

2003

Book Reviews

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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (2003) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 82: No. 2, Article 7.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol82/iss2/7>

Book Reviews

Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage. By Elsbeth K. Gordon. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xxvi, 319 pp. Foreword, preface, abbreviations, introduction, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

All reviews ought to offer some criticisms and, conversely, find some merit, even in bad books. I can find little to criticize in Gordon's study of colonial architecture, however. Perhaps her chosen chronology is suspect. Florida before 1821, when it became part of the United States, had a long history of changing borders, basically shrinking from Spanish definitions of Florida. Borders changed during the twenty years of English rule (1763-1783) and then again during the Second Spanish Period. Gordon has limited her survey of colonial architectural heritage to the geographic Florida of today with borders established when it became an American territory in 1821. This means, for example, that nothing of the rich architecture of Mobile (part of Florida during the Second Spanish Period) is included. (An exception is an illustration of a house in Pascagoula, Mississippi, dating from about 1718 to show an architectural form used in the Gulf Coast region.)

Despite that minor complaint, this is a highly recommended book. There are over 150 illustrations, nine of which are maps and all of which are of excellent quality. Some of these are "conceptual drawings," such as the Franciscan Monastery and Church, the Governor's House ca. 1593, and the British Statehouse of 1773-1785, all originally located in St. Augustine. Reflecting historical reality, the greatest number of illustrations deal with St. Augustine and Pensacola. Others relate to the Florida Indians. For example, there is an Indian shell mound in New Smyrna Beach and a Creek

Indian house plan of the 1770s. The recent reconstructions of an Apalachee chief's house, the council house circa 1656, and the mission church at San Luis are also portrayed. Since a casual reader will enjoy more the illustrations than the scholarly text, Gordon's selections are especially praiseworthy.

Among those expert in colonial Florida history, the foreward, preface, and well-done introduction will be very well received. She reminds us that "buildings are cultural history books." While much has disappeared, some remains have been recovered and others have been restored, giving us a visual impression of the state's colorful and ethnically diverse past. The oldest structures were pre-European native buildings, then the Spanish missions and the early Spanish structures of what the author calls the age of wood, which basically ended with the destructive English siege of St. Augustine in 1702. Following were more permanent buildings using "the power of stone," with such materials as coquina and tabby. "The St. Augustine style was drafted at the site" as "a unique regional style of architecture." While Pensocola's architectural heritage does not date as far back into Florida's history, we are told that "all that exist today of the British buildings are subterranean brick foundations and a well, and beautifully drawn floor plans . . . in the National Archives of Great Britain and the Library of Congress." Many of these plans are reproduced for the reader.

Gordon also provides some new insights on haciendas and plantations, particularly the Kingsley Plantation. A relevant map shows the location of the twenty-five haciendas and plantations covered, among which are the Hacienda La Chua of the seventeenth century, the New Smyrna Plantation, and the New Smyrna Sugar Mills Ruins. There are interesting illustrations, including two portraits of Beauclerk's Bluff Plantation on the St. Johns River in the late eighteenth century where there was indigo production. The great majority of the haciendas and plantations originated in the English period, and all are located in the northeast corner of the Florida peninsula, a few west of the St. Johns River but most along the Atlantic coast.

The Kingsley Plantation, a large property in the Jacksonville area on Fort George Island, originated in the late eighteenth century. With ten excellent illustrations, the chapter on Kingsley is fascinating, based on primary and little known secondary sources. Zephaniah Kingsley had Quaker roots but "owned slave ships and bought and sold slaves." His wife, Anna Jai, was a strong-minded woman born in Senegal and taken as a slave to Cuba where

Kingsley bought her. She was described as “black as jet but very handsome.” Mrs. Kingsley herself later owned slaves who were treated benevolently for those times. Today much is restored, part of the National Park Service and open to the public.

There are two most useful appendices. One is a glossary of over one hundred terms used by colonial builders; for example *tabia*, *tappi*, *tabby*, *compartario*, *atrio*, and *bousillage*. The other one is a welcome “English Pound Sterling Equivalents” for the English period. “Respectable wood frame houses on Florida’s plantations could be erected for pounds sterling 100 or less.” But a “theater ticket at St. Augustine’s statehouse theater were 5 shillings for the pit and 4 shillings for the gallery.” Unfortunately, no such equivalence is given for the Spanish periods.

In her introduction, Gordon confesses that she was motivated to do this study when “an eminent educator from New England,” being shown some of the Spanish architecture of St. Augustine, stated that “this early architectural history did not count, because it was Spanish!” Gordon demonstrates that it indeed does count, adding that “we are what we build.” She ends with what the celebrated Majorie Stoneman Douglas related about the house she built in 1926 and in which she lived (never with air conditioning; I as a friend of Majorie can attest to this), “the house was a great influence on my life.”

Charles W. Arnade

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Sealed With Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America. By Sarah J. Purcell. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002. 304 pp. Introduction, afterword, notes, index, acknowledgments. \$35.00 cloth.)

America’s memory of the Revolutionary War shaped and in many ways created a national identity. Many who died in the struggle for independence became part of an emerging national mythology. Dr. Joseph Warren, a physician and president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, was one of the first to suffer a sudden and bloody death at the Battle of Bunker Hill. Local newspapers quickly declared him a martyr for the cause of liberty. His heroic image was celebrated by journalists, politicians, and public speakers alike.

Warren and others like him became local and often national symbols that inspired Americans in the face of ubiquitous battle-field defeats. The promise of heroic remembrance transformed the anxiety of war into a patriotic crusade. Funeral orations and commemoration ceremonies elevated the dead and wounded into immortal heroes. Nationalism was fired as liberty became a higher goal than safety. Creation and perpetuation of these military memories united and galvanized Americans in their long and arduous grasp for liberty and nationality.

Sealed with Blood reveals how an American identity was forged by ritualizing the public memory of momentous war heroes and events. Elevating locals like Joseph Warren, Richard Montgomery, George Washington, Nathaniel Greene, and Ethan Allen to saintly status served as a source of national inspiration that resonates in the American spirit even today. These commemorations not only united Americans but during the early days of the war legitimized the cause.

As Purcell explains, every colony had its local heroes and battlefield commemoration ceremonies. The people of Charleston, South Carolina, celebrated Palmetto Day to commemorate the city's valiant victory over the British onslaught of Sullivan's Island in 1776. Massachusetts commemorated heroes at Lexington. New York had its Evacuation Day, and the nation as a whole celebrated Independence Day. However, at times, these events became tools to promote political agendas. Purcell describes how, in the early 1800s, antebellum southern society turned Palmetto Day into a celebration of southern nationalism and the defense of slavery.

Despite existing class distinctions, all people laid claim to and often participated in the emerging national myth. Military commemoration events were attended by men, women, and children of every economic type and of mixed ethnicity. As these people grasped their rightful share of post-war public memories, a sense of equality grew. Widowed women, orphaned children, and later, descendents of war veterans experienced an enhanced societal stature by association with heroic memories. Over time this would have a democratizing effect on the citizens of the new United States.

About five thousand African Americans, many in bondage, fought for their freedom on the side of the Continental Army. Freedom was granted only to a few at the war's conclusion. Even though emancipation did not come, most slaves shared the common memory of a war for liberty. However, liberty had a deeper, more personal meaning, and as the nation faced the paradox of a

democracy that tolerated slavery, African American abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet used Revolutionary War memories against pro-slavery southerners, claiming owners of slaves had no right to claim the revolutionary heritage of liberty.

Commemoration of the Revolutionary War was not only used to affect racial and class situations but to promote political agendas. Political factionalism threatened unity in the early days of the new nation. As the two-party system emerged, both Federalists and Democratic-Republicans claimed a piece of the wartime glory. Each party interpreted and celebrated past events in ways that best suited its political goals. History was, at times, revised to defend the virtue of specific issues. What began as patriotic memory became an instrument for acquiring social, political, and economic distinction and success.

Purcell's description of the Marquis de Lafayette's return to the United States in 1824 is interesting. She demonstrates that even after forty years, public military memory still resonated with Americans. Wherever Lafayette traveled, throngs of people gathered to see and hear him speak. Parades marched down the main streets of America, monuments were erected, people clamored to view the wartime hero during commemoration ceremonies, picnics, and dinner parties held in his honor. For those who could not participate, souvenirs were constructed and sold. Americans rich and poor wanted to share in the increasingly mythical memory of a heroic past.

Purcell's book is organized chronologically, and her thesis is set against significant national events, effectively contributing to the body of research on military memory as a significant force in the shaping of the American national identity.

Susan J. Oldfather

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Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift. By Thomas E. Chavez. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xii, 330 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusions and epilogue, appendices, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

This is a useful book which stresses the significance of Spain's role in the American Revolution, and the consequential worldwide struggle for revenge and ascendancy. Thomas E. Chavez provides

a good review of well-known aspects of the Spanish contribution to the American struggle for independence and details other less known diplomatic and military action (primarily outside the limits of the present-day United States) which were of great assistance to the American cause.

Chavez begins his study with the assumption that Spain's role in helping Americans gain their independence is "not well known in the United States." This is simply not correct. To historians of the period, Spain's contributions are understood; and to the extent that Americans are aware of anything other than the most superficial story of the American Revolution, the role of the Spanish is also known. Yet, Chavez has expanded our knowledge. His most important contribution is his use of previously unmined Spanish archival sources. These sources enlarge the story of Spanish contributions to West Florida, Louisiana, and the Illinois country. Still, scholars will find little new information. Curiously, East Florida receives very little attention.

Perhaps the most significant portions of the book are those dealing with Spanish activity in Guatemala, Venezuela, the West Indies, Brazil, Nicaragua, and Europe. Spanish attention in these areas, Chavez correctly suggests, directed British attention significantly away from the rebelling colonies, providing important assistance to the American cause.

Ironically, while the use of Spanish archival sources is one of the strengths of the book, it exposes one of the weaknesses. Chavez acknowledges the extent to which scholars have researched the British, French, and American sides of the story, and the contributions that scholars such as Jack D.L. Holmes, Gilbert Din, Light Cummings, Eric Beerman, and many others have made to our understanding of the Spanish contribution to the American Revolution. In light of these acknowledgments, Chavez suggests "a more balanced understanding" of the American War for Independence is possible. But Chavez himself had the opportunity to use the additional archival material to write that work.

More problematic are some of Chavez's claims: "United States independence, as we know it today, probably would not have happened without Spain"; "The overall Spanish strategy is what finally resulted in the defeat of Great Britain." While the author does his best to present the Spanish contribution as the key factor in American success, the result is unconvincing. That Spain's involvement was important, perhaps even critical, is unquestionable. But

in his attempt to argue significance, Chavez went beyond what the evidence provides.

The press did not do a very commendable job either. The lack of a sufficient number of detailed maps makes the action quite difficult to follow, especially in discussions of Central and South America. Good maps would have been far more useful than the plates (although the latter can be appreciated). Consequently, *Spain and the Independence of the United States* is a useful book detailing some of Spain's contribution to American independence, but scholars and enthusiasts will find little that is new.

