sites as well.

The book is organized in two parts. The first part provides an overview of the National Register nomination process. The authors outline a five-step process for determining if a property is eligible for listing in the National Register. The first is to assign the archaeological site to a property type. Once a site has been assigned a property type, one must determine (step two) the historic contexts that are applicable to the property. The third step in the nomination process is to evaluate the site with respect to National Register Criteria A-D, and the fourth step is to determine if the property type qualifies for listing in the National Register. The final step in the nomination process involves an evaluation of the property to determine if it retains sufficient integrity (how well is it preserved) to convey its significance.

Archaeological sites can be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A (important in national, state, or local history), B (association with an important person), and/or C (architectural qualities), and/or D (scientific data content). The authors provide examples of historic archaeological sites that qualify for listing in the National Register under one or several of these four categories. Most archaeological sites qualify for listing in the National Register under Criterion D.

Part One concludes with a discussion of how to evaluate the significance of an historic archaeological site. Data sources are reviewed, and it is noted that a site must be evaluated with respect to the quality of the information available both in historic documents and in the archaeological record. In evaluating a site, occupation span, the site's uniqueness, and its visibility in the archaeological record are other factors that need to be considered.

Most historic archaeological resources can be assigned to one of the following property groups: linear sites, such as roads, trails, and canals; industrial sites, such as iron furnaces and grist mills; domestic sites, such as farmsteads and rural villages; and large scale sites, such as plantations, mining districts, and military sites. As such, the second part of the book is broken down by these different groups of historic archaeological sites; for each group, the authors identify research domains and case studies. The book also contains a glossary of terms for the non-archaeologist.

This book would be useful for archaeologists, historians, and cultural resource managers. It is an excellent reference tool for anyone interested in nominating historic archaeological sites to the National Register of Historic Places and could be used as a textbook in a cultural resource management class, providing a framework for evaluating historic archaeological sites and identifying a broad range of research questions that can be addressed at historic archaeological sites.

David Pollack

Kentucky Archaeological Survey

Paynes Prairie: A History of the Great Savanna. By Lars Andersen. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, Inc., 2001. x, 156 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, bibliography, index. \$14.95 cloth.)

For the last twelve thousand years or so, the wide expanse of freshwater marsh and grassy plain presently known as Paynes Prairie has provided the fertile resources necessary for human habitation. Located between Gainesville to the north and the small town of Micanopy to the south, the twenty-thousand-acre wilderness area is now a wildlife refuge and state park. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the prairie, along with its nearby lakes and hardwood hammocks, was in close proximity to Paynes Town, the former head village of Seminole chief "King" Payne. The earliest pioneer settlements in the interior of East Florida were located in the region as well. Unfortunately, Paynes Prairie's unique historical heritage has not often been explored. For this reason I was particularly hopeful that Lars Andersen's history of what naturalist William Bartram once dubbed the "great Alachua savanna" would be a useful addition to a very sparse body of work.

Andersen, who operates an outdoor tour guide business in Alachua County, states that his primary intention was to supplement the knowledge of tourists who visit the Paynes Prairie State Preserve. Tourist guide books, of course, are limited in scope, and it was a disappointment to discover that the author did not rise above the genre. The absence of endnotes and an uninspired bibliography further limits its usefulness. A puzzling omission is the lack of any map that shows the prairie's location. The title itself is something of a misnomer since the author spends most of his time

dealing with surrounding towns and settlements—many of which are some distance from the prairie itself.

Andersen briefly touches upon most of the key historical events: De Soto's expedition, the establishment of the largest Spanish cattle ranch in Florida—*Rancho de la Chua*, the Patriot Rebellion, the founding of Micanopy and Gainesville, as well as the onset of the Second Seminole War. Clearly, these are subjects that warrant serious analysis and at least a modicum of contextual background. Andersen's brusque style, essentially a distillation of secondary sources, contributes very little and, in many instances, contains distortions and factual errors.

While it is beyond the scope of this review to go into great detail, factual errors include Andersen's misidentification of Peliklakaha, which he states as being "Micanopy's Town" rather than "Abraham's Old Town"—a satellite village of Chief Micanopy and the home of the powerful black Seminole leader Abraham. The author's discussion of Moses Elias Levy, one of Florida's most interesting pioneer settlers and the father of Senator David Levy Yulee, is also inaccurate. Among other things, Andersen labels Levy's Pilgrimage Plantation as a distinct "village" and holds the mistaken notion that he operated a second plantation called "Hogmasters Lakes" when in reality they were one and the same. In addition, the author states that settlers Edward Wanton and Horatio Dexter conferred with Chief Micanopy before building the town that was eventually named after him. However, documents contradict this assertion. Furthermore, apparently unaware of new evidence to the contrary, Andersen adheres to the idea that Fort Mitchell—erected in close proximity to the prairie in 1814 during the Patriot Rebellion—was located "east of today's Ocala."

Despite Andersen's claim of exploring "countless documents and historical collections," his bibliography is heavily skewed toward secondary sources. Glaring omissions include such basics as *The Territorial Papers of the United States* as well as any citation from territorial newspapers. He neglects the highly valuable James D. Glunt Papers and the Reuben Charles Papers at the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, both of which include highly pertinent primary sources. The *Crown Collection of Early American Maps*, also at the Yonge Library, would have been a logical addition to the book since it contains some of the earliest maps of Paynes Prairie and delineates the general area known by the Spanish as *Tierras de la Chua*. Glunt's "Plantation and

Frontier Records of East and Middle Florida, 1789-1868" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1930) would have provided excellent background. Finally, my own article, "Fort Mitchell and the Settlement of the Alachua Country," *FHQ* 79 (Summer 2000), not only places Patriot involvement in the area into historical perspective but establishes Fort Mitchell's location at the southern rim of the prairie near the present town of Micanopy.

Chris Monaco

Micanopy, Fla.

Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas. By Sally E. Hadden. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001. xi, 340 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Professor Sally Hadden has illuminated a subject about which there have been many suppositions and little comprehensive research. Hadden's most important contribution is her cogent analysis of the continuous development that slave patrol systems underwent. She has also shown that the class structure of slave patrol systems was more diverse than historians have previously assumed. Particularly in the Virginia and Carolina colonies, planters were as regularly involved in the actual night patrols as were "poor whites." Later there as a heavier representation of lower-class men, but even then the authorities who oversaw slave patrolling were often planters. The composition of urban slave patrolling could also be somewhat diverse.

Hadden looks closely at the colonial origins of slave patrolling. The more Africans were imported, the more laws and patrols would be needed, first to capture runaways and next to ensure white control over enslaved black people. Occasionally, the need arose to arm slaves to fight foreign soldiers or Indians, but when white men fought the same enemies they left an enforcement gap at home that planters and government officials had to fill. Slave control therefore became paramount. As slavery expanded in the Old Dominion, white Virginians faced fewer threats from Indians in settled areas and therefore concentrated on keeping slaves under control.

Professor Hadden fully describes the duties and behavior of patrollers. Patrolling was regular, not sporadic. The patrollers broke up what they defined as unlawful or suspicious meetings.

Patrollers watched for runaways as well. In some cases, patrollers had been instructed as to their legal authority; in other cases they were not. There were also two potential checks on their behavior. One was masters who refused to allow patrollers on their property or who resented patrollers whipping slaves the planters presumably controlled. Another check was slaves' ingenuity in evading patrollers and their occasional violent resistance or reprisals. As readers of slave narratives know, enslaved victims of patroller brutality had particularly vivid memories of their experiences. Documented patroller reliance on guns, whips, ropes, and other weapons to overawe slaves confirms the formerly enslaved narrators' points of view.

Patrollers had to be especially vigilant when slave plotting was feared or uncovered and during wars. Yet, authorities exercised more control over patrollers during insurrection scares or outbreaks to ensure discovery of any plots' origins. Awareness of white vulnerability during wartime led to even more patrolling to prevent rebellion. The Civil War was obviously a special case because of the direct threat the Union Army presented to slavery. Because of the drain on manpower, white leaders had to rely increasingly on men who would ordinarily have been rejected as patrollers. (At one point, even University of North Carolina preachers and faculty served on patrol.)

