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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763. By John H. Hann. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. xiv, 249 pp. List of maps, series foreword, foreword, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

All students and scholars of Florida history are familiar with the work of John Hann. From translations of colonial Spanish documents to examinations of interactions between Timucuan, Apalachees, and explorers, Hann's twenty-five year career has influenced our understanding of cultural exchange in early Florida. His most recent work, a synthesis entitled *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763*, has raised the bar yet again. Hann explores tribal groups that have received little attention in the past, contending that, as a result of the lack of primary sources, the Calusa, Ais and other southern Indian groups have been overlooked by historians. "From the 1570s on . . . formal contacts between Spaniards and south Florida's peoples seem to have been relatively rare" (1). However, from the data that exists, Hann argues that while the experiences of each group were unique (especially from northern tribes), fewer interactions with the Spanish aided the Calusa, Ais and others in maintaining their religious and cultural diversity.

Few historians have attempted a study like this one. The first chapter, "Introductory Considerations," is a historiographic essay, acknowledging past contributions of John M. Goggin, William Sturtevant, and Jerald Milanich. Works of the 1960s concentrated on simply separating Florida's northern tribes from those to the south. Later studies, like John Griffin's *The Archaeology of the Everglades* and numerous articles by Robert Carr, focused on chiefdoms and geographic boundaries between groups. Hann seeks to

look past the names of chiefs and landmarks to consider social structures and intertribal relationships.

Indians of Central and South Florida is divided into an introduction, five main chapters, and a simple conclusion. Four of the content chapters focus on one geographic area each: the Calusa territories, the southeastern coast, the Tocobaga territories, and the southern rim. While limited data makes complete examinations of daily life impossible, the same basic elements are present in each chapter: religion, customs, cultural exchanges, and material culture. According to Hann, these headings are where the similarities between regions end. The Calusa had extensive contact with the Franciscans, while the Tocobaga resisted attempts to colonize the Tampa Bay area. Spanish visitors copiously documented the ceremonies of the Ais and Jobe, but few mentioned similar rituals by the Jororo and Jega. Since few generalizations can be drawn about the specifics of tribal life in central and south Florida, Hann's assertion that these groups did not have similar behavior patterns as northern tribes is bolstered. The unique experiences of the tribes make each page worth reading.

Indians of Central and South Florida gives much attention to the downfall of these tribes. Hann concludes that weapons, biological agents, and intertribal conflict impacted Florida natives as much as groups in New England or New France. In describing depopulation from disease, he compares the Calusa with the rest of the state, considering statistics from the early 1500s to 1697. Not only do the figures clearly indicate a downward trend but they also establish a timeline of events. Infestations, then, can be pinpointed to specific interactions, determined by backtracking from the moments that symptoms developed to initial intercultural contact. While specifics differ from tribe to tribe, the experiences of each yield familiar patterns that historians had traced in Iroquois and Algonquian encounters with the British.

Hann employs a wealth of archaeological data, allowing him to identify the purpose of artifacts and to verify the opinions and observations of Spanish sources. In order to ascertain the Tequesta population at the time of contact, for example, Hann compares the journals of Menendez de Aviles with mission documents from the mid-1500s and dig reports from the Granada site in present-day Miami. While documents and physical evidence do not always match perfectly, Hann's conclusions are well supported.

Since few scholars have tackled this aspect of Florida history, Hann enjoys the luxury of providing new interpretations on a wide variety of subjects. His interpretations are guided by a plethora of documentation from numerous disciplines, most notably translations of Spanish friars and conquistadors. Still, *Indians of Central and South Florida* is not an easy read. There is so much information that reading is time-consuming and requires frequent consultations to previous chapters. At its least, however, Hann's work is a launching point for dozens of more in-depth works.

Alexa Barraclough Crosby

University of Central Florida

The Land that Never Was: Sir Gregor MacGregor and the Most Audacious Fraud in History. By David Sinclair. (Cambridge, Mass.: DaCapo Press, 2003. xxvi, 358 pp. Acknowledgments, foreword, author's note, appendix, select bibliography, index. \$26.00 cloth.)

Gregor MacGregor is one of the most erratic figures of Florida history with his invasion and short rule on Amelia Island in 1817. He was bombastic and charming but crooked; he could be valiant and generous, but also a charlatan or trickster and even thought a buffoon; sometimes an able military leader, other times not. He exaggerated his status in the important MacGregor clan. Once he arrived in America, he was associated first with Francisco de Miranda and then with Simón Bolívar whose cousin he married. She was an acknowledged beauty who stood by him faithfully in all his twisted endeavors. MacGregor's Florida ventures are well known. They are the subject of many articles in the pages of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, based on solid historical research. A single biography of MacGregor, including his extensive career in both Europe and America, however, has not been published. This book somewhat fills the void, although its central theme is only a segment of MacGregor's colorful life, dealing with what the dust jacket calls "one of the most elaborate hoaxes in history."

MacGregor promoted a fraudulent adventure which in 1822-1823 (five years after his Amelia Island venture) brought about two hundred intended settlers from England to a promised new land in South America (it was really Caribbean Central America). He

portrayed the region as the supposedly free and independent Territory of Poyais in the Bay of Honduras ruled by His Highness Gregor, Cazique of Poyais who had received this land from George Frederic, King of the Mosquito Coast. Frederic was apparently a tribal chief, but the Cazique of Poyais was none other than MacGregor himself who, with his associates (some tricked, some knowingly), published a 350-page guidebook describing the nation of Poyais in glowing detail. Cazique (said to be the equivalent of Prince) Gregor had come from Poyais to recruit and bring settlers to this splendid land in America.

The first part of the book covers the expedition to Poyais and the project "by MacGregor and his associates [which] was a lie, a gigantic fraud" (108). In the third and last section of the book the author describes how this fraud became apparent when some members of the Poyais venture returned to Europe. MacGregor continued his blustering and deceptions but "was becoming both something of a figure of fun and a symbol of the human capacity for delusion in early Victorian England" (310). The author is to be commended for bringing attention to this gigantic deception and MacGregor's canny ability to survive and thrive. It clearly illustrates the true nature of MacGregor which should be taken into account when dealing with his celebrated Florida adventure and his other multiple activities in America and Europe.

The middle section of the book more or less chronologically approaches MacGregor's other endeavors, including his Amelia Island invasion. He is often considered a charming rogue who enlivens the local history of Amelia Island. Born in 1786, he died in 1845 in Venezuela where he was buried at a state funeral attended by the country's president, government officials, and military chiefs. He was described as "a valiant champion of independence." In Amelia Island, Gregor MacGregor is sort of an icon in Florida history, wonderful to use in classroom lectures to keep students' attention.