J. Barton Starr

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William Henry Drayton: South Carolina Revolutionary Patriot. By Keith Krawczynski. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001. 358 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, abbreviations, bibliography, index, map. \$49.95 cloth.)

William Henry Drayton (1742-1779) remains a relatively neglected leader of the American Revolution in South Carolina. This new biography by Keith Krawczynski seeks to rescue him "from the ash heap of history" by providing "a fuller, more detailed examination of Drayton's youth, education, family relations, character, political philosophy and revolutionary activities in South Carolina and abroad." The book also offers a more nuanced explanation of Drayton's remarkable conversion to the Patriot cause as well as the unbending commitment with which he ultimately embraced it.

Drayton was the eldest son of John Drayton, a member of South Carolina's creole elite and, according to Krawczynski, a domineering, disaffectionate patriarch who "invested only money in his sons." After receiving an education at Westminster School, London, and then at Balliol College, Oxford, the younger Drayton returned to the province, married, and in 1765, embarked upon a political career in the Commons House of Assembly, motivated largely by "a desire to please his father and attain the position of authority demanded of him." He utterly failed. Drayton lost his assembly seat in 1768, squandered much of his fortune through gambling and financial mismanagement, and grew increasingly estranged from John, who partially disinherited him.

Partly to "regain the respect and affection of his father" and "resurrect his public image," Drayton stood against South Carolina's nonimportation association, engaging in a well-known polemical controversy in the pages of the *South Carolina Gazette*. All but ostracized from the colony due to his unpopular, proto-loyalist position, he sailed to England seeking preferment, securing an appointment to the provincial council. However, Drayton's emotional desire "to be noticed by both the king and his father" went largely unfulfilled, resulting in a deepening "internal psychic anxiety." He was passed over for crown appointments, failed to win his father's approval, and grew angry with the behavior of royal place-men. When Parliament passed the Coercive Acts, Drayton decided to join the revolutionary cause, not simply to defend American liberty against imperial encroachments but also to assuage his psychosis. It gave him "something he failed to secure from either the Crown or his father," Krawczynski claims.

In the months following his cathartic conversion, Drayton emerged as one of the most important Patriots in South Carolina, apparently finding the approval he yearned for so desperately. In 1774, he penned a letter to the Continental Congress advancing a dominion theory of the British Empire. Later in the same year, he issued a series of grand jury charges which fomented resistance and won him considerable popular support. He was elected to the first provincial congress and chaired several revolutionary governing committees, helping to prepare the colony for war and winning over many to the American cause. His efforts to suppress loyalism in the backcountry were critical. So, too, was Drayton's support for colonial independence. Elected president of the second provincial congress, he "became the first leading figure in South Carolina to openly call for independence."

During the next three and a half years, Drayton served the state in a variety of capacities, as privy councilor, assemblyman, chief justice, and delegate to the Continental Congress. He co-authored South Carolina's 1778 constitution, which helped to ensure the control of lowcountry elites, and like many of his Carolina counterparts he remained socially and politically conservative. His numerous proposals for revising the Articles of Confederation established him "as South Carolina's foremost authority on the national charter" and reveal much about his emerging political philosophy, particularly his desire to insulate the state's aristocracy from challenges to its authority.

This desire probably motivated Drayton more than anything else, both before and after his conversion to the Patriot cause; and Krawczynski repeatedly references its significance, intimating that it was the central reason Drayton joined the revolutionary movement and why South Carolina ultimately decided to join the other mainland colonies in revolt. He also suggests that it guided Drayton's thinking and behavior during the last years of his life, when he "helped shape the purpose of the local rebellion." Yet, this theme gets lost in the author's use of Freudian psychology to analyze Drayton's personality. Rather than seeing Drayton as a man of deep conviction who was motivated by a desire to preserve South Carolina's peculiar version of ordered liberty, one is left with the impression that his ideas as well as his actions were directly related to his youthful striving for identity against his patriarchal father, revealing Drayton as a shallow, emotionally troubled individual who did what he did for purely personal, selfish reasons. This picture hardly serves to resurrect Drayton's image as a leader of the Revolution in South Carolina.

Still, this is a thought-provoking book. It is by far the most comprehensive and detailed biography of William Henry Drayton in print and generally serves to effect Krawczynski's stated objectives, adding significantly to the historiography of the American Revolution. Drayton played a key role in what is arguably the single most important event in South Carolina's history. Now we finally have a study of his life that is in many ways commensurate with his contribution.

Thomas J. Little

Emory & Henry College

Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War. By Edward E. Baptist. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv, 392 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Among the several "Black Belts" of the Old South perhaps the most understudied is the Middle Florida "Cotton Kingdom." Indeed, among the many monographs to appear in the last forty years that have attempted comprehensive coverage of various Old South themes, Florida is often ignored. Fortunately, this neglect

seems to be on the wane with recent studies by Larry Rivers, William W. Rogers, and most recently, Edward Baptist whose investigation of Leon and Jackson Counties adds substantially to our understanding of this region and to the Old South's dynamics of expansion. Until now, the most comprehensive study of the growth and development of the Middle Florida plantation belt was Clifton Paisley's neglected yet fine study, *The Red Hills of Florida, 1528-1865* (1989). While Paisley's book focused primarily on the agricultural productions in Middle Florida's five counties (Madison, Jefferson, Leon, Gadsden, and Jackson), Baptist's book is a far different kind of history, closely mirroring works by Joan Cashin, Stephanie McCurry, and Christopher Morris that use the dynamics of class, gender, family relationships, and migration patterns to understand what made society tick. But if Baptist subjects his historical actors and their actions to current scholarship of manhood, masculinity, honor, power, and mastery, he also weaves finely crafted stories of Middle Florida's well-known and lesser known migrants into his narrative.

Baptist begins his story not in Florida but in the worn out, unproductive lands of North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. He paints a picture of an economy and a society in decay. With fortunes declining, proud families with famous names like Eppes, Gamble, Branch, Randolph, and Randall looked south and west for virgin fields that might restore and extend wealth and patrimony. Both in the decision to migrate and in the migration itself, family relationships were at the heart of the move. Those who migrated often borrowed money from wealthier kinfolk to buy lands. They might rely on other kin already there to select the best lands, clear fields, or even use political influence in the purchase of choice tracts.

If planters' decisions to migrate to Florida were disruptive to white families, they were catastrophic to slaves, who, similar to whites, also had extended kin networks. But of course the law did not recognize these relationships, and thus slaves were at the mercy of their owners' decisions to migrate. Planters tended to bring young male slaves to Florida, leaving behind older males and females. Thus Baptist contends that "Planters' removals from the old states disrupted African-American ties of kinship and community there, but slaveowners also undermined the possibilities of rebuilding kinship and community among those that they moved." Baptist uses Freedman's Bureau Bank records, WPA slave narra-

tives, and deed records to reconstruct the lives of African Americans wrested from their homes and families in the older states and brought to the Middle Florida plantation district.

While he fully admits that class distinctions among whites are fuzzy, Baptist nevertheless plows forward with much energy to shed light on these differences (and conflicts). He divides white society into two antagonistic groups: planters—those who owned twenty or more slaves—and countrymen—those who owned ten or less slaves. According to Baptist, conflict rather than consensus, marked the relationship among these groups. For Baptist, the conflict (often physical) for wealth, power, and “mastery” between elite planters and “countrymen” was the basis of most economic, social, and political interaction among whites. While factions of elite planters struggled to secure all the wealth and benefits of this new country for themselves, those on the outside (“countrymen” and of course slaves) did not sit idly by but struck back to assert their “manhood” against these usurpers in various ways.

The key to the quick riches that awaited migrants was control of Middle Florida’s fertile cotton lands. Richard Call and his associate George W. Ward used their influence and connections to powerful patrons outside the territory to have themselves appointed to posts from which they could control the federal land office. The enemy of Call, Ward, and other members of the “Nucleus” was a faction led by Joseph M. White, who served as territorial delegate for more than a decade during the time that Call and Ward enjoyed the patronage of Washington. As an adherent of preemption rights for settlers, White was the countrymen’s champion. Struggles for “mastery” between the Call and White factions played out in the newspapers, polling places, the streets, and the dueling ground. “The feud between Call and White,” Baptist writes, “shows some of the constituent elements of politics in the early years of Middle Florida. Elite factions composed of ‘hot-blooded fellows’ fought over the rewards of land speculation and office. Ties of personality and kinship brought them capital and political appointments The most basic beliefs held by many planter men,” he continues, “as well as the dynamics of the frontier’s mad scramble for resources, meant that Call and his peers simply did not value the idea of equality among white men. They always had to have the last word, to trump everyone else’s card, to finish one up in every symbolic exchange. They carried out a never-ending battle to show that they dominated all people around them as they dominated their legions of slaves.”

For Baptist, the operations of the Union Bank of Florida (which Baptist portrays as a kind of early nineteenth-century version of crony capitalism) was yet another example of the efforts of well-connected elite planters to expropriate the benefits of the new territory for themselves alone. "The Union Bank epitomized Middle Florida's factional, family-based political system. A clique of planters seized control of the reins of power and used their position to distribute the rewards of office and credit, rightfully possessed by all white men, to their kinsmen and allies." But when the bubble burst in the early 1840s, the "countrymen" would make their play for political power. Even before the fall of the "ragocracy," "Countrymen turned against them trickery, defiance, and other tactics, asserting their own manhood." As struggles over the politics of the Union Bank and the conduct of the Second Seminole War played themselves out among elite Middle Florida planters and countrymen, the struggle for mastery and manhood reached new heights. The economic and political conflicts also buffeted the lives and material conditions of African Americans, and Baptist tells their story through an imaginative reading of primary sources.

While many will quarrel with Baptist's conclusions, few will be able to question his research. No other scholar of antebellum Florida has done more archival research in and out of Florida. Baptist's mining of archives in North Carolina and Virginia and holdings in Florida is extremely impressive, as is his imaginative and creative use of those sources. While certainly controversial, this book is an impressive achievement.

James M. Denham

Florida Southern College

The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations. By Tim Alan Garrison. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002. xiii, 331 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Tim Alan Garrison has carefully researched the relatively unexploited and fertile ground of the legal ideology of the southern antebellum state judiciary and its impact on Indian nations and American law. In doing so, he reveals important influences of

that judiciary in the development of American Indian law and maintains that concentration on U.S. Supreme Court decisions has likely “seriously distorted our understanding of the manner in which law developed in the United States.” He asserts, “the law is often not what the U.S. Supreme Court declares it to be, but what the American public accepts or institutional power deems to enforce.”