Union troops who took over formerly Confederate territory even acted as patrollers while some local police forces maintained control of African Americans, now feared as free and ready to revolt. Hadden is particularly clear about the continuity of slave patrol practices through Reconstruction: there could be no more slave patrols, but patrols still enforced the Black Codes until military rule began. Even then Union officers' and authorities' racism limited their will to protect ex-slaves. With the Black Codes eliminated and military rule established, white men "resumed patrolling, this time as vigilantes." Professor Hadden shows that these vigilantes (including the Ku Klux Klan) used old patrolling techniques, but with a difference. Now there were fewer limits on their behavior than during slavery. One point of disguises and hoods was to limit vigilantes' legal liability. In the final pages, Professor Hadden effectively analyzes connections between slave patrols, post-bellum vigilante groups, and later police behavior.

Sally Hadden's study successfully corrects previous misconceptions about, and considerably improves our knowledge of, slave

patrols in Virginia and the Carolinas. Hadden's concentration on three slave colonies and states has the strength of illuminating the details concerning slave patrols in those places. But by 1860, only about one-third of the South's slave population lived in Virginia and the Carolinas. Hadden only occasionally alludes to slave patrolling in other colonies and states. Hopefully, studies of some of the Gulf States in particular will appear later.

Someone should have written a book like this a long time ago. Hadden's successful study of slave patrols in parts of the Upper South has largely corrected this problem.

Philip Schwarz

Virginia Commonwealth University

General William S. Harney: Prince of Dragoons. By George Rollie Adams. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. xix, 389 pp. List of illustrations, list of maps, preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth.)

Although little remembered today, William Selby Harney was an important and controversial figure in the nineteenth-century regular army. During a career that spanned half a century, he earned a reputation as an effective frontier commander and one of the army's leading experts on Indian relations. He also manifested frequent outbursts of violent temper and brutal behavior and engaged in independent, unauthorized actions that on one occasion threatened to embroil the nation in a foreign war. In the first modern biography of Harney, George Rollie Adams presents a carefully balanced account of the general's career and in the process contributes to our knowledge of the frontier army.

Born in Tennessee in 1800, Harney grew up in the individualistic, violent white male culture of the southern frontier. Appointed a second lieutenant of infantry in 1818, he served throughout the 1820s at army garrisons in the Old Northwest. During a brief stint as a paymaster during the 1830s, he beat a slave woman to death in a fit of rage, for which he demonstrated no remorse and managed to evade conviction for murder. In 1836, Harney was promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Second Dragoon Regiment, and he first won acclaim for his aggressive leadership in the Second Seminole War in Florida. In particular, he pioneered riverine warfare—the use of small detachments in

boats to penetrate the Everglades and root out the Seminole hiding places—and he also acted with ruthless vindictiveness toward resisting Indians, summarily hanging captured warriors. Rash to the point of irresponsibility, Harney violated orders at the outbreak of the Mexican War by launching an independent invasion of Mexican territory, though he later performed ably in Winfield Scott's march to Mexico City. During the 1850s, he served as an administration trouble-shooter, handling a variety of difficult assignments, including the suppression of filibustering on the Rio Grande border and sectional violence in Kansas. On a punitive expedition in 1855, he brutally crushed a band of Brule Sioux, thereby helping to set a pattern for western Indian operations that would continue long after the Civil War.

Harney's most controversial action occurred while commanding in the Pacific Northwest in 1859. On his own authority, he ordered a detachment of regulars to occupy San Juan Island in Puget Sound, part of an archipelago claimed by both the United States and Great Britain. The British dispatched forces to the scene, a war scare resulted, and only forbearance by both governments prevented bloodshed. Although Harney stood by the Union at the outbreak of the Civil War, his southern background caused suspicion, and his failure to take strong action against Confederate sympathizers in Missouri led the Lincoln administration to suspend him from command. In retirement after the Civil War, Harney served as a key member of the Indian Peace Commission, a panel that sought with limited success to end Indian-white violence on the Great Plains by convincing the tribes to settle on reservations.

Since Harney left few personal papers, Adams has painstakingly reconstructed his life through official army records, the papers of other army officers, and a range of local and family sources. He is especially effective in relating the general to the broader context of the nineteenth-century military profession and the army's role in national expansion. In assessing his subject, Adams attempts to strike a scrupulously even balance between Harney's glaring warts and his contributions as an effective frontier campaigner and later supporter of the Indians. By stressing the general's virtues, he may slip at times into the biographer's pitfall of overly identifying with his subject. By any standard of judgment, Harney was a crude and violent bully, and his chronic belligerence and disregard for authority set him increasingly apart

from the professional, West Point trained officers who by mid-century had come to dominate the army's junior and middle grades. His paternalism toward Native Americans resembled attitudes widely held in the officer corps and in any case applied mainly to those tribesmen who had been defeated and were under his control. Nevertheless, Adams has produced an admirable biography of a neglected figure and made a solid contribution to frontier military history.

William B. Skelton

University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

The Richmond Campaign of 1862: The Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days. Edited by Gary W. Gallagher. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xv, 272 pp. Introduction, bibliographic essay, contributors, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

When asked to cite the major battles in the eastern theater of the American Civil War, most scholars, students, and Civil War "buffs" point to the titanic struggles at Antietam and Gettysburg, the two confrontations at Manassas, and the bloody fights at Chancellorsville and Petersburg. The Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days, however, usually do not rank high on their list as crucial battles. Gary W. Gallagher, the John Nau Professor of History at the University of Virginia, sees this as a serious oversight. He argues that the Union army's failed attempt to seize the Confederate capital in the spring and summer of 1862 and the subsequent Confederate counterattack deserve to be assigned greater importance. In the *Richmond Campaign of 1862*, Gallagher and eight other essayists make a strong case for Gallagher's contention that the Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days constituted a turning point in the Civil War.

Gallagher provides the introduction and opening essay of the book. The other essays belong to William A. Blair, Keith S. Bohannon, Peter S. Carmichael, John T. Hubbell, R.E.L. Krick, Robert K. Krick, James Marten, and William J. Miller. All of the essays are well researched and highly readable. They range in length from twelve to twenty-seven pages, and each one is followed by ample footnotes. Maps detailing the unfolding of the struggle on the Peninsula, Civil War era drawings and photographs of offi-

cers who participated in the fighting, and pictures of significant battle sites taken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries adorn the essays and serve as helpful aids to understanding the pivotal events of the Richmond campaign. Gallagher also includes a short bibliographical essay citing major primary and secondary sources dealing with the fighting on the Peninsula.

In the introduction, Gallagher establishes the campaign's strategic, military, and diplomatic significance. By successfully defending Richmond and driving the Federals off the Peninsula, the Confederate army spoiled Union strategists' hopes of ending the war quickly. In the light of the Federal army's failure to take Richmond, harsher methods of waging war, including emancipation, seemed unavoidable to Union strategists. President Lincoln probably would not have considered such harsh tactics had the Confederate capital fallen to Federal troops. William A. Blair concurs with this point in his essay focusing on the demands of northern radicals to prosecute the war more vigorously after the failure of the Peninsula campaign. Ironically, "rebel" success on the battlefields around Richmond may have been the greatest threat to the Confederates' cherished institution of slavery.

Gallagher also explains that success came at a high price, since in their defense of the capital, the rebels sustained heavier losses than Union forces. For the first time, Robert E. Lee showed the tenacity in combat on which his fame would eventually rest. But, as Gallagher points out, some historians argue that Lee's aggressive style of warfare may have unnecessarily drained the Army of Northern Virginia of manpower, thereby hastening its defeat.

The struggle for Richmond was also noted by foreign observers. The Confederate defense of the city enhanced the rebels reputation among British and French leaders, both of whom were considering recognizing the Confederacy. The Battle of Antietam, generally regarded as a northern victory which dampened support for the Confederacy in European capitals, was still two months away when the Union effort to seize the Confederate capital came to an end.

The Richmond Campaign of 1862 includes essays that focus on three officers who played major roles in the Peninsula campaign and the Seven Days: George B. McClellan, Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, and John Bankhead Magruder. John Hubbell and William Miller agree with the general view of McClellan as a timid officer, who showed neither the intelligence nor the fortitude to command

an entire army. Robert K. Krick attributes Jackson's poor showing during the fighting to physical exhaustion brought on by sleep deprivation, while Peter Carmichael finds Magruder's lack of emotional control under stress hard to explain. Carmichael points to Magruder's excessive drinking as a possible contributing factor to his bizarre and erratic behavior. Following the end of the fighting on the Peninsula, Confederate officials transferred Magruder to the Trans-Mississippi theater, a move the general welcomed. Magruder's performance was better in the new venue.