Author David Sinclair is an accomplished British writer and journalist whose best known book is the story of the British pound. There is no doubt that this latest book is well written and makes pleasant reading. It certainly lacks the pedantry of many academic writings.

Yet, there is a weakness in the Sinclair book. It is based on only a few nineteenth-century printed sources, all in the British Library and Museum and the National Library of Scotland, and for some

genealogical data, the author used a few items in the Glin Castle Archive. There is nothing at all from American archives and libraries, especially those of Spain and Latin and Caribbean America. Most of MacGregor's activities took place in the Caribbean and northern South America. For example, the limited bibliography does not list a single article from the *Florida Historical Quarterly* or University of Florida Professor David Bushnell's excellent compilation of text and documents published by Pan American Institute of Geography and History in 1986.

For the Poyais episode, Sinclair relies heavily if not solely on three sources: the phony thick 1822 guidebook to Poyais by co-conspirator Thomas Strangeways; an article in the British magazine *History Today* (no date given); and a narrative of the voyage of the ship that took the settlers to Mosquito Bay, printed in 1823 by author James Hastie who, with his wife and three children, had been part of the expedition. The portrait of MacGregor's life before the Poyais adventure is heavily based on the London 1820 publication of Michael Rafter, *Memoirs of Gregor M'Gregor*. Sinclair's use of Rafter is vast and, to me, excessive, particularly since it is apparently intensely prejudicial against MacGregor. Rafter's brother had been an associate of MacGregor who, probably through MacGregor's fault, fell into the hands of Spanish forces in South America where he was executed.

We have here a publication that for the first time gives us the whole incredible life of Gregor MacGregor. There is a good index and an interesting foreword of fourteen pages by Desmond Fitzgerald who gives his title as Knight of Glin, Glin Castle in County Limerick, Ireland. But the bibliography is short, and many of the quotes lack correct identifications. Still, Sinclair's book complements previous works on MacGregor's Florida venture. While using good documentation, other authors failed to use those from Europe that Sinclair located, including the important Rafter book. Yet, a scholarly biography of MacGregor, a quintessential rogue, is still needed.

Charles W. Arnade

University of South Florida

Native American Power in the United States, 1783-1795. By Celia Barnes. (Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003. 250pp. Preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$47.50 cloth.)

In accord with the 1783 Treaty of Paris, Britain ceded to the newly independent United States its territorial claims east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes, including the homelands of tens of thousands of Native Americans. In this work, Barnes addresses how the new American nation attempted to claim physically the land it had conquered in name only. This aptly titled history traces both the formidable resistance offered by Native Americans and how deeply this struggle affected the development of American history in terms of domestic and international politics, the birth of a professional army, and regional and class divisions among Euro-Americans. While this book is intended for those generally interested in early American history, readers of Native American and early U.S./Indian military conflict will find Barnes's discussions of controversial figures Alexander McGillivray, Joseph Brant, and Anthony Wayne particularly engaging.

In the first portion of her work, Barnes dooms U.S./Indian relations to a violent descent into cultural collision and resource competition. The first chapter is a generalized discussion of Native American culture east of the Mississippi River. Relying almost exclusively on secondary sources, Barnes surveys life in Indian country from the French and Indian War through the end of the American Revolution, highlighting the corruptive effects of intrusive whites. While this chapter is clearly the weakest portion of the book, Barnes keenly observes the importance of decentralized authority in Native American societies and the ensuing diplomatic difficulties this created in negotiations with U.S. officials. Despite decentralized political control and years of military conflict, Native American groups asserted their sovereignty as the states pressured them to relinquish land. Their most offensive enemies were the thousands of Euro-American squatters who lived beyond the reach of the federal government and often with the tacit approval of their respective states. Frustrated by crushing poverty and unfair taxes, this volatile group used their "interpretation of the revolutionary ideology" to legitimize the occupation of native lands (51).

Even as President Washington and Secretary of War Knox devised a treaty system that encouraged slow cession of Indian lands to the federal government, Native Americans countered this threat through alliances with European powers and flourishes of their own military strength. Barnes hits her stride when discussing the strategies which both European and Indian leaders used to secure their futures on the North American continent.

Capitalizing on U.S. fragility, Indian leaders engaged in play-off diplomacy to secure arms and stoke fear amongst both American settlers and officials. In fact, the union was so weak under the Articles of Confederation that dissatisfied white frontier people often sought annexation with imperial powers. In an attempt to placate these settlers and crush the multitribal Indian alliance in the Northwest Territory, the federal government raised militia campaigns under Generals Harmar (1790) and St. Clair (1791). The sound defeat of these poorly trained and provisioned troops proved that “[t]he government’s Indian policy had failed spectacularly” (151). The early 1790s represented the apogee of Native American power in the U.S., as simultaneously the Southern Indians secured favorable trade agreements and diversified their economies. Barnes’s denouement comes abruptly. She argues that the basis of Native American power crumbled in 1795 following the Treaties of Greenville and San Lorenzo as military strength was on the wane and imperial powers no longer afforded meaningful alliances.

Barnes’s first chapter, “A Collision of Cultures,” is less thoroughly researched and carefully analyzed than the remainder of the book. Scholars of Native American history will be disappointed by factual inaccuracies such as geographic misplacement of the Creek Nation and Barnes’s application of Richard White’s “middle ground” theory to all Indian groups along the post-Revolution frontier (21, 30). This ambitious synthesis is too great a task for such limited space and serves for an awkward beginning to an otherwise admirable piece of scholarship.

Barnes is a thoroughly capable scholar of European, U.S., and Indian diplomacy. She succeeds in illuminating the roots and manifestations of Native American power. Most significantly, Barnes challenges her readers to consider this American/Indian conflict as one of the most profound and enduring legacies of the Early Republic.

Christina Snyder

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Interpreters with Lewis and Clark: The Story of Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau. By W. Dale Nelson. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2003. x, 175 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

The bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition has inspired a flood of books about this American epic and those who participated in it. Two of the most recognized names beyond those of the commanding captains are Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau. In this short study, W. Dale Nelson offers an overview of the lives and expedition experience of this husband-wife exploring team. Nelson is clearly a fan of his subjects, defending the often-belittled Toussaint and relating his contributions to the expedition and his years of service to the federal government afterward, as well as his adventures in the West. The author supports the theory of Sacagawea dying in December 1812 and in the Epilogue gives a good overview and critique of the alternative theory of her dying in Wyoming in 1884. However, the book is also about a third person—their son Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. Born in February 1805 at the Corps of Discovery's winter quarters Fort Mandan, Pomp, or Pompey as he was nicknamed, also went to the Pacific with the explorers. Nelson devotes significant space to him, focusing primarily on his varied and interesting post-expedition life. The book would perhaps better be entitled "The Charbonneau Family of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."