Garrison deftly discusses the origins and legacy of the legal ideology in three state court cases involving the extension of state jurisdiction over Indian nations. The decisions in these cases—*Georgia v. Tassels* (1830), *Caldwell v. Alabama* (1831), and *Tennessee v. Forman* (1835)—had disastrous consequences for the tribes in their resistance to removal. The ideology and legal precedents used by southern state justices to undermine tribal sovereignty and treaty rights during the removal crisis came from the writings of European scholars as well as from U.S. Supreme Court justices, including Chief Justice John Marshall.

Prior to his ruling in *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832, asserts Garrison, Marshall was “coy and reserved” on the rights of Indians and failed to establish a legal firewall against raging southern demands for the extinguishments of Indian title. Marshall’s earlier decisions, especially his ruling in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), aimed at “delicately protecting the authority of the Court” and avoiding “constructing a permanent obstacle to American expansion into the West.” By not issuing an official enunciation of federal supremacy over Indian affairs, his legal arguments “unwittingly invited southern politicians and judges to challenge Congress’s authority and allowed a states’ rights boil to fester into what eventually became the crisis of the Indian Removal.”

Georgia and Alabama justices “joined the rout against Indian rights and interests” in 1830 and 1831, respectively, by upholding state laws abolishing tribal governments. These victories for states’ rights removal ideology were led by men who consciously relegated the Indians to second-class subjects: men who “envisioned a South ethnically cleansed of Indians, engined by African-American labor, and ruled by whites.”

In 1832, Marshall, whose views had been evolving, attempted to “clear his conscience of his earlier opinions . . . and place the Court in a position of high moral authority.” The Chief Justice’s newfound “judicial courage and clarity” regarding Indian sovereignty in *Worcester*, however, constituted “a revolution with few

adherents." Southern governors, legislators, justices, and laymen already had created an environment conducive to removal and had employed legal and intellectual arguments from the chief justice's earlier decisions, and, like President Andrew Jackson, understood that Marshall's *Worcester* decision was stillborn. When in 1835 the supreme court of Tennessee blatantly refused to follow the precedent set down by Marshall in 1832 (and courageously upheld by state judge Jacob Peck in his minority opinion), it reaffirmed with "fumbling logic and internal inconsistencies" that the law pertaining to tribal sovereignty in the South was simply what Southern courts declared it to be.

Until 1959, when the U.S. Supreme Court revitalized its *Worcester* precedent in *Williams v. Lee*, concludes Garrison, "American Indian law was as much influenced by the thought represented by the southern state removal cases as it was by *Worcester*" and Marshall's ruling "no more protects the tribes . . . today than it did in the 1830s." In the 1950s and 1960s, for example, Public Law 280 enabled a number of states, including Florida, to extend its jurisdiction over the Indian country in the state. As long as judges have the luxury of choosing precedents that suit their ideological or political agendas, warns Garrison, Indian nations "are by no means secure from the ghosts of *Tassels*, *Caldwell*, and *Forman*."

This is a well-crafted study of a fascinating topic that has generally escaped historical scrutiny. It will be of great interest to historians and legal scholars who focus on the American South, Native American history, and constitutional issues.

Ronald N. Satz

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Listening to Nineteenth-Century America. By Mark M. Smith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. x, 372 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Listening to Nineteenth Century America is nothing if not ambitious. Mark M. Smith (in what he assures us is only a partial listing) wants to analyze and refine our understandings of "the coming of the Civil War, antebellum class formation, slavery, freedom, modernization, the war itself, and Reconstruction." What enables Smith to make sense of such a vast expanse of American

history is an approach that he believes to be revolutionary. Smith “listens to” antebellum America in order to understand how elites “heard” their worlds, how non-elites contested those perceptions, “and how soundscapes were heard along increasingly sectional lines.”

The first two sections of the book describe the sounds associated with the rapidly changing social order and the relentless attempts of elites, North and South, to impose aural discipline upon their respective and fractious subordinates—slaves, Indians, poor whites, immigrants, and working classes. Here, Smith’s debt to Marxist theory is especially apparent. Unfortunately, so too is it obvious that he does not wield concepts of class conflict with any dexterity; Smith’s is an antebellum America in which planters and merchant princes alike (whose interests and values are constantly and necessarily opposed to those of the lesser ranks) successfully manipulate the “core values and social and economic relations” of their respective sections.

A shaky argument becomes far shakier in Part III—“Aural Sectionalism.” Here, Smith tries to convince the reader that the ways in which the North and South “heard” one another were a key component in the coming of the Civil War. Northerners “heard” screaming slaves and did not hear the hum of industry; Southerners “heard” the noise of soulless industrialism and the rumble of propertyless mobs. Thus, “elites north and south constructed one another aurally.”

The last sections of the book are concerned with “listening to” the Civil War and Reconstruction. Here Smith argues that the Civil War radically reordered soundscapes on both battlefields and homefronts. In the South, moreover, such new noises “enervated white southerners” and thus contributed to their defeat. During Reconstruction, the Southern elites briefly lost control of their soundscapes, but eventually regained control after the North lost the will to continue the experiment of remaking the South.

So, does “listening” to the past lead to path-breaking insights into sectionalism, the Civil War, and its aftermath, or is it a dead-end exercise in academic navel-gazing? Certainly such meaningless statements as “most nineteenth century Americans experienced their worlds through their senses” suggest the latter.

At points, the approach seems to be little more than a rhetorical device: “coveting social order and quietude, Whigs tended to respect the throb of industrial capitalism, and they were not

unknown to accuse Democrats of courting the noisy mob. Whigs wanted to hear the gentle pulse of economic progress, not the cacophony of democracy." But Smith, of course, claims far more and, indeed, is adamant that his is a revolutionary approach with the potential to free "deaf" and "parochial" historians from their "fetish with the ocular." Such benighted scholars who fail to appreciate the wonders of "acoustemologies" and insist upon studying "the past through the eyes rather than the ears of historical actors" are heuristically bankrupt, frozen within the "grip of ocularity."

Irritating terminology aside, there are a number of things wrong with this argument. First, though few have concentrated solely on "aurality," good historians have always related the physical reality of the past—the din of early modern cities, the silences of nineteenth-century prisons, the songs and screams of southern slaves. And what military history is complete without a description of the moans of the wounded and dying in the aftermath of a battle? Second, the aural/visual dichotomy that Smith imposes on historical scholarship is just wrong-headed. Who limits their sources to evidence solely "visual" (in Smith's narrow sense of the word)? Certainly large numbers of intellectual and cultural historians will bristle at the allegation that they ignore all but the visual.

In more sober moments, Smith suggests that the practice of "acoustemology" complements traditional methods of studying history. "Understanding aural sectionalism *helps to explain* how and why tensions and passions ran so high" (emphasis added). Later, warming to his subject, Smith argues that these "soundscapes" were "critical"—a "powerful influence"—on events in mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the book, Smith has graduated to rhapsodic self-congratulation: "Writing about heard worlds of the past is not unlike groping for illumination in a dark room and finding all the light switches at once." Rather than brilliantly illuminating vast stretches of American history, however, Smith's approach leads straight to stunningly absurd interpretations. For example, Smith argues that "by shaping the heard world of the plantation, slaves protected themselves. Screams when one was whipped or about to be sold, for example, reminded masters of slaves' humanity and so played on calloused ears to save delicate flesh." To assert that slaves protected themselves by screaming when whipped is nothing short of perverse.

As if the terminology and methodology were not distracting enough, Smith's prose will divert even the most determined reader. Speaking of the slaveholders' desire for improved access to markets, Smith writes that "Railroads chuffed happily in their ears." Abolitionist Angelina Grimke was given to "tease at her listeners' guts and hearts." Slaveholders "were not foolish enough to howl at the moon." Confederates on the homefront believed "they could hear delicious bites of victory."

The problem, stated most simply, is this: Smith attempts to elevate perception above that which was perceived. Focusing on one medium through which the nation's crisis was experienced leaves unanswered far more significant questions as to what realities underlay these sounds—whether as actually heard or, as was much more commonly the case, imagined. At points, Smith seems to glimpse the problem, as when he writes "Federals realized that Confederate sounds by themselves posed little threat unless there was substance behind them." Precisely.

The book could certainly be commended for its attempt to stretch our boundaries of how to approach the past and what constitutes evidence of that past. A more temperate study of this type might lead to some insights. But *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America*, though full of sound (and, when Smith attacks the supposed shortcomings of most historians, not a little fury), does not signify much of anything. Smith no doubt would dismiss these criticisms as the narrow-minded objections of an ocularcentric reactionary. But any way you look at it, this book is far too clever for its own good.

Matthew Schoenbachler

University of North Alabama

Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862-1880. By John C. Rodrigue. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001. xvi, 224 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, appendix, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

In *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields*, John C. Rodrigue challenges the widely accepted view of post-Civil War labor relations that focuses on the victimization of newly freed slaves to argue that "the particular demands of sugar production accorded freed-

men considerable leverage" in negotiating a new labor system. Such a bold thesis requires a reassessment of planter omnipotence in the politics and economy of the postwar South as well as a recognition of the limitations on freedmen's actions: Rodrigue negotiates the tricky terrain with considerable aplomb and persuasiveness.

By his own admission, Rodrigue takes on a number of southern history shibboleths. To support his claims for a reassessment of Reconstruction, he engaged in extensive research in the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections and an equally exhaustive mining of state and federal documents. Grounding his study in the localized world of Louisiana sugar production, Rodrigue convincingly portrays the complexity of the Reconstruction South as being most visible in the often contentious negotiations between planters and their former slaves.

As Rodrigue points out, sugar production differed substantially from that of cotton or tobacco, and therefore both the limitations and the possibilities for freedmen deserve closer inspection. More industrialized and economically riskier than other southern staple crops, there was little margin for error in the growing and processing of cane. Freedmen recognized the exigencies of sugar production, accepted the necessity of centralized plantation control, and quickly "mastered the rudimentary workings of the free labor market" to their own advantage.

Like freedmen elsewhere, Louisiana sugar workers initially anticipated the acquisition of small plots of land confiscated from defeated ex-Confederate planters. When the futility of that hope became apparent, sugar workers, unlike other former slaves, adopted the strategies of industrial wage laborers to protect their interests. Returning to the old plantation living quarters, they acted collectively to obtain the benefits of the new economy—cash wages, regularly paid throughout the year—while simultaneously demanding continuation of benefits and privileges instituted during slavery. By timing their demands to increase the pressure on planters at the most vulnerable times of cane planting and processing, the freedmen forced compliance with their demands.

Rodrigue suggests that the strategy proved successful only as long as Reconstruction politics marginalized planter political power. Republican officeholders needed African American votes and withheld the militia support during labor disputes that would

have tipped the balance in favor of the planters. However, the waning days of Reconstruction pointed toward a different future for black sugar workers. In 1874, Republican governor William Pitt Kellogg reluctantly dispatched troops to Terrebonne Parish after sugar workers threatened those who refused to honor a strike against wage reductions. The confrontation ended without violence but suggested the future: planters had previously resorted to extralegal measures to maintain control, while freedmen called upon the state for protection. Now, freedmen recognized that protection was not absolute: protection of property weighed as heavily as protection of men. Simultaneous with their 1874 "victory," planters stepped up paramilitary tactics to intimidate black voters and remove Republican officeholders. Although some planters condemned the White League's methods, the African American community felt the increasing pressure to return politics to white southern leadership. Thus, although the end of Reconstruction in 1877 did not end freedman political activity, the redemption of Louisiana decisively altered the political climate as the coercive power of the state shifted into the hands of white planters.