These and other essays, such as the ones dealing with the impressive rebel victory at the Battle of Gaines' Mill and the Union triumph at Malvern Hill, make *The Richmond Campaign of 1862* worth reading, although this collection of essays will probably never rank as a major work. The University of North Carolina Press published the book as part of a series titled "Military Campaigns of the Civil War." According to Gallagher, they plan to continue the series with similar examinations of other important battles waged in the eastern theater.

Jim Humphreys

Mississippi State University

The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print. By Harold Honzer, Gabor S. Borritt, and Mark E. Neely Jr. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001. xxi, 234 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Written to accompany an exhibit at Gettysburg College in 1984, this book was originally published as both a catalogue and a hard-bound volume [Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Borritt, and Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print*, (New York: Scribner Press, 1984) and idem, *Changing the Lincoln Image* (Fort Wayne, Ind: Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum, 1985)]. The reprint differs only in its new preface, and must therefore be evaluated as a work not changed in almost two decades, with no reference to more recent works.

The volume offers a well-illustrated work that explains "how a primitive industry shaped its unappreciative subjects for a passionately political audience." The authors deftly emphasize key elements: the technical and commercial aspects of print-making, the

importance of popular politics in nineteenth-century America, and the roles that images played in private and political life. Because of its original link to an exhibit, only free-standing prints are studied, foreclosing comparisons with images in journals or newspapers. The study deals with Lincoln's election, the war, and the period after the president's assassination.

The authors examine the varying qualities of Lincoln images, from paintings seen largely by an elite (unless they were the basis for prints), to amateurish engravings and lithographs cobbled together from photos, portraits, or other prints, in which proportion and perspective played a most limited role. As they note, the prints represented a commercial response to popular demand, but offer the historian an excellent source of material to understand nineteenth-century political and domestic culture. Emphasizing the context in which images of Lincoln must be understood, the authors portray a culture in which political figures were heroes and celebrities, of great interest to the general public, who hung their engravings in the parlor or mounted them in family albums.

Elements of technique and entrepreneurship played a larger role in representations than might have been expected, for innovations in technique and distribution made images widely available in the 1860s. Engravers and lithographers used paintings and photographs to create images of some accuracy and modest price, while quite a few pirated others' works, adding to the market cheap but inaccurate images. Some sly printers added Lincoln's face to existing engravings, such as a mezzotint that originally celebrated the Compromise of 1850, in which Lincoln's face replaced that of the much-shorter Calhoun. Representations of Lincoln evolved in stages, according to the authors. As a dark horse candidate, voters were anxious to get a sense of the candidate, especially as he was reputed to be ugly. Once that need was met and a beard was added, a lull ensued until the Emancipation Proclamation produced a new image of Lincoln as Moses, the Great Emancipator. Popular and widely circulated, images of Lincoln showed him meeting African Americans, deliberating with his cabinet, or signing the Proclamation. As the authors note, the age was one of sentimentalism and separate spheres, and this new view of Lincoln suited well the "civic religion" of patriotic Americans.

If Lincoln had taken on attributes of Moses in his lifetime, his assassination on Good Friday, April 14, 1865, led to his identification with Christ. The authors find this "one of the more remark-

able cultural phenomena of our history”—a lasting myth with elements of “religious fervor, superstition, the retrospective impact of Lincoln’s own last public utterances, and popular art.” A variety of imaginative prints poured forth, showing the act of assassination or its planning (with a devil whispering in Booth’s ear) or deathbed scenes with important political and military leaders who were supposedly present. Too quickly, angels began to appear, as did the figure of George Washington to welcome Lincoln into Heaven. These were followed by prints of the Lincoln family seated together in loving domesticity, by far the most popular scene, despite the fact that son Robert had been away at college or war, while young Willie had died in 1862.

This study is clearly argued and offers thoughtful material for those interested in the period. This reader regrets the brevity of the preface, which does not assess recent scholarship. Studies of visual and material culture have flourished in recent decades, as has gender history, and both offer insights into this volume’s attention to domesticity and popular culture. This book is therefore welcome as a resource, but less useful than it might otherwise have been.

Carole Elizabeth Adams

University of Central Florida

Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia. By Jane Dailey. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. ix, 278 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth. \$17.95 paper.)

In the 1870s, a \$40 million debt crippled Virginia governance. State politics became polarized between “Funders,” who insisted that the commonwealth meet its financial obligations, and “Readjusters,” who advocated partial repudiation of the debt. Led by William Mahone, the Readjusters forged an alliance between black Republicans and disaffected whites, mostly small farmers and mountain people, and in 1879 captured control of the state government. Over the next four years, the Readjusters scaled down the debt, lowered taxes, increased school monies, liberalized the suffrage laws, and substantially elevated the role of African Americans in state and local government. Then, in 1883, beset by internecine strife and Democratic race baiting, the Readjusters fell from power and quickly disappeared as a political force.

Jane Dailey's *Before Jim Crow* is not a general history of the Readjuster party. Rather, it is a study of the racial tensions generated by Readjuster reform. Blacks comprised a majority of the Readjuster voting base, and in consequence received substantial patronage from the Readjusters's success. A sizable share of federal, state, and local jobs went to blacks in the Readjuster years. The author believes these black advances generated racial tensions that caused the Readjusters's downfall.

The Readjusters embraced a set of ideas that the author defines as "Readjuster liberalism." In addition to scaling down the debt, Readjuster liberalism included universal male suffrage, free public schools, fair taxes, and in general, governance based on the civil and political equality of all men. White and black Readjuster liberalism, however, contained notable differences. Crucial to white Readjuster liberalism was the separation of "public" and "private" spheres. To white reformers, civil and political equality in the public realm—business and politics—left whites free to discriminate in the private realm of home and family. When conservative Democrats warned, as they invariably did, about the dangers of miscegenation, white Readjusters pointed to Virginia's laws prohibiting interracial sex and marriage. These proscriptive laws, they argued, preserved the authority of white males to protect their wives and children from the intrusion of black men. In other words, public equality did not mean social equality. Black Readjusters, on the other hand, rejected this component of white Readjuster ideology. To blacks, the distinction between public and private was artificial and blatantly discriminatory. The anti-miscegenation statutes, they argued, denied black men the full rights of honor and manhood enjoyed by whites, branding them as inferiors. A man who could not marry whom he chose, by definition, was not master of his private affairs.

The free public schools, a legacy of the Underwood Constitution, brought the conflict between these competing notions of Readjuster liberalism into the open. Black Readjusters accepted racial segregation in the classroom, but not in school administration and governance. They wanted black teachers in black schools and black representatives on local school boards. Under Readjuster governor William E. Cameron, blacks in Petersburg, Richmond, Norfolk, and other Virginia cities gained ground on both issues, even when it meant firing white teachers. These gains, Dailey contends, generated a backlash among

Virginia whites, most of which had hitherto ignored Democratic warnings of "Negro domination." A Richmond newspaper cartoon from the 1883 election graphically shows how the Democrats capitalized on the issue. In the cartoon, the word "Coalition" is written on a blackboard next to a drawing of a donkey (a miscegenation symbol). In the foreground, a black male teacher is preparing to spank a white girl. The cartoon vividly demonstrates the impingement of public and private spheres. Fear of black influence in the schools, in concert with the Danville Riot, Dailey argues, probably cost the Readjusters the 1883 election, a defeat from which the movement never recovered.

While Dailey's delineation of racial nuances in Readjuster-era politics is persuasive, her overall thesis is less so. In essence, she offers race as a mono-causal explanation of the Readjusters's downfall. Not only is her evidence largely anecdotal, her interpretation ignores other obvious sources of Readjuster weakness. Their reforms of state government notwithstanding, the Readjusters came to power as a one-issue party: readjustment of the state debt. And as the author observes, they never truly abandoned their old party allegiances. They remained Republican Readjusters and Democratic Readjusters. With the passage of the 1881 Riddleberger Act, the reformers achieved their main goal and simultaneously eliminated the one issue that gave the party its cohesion. Thereafter, lacking any central program, the Readjusters succumbed to factional infighting, exacerbated by national politics and "Mahoneism." Democratic race baiting was important, but clearly it was not the alpha and omega of the Readjusters's demise. *Before Jim Crow* is a valuable addition to the Readjuster literature, but James T. Moore's *Two Paths to the New South* remains essential reading.