Readers interested in exploration and the American West in the first half of the nineteenth-century and those who played a role in them will enjoy this book. It is well organized, with illustrations to complement the text, footnotes, and a rather complete bibliography. The use of block footnotes can be confusing, and that is sometimes the case here. Some contain as many as eight sources for a relatively short paragraph, leaving the reader a bit confused as to what source supports the text. Regarding the bibliography, some sources that one would think had been consulted are not listed, but other seemingly less likely or pertinent sources are. The most-cited work in the book, Gary Moulton's masterful edition of the expedition journals, is awkwardly listed under Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's names in the bibliography rather than under Moulton. The index appears thorough regarding people and places, but does not contain subject listings.

These are small points and do not make or break a book. What is of concern, and serves to undermine the reliability of the book, are the numerous errors—generally small—that appear throughout it. An error or two seem to inevitably slip into a book, but better research and proofing should have eliminated many of those that appear in this book. Examples include: Jean Baptiste

Charbonneau was born at Fort Mandan not Fort Clatsop (4); the keelboat did not have a flat bottom, and the red and white pirogues are not believed to have been hollowed out logs (5-6); Lewis's letter of invitation to Clark was written in June 1803 not June 1804 (6); it is the Field brothers, not Fields (35 and *passim*); and it is Colt Killed Creek not Killed Colt Creek (44). Unfortunately, these and other errors undermine what otherwise is a readable and interesting book.

Overall, Nelson seems to have surveyed, processed, and then presented in an engaging style profiles of the three Charbonneaus. He is clearly not a long-time student of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and no new ground appears to be plowed in the book, but it is useful to have the information on this historic family in one volume. The Charbonneaus were residents of the American West before, during, and after the historic journey of the Corps of Discovery. For more than half a century they lived and helped make the history of the West and our nation. *Interpreters with Lewis and Clark* presents their story in a concise and readable form.

James J. Holmberg

The Filson Historical Society

The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish East Florida. By James G. Cusick. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. xvi, 370 pp. List of figures, foreword, acknowledgments, time line, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

James G. Cusick has produced an extraordinarily well researched account of Florida's Patriot War, effectively updating Rembert Patrick's excellent work (*Florida Fiasco*, 1954) by greatly expanding the treatment of race as a motivation and providing a detailed look at the Spanish side of the conflict. Cusick demonstrates that a naively conceived plan by Revolutionary War hero and former Georgia governor George Mathews in 1811 was ill fated from the start. Seeking to inspire a rebellion among Florida's population (many of them immigrants from the United States) against Spanish authority, Mathews's efforts, commencing right before the War of 1812, were the victim of bad timing at the outset. The apathy or open hostility of Florida's inhabitants doomed the enterprise, especially when it received only token aid from U.

S. military forces. In the end, it financially ruined most of the Florida Patriots as thoroughly as it devastated those people who had remained loyal to Spain.

Mathews and chief Florida Patriot John Houston McIntosh can be excused for their misguided optimism, Cusick explains, because they were initially encouraged in their activities by the administration of James Madison. Cusick convincingly asserts that much of the South—especially Georgia, the Mississippi Territory, and Tennessee—saw the coming war with Great Britain as an opportunity to grab the Spanish Floridas, an objective that influenced Madison to give covert support to the Patriots. Cusick notes that “while public opinion in Georgia and the Mississippi Territory clamored loudly for war with England, the first combats in the South were directed not against the English but against more familiar foes—the southern Indian tribes and the Spanish” (11). While Cusick does not completely discount more recent interpretations of the War of 1812 that see it as originating primarily from anger over British violations of American neutral trade, he primarily echoes the interpretation forwarded by Julius Pratt (*Expansionists of 1812*, 1925). In his view, the men who fought in the Patriot War would never have volunteered to fight the British on the Niagara frontier or in the Northwest to protect “free trade and sailors’ rights.” Instead, they fought to gain more land for themselves and to plunder the people of Spanish Florida, stealing both valuables and slaves.

Cusick’s meticulous examination of individual Patriots and their motives for engaging in this conflict gives the reader tremendous insight into the minds of many southern frontiersmen. Obviously, economic motives were a dominant factor fueled by the promise of free land in the prosperous plantation region of northeast Florida. When land did not seem immediately obtainable, the prospect of quick gains by looting abandoned plantations was an attractive alternative. The possibility of stealing slaves and abducting Florida’s free people of color into bondage was also a powerful lure, and Cusick presents a compelling argument that issues of race influenced many south Georgians to join the Patriot movement. As Cusick admits, however, many questions about this aspect of the Patriot War remain unanswered, a circumstance requiring additional research.

The extensive literature on the status of free people of color in Spanish and French colonies has demonstrated that Europeans

rarely regarded them as social equals, but neither did they severely proscribe their activities. For example, they were allowed to participate as segregated units in colonial militias and to engage in most business activities. Doubtless, as Cusick notes, southern Americans viewed these instances of upward mobility and economic self-sufficiency as dangerous examples to their own slave population, but how ingrained these views were by 1812 is difficult to determine. As Ira Berlin and others have shown, the U.S. southern population at this time included many free black people living much as Florida's free blacks did, except for serving in militias. Not until approximately a decade later, with the advent of so-called Jacksonian Democracy that dramatically expanded the American white man's political rights, were significant curbs placed on the civil rights of free blacks. At most, white American attitudes about these issues were in a state of transition during the Patriot War.

Cusick is successful at putting the Patriot War into the historical context of the times and of the War of 1812 specifically, but he overstates the significance of the war when he claims that "the failed conquest of East Florida later resulted in cession of the province" (296). Secretary of State John Quincy Adams would have been surprised in 1819 when he negotiated the Transcontinental Treaty with Don Luis de Onís to hear Cusick's claim that this ragtag army's burning of plantations and slaughtering of livestock persuaded Spain to sell Florida to the United States *seven years later*. His astonishment would be understandable, for events more proximal to the Florida cession were assuredly more important in bringing it about. In 1818, United States army commander of the Southern Division Andrew Jackson marched several thousand men (regulars, volunteers, militia, and Creek Indians) into Florida, took a Spanish fort (St. Marks), evicted its garrison, executed two British subjects, marched on the capital of West Florida (Pensacola), seized it, engaged in an artillery battle with the Spanish garrison manning Pensacola's fortifications, secured its surrender and packed it off to Cuba, and established a United States customs house at Pensacola. The Patriot War inconvenienced Spanish officials in Florida and economically devastated the region, but at most it was one of a series of events that culminated in the climactic one: Jackson's much larger military invasion in 1818. It was that last campaign that persuaded Spain that it could no longer hold the Floridas.