The power of the Bourbon-dominated government was made evident in the strikes that erupted in the cane fields in 1880 and more fully in 1887. In the first instance, the Democratic governor's quick dispatch of the militia prevented violence but contrasted with earlier reluctance to support planters. Seven years later, the so-called Thibodaux Massacre resulted from the new circumstances generated by both blacks and whites in a three-week strike that produced unprecedented violence. Cane workers engaged in new labor strategies: they had been organized by the Knights of Labor, made new demands with regard to wage rates and payment methods, and for the first time in their struggles with planters, interrupted the rolling season. In response, planters, with a renewed voice in state government, responded as "southern white men asserting authority over black people [and] as men of property in Gilded Age America confronting labor militancy."

One of the strengths of Rodrigue's analysis lies in his close attention to the subtle shifts in the planter-labor relationship over time. Advantage for the planter or the freedman was never absolute and had to be renegotiated repeatedly. Ultimately, planters could not re-enslave their former bondsmen, and freed-

men could not control their former masters. Using the strikes of 1874, 1880, and 1887, Rodrigue demonstrates the social and political consequences of Redemption and the Gilded Age political economy. He has written a thoughtful and thought-provoking analysis that will certainly open new questions about Reconstruction and the planter-freedman relationship.

Connie L. Lester

Mississippi State University

Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory. By David W. Blight. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001. 512 pp. Prologue, epilogue, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

In this important work, historian David Blight examines the ways in which Americans remembered the Civil War in the decades following the conflict's close. Above all, the author admits, "[I] have kept my eye on race as the central problem in how Americans made choices to remember and forget their Civil War." By examining issues such as Reconstruction politics, veterans' reunions and reminiscences, the origins of Memorial Day, monument building, and the development of southern Lost Cause mythology, Blight contends that Civil War memory evolved into three competing visions of reconciliation, white supremacy, and emancipation. By the early twentieth century, he argues, many reconciliationists had merged their vision of the conflict with that of white supremacists to present a view of the war that was decidedly segregated and pro-Southern and that promoted national unity over racial concerns.

Competing memories of the war began even before the conflict's close, which Blight makes evident from the wartime speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, and the wartime writing of Walt Whitman. During Reconstruction, Horace Greeley promoted an early form of national reconciliation based on providing political rights for freedmen, amnesty for Southerners, and an effort to simply forget the unpleasant aspects of the past conflict. Though premature, Greeley's efforts foreshadowed later efforts towards reunion that might "bypass the heart of the Civil War's meaning."

Post-war efforts to memorialize cemeteries, erect monuments, and establish veterans' organizations initially divided along the

lines of these competing visions, but by the late 1800s a white "Blue-Gray reconciliation" had begun to force emancipationists to fight "endless rear-guard actions" in an effort to remind Americans of blacks' participation in the war. In addition, the ending of Reconstruction in 1877 brought Southern Redeemers and Northern Republicans into "an odd sort of political coalition, [and] a strange but effective memory community devoted to the ends of national reconciliation and good business."

Eventually, in an effort to reunite white America, the racial aspects of the Civil War, including the Emancipation Proclamation and the participation of nearly 200,000 black Union soldiers, were deliberately downplayed or even ignored. Consequently, the reconciliationist vision ultimately "overwhelmed the emancipationist vision in the national culture." The fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg in 1913, according to Blight, "represented a public avowal of the deeply laid mythology of the Civil War that had captured the popular imagination by the early twentieth century. The war was remembered primarily as a tragedy that forged greater unity, as a soldier's call to sacrifice in order to save a troubled, but essentially good, Union, not as a crisis of a nation in 1913 still deeply divided over slavery, race, competing definitions of labor, liberty, political economy, and the future of the West."

By the time of the outbreak of World War I in Europe, the majority of white Americans, both North and South, had settled on a common memory of the Civil War that emphasized national unity over race. "Reconciliation [had] joined arms with white supremacy in Civil War memory at the semicentennial in an unsteady triumph," Blight argues convincingly, and "had left the country with a kind of southern victory in the long struggle over Civil War memory." Popular films such as *Birth of a Nation* and, later, *Gone With the Wind* only reinforced these beliefs. While African Americans and white "neo-abolitionists" kept alive the emancipationist legacy of the war, they remained in a distinct minority by the early twentieth century. Only the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s-1960s would begin to alter this perception. Forcefully argued and elegantly written, *Race and Reunion* makes a major contribution to our understanding of the war and its aftermath, and particularly as to how the memory of the conflict evolved in the half century following its conclusion.

Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel. By James R. Goff Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv, 394 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusion, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Music is one of the most popular forms of southern cultural expression. Consequently, scholars have studied a variety of indigenous musical styles such as jazz, the blues, country, and rock. One form that has remained virtually ignored, however, is gospel. In *Close Harmony*, James Goff fills a significant void in the historical genre by examining the music of white evangelicals. The book has several ambitious goals, most of which Goff successfully fulfills. On a broad scale, the author maintains that southern Gospel "has both borrowed from and contributed to the larger musical culture of America in ways that few comprehend." Simultaneously, Goff traces the development of gospel from its nineteenth-century southern origins to its position as the soundtrack for modern American conservatives. The broad scope and time frame results in some analytical shortcomings, but the strengths of *Close Harmony* far outweigh its flaws.

The most practical aspect of the book is Goff's examination of the origins and evolution of gospel music. He links the importance of music to southern evangelicism from the 1801 Cane Ridge revivals through the rise of the shape note movement in the early 1900s. The shape note movement simplified musical learning, which proved particularly important in the rural South. Because more could read music, singing schools and songbook publishing houses proliferated in the region. All of these trends came together with the rise of gospel quartets. Popular white quartets, such as the Vaughan and Stamps Quartets, performed at singing conventions and local events with the primary objective of selling gospel songbooks for the publishers they represented. The development of radio and phonographs spread the popularity of gospel and proved extremely profitable for songbook companies. Over time, though, the quartets professionalized and needed no association with publishing houses for exposure. Although Goff laments the transformation of the quartets, he does a remarkable job of detailing their origins and importance within gospel's growth.

Another intriguing aspect of *Close Harmony* is Goff's examination of southern gospel's importance within the growing conserva-

tive movement of the post-1960s era. As the popularity of gospel increased after 1945, Goff argues that its evangelical mission deteriorated. In the 1980s, however, a rebirth of southern gospel occurred. The music promoted the traditional values that the conservative right espoused, but differed from other contemporary religious music in message and performance. Most importantly, southern gospel had become a national movement. It represented tradition, comfort, and spiritual escape, but not regional distinctiveness. Due to the numerous changes, Goff concludes that southern gospel is “an industry still in search of its own identity.”

The transformation of gospel is a fascinating narrative, yet it illuminates the book's main problem. Goff reveals several important issues concerning southern gospel but provides little analysis concerning the conflicts mentioned. For example, what does the nationalization of southern gospel mean for its native region? Is this evidence of the “southernization of America” or proof that cultural distinction no longer characterizes the area? Goff also neglects comprehensive themes that might have enhanced the book's relevance, such as the importance of gospel within American culture. What does gospel contribute to the nation's musical heritage, and what features do other genres share with southern gospel? Another theme Goff might have addressed is the constant struggle between the sacred and secular in southern society. For example, does evangelism, financial matters, social standing, or all motivate the publishing houses and musicians discussed? Finally, the author offers little on the role of women within the movement. Goff references family quartets that included women and even mentions some all-female groups, yet provides little information on their existence. Where did they come from and why did they form? What did male singers think of their ministries? How did audiences receive them? It seems necessary to explain the presence of women in this male-dominated field, but Goff fails to do so.

Despite the interpretative gaps of *Close Harmony*, it is a valuable contribution to southern cultural scholarship, providing a near-encyclopedic account of several key gospel quartets that is accessible for both gospel fans and academics. In summary, Goff has produced an invaluable reference for those seeking a complete understanding of southern music.

J. Michael Butler

South Georgia College

The Architecture of Leisure: The Florida Resort Hotels of Henry Flagler and Henry Plant. By Susan R. Braden. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xxiii, 395 pp. List of illustrations, foreword, preface, introduction, notes, review of the literature, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, Henry M. Flagler and Henry B. Plant led the movement to modernize Florida as they pushed the boundary of settlement southward with their railroad lines and hotels. Their efforts produced the strange sight of great structures rising in Byzantine splendor from palmetto scrub. In Florida, the hardy frontier pioneer arrived in a Pullman Palace Car and settled, at least for the winter months, in fabulous hotels dedicated to luxurious living.

Susan R. Braden's *The Architecture of Leisure* explores how Flagler and Plant "brought urban Gilded Age cultural ideas to nineteenth-century Florida." The book is divided into two major parts: Part One is an interpretive analysis of hotel society; Part Two describes each of the Flagler and Plant hotels and traces its history.

It is Braden's thesis that the great winter resort hotels transplanted the leisure class society of the North—especially New York City—to Florida. The flamboyant architecture of Flagler's and Plant's earliest hotels catered to high society's escapist interest in the exotic. Flagler's "Spanish Renaissance" Hotel Ponce de Leon and Plant's "Islamic Revival" Tampa Bay Hotel provided the perfect sites for displays of conspicuous consumption and leisure by the new money set. Yet, the Flagler and Plant hotel systems, which helped define the concept of the "luxury resort," also epitomized modern values of uniformity and efficiency, just as did Standard Oil.

Braden presents brief portraits of Flagler, Plant, and the other individuals who populated the top levels of resort society, but she is also concerned with how the other half lived in the social order. She devotes some of her text to the lives of the armies of working men and women, white and black, who staffed the hotel systems. She also contrasts the local year-round residents with the winter visitors.

Another area of particular interest to Braden is the concept of "gendered spaces," such as "ladies' parlors," that separated women from men in the hotels. It is her contention that such divisions

quickly passed from the scene when away-from-home resort activities encouraged the sexes to mingle freely in a variety of diversions.

The second part of the book is a comprehensive examination of each and every one of the Flagler and Plant hotels. The primary focus is on the architecture and construction methods. Flagler's establishments receive more than twice the pages devoted to Plant's hotels, but this is a fair division since Flagler's chain of hotels was more extensive and more architecturally significant. Each of these hotels has previously received attention from specialized publications, but this is the first book to bring them all together with this depth of treatment. Braden even devotes attention to the 1920s vintage Breakers, Casa Marina, and Belleview hotels (and the 1990s Casa Monica) that carry the Flagler and Plant traditions down to the present.