Ted Tunnell

Virginia Commonwealth University

Making Freedom Pay: North Carolina Freedpeople Working for Themselves, 1865-1900. By Sharon Ann Holt. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. xxiii, 188 pp. List of figures and tables, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusions, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

Making Freedom Pay celebrates the vision and achievements of the first generation of freedpeople in North Carolina. While

emancipated African Americans could not shape the political, social, and economic terms of post-war race relations in America by themselves, they could claim certain kinds of freedoms through their daily decisions about how they lived lives. Holt argues that freedpeople insisted upon "the right to work for themselves, to save for themselves, to build for themselves, and to define themselves for their communities on their own terms." While past generations of historians have established the oppressive effects of sharecropping and tenant farming upon African Americans, and the equally devastating effects of Jim Crow, Holt moves us beyond this scholarship by carefully detailing the complex ways freedpeople deliberately advanced themselves through their economic lives. Her work is also a fine complement to and expansion on that of Laura Edwards who, in *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction*, argues that whites pressed freedmen into marriage and households to ensure their responsibility for their dependents, whereas African Americans sought households as a means to secure independence.

An elaboration of her award-winning 1994 article in *The Journal of Southern History*, Holt's slim monograph is based on a close analysis of African-American farmers in Granville County, North Carolina. This black majority county in the tobacco-growing piedmont, where blacks made up 5 percent of the land owning population, experienced modest gains in the 1880s as a result of the bright leaf tobacco boom. To reconstruct these freedpeople's financial histories, Holt makes effective use of county records, especially tax lists, land deeds, and lien and mortgage records; she also consulted a wide array of other sources, including manuscript collections, church records, and state documents.

Holt finds that freedpeople designed an economic system based on the household that allowed them to control their own labor outside farm tenancy and accumulate property, often unbeknownst to the landlord. Informal and fluid, household production could be generated by all members of the family, young and old, male and female, wage-working and unemployed. Home-based goods and services could be consumed at home, or traded, bartered, or sold with whites and blacks throughout the community. Freedpeople refused to allow women to labor in the sharecropper's fields, Holt contends, because their labor—whether cultivating vegetables, taking in

sewing, or selling butter and eggs—was essential to the success of the household economy.

In an intriguing chapter on the southern credit system, Holt shows that African Americans used debt to advance their opportunities. Although taking out loans seems counter intuitive to financial success given the history of southern credit, black farmers in Granville County shrewdly juggled their debt responsibilities to maximize their household's interests without taking on undue risk. While even the best of debt strategies could fail, it is clear from Holt's evidence that African Americans made informed decisions about when and how to take on debt, repay it, and build their properties. Their goal, Holt reminds us, was to own a farm, a quest she labels "The New North Star." Holt concludes with a chapter on community-building as the by-product of African American property accumulation that does not fit the tight argument of her previous chapters. The acquisition of land, she wants to argue, was the springboard from which freedpeople in North Carolina could build their own communities through schools and especially churches.

Holt's work as a whole begs bigger questions and more research. How representative of freedpeople's experience in the South was Granville County, since it was predominately black, had experienced modest prosperity as a result of rising tobacco prices, and contained such a high number of rural black property owners? It is unlikely that many other southern counties could duplicate the degree of autonomy Granville County African Americans carved out for themselves as a result of their unique location and economy combined with their work habits and acquisition patterns. But such comparisons, especially in the cotton South, would be well worth pursuing. It also would be significant to contrast the household decision-making and accumulation patterns of Granville County African Americans with those of poor whites in neighboring tobacco counties and even elsewhere in the South. Only through such comparisons can we better understand how other poor southerners, black and white, used their household economy and property-holdings as vehicles for their own emancipation.

In the end, Holt's fine book reminds us that the struggles and successes of these marginal tobacco farmers are not unique to the history of the American South but in fact are characteristic of all people on the margins of society. Whether agricultural laborers or

post-industrial wage-workers, poor people around the globe have always known that household production is integral to their survival, just as we know that their work, in all their variety, is integral to national growth and prosperity.

Michele Gillespie

Wake Forest University

Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920. By Michael Dennis. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001. x, 272 pp. Acknowledgements, bibliography. Index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Progressivism involving government and higher education usually brings to mind the great state universities of the Midwest and West. Heretofore it has been the "Wisconsin Idea" of President Van Hise at the University of Wisconsin and Governor Robert LaFollette who showed the exemplary connection between the campus and the capitol. This, along with the "California Plan" of Governor Hiram Johnson and President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California, has dominated accounts of how university presidents joined with reform-minded governors to make the modern American university part of a state's social, political, and economic development. Michael Dennis's *Lessons in Progress* effectively adds new characters and episodes to the historical drama of the modern state university as part of Progressivism. He does so by exhuming the overlooked and underappreciated profiles of presidents and policies at several Southern universities between 1880 and 1920: Charles Dabney at the University of Tennessee; Walter Barnard Hill at the University of Georgia; Samuel Chiles Mitchell at the University of South Carolina; and Edwin Alderman at the University of Virginia.

In bringing attention to these neglected cases, author Dennis avoids compiling a saccharine success story. To the contrary, before immersing into his detailed biographies and institutional profiles, he clearly describes and analyzes how Progressivism in the South rested on a foundation of oversights and compromises. Racial segregation was fused with a curricular and funding formula that locked blacks into a predictably limited institutional arena. This may have been a promising strategy for enhancing economic productivity—but it did so only by conserving the existing social

and legal structure. Second, Michael Dennis deliberately chose states and universities that are important because they are—except for President Edward Alderman at the University of Virginia—outside the obvious foci. Third, the thread that runs through each of the biographies highlighted university presidents is that of educational leaders as state reformers who achieved limited gains—and each of whom had some limits in their perspectives.

The work brings the South into the national arena by connecting the region and its higher education reforms to what Robert Wiebe called the “Search for Order.” Usually the first discussion of a university and state in the South is reserved for the agrarians at Vanderbilt or, to another extreme, North Carolina and its university at Chapel Hill under the leadership of President Frank Porter Graham and then buoyed by the applied research of sociologist Howard Odum. Now we know that the story started in 1880, not 1920—and is interesting and complicated.

On balance one finds that, contrary to convenient stereotypes, the flagship state universities of the South at the turn of the century did not all rest idle as havens for complacent regional elites. Each of the presidents Dennis has studied tended to embrace the gospel and guide book of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching: standards and standardization; utility and accountability; consolidation and coherence in central planning. One finds, for example, not only the professionalization of the academic life but also attempts at connecting the state university to statewide public education development. Also, professional education in such fields as agriculture, education, engineering, and medicine helped enlist public higher education into the New South camp for regional development. The presidents tended to take on the self-imposed role of evangelical booster and had a vision of using the state university to be the nerve center for engineering an industrial and professional economy.

The selection of case studies does not include Florida. However, this nationally significant book has a definite Florida connection: it grows out of a doctoral dissertation that Dennis wrote under the mentorship of Fitzhugh Brundage of the University of Florida history department. As such, it is a promising sign of homegrown research. The most interesting characteristic of the work is that although it focuses on the South, its contribution fleshes out both regional and national history. In sum, by

adding a detailed profile of the South to the generalizations about higher education and state government between 1880 and 1920, it makes Progressivism a truly nationwide phenomenon whose influences and issues were not confined only to the familiar ground of Wisconsin and California.

John R. Thelin

University of Kentucky

Heart of a Wife: The Diary of a Southern Jewish Woman. By Helen Jacobus Apte. Edited and with essays by Marcus D. Rosenbaum. (Wilmington, Delaware: SR Books, 1998. 223 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, note on editing, epilogue, selected bibliography, appendices. \$17.95 paper.)

Heart of a Wife: The Diary of a Southern Jewish Woman is the story of the life and times of Helen Jacobus Apte, her family, and circle of friends and acquaintances through the medium of her diary. Helen Jacobus was born near the end of the nineteenth century in Hawkinsville, Georgia, and spent part of her youth in Richmond and in Atlanta. She married Day Apte, a Floridian and a businessman, in 1909. The Aptes had one child, Alice. The family lived happily in several areas, including Miami and other parts of Florida. Helen Apte died at age sixty in 1946.