Despite this flaw, Cusick's fine scholarship will doubtless make this book the standard work on this important event. In this regard, he has made a significant contribution to Florida history as well as providing a balanced assessment of the importance of the Early Republic's borderlands.

Jeanne T. Heidler

United States Air Force Academy

Coacoochee's Bones: A Seminole Saga. By Susan A. Miller. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003. xix, 264 pp. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

Outside of the Seminole community, Coacoochee remains a largely unknown and marginal figure. Among modern Seminoles, however, his legacy is quite different. By examining nineteenth-century Seminole history through the life of Coacoochee, Susan A. Miller explains why "Seminoles remember him with reverence and name sons for him" (196). She reveals a talented leader and diplomat who resisted efforts by the United States to place the Seminoles under the authority of the Muscogeans (Creeks) and a man who otherwise sought to preserve his community's sovereignty and dignity.

Miller's work does much more than retell the story of a fascinating Seminole leader. It also continues the process of decolonizing Seminole history, a history that has traditionally prioritized the importance of Osceola (Asin Yahola) and has effectively recast this history in the terms and judgments of often hostile American outsiders. The result has been the lack of any real understanding about Coacoochee. A twin born into a powerful clan, Coacoochee inherited power and benefited from educations in medicine, oratory, etiquette, and diplomacy. By paying close attention to the Seminole cosmology and customs, Miller recaptures "a gifted man of elite lineage who moved within an indigenous family network and community within an indigenous cosmos, and . . . [she] makes sense of him as an indigenous leader in extreme times" (21). The heart of Miller's study focuses on the experiences of the Seminoles after their forced removal from Florida and after a group of them settled in Mexico in 1850. In October, Coacoochee led a group of between thirty and one hundred other Seminoles out of Texas

and into Mexico where they established a military colony along the springs at El Nacimiento. In return for loyalty and military assistance, Coacoochee arranged for the Mexican government to provide his community with provisions, citizenship, and legal autonomy. In order to survive, they “become defenders of Mexicans and bounty-hunting predators on other tribal people [like Comanches]” (129). Despite these changes, Coacoochee and his community rekindled the Sacred Fire and continued to practice their core ceremonies and beliefs.

In 1856, the United States reversed its policy and finally recognized the national status of the Seminoles. No longer would they be forced to live “under Muscogee domination” (171). While the Seminoles contemplated their position in Mexico and the possibility of returning to the United States, the residents of El Nacimiento faced the ravages of smallpox. One-third of the community died from the epidemic, and in the years that immediately followed, the community struggled to survive. Coacoochee died of the pox in January 1857, and a few years later, near the start of the American Civil War, some of the Mexican Seminoles returned to Texas.

Coacoochee's Bones explores the ongoing theme of migration that has characterized Seminole history. Originally comprised of migrants to Florida, the Seminoles moved their Sacred Fire into interior Florida before being forced to Indian Territory. This tradition of mobility shaped Coacoochee's decision to find refuge in Spanish Mexico. Miller also reveals how intertribal tensions and alliances shaped Seminole history. She emphasizes the ongoing struggle of Seminoles to resist efforts by the U.S. government to force them into the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, the alliances forged with various plains Indians, and their role as bounty hunters who captured and killed Comanches once they entered Mexico. Through this, Miller emphasizes both the historical and the contemporary importance of maintaining tribal identities. Finally, and perhaps most interestingly, the book recasts our understanding of African Americans within Seminole society. Miller demonstrates the marginal roles they played among the Seminoles, the importance of maroonage to Seminoles' history, and the lack of evidence behind the widespread idea that African Americans were incorporated as equals among the Seminoles. The evidence, she writes, demonstrates that “the alliance between Seminoles and blacks was expedient and always temporary” (68).

Miller, who is a historian and a member of the Seminole nation, has carefully drawn on a wide range of American, Mexican, and Seminole sources to write a first-rate ethnohistorical study. Filled with previously unknown or misunderstood details about the plight of the Seminoles, *Coacoochee's Bones* successfully counters the prevalent myths and judgments that the colonial process created. It deserves the attention of scholars of Florida and of Indian history in general.

Andrew K. Frank

Florida Atlantic University

"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South. By Theda Perdue. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003. xi, 160pp. Preface, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

How is an individual's identity determined and maintained? This is the central question asked by Theda Perdue in her latest book. Her answer provides a clear, concise, and elegant depiction of how identity, status, and place in society were determined, as well as how radicalization eventually transformed and obscured the role played by people of mixed ancestry in Indian societies of the South before the era of removals. The genesis of the book was a series of lectures, and while much that is here is a synthesis of recent scholarship, Perdue also relies heavily upon well-known firsthand accounts by the likes of Bernard Romans, William Bartram, and James Adair. At three chapters and 127 pages of text and notes, *"Mixed Blood" Indians* is brief, but Perdue does a thorough job both of supporting her own conclusions and suggesting some future directions for study.

Perdue begins with an overview of eighteenth-century Southern Indian societies and of the Europeans who were increasingly living in their midst, focusing on the frequent unions of European men and Indian women and the many ways that these unions came to be shaped by Indian perceptions of marriage and kinship. Her analysis touches on several important concepts, such as reciprocity, the nature of property, and the importance of matrilineal kinship in determining authority over children.

The "mixed blood" Indians were the product of those marriages, and in the second chapter Perdue examines their place in Indian culture. People of mixed ancestry raised in their mother's

lineage were very likely to perceive themselves and their world in Indian terms. Significantly, they were also fully accepted as Indian, for kinship and identity flowed through the mother's line. In fact, Perdue notes that Southern Indians were unfamiliar with the concept of "mixed blood," and in the rare instances that it was used, the term referred to behavior rather than heritage (90).

This is not to deny that there were some specific consequences of having a European father, which frequently conferred better access to European goods and influence with groups ranging from colonial officials to missionaries. But Perdue stresses that even where "mixed blood" individuals inherited substantial wealth or gained authority through connections or patronage by European and Euro-American society, they tended to think and act in ways indistinguishable from their "full blood" contemporaries. Even when people of mixed ancestry were associated with innovations, they incorporated them in ways that harmonized with other traditions, such as using slave labor for commercial agriculture and avoiding a break with traditional gender conventions that identified such labor as women's work (64).