This book has the virtues of good history. It is broad in analytical, interpretive, and cross-disciplinary visions. It is accurate and very well-researched, although most of the sources used are secondary. The author has found a great number of interesting photographs, many of which have not been commonly published before. The press also did its part well, presenting us with a very handsome volume containing crisp illustrations, including twenty-four pages of color. The book can be profitably read by scholars, local history enthusiasts, and the general public.

Thomas Graham

Flagler College

Jacksonville Greets the 20th Century: The Pictorial Legacy of Leah Mary Cox. By Ann Hyman and photo editor, Ron Masucci. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xix, 125 pp. Illustrations, foreword, acknowledgments, bibliography. \$29.95 cloth.)

A century ago, Leah Mary Cox was a seamstress and milliner in Jacksonville, as well as an amateur photographer. Beginning circa 1900, Cox spent the next twenty years carrying a large, unwieldy box camera and tripod around Jacksonville and vicinity, photographing scenes from everyday life. Eventually, she accumulated more than four thousand glass plate negatives that she carefully boxed and stored in the basement of her Jacksonville home until her death in 1953 at the age of eighty-six.

Leah Cox lived in anonymity, and she would have remained unknown and forgotten except for these glass negatives, which passed first into the possession of Ron Masucci and his wife Susan, who is Cox's grandniece, and recently to the Jacksonville Historical Society. Cox obviously had a gift for photography, and she left vivid portraits of life in early twentieth-century Jacksonville. Except for her photographs of the devastation following Jacksonville's 1901 fire and the subsequent rebuilding of the city—several of which appeared in a more dramatic, panoramic format in the Jacksonville Historical Society's recent *The Great Fire of 1901*—Cox's photographs are directed toward places, people, and the more ordinary aspects of life in northeast Florida. *Jacksonville Greets the 20th Century* includes intriguing photographs of picnickers at Ft. George Island, riverboats and steamers along the St. Johns River, horse-drawn carriages and automobiles covered with decorative flowers for the annual Gala Week parade, and tourist attractions like the Ostrich Farm and Dixieland Amusement Park.

While Cox left a rich "pictorial legacy," unfortunately not much of that legacy appears in this volume. Only sixty-one of her four thousand photographs are included, although sixty-one pages of narrative by Ann Hyman, a former newspaper writer and columnist for Jacksonville's *Florida Times-Union*, accompany them. Still, there is no story to tell. Cox left no journal or written records, and the recollections of those who knew her are from relatives who remember her as a stern, not-very-approachable old woman, not the energetic, vibrant young woman behind the camera.

Born in England, Cox was raised in Ohio and Nebraska before her family moved to Tallahassee in 1885. Three years later, at the age of twenty-one, she set off for Jacksonville in search of independence. But her father died later that year, leaving her, as the oldest of six children, to care for her invalid mother and five younger siblings. She devoted her next years to supporting her family, and not until her brothers and sisters had grown did she have time to pursue photography as a hobby. She never married, but spent her life working for unknown employers and lived for more than thirty years in a house that she and a younger sister (also a spinster) built. Hyman stretches those snippets of an obscure life into sixty-one pages through lengthy descriptions of events of the period and speculative musings about what Cox may have thought or done.

This reviewer would have preferred less narrative and the inclusion of more photographs, which one assumes was the point of the book. There is an excellent seven-page foreword written by James B. Crooks, a retired University of North Florida history professor. Crooks succinctly places Cox and her photographs into the context of turn-of-the-century Jacksonville. Perhaps this foreword was all the narrative needed.

David J. Ginzl

Jacksonville, Fla.

Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South. By Lu Ann Jones. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiv, 272 pp. Preface, foreword, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Cotton and tobacco have long-dominated southern agricultural history, but important aspects of farm life have remained in the shadows. Lu Ann Jones has coaxed one important group onto center stage with *Mama Learned Us to Work*. Importantly, and thankfully, these women spring not from the pages of *Tobacco Road* but belong for the most part to the middling class of southern landowning families who were intent upon making life better for themselves, as well as for their children. These were intelligent, active, hard-working women who saw their families through good and bad times. And in the South, the hard economic times were long and hard indeed. As Jones points out, the farm economy might revolve around cash crops raised by men, but a family's well-being rested upon the shoulders of the farm wife's skill in the domestic sphere. Jones points out clearly that the domestic sphere must be broadly defined when studying these women. Ironically, the very women who were the focus of so much attention by rural reformers have only begun to take historical focus in studies such as this one. Through this study Jones broadens our understanding of the myriad internal forces that converged to bring the South into the modern world. Jones asserts convincingly that southern farm women played a crucial role in reshaping the economic landscape of the twentieth-century South.

The vast majority of women operated from within the confines of the home and farm, of course, but a significant number moved outside those bounds as home demonstration agents. On the

farm, women played a central economic role as producers of vegetables, eggs, chickens, and dairy products, the proceeds of which often made a substantial impact on a family's budget. Jones explores the impact of such economic activity, as well, on the farm family and the region. In terms of the former, money represented independence; in terms of the latter, women played an important role in linking the South into a larger market economy by both producing goods for regional and national markets, as well as by purchasing goods produced by American industry.

Ironies and tensions abound in the relationships Jones explores. Cotton feed sacks, for example, represented both "making do" and affluence. Women used feed sacks to make clothing by hand, but the fact that families purchased feed in sacks reflected a shift in how the southern farm economy was changing during the twentieth century. Home demonstration agents were professionals who taught women how to live better at home, when the agents themselves had chosen a path that diverged from that trod by the very women they sought to help. Jones also illuminates the role of the itinerant merchants who traded with farm women. While the country store has received a great deal of historical attention, Jones asserts that traveling merchants often operated outside the societal expectations of southern society by giving women and African Americans an option to barter, sell, and buy beyond the white male world of the crossroads store. Itinerants offered a glimpse into a larger, more exotic world far beyond the often dull and isolated cotton or tobacco farm. Women also played an important role in moving the region toward increased poultry production.

Jones's own labor to explore and document the lives of southern farm women has borne an excellent harvest. Much to her credit, Jones does not play favorites. It is clear that she has tremendous respect for all of the women, farm wives and professionals, whose lives she explores. Jones challenges historians to examine the region with more subtlety, and with an eye toward the less obvious currents in the historical stream. When they do, the result will be a more complete portrait of the South—one that does more than just acknowledge the importance of farm women but understands how and why they were important. *Mama Learned Us to Work* is an excellent model of how to proceed with this task.

George B. Ellenberg

University of West Florida

Selling the Old-Time Religion: American Fundamentalists and Mass Culture, 1920–1940. By Douglas Carl Abrams. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001. xi, 168 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

For those who find the vibrancy of fundamentalist religion in a modernist world mysterious, one of the most perplexing of these mysteries centers on how the proponents of old-timey values make effective use of new-fangled machinery. Worldwide, we see Muslim fundamentalists using the most sophisticated technology to spread their message, and here in the United States, Protestant fundamentalists have built religious and political empires upon their effective use of the airwaves. It seems paradoxical that many of these groups who have been so good at using technology are often at the forefront of condemning the cultures and societies in which those technologies thrive. Douglas Carl Adams sets out to unravel a portion of that conundrum by examining America's interwar period, a time in which fundamentalism crystallized.

Adams's short explanation is that fundamentalists "imitated mass culture, not to be like the world but to evangelize it." This emphasis on evangelism sits at the heart of the fundamentalists' approach to the world. They placed primary emphasis on the need to bring "fundamental" Truth to a sinful world, and believed they should employ the most effective means of conveying it. Hence, they turned to the mechanisms of mass culture: print, film, and most important, radio.

Striving to be in the world but not of the world occasioned unease among fundamentalists. Some were suspicious that the trappings of modern culture would bring corruption, while others believed that they could make use of the form while rejecting its content. The most vexing issues came down to the question of where to draw the line of acceptability, for as Adams rightly points out, fundamentalists did not perceive the world as naturally divided into secular and sacred. The issue brought forth arguments that would seem absurd to outsiders, such as the dispute between the presidents of Wheaton College and Bob Jones College as to whether football was worldlier than theater. (Wheaton supported a football team, while Bob Jones Sr. declared that "any young people attending [his] school would go to . . . plays or would go home.")

Adams elucidates his arguments in four readable chapters whose titles mirror the progression of his argument: "Embracing the Consumer Society," "Reflecting on the Consumer Society," "Encountering Popular Culture," and "Judging Popular Culture." Each chapter gives a rich array of information drawn from the papers and publications of major fundamentalist groups and their leaders. The bulk of the monograph presents their ambivalent responses to such issues as advertising, broadcasting, movies, dancing, and women's rights—all of which, Adams argues, traced back to a common spring in modern consumer culture. In the end, the author concludes that fundamentalists accepted and accommodated to many of the tenets of consumer culture that emphasized efficiency, productivity, and a businesslike focus on results. Consequently, they "lost sight of a purer spiritual vision" and neglected such traditional emphases as holiness and Christ's second advent in favor of "politics and the family."

Adams bases his conclusions on a wide and deep reading of the work and correspondence of many of the major figures in Protestant fundamentalism. Although the reader will not get a portrait of any individuals, one can see the ideological conflicts between some of the men—and they are primarily men—who shaped what to outsiders can seem to be a monolithic force. The resulting interpretation brings depth and nuance to a group that has been so vital in shaping the contours of social and political debate. The analysis is not distinctly regional, but scholars of Florida will be pleased to find that the state crops up repeatedly (among other gems that attract Adams's attention are the first attempt at a college that Bob Jones established in the panhandle and William Jennings Bryan's sermons to Miami tourists).

This is a book that will appeal more to students of religion than to other historians, but others should not dismiss it. It is a readable, thoughtful account of the interaction of two of the most powerful forces in recent American history—the church and the market. In this particular account, the reader learns how the church, or at least one form of it, ultimately bent to the market's will.

Spencer Downing

University of Central Florida

Nations Divided: America, Italy, and the Southern Question. By Don H. Doyle. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002. xvii, 130 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper.)

In *Nations Divided*, Vanderbilt professor Don Doyle provides an overview of the historical influences of nationalism, regionalism, and separatism within a framework that compares Italy to the United States. A historian of the American South, Doyle makes the comparison with agility, utilizing the American experience as a model of nationhood that relied on a commitment to political ideals rather than shared ethnicity, that “derive[d] its inspiration not from an imagined past . . . but instead from an imagined future.” He offers the American experience as one of promise, particularly in the post-Cold War era when religious strife, ethnic cleansing, political fragmentation, and a new tribalism threaten to unleash ever greater instability.

Doyle recalls that, while traveling in Naples and Sicily in 1999-2000, he observed the Confederate battle flag on bumper stickers applied by southern Italians as a symbol of defiance of the northerners who had “conquered” and historically oppressed the Italian South. Inspired by an international conference in Naples and encouraged by experts in Italian history, Doyle composed a series of lectures (presented at Georgia Southern University in October 2000) that led to this book, a succinct and cohesive treatment of the comparative, collective experiences of the two peoples.