Nearly fifty years after Helen's death, Marcus Rosenbaum, her grandson, was cleaning out the home of his mother, Alice, in the aftermath of her death. The diary that he and other family members had often heard about was discovered in a small plastic bag. Rosenbaum, who served National Public Radio in several creative capacities, including a stint as senior editor of "All Things Considered," edited the diary and added several essays to the resulting book. These essays both illuminate and clarify points raised in the entries.

The diary began in 1909 with Helen's wedding to Day in Tallahassee, and ended in 1946, the year of her death in Miami. There are large gaps between entries, some of which extend for several years. Helen's prose is clear and thoughtful, her insights into the human condition profound, her curiosity unsated. While the majority of the entries are of a personal nature, others shed light on the issues and events of the times, both at a local level and in a broader sense. Many of Helen's entries were made while she was outside of Florida on vacation or with her husband on business.

What importance does this diary hold for the Florida historian and general reader? Two things come to mind immediately. First, Apte's entries during her residency in Miami, which stretched from 1925 till her death twenty-one years later, are illuminating for historians working in the history of Miami and southeast Florida. Secondly, her references to activities surrounding her Jewish faith provide morsels of information and insights into what was, at the time, Florida's tiny Jewish population.

This reviewer was especially interested in Apte's entries during her lengthy residency in Miami. The Aptes came to the Magic City in March 1925 when the great Florida real estate boom was in full swing. By late August 1925, the boom had reached its zenith, prompting Apte to observe, descriptively: "The situation is acute. People moving here by the thousands, and no place to live . . . It reminds me of the gold rush to the Klondike—plenty of money, but no comforts . . . Miami is not the pleasant place to live it was last winter—it is like a madhouse, dangerous to cross the street, dangerous to drive a car, almost impossible to get a bite to eat without standing in a line. Men rush madly about, with the lust for money in their eyes. Everyone seems to be snooping around, trying to listen in, and I'm so tired of learning real estate I could scream." The boom was over in the following year; coming on the heels of the bust was the mighty hurricane of September 1926. Apte notes how quickly the Magic City recovered from the debacle, an interesting observation since city officials were criticized for their overly optimistic evaluations of this achievement.

Pearl Harbor caught the Aptes—and almost everyone else—by surprise. Upon hearing on the radio of the Japanese attack, Helen stood rooted to the spot. Day jumped up and "we looked at each other, in stunned silence . . . We thought we were dreaming or as if some strange Orson Welles fantasia was being enacted." Wartime Miami was as active a military camp as virtually any locale in the United States. Apte writes graphically of this era. Her entry for July 22, 1942, notes: "Soldiers everywhere, sentries, guns, drilling. It is so dimmed out that it is almost a blackout, really dangerous to be driving a car. It makes you realize the war is really on. We always pick up boys on the boulevard going back to camps out 79th Street. It breaks my heart, those soldiers standing all along the street, hot, tired, bored . . . To anyone who remembers the last war, they will know this was different. No glamor, no thrills, no singing."

Diaries can be of great assistance to historians. They can serve as the centerpiece around which to weave a narrative history. Or they can be used to embellish, to add depth to a study that draws on other, more important sources. Helen Apte's diary falls into the latter category, although it has served this reviewer in still another way. Whenever I conduct a history and architectural walking tour of Miami's Morningside neighborhood, a wonderfully-gentrified historic district lying five miles north of downtown, I stop in front of the former Apte home with *Heart of a Wife* in hand, and read an entry describing this home and Helen's ambivalence over living in a grand structure while the area was immersed in an economic slump.

Paul S. George

Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson

Women in the United States, 1830-1945. By S. J. Kleinberg. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1999. xii, 368 pp. List of tables, acknowledgments, introduction. \$59.95 cloth.)

The study of women's history has produced many fine examples of research and writing. With this latest historical work, S.J. Kleinberg has managed to combine her analysis of these seminal works into a well-developed and scholarly volume. Her approach is particularly important for drawing individual historical research into a cohesive whole, which strengthens the context for understanding American women during these years. *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* provides a thorough reading of the life and times of women of this period. Kleinberg eloquently describes the development of the United States in these years from the perspective of women's contributions, while acknowledging the restraints still present for women of every class, race, and occupation.

Kleinberg demonstrates meticulous attention to detail by breaking the period under scrutiny into several phases: Antebellum America (1830-1865), Industrial Era (1865-1919), and From the Vote to World War II (1920-1945), concluding with a chapter on the status of women in the 1950s that references ideas from Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. She provides a methodical, clearly defined approach for each period that divides the subject into four primary categories: economic activity, family and migration, education and culture, and reform.

The arrangement of these categories allows the reader to use this work not only as an overview of United States history from 1830 to 1945 but to selectively review parts of the work at will. The index and bibliographic essay also provide practical reference tools.

Kleinberg's work strikes this reviewer as well balanced, a feat not often accomplished when analyzing American women. She includes lengthy segments devoted to the experiences of female groups usually sidelined in larger works such as free African Americans, Native Americans, Japanese, Chinese, and Mexicans, with a smaller portion related to Jewish immigrant women. All kudos aside, however, her work does lack attention to the special circumstances of women in some southern and western states, namely Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Arizona, where diverse ethnicity continues to present a challenge to their adequate inclusion in the larger narratives. Some of this oversight is no doubt due to the shortage of original works in these areas yet this reviewer had hoped to find more references to these areas within Kleinberg's work, particularly in discussions of free African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanic women.

The author maintains a smooth narrative that captures the reader's attention while inserting salient examples and appropriate references to other scholars to reinforce her ideas. Unlike some works that vacillate between the time under discussion and references to later events, Kleinberg's narrative remains true to the subject matter at hand and resists sweeping generalizations to the future. While it does not provide new areas of research, it does achieve the often more difficult task of synthesis of the quite diverse research in women's history. In doing so, Kleinberg does not present women as the sideshow to main events but as integral parts of the whole. Thus, it accomplishes the task of informing the reader, whether professional historian or lay person, about the development of American society and the crucial role women have played in its successes and failures.

Overall, this reviewer would recommend *Women in the United States, 1830-1945* as a valuable addition to anyone's library. While most historians of women's history will find much of Kleinberg's work to be familiar, her regard for detail, incorporation of varied subject matter, and examination of the material marks this work as a positive asset in the study of United States history and the rele-

vance of women as part of that history. For the history buff, this work is an authoritative instruction in American women's history during this period.

Amy E. N. Darty

University of Central Florida

Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights.

Edited by Jane Dailey, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, and Bryant Simon. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000. xi, 325 pp. Preface, acknowledgements, introduction, afterword, contributors, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$17.95 paper.)

This is a wonderful collection of essays by some of the best new scholars writing Southern history. Contributors construct an expansive view of politics during the Jim Crow era in which contests for power were played out in public and private domains, from kitchens to polling booths, from town squares to country stores, from streetcars to courthouses. The essays are book-ended with a preface by C. Vann Woodward and three afterwords by Edward Ayers, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, and Nell Irvin Painter.

In their hands, not only politics but race and gender become more nuanced. Stephen Kantrowitz, Jane Dailey, and Kari Fredrickson explore the shifting and racialized definitions of manhood and masculinity among Southern white men in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. Similarly, while race remains the central theme of Southern history in these essays, the white struggle for domination was neither monolithic nor uncontested, even among white supremacists, as contributions by David Godshalk on Georgia governor William Northern's campaign against lynching and Jane Dailey's discussion of the biracial Virginia Readjusters and the limits of Southern liberalism suggest. The struggle for white elite domination often contained its own contradictions. Thus, post-bellum white club women in Fitzhugh Brundage's essay on historical memory constructed a Southern past that reified a reactionary racial and gender caste hierarchy, while offering liberatory possibilities for white women. Despite the rise of a male-dominated historical profession, white women retained considerable influence, illustrated by the 1911 firing of University of Florida's Enoch Blair after the young history professor questioned the wisdom of secession.

Placing African Americans, especially women, at the center of inquiry offers new light on old debates. Glenda Gilmore's interpretation of blacks' shift from the Party of Lincoln to FDR's New Deal coalition examines the "push" factors within the Republican Party's response to African American women and the nineteenth amendment. Elsa Barkley Brown reveals that African Americans' struggle to define freedom following the Civil War included both women and children, even in the exercise of the male franchise. She refutes the widely-held contention that the rise in black women's political activity at the end of the nineteenth century was simply the result of black male disfranchisement, and calls for greater attention to sexual violence against black women during Reconstruction and its aftermath.