In the last chapter, Perdue examines the role "mixed bloods" played in a nineteenth century increasingly dominated by racism. People of mixed ancestry were particularly vulnerable to the virulent racism of the nineteenth century, proving themselves just as willing as their "full blooded" contemporaries to resist assimilation and advocate tribal sovereignty. Nineteenth-century observers increasingly sought to characterize Indian peoples by race, and in the process created the stereotype of the "designing half-breed" that, along with the characterization of Indian cultures as being divided into warring camps of "mixed bloods" versus "full bloods," obscured the real place of people of mixed ancestry in Southern Indian culture.

This powerful vision was later internalized by historians and continues to influence historiography today. Historians have consistently, by "privileging" their white heritage, overestimated the influence of people of mixed ancestry while underestimating the power and persistence of Indian cultures and identities (69).

Although experts will find little new information here, Perdue manages to present the complexities of intercultural relations in a new way that will be of benefit to all, novice and expert alike. One of the few criticisms I have is that I find myself wanting to hear more about people of mixed African-Indian (or African-European-

Indian) heritage. And while her essentially thematic approach works very well for those with some knowledge of the field, she jumps around quite a bit in time, which can be a little confusing for novice readers who would otherwise be attracted to the work. These minor issues aside, I found myself reexamining my own work in light of what she says here, and perhaps the greatest value of *"Mixed Blood" Indians* lies in her critique of recent scholarship and her call for further study into this and related topics. This is a welcome addition to the literature.

David A. Sicko

Mississippi State University, Meridian

Florida's Seminole Wars, 1817-1858. By Joe Knetsch. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2003. 160pp. Acknowledgements, introduction, bibliography, index. \$24.99 paper.)

Despite ethnohistorians' attempts over the past four decades to reincorporate Native Americans into the narrative of the United States, Joe Knetsch has written a comprehensive history of the Seminole Wars that dispossess the Florida Indians. It is a clear and streamlined narrative that covers most of the conflict in reasonable detail, though the availability of written sources compelled him toward an account centered upon white actions. Given the book's perspective, brevity, and lack of citations, it is more akin to Virginia Peter's *The Florida Wars* (Hamden, Conn., 1979) than to John K. Mahon's more meticulous *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (1967; reprint, Gainesville, Fla., 1985).

Knetsch's story actually begins before 1817, with a nice survey of Seminole and Mikasuki society and politics and the role of Creek population movements in the Seminole ethnogenesis. Almost half the book leads to the beginning of the Second Seminole War in 1835, with nearly a fifth of the text devoted to the years between 1821 and 1835 when the United States was pressing removal on the Seminoles through diplomacy and economic coercion backed by white settlement (and its attendant vigilantism and marauding) and Army patrols. This portion of his account has some relevance today, as Knetsch shows whites underestimating the Seminoles' capability and resolve, claiming to fear their cunning and savagery while boasting that they posed no real threat—a characteristic pattern in Americans' views of their

enemies throughout our history. (The role of the militia and volunteers, the ancestors of today's Guard and reserves, presents an interesting contrast, however.) Although Knetsch's analysis of the Second Seminole War does not deviate much from Mahon's, he provides proportionately more attention to the relationship between national (partisan, congressional) politics and the war, and a close look at the implementation of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842. Though his attention to the years after 1842 is limited to a tenth of the text, Knetsch does show that the "interlude" between the Second and Third Seminole Wars was really a period of low-intensity conflict much like that between 1821 and 1835, with continual Army patrols gathering intelligence and putting pressure on the Seminoles, who occasionally attacked intrusive whites or raided for food in times of scarcity.

A few caveats are in order, of course. Knetsch sometimes tends toward, or wavers between, interpretive extremes. On page 15 he asserts that whites "used" disease against Native Americans which is an exaggeration at least; on page 9 he begins the First Seminole War with the native ambush of a U.S. supply boat, rather than the U.S. attack on the native village at Fowltown two weeks before. His view of the First Seminole War as "an exercise in futility" (41) is based on the survival of the Seminoles in Florida, but surely the replacement of Spain by the United States, largely a consequence of Andrew Jackson's invasion, was a decisive step toward the dispossession of the Seminoles, who were forced southward by Jackson's incursion. The section on the period between the overt conflicts tends to exaggerate Seminole acceptance of removal (e.g., 58), while Knetsch's explanation of the U.S. conception of treaties (concerning that of Payne's Landing in 1832) has the effect of obscuring U.S. duplicity. He also wavers in his assessment of the Armed Occupation Act, asserting its significance but recognizing that the number of settlers involved was rather small. In the most significant of today's interpretive debates, Knetsch acknowledges early on that Afro-American maroons were not culturally Seminole, but later he emphasizes and exaggerates black influence on Seminole attitudes toward removal (compare 12 and 61), with the implication that the Seminoles might have emigrated without war had it not been for black fears of re-enslavement. While these fears certainly helped energize and stiffen Seminole resistance, they did not cause it.

Knetsch introduces leaders on all sides effectively, and his illustrations are wonderfully numerous and varied, a blend of period maps, portraits, photos, and sketches. The book ends rather abruptly, without an analytic conclusion, but those seeking a short introduction to the Anglo conquest of Florida will find *Florida's Seminole Wars* readable, balanced, and accurate, a good place to start exploring "this thankless . . . unholy war" (as an anonymous army officer called it in 1839).

Samuel Watson

U.S. Military Academy

Anna Madgigne Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Slaveowner. By Daniel L. Schafer (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. xiv, 178 pp. List of maps & photographs, preface, acknowledgements, introduction, postscript, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Acknowledging that the nature of his subject required "reasonable and informed conjecture" (xii), Daniel Schafer, professor of history at the University of North Florida, has nonetheless written a first-rate history. That the story of Anna Kingsley—in turn an African princess, slave, wife of a white slaveowner, plantation owner, and wealthy Florida matriarch—took nearly thirty years to research and write makes the results that much more impressive. In fact, Schafer's research journey from the Kingsley plantation to places as disparate as Nova Scotia, Great Britain, the Dominican Republic, and in Senegal, West Africa speaks to a tale with a wide variety of themes. Primarily, this is an excellent biography in a profession where biographies rarely get the acknowledgement they deserve. But Schafer thoroughly integrates Kingsley's story into the context of events during her lifetime. This means the book is also chronicle of the transatlantic slave trade and its impact in both Africa and the New World, a history of slavery in Florida, a story of free blacks and a free black community, and one part of the story of southern race relations prior to the Civil War.