The idea of such a comparison has intrigued others, having provided the stimulus for panels and books, most recently an anthology entitled *The American South and the Italian Mezzogiorno*, edited by Enrico Dal Lago and Rick Halpern. However, if the concept itself is not original, *Nations Divided* takes an interesting tack, especially in Doyle’s review of the current scholarship of nationalism, nation-building, and related topics. Readers will be especially drawn to Doyle’s intelligent assessment of revisionist views of nationalism and post-modernist deconstruction of the topic. Recent scholarship, Doyle explains, has rejected the earlier “primordial” view of a nation (from the Latin *natio*, birth) as a place whose residents share common characteristics of race, religion, and language in favor of the current view of a nation as an artificial construct. A nation is now widely viewed by scholars as an imagined community invented through a series of ceremonies, ideologies, and influences of political socialization. In a refreshing display of skepticism and irony,

Doyle relates an instance in which a prominent post-modernist, addressing a conference in Armenia in 1997, informed his audience that Armenians had exaggerated past atrocities in order to support their nationalist movement. The subsequent question-and-answer session became so heated that security guards were forced to escort the scholar from the auditorium in the face of the enraged audience. "I sometimes imagine one of today's postmodern scholars impaled on the bayonet of some fanatical nationalist," Doyle muses.

Using current scholarship as a framework, Doyle interweaves the parallel experiences of the two Souths: nation-building, the continuing rekindling of patriotism by means of holidays, education, war, postwar celebrations of heroes, and the cultivation of common enemies. It is in this context that Doyle provides his most original contribution, taking issue with some important current scholarship. Many revisionist scholars condemn nationalism as a top-down, elitist fabrication that reached its depths of chauvinism and violence in the twentieth century. While not entirely rejecting that idea, Doyle suggests that historians focus not on the elite that generated nationalist propaganda, but on the masses who accepted it—and not because they were duped, but because various elements of nationalism appealed to real needs. As a case in point, Doyle cites the famous quote attributed to the Piedmontese politician-intellectual Massimo d'Azeglio at the time of Italian unification: "We have made Italy, now we must make Italians." According to Doyle, to understand d'Azeglio—and to understand nationalism—"requires looking at the nation from the ground level, where nationalism was received, shaped, embraced, or rejected by citizens."

Examining both nations and the forces that have divided them, Doyle provides a series of interpretations of the fortunes and misfortunes of popular patriotism. Public education, a traditional substructure of political socialization, served to inform patriotism primarily in America's northern cities, notably in Noah Webster's textbooks, McGuffey's *Readers*, and George Bancroft's histories. In contrast, Doyle argues, Italian schools, although organized in a national system, failed to engender nationalism because of widespread illiteracy in formal Italian (even among schoolteachers), endemic truancy, and the Roman Catholic Church's opposition to public education. The Fourth of July, celebrated shortly after American independence, became by the nation's fiftieth anniversary "the 'National Sabbath' of the new civil religion," later to be adopted also by the temperance movement and by freedmen in the

South. Italy's equivalent, Statuto (constitution) Day, fizzled badly, as did other such nationalist celebrations until Italians finally embraced a patriotic holiday, April 25, Liberation Day, in celebration of the partisan insurrection against Nazis and Fascists in 1945.

Ironically, but not surprisingly, it was war and its heroes that provided a more effective instrument of nationalization. Both the United States and the Kingdom of Italy mobilized conscripts and volunteers to fight their wars and, in the process, reinforced national identity among their respective masses. In turn, each war generated national heroes and memorial monuments. The veneration of American heroes often took the form of place names, while Italians favored lionizing Garibaldi and King Victor Emmanuel II, in whose honor one of Italy's more recognizable—some would say hideous—monuments, the Vittoriano, or “wedding cake,” dominates the Roman landscape. “The Vittoriano,” Doyle notes, “represents perfectly the effort by the state to impose the national ideal from on high.”

In his concluding chapter, “Imagined Enemies,” Doyle most effectively integrates theory and historical record to portray the two Souths—both victimized by stereotypes, “demonized” as threats to their respective nations, and thus used as counterpoint to enhance the idealized myths of the nations themselves. In one instance, Doyle seems to overreach: “Like their American counterparts behind Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman, the Garibaldini went south on a mission to liberate an enslaved people.” That aside, and in spite of a somewhat cursory Italian case, Doyle has provided a useful contribution to the literature, particularly in summarizing recent thought on nationalism. In the process, in lively prose, Doyle has posed to his readers a series of provocative analogies in the histories of the two peoples.

Charles Killinger

University of Central Florida

A Seminole Legend: The Life of Betty Mae Tiger Jumper. By Betty Mae Tiger Jumper and Patsy West. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. xv, 198 pp. Preface, introduction, authors' notes, epilogue, bibliography, index, photographs. \$24.95 cloth.)

It was both fitting and inevitable—in a non-traditional sense—that Betty Mae Tiger Jumper should find a public vehicle through which to make her voice heard, yet again. She has been, inar-

guably, one of the true non-traditional forces for change among the Florida Indians in the twentieth century. Further, her life-long drive to record her own personal point of view has made her the rightful first author of this work. Her voice dominates the text and adds much immediacy to the telling of her story. Unfortunately, a great deal of the flavor of Betty Mae's self-expression, her personhood, has been lost by the decision to Anglicize her speaking and writing styles. Betty's unique transposition of English into a part-Maskókî, part-Mikkósuukî vernacular is a central element of her charm. It wraps iron and anger around a velvet core. It is sad that readers do not have the opportunity to hear her in her own, intimate voice, but her life speaks volumes.

Once again, as in so many other instances, Betty Mae has become a pioneer. Her story is told in the first public Seminole voice of the modern era. It is a vignette from a shifting image—a transitional life, lived between the moment when the last survivors of the Wars of Removal were passing on, and the moment when today's Elders were beginning to meet the mass of new Floridians on an economic, rather than a military, playing field.

It is altogether fitting that this first modern voice should be that of a woman, since women have played such critical roles in the survival and guidance of the Seminoles and their ancestors over time. She may have been the first elected woman leader in the current era, but the Spaniards recorded the power and leadership of women as early as the sixteenth century—a social system that, surely, had been well established for centuries before the Europeans glimpsed it. Seminole men today readily acknowledge the centrality of women in the processes of deliberation and decision making. To have failed to listen to Betty Mae simply would not have been possible. She is strident, but passionate. She chooses an objective and, in words borrowed from a culture not her own, it is "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead!" Her life mantra is "My grandmother told me never to start anything that I wouldn't finish, and I promised her that I wouldn't!"

West has chosen to assemble the story with the focus on Betty Mae's early life and work in health and politics, which span the middle half of the twentieth century. Her recent life and activities since the 1980s, including her tenure as Editor in Chief of the modern *Seminole Tribune* and her continuing outspoken commitment to her beliefs, are covered in a couple of short chapters, as denouement. West's contribution to Betty Mae's story has been to

add historical texture to the personal life images, and she has gleaned much from Betty Mae's own notes and occasional writings, and from newspaper reports.

Betty Mae and West have presented the reader with the opportunity to open a door into a world barely seen and never truly understood by non-Natives. This world has been neither pristine nor idyllic, and its straightforward telling may startle some readers at times. While recounting the story of the forced Removal of her Snake Clan ancestors during the Second Seminole War, she states matter-of-factly the fears of the female prisoners, because "the soldiers had begun using the younger women." This memory is not unique to a single Clan. The story of rapine is one which never appears in the military reports or the history books, but it is nevertheless universal among Seminole women in Florida and Oklahoma. Consequently, it must be taken seriously. The Seminoles have dealt with a degree of reality that is beyond the experiences of most of the people who will read this book.

Nevertheless, this is a rich and fascinating life in its own right but also, to a great extent, because it has been played out against the backdrop of the Florida Indians' first-ever non-belligerent movement towards a symbiosis with the Euroamerican world. The two major weaknesses of the product are, first, that the book has breadth but too little depth. Too many fascinating facts are presented as factoids without preamble or explanation, and the reader is left with esoteric information and unanswered questions. Second, in a number of instances, decisions to gloss over historical contexts have resulted in inaccuracies. Admittedly, this could have been a much larger book. The changes that have occurred around the edges of the Indian world in Florida in the twentieth century have not failed to have impact upon them. Individuals such as Betty Mae who have, for example, chosen to turn away from much traditional liturgy and towards Western Christianity, have been undeniable agents for change among the people. Putting her life in richer context would have made her actions all the more visible.

Even at this late date in her life, Betty Mae remains a controversial figure among the Seminole people, both for her willingness to deal with the non-Native world and for her identification with Christianity. Nevertheless, the numerous anecdotes which make Betty Mae's such an fascinating life to understand, such as

those in Chapters 8 and 9, illustrate a critical element of her character, and one which remains to this day despite age and ill health: the force of her will. Whether defending her brother or herself from the unfairnesses of life, or defending her people from the ravages of curable ills, Betty has never hesitated to commit herself to the fray. Win, lose, or draw, that's the whole story of the Seminole people.

Patricia Wickman

Seminole Tribe of Florida

The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States. By Jorge Duany. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xv, 360 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, works cited, index. \$49.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

After the Spanish-American War, the passage of the Jones Act of 1917 changed Puerto Ricans' status from immigrants to migrants because it declared them to be citizens of the United States. Furthermore, the Jones Act sanctioned population mobility between the island and the mainland. In the year of its passage alone, job opportunities, congressional legislation, and favorable transportation routes combined to bring thousands of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Rather than creating a strong cultural identity with the host society, this unique migration pattern solidified Puerto Rican identity. In this study, Duany adeptly describes and analyzes how this situation developed.

Organizing his work chronologically, Duany appeals to elements of sociology and anthropology. He draws primarily from such sources as ethnographic fieldwork, material objects, the little utilized documents at the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture and the Commonwealth's Migration Division, and photographic collections. Eleven chapters cover the major issues of Puerto Rican migration to the United States, cultural nationalism in Puerto Rico, the concept of circular migration, and the struggle Puerto Ricans face having a transnational identity.

In his thesis, Duany contends that Puerto Rico is a nation on the move, defining it as a translocal community based on shared history, language, and culture. Furthermore, Duany argues that Puerto Ricans display a strong cultural identity, exemplified time

and again by their unwillingness to assimilate into the American mainstream and by their pendulous and transient migration to and from the island. For Duany, this migration raises an important question: how can most Puerto Ricans imagine themselves as a nation without supporting the constitution of a separate nation state? The answer lies in the concepts of cultural and political nationalism.