A number of authors give a nod toward post-modernism (the influences of anthropology, cultural studies, and feminist theory are also evident), but with the historian's grounding in material evidence and the insistence that people, power, agency, and change matter, however socially constructed and dependent on language these "real" subjects may be. Thus, several authors challenge binary modes of thought: Laura Edwards collapses the rigid distinctions between public and private domains in her examination of how shifting meanings of marriage, both personal and legal, were utilized by freedmen and women as a wedge for broader claims to citizenship rights. Steve Kantrowitz's essay on manhood, mob violence, and black and white militias in Reconstruction South Carolina, reminds us that Klan violence and upper-class white gentility were not polar opposites in the post-bellum South, but were rooted in a slave system "where paternalism and violence had functioned as carrot and stick." Indeed, these essays underline the notion that violence, as much as race, was the cornerstone of Southern society, a phenomenon that Nell Painter suggests we have yet to fully face. Nor were elite whites safe from its ravages. Tim Tyson's essay illuminates the hypocrisy and moral corruption of a racial caste system predicated on the alleged protection of white womanhood; thus, when a South Carolina "blue-blood" and wife of a prominent physician suggested in 1957 that whites move slowly and carefully toward desegregation, her house was bombed by local Klansmen. In the aftermath, few white voices were raised in protest, either against the bombing or the state's refusal to abide by the *Brown* decision. As Tyson remarks, "The silence was louder than dynamite."

Both Hall and Ayers note that class is largely a subsidiary theme. Grace Elizabeth Hale eschews the traditional focus on labor relations for an investigation of consumption in train stations, streetcars, and department store dressing rooms, and illustrates the fluidity of the color line as the white South sought to impose segregation on a resistant African-American population. Despite the enactment of new legislation, "most Southern spaces," Hale notes, remained "places of racial uncertainty." But class is not totally neglected. Bryant Simon's discussion of white mill workers argues that racial solidarity became a way for workers to make demands on elite whites in post-World War II South Carolina, as liberals' abandonment of economic justice for a new emphasis on race offered little to working-class whites except the chance to compete with blacks for scarce jobs. Nancy McLean's reassessment of the Leo Frank case considers class dynamics but insists that gender has received inadequate attention; she draws attention to the increase in young, white working women, shifting gender relations, and female sexuality as critical components in the case and in the rise of "reactionary populism."

Together, these essays are erudite, provocative, and frequently eloquent, suggesting new directions in what Vann Woodward rightly calls "the most fascinating field of American history, the southern part."

Christina Greene

University of South Florida

War in Paradise: Stories of World War II in Florida. By Eliot Kleinberg. (Melbourne: Florida Historical Society Press, 1999. 96 pp. Introduction, acknowledgments, sources. \$12.95 paper.)

Eliot Kleinberg, a reporter for the *Palm Beach Post*, wrote a number of articles for his newspaper to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Second World War. He said he was determined to write the real stories about what happened in Florida during the war years, which to him remained untold and would, as he expressed it, "be news." Although most chapters of this book are from the *Post's* series, the author has added a few additional chapters especially for this publication.

"Three Florida Boys at Pearl" shows how the war had an immediate impact in south Florida. Ralph "red" Hollis, a former Palm

Beach policeman Eugene Lish of Fort Pierce and Claude Edward Rich of West Palm Beach were all killed during the Japanese attack that drew the United States into the war. Kleinberg tells us about the lives of these men, how they came to be aboard the *Arizona* and *West Virginia* at the time of the attack, and their families.

From the war in the Pacific, Kleinberg brings it home to Florida in "The War Offshore." Nowhere else in the continental United States did the war come closer than with the German U-boat attacks on shipping off the east Florida coast. The tanker *Pan Massachusetts* with 100,000 barrels of oil on board went down as early as February 1942 with twenty of the thirty-eight crewmen killed. This sinking was followed with gruesome regularity through the spring and summer by additional U-boat attacks. Many of these came at night because before the government ordered blackouts, the bright shore lights silhouetted the ships, giving the U-boats shooting-gallery targets.

According to Kleinberg, the submarines off Florida's beaches sparked a series of "urban legends" about their crews coming ashore to buy groceries or attend a movie. One of these claimed a Palm Beach socialite and her Nazi butler hid a German submarine in an inlet off Lake Worth behind her estate. One wonders how it got into Lake Worth without being seen. Kleinberg says there is no evidence that any German sailors came ashore in south Florida to shop for bread or to find entertainment. Once a U-boat dropped off German saboteurs it was in north Florida near Ponte Vedra Beach. Another U-boat had dropped other saboteurs on eastern Long Island. All eight men had lived in the United States and spoke excellent English. They brought explosives and planned to blow up department stores and bus and rail terminals and in general to terrorize the American public. Fortunately, one of the German agents almost immediately went to the FBI with his story, and all of the saboteurs were quickly captured.

Other chapters deal with the building of the air and army bases in the Palm Beach area British cadets who trained as pilots in schools near Arcadia and Clewiston, the Palm Beach School Board's decision to close black schools in the winter (making their students available to harvest the county's vegetable crop and how this may have helped spark the later civil rights movement in the county); German prisoners of war camp in the Clewiston area and the suicide of a young German prisoner, and the story of the meeting between Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt at Cap's

Place, the Lighthouse Point restaurant. In researching the "meeting," Kleinberg found a *Miami Herald* columnist wrote about it in 1961, calling it Broward County's biggest unreported story. Kleinberg discovered that while Churchill might have been in Hillsboro Beach in the period immediately before the United States entered the war, Roosevelt was not. In fact, Kleinberg discovered that Roosevelt gave an address to Congress the day of the reputed Cap's Place dinner. As someone who has dined regularly at Cap's Place over the last four decades and believed the Churchill/Roosevelt legend, I'm very disappointed.

Yet *War in Paradise* is not disappointing. Although much has been written about Florida and the war years, Kleinberg has accomplished his goal and "brought the war home" by dealing with real people and real places in southeast Florida.

Donald W. Curl

Florida Atlantic University

Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power. By Timothy B. Tyson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. 402 pp. Introduction, notes bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$16.95 paper.)

Radio Free Dixie is a welcome addition to the rapidly growing scholarship on the African-American struggle for equality. It will serve as a window into which professionals and lay people alike can look and discover how the Civil Rights Movement truly unfolded. Tyson adeptly describes and analyzes how and why Robert Williams joined the Marines (and left with an "undesirable discharge"), the NAACP (later removed for insisting on the right of self-defense), started a newspaper called *The Crusader*, and eventually became the embodiment of the Black Power Movement, although it flourished and reached its apex too late for him to join. While providing a meticulous study on grass-roots organizing, the author argues that the elements of Black Power (armed "self-reliance," cultural pride, economic self-sufficiency, and independent black politics) existed long before Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Toure) or the Black Panther Party became shining symbols of the phrase. He clearly demonstrates that a powerful global media worked to make Cold War politics almost inseparable from the black liberation movements of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.

This biography of Robert Williams explains the centrality of violence in the lives of black Americans. Tyson adeptly describes how racist white violence against blacks has historically (at least since the 1940s) been met with defensive violence. Williams's childhood in Monroe, N.C., was fraught with such acts. Because of family stories of resistance told by his grandmother and the occasional experience where close relatives defended themselves with arms, Williams came to believe that the only way to solve this portion of the race problem was through collective self-defense. Tyson argues that what ensured Williams did not deviate from this "solution" was the protagonist's participation in World War II.

This particular war, waged to save the world for democracy, led Williams and thousands like him to insist even more vehemently on full freedom in the U.S. Returning black soldiers entered their communities demanding the right to vote and a host of other human rights. In the process, they picked up their guns, joined others already involved in the struggle (mainly women who wondered what had taken them so long), and set out to make the U.S. practice what it preached; mainly that "all men are created equal."