Chapter one recounts the African side of the slave trade, going back to Senegal where raiders captured the teenage girl then known as Anta Majigeen Ndiaye. Schafer compensates for a lack of Kingsley-related primary materials by using secondary literature on the African slave trade to flesh out a part of her story that would

otherwise go untold. The next chapter takes up the narrative in Havana, where ship's captain, slave trader, and Florida planter Zephaniah Kingsley purchased young Anta in late 1806. Kingsley then married her, probably in Cuba, and now Anna Kingsley became a mother and managed the Kingsley plantation along the St. John's River in Spanish East Florida.

Chapter three follows Kingsley through her life at Laurel Grove plantation, analyzing the dynamics of a black slave married to a white ship captain who was away more often than not. While emancipation in 1811 eased the legal tension to some degree, the Patriot War, discussed in chapter four, saw the destruction of Laurel Grove and the threat of re-enslavement at the hands of rebels. Chapter five tracks the Kingsleys during and after the Patriot War, which forced a relocation to Fort George Island on the Atlantic coast where the Kingsleys lived for nearly a quarter century, witnessing the transition from Spanish to American rule. A property owner in her own right, Anna Kingsley supervised a large labor force of free and enslaved blacks, and Schafer paints her as central to the operations and management of the Kingsley plantations. However, the more permissive Spanish racial mores vanished with the Crown, forcing the Kingsleys' relocation to Haiti in order to protect the freedom of Anna and her children.

Chapter six details their short stay in Haiti, which lasted from 1838 until Zephaniah's death in 1843. A challenge to the will by one of Zephaniah's sisters forced Anna's return to Florida, where she successfully defended her claims. Despite the legal requirement that she have a white guardian, Anna Kingsley managed the plantations and helped expand the family fortune. The 1840s and 1850s, discussed in chapter seven, were a time in which Anna Kingsley reigned as the center of a thriving free black community that Schafer juxtaposes with an increasingly racist U.S. South. Chapters eight and nine follow Kingsley through the Civil War until her death, probably in 1870. The war demolished her fortune, but Anna Kingsley died as free as the day she was born.

Schafer claimed early in the work that his goal was to "write a lively and imaginative yet scholarly account" that would have a broad appeal (xii). In this he has succeeded admirably. Historians will find a compelling work that students will enjoy reading. However, general readers will also find a book that does not require a great deal of background knowledge, reads well, and is deeply instructive. Finally, this book is a wonderful primer on the

craft of history, from the engaging writing style to the synthesis of primary and secondary sources, oral histories, and Kingsley family legend. As such it should find a wide audience.

Andrew McMichael

Western Kentucky University

Family Records of the African American Pioneers of Tampa and Hillsborough County. By Canter Brown Jr. and Barbara Gray Brown. (Tampa, Fla.: University of Tampa Press, 2003. xx, 362 pp. Foreword, introduction, acknowledgments, abbreviations, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, about the authors. \$24.95 hardcover.)

The past decade or so has witnessed a long-awaited flowering of academic interest in Florida's African American experience and its significance, and a number of top-quality historians, anthropologists, and other scholars proudly claim a significant role in that development. Canter Brown merits a place in the front rank of this company. His publications stretching back to the early 1990s have pursued a broad variety of inquiries that, directly or indirectly, have opened windows of perception and understanding, the keys to which many informed persons believed forever lost. In the process, Brown's professional skills and creative persistence have revealed research sources that amount almost to treasures, troves that he generously has shared with others interested in the field.

For his latest contribution, *Family Records of the African American Pioneers of Tampa and Hillsborough County*, Brown has partnered with his wife, Barbara Gray Brown, who lends her own considerable research skills and insight to the effort. The collaboration has produced a volume that must be considered remarkable. While it does not purport to provide a high degree of scholarly analysis or historiographical explication, it does aim to humanize the experience of everyday black Floridians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The authors manage this, and manage it well, in an unprecedented manner. They delve into the origins and evolutions of individual families, most of whose progenitors arrived at or near Tampa while it remained a frontier outpost. This might not seem such an accomplishment if only a handful of families passed under the Browns' microscope. It does when 107

families—representing a broad spectrum of economic, social, and cultural considerations—are considered.

Those familiar with the difficulties involved in researching a single black individual of prominence in nineteenth-century Florida will appreciate the difficulty of the task the Browns set for themselves. Yet, their approach offers a handbook for such scholarly inquiries as well as a primer for genealogical studies. Persons descended from these families will revere this book, while students of the African American experience will mine its source material for generations.

The story itself stands out as monumental. The sheer volume of family lines permits a depth of experience to shine through that generalization and analysis easily can miss or misinterpret. There are tales here of great achievement at great cost, such as those of Tom Clarke and Thomas McKnight, the county's premier black political leaders during the four decades that followed the Civil War. Gentler leadership, on the other hand, flowed from the hearts and souls of preachers George W. Larry, Joseph Sexton, and Robert Johnson. Homesteaders, including Cyrus Charles, Eva Allen, and Mary Reddick, laid the foundations for generations while helping to pioneer the south Florida citrus industry. Others—one-time Polk county voter registrar Stepney Dixon comes to mind—lost their lands through bad luck and worse weather. Sampson Forrester guided the army during the Indian wars, while Robert W. Saunders Sr. guided a different militant force during Florida's Civil Rights struggle. Federal officials, businessmen and women, law enforcement officers and law breakers, musicians, professionals, and wastrels all populate these pages, combining to form a mosaic of truly dramatic proportions.

An undertaking on the scale evidenced here could not have resulted without financial and other support. The Tampa Bay History Center, over a period of four years, underwrote the research costs and, in three annual installments, published booklets containing interim results. The University of Tampa Press subsequently produced this beautiful and well-illustrated hard-backed book thanks to funds provided by the City of Tampa. Just as the book itself stands out as unprecedented, so too does this local cooperation aimed at ensuring the preservation and appreciation of a community's African American heritage.

Larry Eugene Rivers

Florida A&M University

Cuban Confederate Colonel: The Life of Ambrosio José Gonzales. By Antonio Rafael de la Cova. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003. xxviii, 540 pp. List of illustrations, list of maps, preface, introduction, abbreviations, epilogue, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth.)

Until fairly recently historians of the antebellum and Confederate South have paid scant attention to the significant contributions made by residents of Hispanic origin. However, in recent years, scholars have begun looking into this subject, resulting in a steadily growing body of literature. Antonio Rafael de la Cova's new biography of Cuban expatriate Ambrosio José Gonzales (1818-1893) is a welcome addition to this expanding field.