Puerto Rico achieved commonwealth status in 1952. In order to maintain a cultural identity independent of the mainland, Puerto Ricans developed a form of cultural nationalism based on the assertion of the moral and spiritual autonomy of people. Cultural identity is based on commonly shared myths, rituals, language, and symbols such as the flag. Emphasis is placed on the rejection of outside influences. The ideology of political nationalism among Puerto Ricans, however, has also been compromised because Puerto Ricans do not feel that their cultural independence is in any way predicated upon political independence.

No work on Puerto Rico or its people could be complete without an extensive discussion of migration, and Duany's study is no exception. Duany argues that "diasporic" communities are an integral part of the Puerto Rican nation because Puerto Ricans continue to be linked to the island by a circular movement of people, identities, and practices. Further, migration to the mainland and back has deterritorialized and transnationalized identities. This migration has also created a reluctance to incorporate into U.S. mainstream culture and has even strengthened national identity on the island. In short, boundaries only exist in the geographic sense and are minimized by increasingly affordable transportation and communication, making distinctions between the language and culture of Puerto Rico and the mainland practically non-existent.

Among the hundreds of books that have been written on the subject of Puerto Rico and the migration of its people to the mainland and back, Duany's work offers a fresh approach by not only studying groups in their new host society but also taking the reader back to Puerto Rico and offering a glimpse of how commonwealth status and mass migration have affected those who choose to stay on the island and those who have found their way back there.

Cynthia Cardona

Orange County Regional History Center

Downtown: Its Rise and Fall, 1880-1950. By Robert M. Fogelson. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001. x, 492 pp. Introduction, epilogue, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

For those who blame interstate expressways and so-called urban renewal practices for the decline of America's downtowns, this book proposes a corrective. By the end of the 1940s, according to M.I.T. professor Robert Fogelson, downtowns were already in full retreat, mainly due to market forces that favored decentralization. Those forces derived from particularly American ideas concerning property and homes, specifically, that homes should not be near businesses and industry. The Anglo-American sense of "proper domestic life" imbued Americans with the conviction that a place of commerce was no place for a home. In the late nineteenth century, that desire to keep homes separate from businesses caused transportation to become increasingly important to the American central city. Streetcars, subways, and "els" (elevated railways) accelerated residential dispersion and the proliferation of houses, which differentiated U.S. cities from the European style of blocks of flats and townhouses.

That pattern of residential dispersion drew businesses away from central districts and stimulated further dispersion into outlying districts. Downtown stakeholders puzzled over responses to competition that their property faced from alternatives on the periphery. Intense concentration of businesses in the central districts prompted the construction of skyscrapers, which in turn led to conflict over the ideal shape of the urban center and sharp debate over the nation's first building-height ordinances. The current national debate over designs for the replacement of the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center shows that such differing visions of downtown persist.

During the 1920s and 1930s, dissent lent energy to those who questioned the basic function of downtowns and called the central business district "obsolete." The trend toward decentralization increased, in response to rising automobile ownership and the standardization of retail merchandising. Then the exigencies of the Great Depression rattled the confidence of downtown real estate investors, some of whom demolished buildings in favor of parking garages. Such market conditions threatening downtowners' economic hegemony were reinforced during the 1930s and 1940s by

government policies at the local, state, and federal levels, allowing overloaded mass-transit systems to deteriorate while increasing public-works investment in highways that connected downtowns with suburbs. By World War II, decentralization was attractive as a way to enhance the security of the nation's war industries, even as the "total war" effort displaced attempts to ameliorate domestic problems such as urban congestion and decaying infrastructure. Upon the war's end, Americans were poised to buy automobiles and spread out into the suburbs, escaping from traffic-choked downtown districts. From then on, federal responses to urban problems were ultimately influential. When they commenced during the New Deal, and accelerated through the late 1940s with Fair Housing legislation, they were highly politicized and driven by housing shortages rather than any holistic concern for the overall health of urban political economies. With that analysis, Fogelson is faithful to such classic studies as Mark Gelfand's *Nation of Cities*.

Downtown serves as a reminder that the public financing of mass transit has a legacy of vigorous debate and alternative policy outcomes that Americans might better understand. The book looks effectively at American urban systems, and includes southern cities (such as Tampa), but does relatively little toward examining regional distinctions. Nor does Fogelson attend much to the changing demographic structure of downtown residents, or the impacts of the first and second Great Migrations. Indeed, the author sees downtowns as a product of forces far removed from neighborhoods. Nevertheless, this book tackles questions that matter, as contemporary American downtowns strive for a twenty-first-century renaissance. It is a top-down account of power and space, property and politics, with elites in the forefront of the narrative, for which Fogelson makes no apology. It was, after all, property owners, business owners, and public officials whose territory included America's most expensive real estate, per square foot. Critics of contemporary "new urbanism" charge that its designs are driven by the ideals of similar elites. Fogelson points out, however, that the best prospect for downtowns lies (ironically) in their appeal as places for more Americans to *live*, as opposed to merely visiting for work or shopping. Planners have long understood the problem. Still, its solutions remain elusive. Only with that change will America turn away from becoming a "nation of suburbs."

Alan Bliss

University of Florida

The Sporting World of the Modern South. Edited by Patrick B. Miller. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2002. x, 355 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Among the unique religious and political characteristics of the South, sports serve as one of the few cultural expressions able to unite the region's cacophony of racial, class, and gender differences. Despite three full decades of commitment to social history, however, too few historians have examined the ways sports reflected notions about southern honor, memory, independence, masculinity, femininity, and collective values. In addition to Saturday transformations of sleepy hamlets like Athens, Auburn, and Starkville into raucous autumnal exhibitions of gluttony, fashion, and manhood, sports have shaped the way southerners have viewed themselves and outsiders, a lens which reinforced some stereotypes while challenging others.

Patrick Miller has provided a superb collection of essays which document the distinctive way southerners have infused their sporting life with social, cultural, economic, political, and religious connotations. *The Sporting World of the Modern South* succeeds in showing how "the rituals and spectacles of sporting competition have often played into the values, ideals, and popular images of modern southern culture." The authors include historians, archivists, kinesiologists, and speech communications experts. General readers will enjoy a book remarkably free of jargon and specialists will applaud the ways the contributors link southern sports into larger issues of continuity, change, exceptionalism, and assimilation.

Miller weaves the thirteen essays into three sections which trace the transformation of sport in the decades before and after the turn of the twentieth century, the evolution of sport in a desegregating South, and the symbolism southerners continue to apply to sport in the modern world. Pamela Dean's "Dear Sisters and Hated Rivals" traces the way administrators, players, and society at large viewed female participation in exercise and competition. Robert Gudmestad documents the way Richmond, Virginia, used its fledgling baseball teams in the 1880s to idealize romantic notions of the Civil War. "In short," Gudmestad concludes, "it was difficult not to remember the Confederacy when attending a Virginias game." Charles Martin details the process of integrating the esteemed New

Year's Day bowl games. Jack Davis documents a similar transition as Florida cities gradually integrated spring training games and accommodations while trying to hold social separation elsewhere in the community at large. When two local watering holes refused to provide service to Boston Red Sox pitcher Earl Wilson in 1966—two years after the passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act and in the midst of a year he would win a combined eighteen games for Boston and Detroit—he noted his preference for Mississippi. “There,” the hurler noted, “you know you’re not wanted.”

Andrew Doyle documents the regional and state identities that Bear Bryant created with his remarkable run as coach of the Alabama Crimson Tide football team. Though Bryant was revered in Alabama, outsiders, such as *Atlanta Journal* sports writer Furman Bisher and *Los Angeles Times* scribe Jim Murray, blasted him for teaching dirty tactics and refusing to schedule integrated opponents. Ted Ownby chronicles the way notions of manhood have changed across the spectrum of southern sports. Ownby's discussion of the changing socioeconomic ramifications of hunting reveals the way elites coopted folk culture and transformed it for their own purposes: “Modern hunting does not help man gain independence; it simply represents freedom from the job. Hunting is rarely part of being a helluvafella; with the many limits on hunting, the sense of limitless freedom is a distant memory.”

With other articles on stock car racing, wrestling, baseball, college football, athletics at historically black colleges, and women's basketball, *The Sporting World of the Modern South* offers a glimpse at how southerners of every sex, race, and class have assigned cultural values to recreation, competition, and entertainment. It is a thoughtful and provocative work deserving of a wide readership.

Jeff Frederick

Auburn University

In the Eye of Hurricane Andrew. By Eugene F. Provenzo Jr. and Asterie Baker Provenzo. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002. xv, 183 pp. Series editors' foreword, preface, notes, appendices, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

On August 24, 1992, Hurricane Andrew unleashed horrendous destruction upon Miami and South Florida. The aftermath of the Category 4 storm included over a quarter-million people left

homeless and damage estimated as high as thirty billion dollars. It was "the most costly natural disaster in modern American history." In this engaging book, Eugene F. Provenzo Jr. (professor of education at the University of Miami) and Asterie Baker Provenzo (author and community historian) present the results of nearly one hundred interviews conducted after the storm. The interviews remain accessible in the Archives and Special Collections Department at the University of Miami's Otto G. Richter Library.

Bryan Norcross, a meteorologist who emerges as a hero of sorts for his calming reassurance during the storm's fury, remarked that the storm "was a sociological, as well as a meteorological phenomenon," and it is with this mindset that the Provenzos wrote their book. The work is not intended as a comprehensive history of the hurricane but rather a community study of "a selected group of South Floridians, about survivors and rescuers and heroes and villains." The book functions best according to this measure, which determines both its strengths and weaknesses.

Many facets of the storm's ramifications—ecological, financial, societal and even personal—are depicted, from looters to neighborhood volunteers, insurance scammers to corporate benevolence, and the guilt of survivors conjoined with the resentment of victims. The interviewees revealed increased feelings of vulnerability, new beliefs in the fragility of life, and ambivalence towards material objects. The Provenzos document a wide-ranging cross-section of Miami's reactions to the hurricane's impact on their lives. Through the sheer accumulation of interesting details and compelling human voices, the Provenzos capture an event that few imaginations can comprehend.

This distinctly human element of the story makes the Provenzos reluctant to incorporate their own voices to summarize or analyze their interviews. When they do, the result is casual; the authors are content to conclude that "life will never be the same." The narrative remains strictly anecdotal, though highly readable, relying foremost on the oral histories with occasional recourse to journalistic coverage. Although the book contains a useful bibliography of writings on Hurricane Andrew, this information is not absorbed or communicated by the authors in their own work. The net result is a lot of questions begged by the Provenzos' findings. The most glaring example of this regards criticism of city, state and federal officials for disjointed attempts towards disaster relief.

There is no sustained examination of the merit of, or explanation for, such indifference. There are also occasional redundancies or unclear references in the examples used by the authors.