The passage of *Brown*, sit-ins, marches, freedom rides, and other protests helped intensify and expand a wave of violence against blacks not seen since the days of Reconstruction. Even so, Williams's willingness to meet violence with violence made Monroe one of the safest places a civil rights activist could operate. His ability (and especially his connections with northern radicals and white leftists) made Williams and the causes he supported a lightning rod for local, state, and national media attention. Though vigilantes and various state and federal police agencies forced him and his family to flee to Cuba (and later China), Williams continued railing against segregation and other injustices via a radio station in Havana; hence, the title of the book. In the meantime, there are glimpses of Williams's relationship with personalities like Malcolm X, Ella Baker, Roy Wilkins, and Martin Luther King Jr. In the end, the reader comes to understand that armed self-defense is just as ingrained in African-American history and culture as gospel music, the blues, and soul food; a revelation certain to improve the direction that civil rights scholarship is taking. Tyson clearly shows that southern blacks saw nonviolence "as a tactical opportunity rather than a philosophical imperative."

While his arguments are persuasive, one cannot help but see flaws. For example, in an attempt to provide context for Williams'

actions, the author often leaves the main character out of the picture for long stretches; sometimes making the reader wonder how everything is connected. The description of North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges's political maneuvering is an example. Then too, one wishes for a more in-depth analysis of what Tyson calls the NAACP's conservative values, a central issue in many of Williams's public policy troubles. The occasional sentence fragment appears, but that is what editors are for.

Despite these minor flaws, this book is an excellent read. The writing flows nicely and the material is well organized. The author's use of newspapers, archival materials, government documents, as well as oral histories, pamphlets, and other movement material enhances the book's authenticity. Analyses are well thought out and the author's conclusions will be important for the next generation of civil rights scholars. This book should not only be read by college students and their professors, but by all who seek to understand the struggle for black equality. Readers of this journal will finally have a story that can be juxtaposed with the exciting life of Florida NAACP leader Harry Moore.

Curtis Austin

University of Southern Mississippi

Miami, U.S.A. By Helen Muir. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 2000. xxii, 355 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgments, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

This updated edition of Helen Muir's classic is a welcome addition to the University Press of Florida's series on Florida History and Culture. First published in 1953, covering the years from 1875 to 1952, then republished in 1990 with a new chapter covering 1953 to 1990, this expanded edition now takes the story to the end of the century. Still, the problems with the book make a bad first impression. It is difficult to understand why the editors of this series chose not to provide the reader with an Index to the last chapter. The editing is so sloppy (almost non-existent) that citations such as Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick's *City on the Edge* (1993), mentioned by Mrs. Muir, are not included in the supposedly expanded bibliography.

The two most recent chapters, covering since 1952, continue the wonderful stories of life in Miami that made the reputation of

the original volume. Yet, while offering some interesting information about the Cuban influx after 1959, Muir demonstrates scant awareness of some of the differences among these groups, and there is virtually nothing about the drug trade or the corruption and fiscal problems that have faced Miami during the last several decades. There is not even a mention of Robert King High, the liberal Democrat from Miami who ran for governor in 1966, and whose candidacy caused conservatives to vote for Claude Kirk, thus electing the first Republican to the governorship since Reconstruction and beginning the resurgence of that party statewide.

She discusses Fidel Castro's visit to the United Nations in New York City, in which he talked of his "democratic leanings," but notes that he was soon receiving economic and military aid from the Soviet Union. What she omits is that when Castro asked for American help, American policymakers decided in the words of one of them, to put Castro "through the wringer," so that he understood his dependency on the United States. This reviewer has asked one of the American diplomats involved about that incident. He explained that the Americans, apparently confident of this dependent relationship, expected Castro to come back to the negotiating table. Instead, he turned to the Soviets. None of what happened afterwards can be fully understood without reference to the United States and Cuban relationship since the 1890s, the Cuban Revolution of 1933, and the Constitution of 1940. The United States has tolerated all sorts of authoritarianism around the planet, so long as the relationship showed a proper dependency on this country. Castro's real sin was that he did not.

In a similar fashion, the Cubans who fled the Revolution after 1959 were a diverse group. The Batistianos who came first were soon put in charge of American welfare efforts to help the Cubans. The second wave consisted of many who had supported a revolt against Fulgencio Batista, but had broken with Castro as it became apparent his commitment to one-party socialism meant the end of any efforts at a democratic discussion of alternatives. They were a bit dismayed that many of their old enemies were now in charge in Miami. A number who came later were not so much ideologically motivated as economically, with the promise of help in obtaining a better life in this country.

In the end, however, Muir's multitude of vignettes about Miami do convey one thing: the incredible history of this city

whose geography, culture, and history have placed it at the “interstices” between the essentially Anglo-American experience in the United States, and the Hispanic and Haitian cultures to the south.

William Marina

Florida Atlantic University

The Constitution and the New Deal. By G. Edward White. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. x, 385 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

A respected, widely used U. S. Constitutional history survey textbook offers the following interpretive statement: “As a result of the New Deal [,] a commitment to government interventionism, intended to create a full-fledged administrative state to replace the decentralized liberal commercial regime of the founders, became constitutional orthodoxy” [Alfred H. Kelly, Winfred A. Harbison and Herman Belz, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development*, Vol. 2, p. 467]. G. Edward White characterizes this statement and others like it written by various authors as the “conventional narrative” of the impact of the New Deal upon constitutional jurisprudence. In *The Constitution and the New Deal* he posits an alternative view in a bold, detailed reassessment.

White’s previous scholarship has amply prepared him to undertake the task. He has written biographies of Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, an outstanding volume on the Marshall Court in *The Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise History of the Supreme Court of the United States*, and *The American Judicial Tradition*, a sparkling collection of essays crafted in a form similar to, if more sophisticated in substance than, Richard Hofstadter’s *The American Political Tradition*.

According to White, the causal connection drawn by the conventional narrative between the New Deal and revolutionary constitutional change cannot withstand close historical analysis. The New Deal was a stage in a gradual movement that began in the early 1900s, not a core force that pushed U. S. Supreme Court Justices, lawyers, and the general public to embrace novel constitutional jurisprudence. Controversy over Supreme Court decisions that addressed New Deal programs in the early 1930s, as well as the Court-packing crisis of 1937, were significant episodes for the decade but not transforming events.

White shrewdly notes that the Supreme Court of the early 1930s was not necessarily split along a conservative or liberal fault line. Except for Justice Benjamin Cardozo, none of the sitting Justices could be counted upon to uphold New Deal legislation consistently. As reflected in the Court's decisions, the shift from traditional constitutional orthodoxy toward a new conception of fundamental law was not complete until the 1950s—long after Justices Holmes and Louis Brandeis, acclaimed by the conventional narrative as stars of the new jurisprudence, had left the bench.

Given such findings, why has this narrative remained so persuasive? White argues that historians, journalists, and legal commentators who have written accounts of the constitutional significance of the New Deal have assimilated the assumptions that helped earn both expanded governmental activism and the new jurisprudence widespread acceptance.

He identifies these assumptions as “accommodations to modernity.” Much like many New Deal proponents, authors who shared them “were less inclined than their predecessors to believe in the omnipotence of external forces as causal agents. They believed that they could make over their experience to mandate ‘progress,’ and that they could use law in that process. They did not think of Constitutional and common law as timeless and essentialist but human-crafted and thus malleable.”

In general terms, traditional constitutional orthodoxy called for a “guardian review” of legislation, giving special attention to the boundaries of the separation of powers, federal-state relationships, and expansive readings of the Contract Clause. Justices who adhered to this approach frequently rejected the constitutionality of laws that regulated wages, hours of labor, and working conditions. Since the 1940s, the new constitutional jurisprudence has allowed most economic regulation to stand, but has called for scrutiny of laws that levied specified restrictions upon freedoms stipulated in the Bill of Rights, as well as measures aimed at discrete groups or minority populations within U. S. society.

A short review of this book cannot fully convey its rich texture or the arresting insights formulated by its author. White's inquisitive, first-rate intellect serves as a guide here, offering a tour of historical, legal, and constitutional terrain well worth the price of admission.

The perfect book does not exist. This one is no exception. The early chapters which explicate foreign policy cases before 1935 and

the development of administrative law hold a depth and thoroughness that later chapters do not repeat. Some of the case discussions, such as that for *Wickard v. Filburn* (1942), a decision White highlights as an example of the transition to the new jurisprudence, deserve more extended treatment.

The Constitution and the New Deal will not convert all readers. But it is an indispensable step toward a thoughtful re-evaluation of the subject.

G. B. Crawford

Gainesville, Fla.

Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation. By Nancy F. Cott. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. v, 297 pp. Introduction, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$27.95 paper.)