Born into a substantial Cuban family and educated as a lawyer, young Gonzales attended school in the United States and at one point was a classmate of future general P.G.T. Beauregard. As a consequence of his involvement with Cuban revolutionary groups, Gonzales moved to the United States and became an active Freemason and a dedicated champion of Cuban independence from Spain. By 1848, he was a close lieutenant of filibuster Narciso Lopez and participated in the ill-fated 1850 Cardenas military expedition in which Gonzales suffered a wound and became the first to shed blood for the cause of Cuba Libre. Barely escaping a sentence in an American prison for violating the Neutrality Act for his filibustering activities, Gonzales resigned himself to advocate Cuban liberty and possibly annexation with his pen and not a sword.

The personable Gonzales made many friends in leadership positions in the South by the early 1850s and was especially welcome in South Carolina. He used all these connections in vain attempts to secure a diplomatic posting in either the Pierce or Buchanan administrations. Despite strong endorsements and energetic lobbying on Gonzales's part, he never received such an appointment. His reputation as an ardent Cuban partisan did little to help his cause, and the author does not consider whether his ethnic background worked against him. In the end, he solved his employment problems by marrying into a prominent South Carolina planter family, the Elliots.

While never a slaveholder, Gonzales supported the institution in both his native and adopted homelands. Soon after the firing on Fort Sumter, he offered his services to the new Confederacy, first as a volunteer aide to his old school chum Beauregard, and then as an

artillery officer. In time he became the chief of artillery in the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. For the duration, he performed yeoman service in the defense of the Charleston area as well as on the battlefield in the 1864 clash at Honey Hill. Unfortunately, Gonzales never rose above the rank of colonel and had the dubious distinction of being passed over six times for promotion to brigadier general. Author de la Cova speculates that an old feud with President Jefferson Davis, as well as a general prejudice in Richmond against any officer serving under Beauregard, stymied his efforts to attain the rank his duties called for.

After Appomattox, Gonzales's life entered a new phase that was both poignant and quite sad at times. Attempts at planting and operating a retail business in Charleston failed disastrously. With an almost Micawber-like optimism he pressed on with other schemes, including yet another abortive campaign to secure a federal position in the 1880s. Next came a bitter family dispute that alienated him from his children and sent him to paid spiritualists claiming to have messages from his beloved deceased wife. However the aged Gonzales did enjoy the praise from a new generation of Cuban freedom fighters like José Martí before his death and burial in an unmarked grave in 1893.

Students of Florida history will not doubt be interested in Gonzales's activities in the state during his long career. He was a frequent visitor to Key West and maintained a long friendship with political leader and fellow Freemason Stephen R. Mallory. Gonzales could also call Henry Titus and David Levy Yulee associates. He additionally spent time in Quincy as a part of his travels, and for a time contemplated relocating to the peninsula in search of a fresh economic start. Perhaps Gonzales might have found stability in being a part of Florida's growing postbellum Cuban community.

Cuban Confederate Colonel is much more of a biography than its title implies. It offers interesting new insights on the Cuban filibuster movement. Gonzales's service to the Confederate States is also noteworthy for understanding the siege of Charleston and the ever-contentious politics of the Confederate high command. And lastly it is a recommended tale of a proud man struggling against hard times to make a life for himself and his family while never surrendering to despair.

Robert A. Taylor

Florida Institute of Technology

When Sherman Marched North from the Sea: Resistance on the Confederate Home Front. By Jacqueline Glass Campbell. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. xii, 177 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.50 cloth.)

Sherman's March to the Sea is legendary in the annals of the Civil War. Most of the scholarship and discussion has centered on the march from Atlanta to Savannah and the conduct of Sherman's troops as they journeyed to the coastal city. Jacqueline Glass Campbell, in this short but illuminating monograph, begins as the title states, with Sherman's march from the sea into the Carolinas—a segment of the campaign often overlooked or given scant attention. The author weaves a tale of war from “a broader social context” which includes “patterns of racial attitudes, gender ideology, and perceptions of the military as a cultural entity” (4). Campbell sees “the ongoing journey of Sherman's men through the Carolinas that would test the endurance of soldiers and civilians, blacks and whites, and this confrontation forms the heart of the story” (5). The size and scope of the source material lends credibility to her findings, and she succeeded jamming her evidence into only 140 pages of narrative. The author skillfully weaves for the reader a picture of more psychological trauma than physical violence. The participants of the narrative—Federal soldiers, slaves, loyal Confederate women and their men urging them on via letters from the front—speak for themselves throughout, which makes the text read like a dramatic script, or series of monologues. The heart of the work is the emphasis on the psychology of war and its impact on those who experienced war on the home front.

Campbell admitted the task of blending Civil War, gender, and military history, into a single narrative, as well as finding a language “acceptable to scholars from each of these fields” was difficult (7). At the same time, she sought to “make the study accessible to the Civil War enthusiast” (7). She deftly succeeded in not bogging down in historiographical quibbles, which she wisely consigned to the endnotes.

The narrative begins with the occupation of Savannah, a city with a population that blessed and cursed its Yankee occupiers. The women of the city, proved to the most fanatical of

Confederate supporters. In South Carolina, Sherman's troops, bent on revenge, wrecked the state in such a manner the slave population did not know whether to flee to the Union lines or run from them. As Columbia fell, Confederate women remained resilient and faithful to the Confederate cause. In North Carolina, a population long divided about the level of hardship they endured, rallied around the Stars and Bars, and the women of the state proved their loyalty until the end. The account closes with the negotiations between Sherman and Johnston and the political implications involved in the terms Sherman offered to his defeated foe. The epilogue concludes the work with a brief essay about war and memory and how Confederate women viewed the war and their treatment nearly fifty years later. After suffering the literary wrath of Northern women for a generation, Southern women reacted with equal venom. Southern veterans also praised the women of the Confederacy for their valor, thereby making them part of the Lost Cause legend.

Campbell's interpretation of Sherman's advance differs from earlier scholarship, but only in her greater emphasis upon the Carolinas phase. As with much of the recent interpretation about Sherman's March, she asserts that the impact of the campaign was more psychologically damaging for the wanton destruction than for physical violence against persons, though violence, especially against slave women, did occur. Campbell buttresses her assertions with multiple quotes of civilians, both black and white, about property devastation and sexual abuse on the part of Sherman's troops.

Readers not familiar with the interweaving of disciplines into their Civil War reading may be overwhelmed by the psychological references—or find them suspect. Attempts to integrate various disciplines into the explanations may bewilder some readers, even the more ardent Civil War buffs. It remains, however, that the new military history, which emphasizes the impact of war on civilians and societies, is an exciting new sub-genre of the field, and consumers of Civil War books can expect this type of history to receive even greater attention in the future. Campbell's work not only fills a void in the phase of Sherman's advance often neglected but offers thought-provoking insights, leaving readers with the desire to know more about the impact of war on civilians of any era.