In essence, the Provenzos are so successful at documenting the ground-level response to Hurricane Andrew that they leave the reader desiring more contextual and analytical information to take away deeper understanding from these hard-won lessons. In a guarded conclusion, the Provenzos warn that the ripple effects of Hurricane Andrew on South Florida risk being forgotten. They note that the hurricane brought into sharp relief the lack of collective memory from many South Floridians, most of whom had never lived through a hurricane and many of whom dismissed the storm's destructive potential. Florida, as a state comprised largely of migrants, needs reminding of its past, and the Provenzos' book is a helpful compendium of raw information towards that end.

Benjamin Houston

University of Florida

Book Notes

by Charles E. Crosby

The Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease. Edited by Kenneth F. Kiple. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xiii, 412 pp. Preface, index. \$75.00 hardback, \$27.00 paperback.)

This compendium is the perfect reference for anyone who needs to augment his or her knowledge of human maladies. Entries for 161 diseases include information on their discoveries, transmission, symptoms, histories, treatments, and cures. This 412-page volume is a condensed version of *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, and went to print with the intention of making the material more accessible. The omission of bibliographies and graphics alleviates the feeling of mulling through such a dense scientific work, and consequently researchers seeking a more detailed discussion of the indexed diseases should seek out the original text. However, as a quick-reference guide, this tome makes the abstract world of disease much more accessible for wider audiences.

Historic Indian Towns in Alabama, 1540-1838. By Amos J. Wright Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003. xix, 240 pp. Preface, foreword, maps referenced, abbreviations, appendix, references. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

An astounding and exhaustive work, this encyclopedic volume contains entries for 398 Indian towns located at various places and times in Alabama history. *Historic Indian Towns in Alabama, 1540-1838* offers ethnic affiliations, time periods, geographic locations,

descriptions, and movements (if any) of these villages culled from maps spanning over three hundred years of the state's past. From the wanderings of Hernando de Soto to the official government monitoring of Indian removal, author Amos J. Wright Jr. supplements many of the entries with information from colonial town lists, censuses, and travel narratives. The inclusion of a map for reference would have been helpful for the reader unfamiliar with Alabama's geography; but even without such an aid, this text will be useful for archaeologists and anthropologists, Native American historians, and those interested in Alabama history.

Liquid Land: A Journey Through the Florida Everglades. By Ted Levin. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003. xvii, 286 pp. Preface, bibliography, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

Consider Ted Levin a tour guide offering his readers an intimate look at Florida's magnificent River of Grass. By air, water, and land, he introduces the majestic plants, animals, and landscapes that not only reflect the state's past, but also help preserve the present ecological balance. The Everglades serve as sanctuary for Florida's threatened and endangered species, including panthers, manatees, and alligators. By recreating the majesty of the land and its inhabitants in the pages of *Liquid Land*, Levin brings home the urgency of preserving this unique Florida environment.

Unfortunately, despite frequent assertions that the Everglades are a place where past, present, and future seem to merge into one, the author emphasizes that by taking this natural wonder for granted in the past, its future is dependant upon massive preservation efforts and financial support. Half of the original 14,000-square-mile expanse has disappeared, and modern drainage systems have created pollution and salinity problems that threaten the remaining swampland. *Liquid Land* is a peaceful yet powerful reminder of humanity's responsibility to its surroundings.

Orlando, Florida. By Geraldine Fortenberry Thompson. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 128 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction. \$19.99 paper.)

Though the title might convey an air of triviality to this book, do not be fooled by its simplicity. As part of the Black America

Series from Arcadia Publishing, the Orlando referred to in this concise volume is one often hidden from the public eye. Over one hundred years of images demonstrate the proud and prominent heritage of Orlando's African American community, exemplifying a political, social, economical, and cultural awareness that has been ignored and forgotten for too long. Spirituality, education, commerce and industry, leisure activities, and politics are a few of the topics examined by Thompson, the founding president of the Association to Preserve African American Society, History, and Tradition and former member and commissioner of the Florida Commission on Human Relations. From the agricultural laborers of the city's pioneer days to the activism and participation of the late twentieth century, this insightful volume is an essential companion to any history of the greater Orlando area.

Sanford. By the Sanford Historical Society, Inc. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 128 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue. \$19.99 paper.)

Tallahassee. By Erik T. Robinson. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 128 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction. \$19.99 paper.)

Dominating the southern shore of Lake Monroe, the city of Sanford carved its place in Florida history as the "The Gate City of South Florida." The combination of accessibility to the St. John's River and the emergence of the railroad industry nearby allowed founder Henry S. Sanford to realize his vision and create a transportation hub and trade center that assumed center stage in Florida's industrialization. Sanford persevered through a devastating fire, disease, and a devastating freeze to become a stalwart producer of vegetables and citrus. Today, the community retains its progressive sensibilities, showcasing the unique combination of a successful agricultural and industrial past and an indisputable small-town charm.

Tallahassee took a much different road to recognition as one of Florida's leading cities. It was incorporated in 1924 with the specific function of serving as the capital city, and today's bustling municipality serves that purpose just as admirably. The history of the town represents a collection of diverse communities—prehis-

toric Native Americans, Spanish missionaries and their local converts, multiple colonial administrations, and American citizens—who called Florida's panhandle home. The city's emergence as a center of higher learning has only contributed to the ceaseless confluence of varied cultures. Whether one of the many transient students and legislators who pass through the city each year or a permanent resident, the ambiance of Tallahassee reminds all visitors of its territorial past and dynamic future.

Celebrating the history of neighborhoods, towns, and cities across the country, the *Images of America* series brings the distinct histories of Sanford and Tallahassee to light in these two new volumes. These chronological compilations of approximately two hundred photographs with brief historical anecdotes memorialize the growth of our nation's people and places by demonstrating the uniqueness of these communities in the context of national growth. These volumes serve as invaluable contributions to the local histories of the cities they honor.

The Papers of John C. Calhoun, Vol. XXVIII: *A Disquisition on Government and A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*. Edited by Clyde N. Wilson and Shirley B. Cook. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003. viii, 244 pp. Introduction, index. \$59.95 cloth.)

The release of this volume marks the culmination of more than fifty years spent sifting through the public and private thoughts of John C. Calhoun. The two essays on display, "A Disquisition on Government" and "A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States," were halted short of completion in 1850 by the South Carolinian statesman's death. Later polished by personal friend and colleague Richard Kenner Crallé, they were long considered separate works until, while preparing the letters, speeches, and remarks that constitute the preceding volumes, co-editors Clyde N. Wilson and Shirley B. Cook discovered evidence to the contrary. The Calhoun Papers staff discovered that the author penned the two as a single, critical examination of political thought, constitutional history, and the republican experiment in America. True to that spirit, this final volume of *The Papers of John C. Calhoun* offers them in tandem to be counted among the classical texts of American political thought.

The Confederate Belle. By Giselle Roberts. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003. xi, 245 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.50 cloth.)

The American Civil War marked an important transition in the roles of women in southern society. Elite, young, southern women were forced to compromise their traditional understandings of femininity and gender roles, and acquiesce to an emergent patriotic womanhood in a society immersed in war. But, as Giselle Roberts demonstrates, Southern belles did not forsake the identities for which they had been groomed since birth. Instead, the patriotic actions undertaken by these women were fortified by the conceptions of honor instilled in them since birth. Southern honor legitimized their obligations to the wartime household, framed their relationship to the cause, and fashioned their role as patriotic women.

By categorizing these elite young women together with plantation mistresses or by failing to distinguish Southern women by age, historians such as Anne Firor Scott, Catherine Clinton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Drew Gilpin Faust, and Marli Weiner have neglected the unique experiences of the Southern belle. In *The Southern Belle*, Roberts seeks to resolve this oversight by focusing specifically on these women. Using diaries, letters, and memoirs, she brings the wartime experiences of young ladies in Mississippi and Louisiana to the forefront. This monograph is an important addition to Southern history, women's history, and Civil War collections.

The Early History of the St. Johns River. By Ed Winn. (n.p.: Winn's Books, 2003. 50 pp.)

Florida's Great King: King Carlos of the Calusa Indians. By Ed Winn. (n.p.: Winn's Publishing, 2003. 50 pp. Acknowledgments, sources.)

My Florida Soul: Florida History with Some Humor. By Ed Winn. (n.p.: Winn's Books, 2002. 200 pp. Dedication, acknowledgments, forward.)

As a storyteller, author, and native Floridian with nearly seven decades of experience living Florida history, Ed Winn's unique perspective on the subject is complemented by his genuine inter-

est in it. Each text offers historical interpretations, but the substance of Winn's contribution is in his front-porch style. The casual literary delivery enhances the accessibility of the information, inviting wider audiences to enjoy the author's passion for Florida's past.

The Early History of the St. Johns River and *Florida's Great King: King Carlos of the Calusa Indians* are brief forays into their respective topics. The author clearly has done research to supplement his narratives, and the absence of citations indicates the author's inclination toward readability. Historians will likely find little new information on either topic; in fact, Winn attributes much of the material in *Florida's Great King* to the work of William Marquardt, curator of archaeology at the Florida Museum of Natural History. Similarly, *My Florida Soul: Florida History with Some Humor* is told "to give the reader a better 'feel' of Florida." It is an oral history (or, more precisely, a collection of oral histories, since Winn incorporates brief reminiscences of five other Floridians) placed in its historical context. Such popular volumes are invaluable for their contributions to increasing awareness and interest in Florida history.

Miami: A Backward Glance. By Muriel V. Murrell. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2003. vi, 191 pp. Acknowledgments, index. \$18.95 cloth.)

Miami is known the world over as an entertainment mecca, a place where the rich and beautiful gather to cut loose and relax. While the city's reputation is much deserved, its history is often neglected as a result. In *Miami: A Backward Glance*, native Miamian Muriel Murrell seeks to revitalize that past in a series of charming vignettes. The pioneer experience in south Florida, the economic ebb and flow of the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression, and the threats posed by Nazi submarines along the coast are just a few of the vivid recollections recounted in this volume. In total, they reflect the diverse experiences of Miami's residents, from the simple pleasures of bygone days to detailed descriptions of the city's notable visitors. Murrell uses her casual literary style to provide historical depth to one of the world's great party destinations.

Florida's Great Ocean Railway: Building the Key West Expansion. By Dan Gallagher. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2003. ix, 198 pp. About this book, acknowledgments, references, index. \$19.95 cloth.)

Numerous and daunting challenges faced planners, engineers, and builders as they endeavored to extend the Florida East Coast Railway southward to Key West. The primitive communication networks, limited supply lines, and volatile weather conditions in early twentieth-century south Florida presented new obstacles on a daily basis, and the completed project stood as a testament to the perseverance of all involved. *Florida's Great Ocean Railway: Building the Key West Extension* commemorates the efforts and sacrifices of thousands of laborers dedicated to the successful completion of this monumental task. Dan Gallagher's vivid photographs and informative supplementary text offer a glimpse at the enormous dedication and sacrifice needed to link the Florida Keys by rail, including the construction of bridges spanning more than seventeen miles of open water. Historians of Florida and railroad fanatics alike will clearly sense the deep-seated pride that inspired the author in his work.