Since the late 1960s, feminists have argued that “the personal is political.” In her important new work, Nancy Cott draws upon that claim to examine the institutional dimensions of marriage. Using a broad brush, but providing careful detail, Cott takes the reader from colonial America to the present day, examining the ways in which that most intimate relationship—marriage—has been of concern not only to individuals, but to communities and to state and federal government as well. Elaborating on themes in the American past too frequently assumed to be private and domestic and relevant only to specialists in women’s history, the book convincingly presents marriage as crucial to our understanding of social and political change and both foreign and domestic policy.

Public authorities, in Cott’s view, pursued political, moral, and economic goals in their marital policy-making. Politically, marriage was linked to government from early colonial times, when the male-headed patriarchal family was held to mirror the relationship between kings and subjects. In the new republic after 1776, contract theory was introduced to justify more egalitarian politics, but the assumption remained that the husband acted for his dependent wife.

Indeed, since marriage vows were upheld as a contract consenting to relations of dominance and subordination, women’s subject status was strengthened.

During the Civil War, when congressmen worried—and feminists hoped—that the abolition of the “domestic relation” of slav-

ery would also end the relation of wifely subjection, the politics of marriage was particularly apparent, a politics that altered practice and created new meaning. In 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau encouraged and facilitated marriage among the freedpeople both as a sign of the ex-slaves' humanity and to emphasize their new status as citizens, under male headship. On the other hand, interracial couples, who were barred from marrying by new post-war laws, also found that marriage was more than a private act.

With the wave of immigration at the turn of the twentieth century, politics again defined women's place in marriage. Immigrant wives received the right to take up U.S. citizenship along with their husbands, but citizenship was denied to single women and wives whose husbands did not seek it. Further, American women lost their citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner. Only after women became voting citizens, asserts Cott, did the importance of marriage to American political life become less central to legislators and judges.

Moral concerns also structured the institution of marriage, and Cott shows that although this dimension has recently been challenged and constrained, it nevertheless remains vigorous. To the Puritans it was self-evident that marriage was a Christian institution that demanded monogamy, male headship, and wifely obedience. But in the nineteenth century that view was challenged by the pragmatic practices of American communities, especially in rural or frontier regions where couples were far from ministers or too poor to pay fees. Such "informal" marriage and divorce were tolerated throughout most of the century, says Cott, demonstrates that "living in sin" was not a recent invention.

State and federal authorities responded by enforcing a generalized morality with clear Christian roots, supporting marriage for ex-slaves while denigrating "Oriental" or "pagan" practices and taking action against pragmatic informal codes, utopian communities, Mormon polygamy, and the use of contraception. Today, Cott finds parallels in conservative attempts to use abortion and welfare-reform policies to redirect marriage back toward the earlier model, with its assumptions of male headship and of a link between sexuality and reproduction. One of her most challenging analyses compares the experience of the freedpeople with that of lesbians and gays in America today. Just as many African-Americans saw the right to marry as intrinsically bound up with other civil and political rights, so the same claim is made today with regard to homosexual marriage. Yet, just as some blacks

were suspicious of an institution that bound couples together regardless of consent, many today, particularly feminists, warn gay and lesbian couples that marriage is an institution that harms participants. Cott uses the parallel both to indicate the double edge of the sword, and to underpin her argument that the public dimension of marriage is alive and strong even when almost half of American marriages end in divorce.

Yet it is the economic dimension of marriage that Cott finds most important, as an institution anchored in reciprocity, with men providing economic support and women offering domestic and emotional services. Legal doctrines of coverture dating from the colonial period emphasized this economic dimension, but so too did the Freedmen's Bureau, which envisioned African-American men after marriage maintaining their families by their own labor, with wives in the home. Economic motives predominated when officials regulated immigrant marriages and dealt with utopian communities, many of which sought to "prevent disparities of wealth and also to prevent childbearing wives from being dependent on their husbands' earnings" by eliminating private property. Similarly, laws banning birth control information served to "keep extramarital sex risky, but to secure conventional responsibilities within marriage," with women as dependent mothers and men as providers.

For Cott, even as women earned new opportunities outside the home in the twentieth century, marriage meant economic dependence. She introduces solid evidence from laws, court cases, and New Deal policies that enforced male breadwinner status. Nor did the extensive changes in women's educational and work lives that emerged from the 1960s prevent a conservative backlash nostalgic for the old marriage model. This is evident both in the clashes over gay and lesbian marriage and in policies of welfare reform that assume fathers are providers and encourage women to marry to solve their economic problems.

Ending on a rather somber note, Cott holds that as we enter the twenty-first century, politics, morality, and economics are still bedrocks of the institution of marriage, even in a culture that seems to celebrate equality, individuality, and freedom. And given her rich and substantial analysis, the evidence certainly supports her view that marriage still remains "inextricably public and private."

Carole Elizabeth Adams

University of Central Florida

Cuba's Foreign Relations in a Post Soviet World. By H. Michael Erisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. xiii, 270 pp. List of tables, foreword, preface, map, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

The Soviet Union's collapse in 1991 brought an end to the \$6 billion in annual subsidies and cut-rate oil prices to Cuba. As a result of this debacle, many predicted that the days of Fidel Castro's dictatorship were numbered. However, a decade later, Castro has proven once more that he is Latin America's master survivor.

In this most interesting work, Michael Erisman, a professor of Political Science at Indiana State University and a leading expert on Cuban foreign policy, provides a judicious in-depth analysis concerning Cuban foreign policy in both the Cold War and post-Cold War period. In addition, it thoroughly explores Cuba's economic response after the fall of its benefactor, the Soviet Union.

To his credit, Erisman begins his study by providing the reader with a historical overview of United States-Cuban relations prior to the Cuban Revolution. He lucidly explains that the Revolution's successful foreign policy during the Cold War was the product of Cuba's counterdependency politics. Even before Castro's triumph, Cubans resented American hegemony over the island's internal and external affairs. The author buttresses his analysis by addressing critical issues in United States-Cuban relations such as the Platt Amendment, the American interventions of 1906 and 1912, the American domination of key sectors of the Cuban economy following World War I, and the traditional American opposition to Cuba's nationalistic dreams. Thus, Erisman succeeds in highlighting this historical counterdependency as the cornerstone of the Revolution's foreign policy.

Erisman rightly points out that once the Revolution consolidated itself, counterdependency concerns prompted Castro to become a central figure in the struggle against "American imperialism." Cuba began granting moral and material support to Latin American revolutionaries in the 1960s, and during the 1970s and early 1980s its military might was crucial to the consolidation of Marxist regimes in Angola and Ethiopia. Another interesting aspect of Cuba's foreign policy during the Cold War was its "humanitarian" aid to Third World nations. In analyzing Cuba's assistance, Erisman goes beyond listing mere figures and provides

the reader with a thorough account of Cuba's involvement in this area. This policy, which largely consisted in sending Cuban doctors, teachers, and technicians to the Third World, not only gained the Revolution adepts but propelled the island nation to the leadership of the Movement of Nonaligned Nations. Thus, in the eyes of the Third World, Cuba was not a mere Soviet satellite but rather a Third World champion against colonialism, imperialism, and dependency.

While examining Cuba's counterdependency foreign policy during the Cold War provides valuable insights into the internal dynamics of the Revolution, the most interesting part of Erisman's work is his objective interpretation of Cuba's post-Cold War order. Faced with an already vulnerable economy, the Revolution had to undertake a carrot and stick approach to deal with the crisis following the Soviet demise. On the one hand, the Cuban government undertook unpopular draconian measures such as limiting purchases of consumer goods, further food and gas rationing, energy cutbacks, and dismissal of state employees. On the other hand, the government allowed the legalization of the dollar as tender and permitted limited private enterprise.

While Cuba suffered economic setbacks during this "special period," its economy recovered through Canadian and European Union investments. As a result of the infusion of European capital, Cuba's tourism industry became a vital force in helping its economic recovery. Today, for instance, it has surpassed sugar as the nation's main source of revenue and the European Union is Cuba's largest trading partner.

This book is important because it is the first comprehensive analysis of Cuba's pragmatic foreign policy since the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Erisman is to be congratulated for producing an exhaustive and provocative study, which is a welcomed addition to the literature of Cuban international relations.

José B. Fernández

University of Central Florida