James S. Baugess

Columbus State Community College

Baseball in Blue & Gray: The National Pastime during the Civil War. By George B. Kirsch. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003. xv, 145 pp. Preface, epilogue, bibliographical essay, index. \$19.95 cloth.)

Baseball, as it became by the last quarter of the nineteenth century and as we know it today, was not an invented sport like basketball and volleyball in the 1890s, but one that evolved out of various older English and colonial American bat and ball games. Historians today generally agree that, contrary to the still oft-repeated Abner Doubleday-Cooperstown myth, the basis for the modern form of baseball dates from the rules laid out principally by Alexander Cartwright and the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club in New York in 1845. These were then refined or rationalized in coming years by clubs that picked up the game, by the National Association of Base Ball Players, created in 1857, and later by the National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs, organized in 1876.

Perhaps more intriguing than the question of the origins of baseball is the reason for the rapid spread of the game, especially during the unstable years of sectional crisis, bloody Civil War, and often bitterly contested Reconstruction. George Kirsch, a well known and respected member of the sports history community, addresses that issue directly in this relatively short, yet probing and informative, essay.

For some time after 1845, even beyond the Civil War, the "New York game" competed for supremacy with other variations. Most of these derived from forms of townball or rounders, such as "two old cat" and the "Massachusetts game." And there was still cricket, especially in Philadelphia. But like Boston, Philadelphia was "not as influential in the hinterlands" as New York and their games not as attractive to spectators and fans (27).

Although baseball "never lost its special quality of being part pastoral country game and part scientific, rational urban amusement" (24), it was for some years a city game. Before the war commenced, competition between clubs organized around neighborhood, class, profession, religion, politics, even gender, expanded in towns and cities across the North and in parts of the South, even though that region generally resisted the new phenomenon. Northeastern college campuses also hosted games by the late 1850s.

The War at first probably slowed the spread of baseball. But

northern troops who often “carried bats and balls in their knapsacks” (47) gradually resorted to ball games as a form of entertainment and conditioning. Those who had played at home taught those who had not, and in prisoner of war camps, northerners showed southerners. On the home front, by 1863, the booming northern economy encouraged non-combatants to play or watch and then to socialize afterward. This rising demand for higher quality play encouraged commercialization of the sport, more elite championship competitions, and expanded press coverage to satisfy public curiosity. And the gamblers were not far behind.

The later popular acceptance of the Doubleday myth, apparently fabricated by Albert Spalding in the early 1900s, may derive from the same reasons as the spread of the New York game after 1845: the search for something truly American; its ties to New York, city or state, the center of quintessential industrial America; and the alleged role of a military man from the Army of the Union, reviving the war-time linkage of baseball to the military cause. Kirsch makes a point that several scholars have made regarding the role of sports in helping emerging modern nations define their unique character and identity. Eduardo Archetti links soccer and polo to the tango in shaping twentieth-century Argentina. Janet Lever and Joseph Page see soccer as a force in uniting a dispersed Brazil. Louis Pérez and Roberto González Echevarría cite baseball as one force in Cuba’s rejection of Spain. C.L.R. James praises cricket for helping to bring Caribbean colonial peoples together in challenging British rule. If Kirsch is correct in his assertion that “the ties between baseball and the American nation first forged in the Civil War continue into the twenty-first century” (135), clearly the role of popular culture and its heroes, as opposed to narrow politics, needs to be more closely examined as a factor in the growth of modern nationalism.

Kirsch’s book is fun to read and probably goes farther than other histories in finding baseball so important, so early, to so many Americans. Still, I would be more convinced if there were footnotes and the documentation a bit more comprehensive.

Joseph Arbena

Clemson University

Tampa Cigar Workers: A Pictorial History. By Robert P. Ingalls and Louis A. Pérez Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. x, 235 pp. Acknowledgments, bibliography. \$29.95 cloth.)

The story of Tampa cigar making reveals much about twentieth-century Florida. Its growth and development, and their link to leisure and pleasure; its demographic, cultural, and political ties to the Caribbean; the hidden narrative of working-class resistance to business power: all this and more have shaped the history of the state. While numerous scholars have explored these themes in articles and monographs, Robert Ingalls and Louis Pérez add in *Tampa Cigar Workers* a moving and convincing account of the changes cigar workers experienced between 1885 and the 1970s. The various images that fill the book and the timely quotes from contemporary sources and reminiscences that bolster these images make this collection a true treasure for students of Tampa and Florida history. The concise introduction entitled, "The World of Tampa Cigar Workers," sets the themes and organization of the book well, and the subsequent chapters are organized chronologically with emphasis, logically, on the heyday of cigar making during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book's greatest strength, though, is the subtle sophistication of its arrangement and its accessibility to a wider public outside of the academy. The long relationship that both Ingalls and Pérez have had with Tampa both in teaching at the University of South Florida (Pérez is now at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) and their own scholarly work on its history appears in this labor of love.

The authors set out to correct the public memory of Ybor City, West Tampa, and the cigar makers who lived in it. Both Ybor City and West Tampa developed in the late nineteenth century as a home to cigar manufacturing and to immigrant workers from Cuba, Spain, and Italy. Established in the 1880s and taking the name of the Spanish émigré Cuban manufacture, Vicente Martínez Ybor, Tampa's Ybor City has since become "a kind of theme park for tourists and revelers . . . purged of all original sin associated with immigrant radicalism, labor militancy and social protest" (14). Urban renewal during the 1960s damaged Latin Tampa and led to the whitewashing preservation efforts beginning in the 1970s. Ingalls and Pérez capture the "old *ambiente*" back by returning to the cigarmaker world. Through excellent use of oral histories, newspaper interviews, photographs, and the writings of natives who grew up in either Ybor City or West Tampa, they succeed in this historic recreation. As public history, *Tampa Cigar Workers* offers readers a museum-like experience of Ybor City,

refined with a delicate human sensibility for community building, respect for the dignity of work, and the importance of remembering the travails and successes experienced by cigar makers and their families.

The narrative told is fairly straightforward and follows the established historiography. Cigar workers faced consistent opposition from employers. Indeed, Ybor moved to Tampa in part because he sought to escape worker organization in Key West. Workers often succeeded in maintaining worker control over production, in defining work conditions, and in creating a community despite remaining on the margins of Tampa's Anglo world. Ingalls and Pérez highlight the power of employers and the complicity of the local government to intimidate strikers and thus quell union protest. The chapter on mutual aid societies demonstrates the hard work of community building engaged in by the various ethnic groups. The *Centro Espanol*, *Centro Asuriano*, *La Unión Martí-Maceo*, *L'Unione Italiana*, to name some of the most prominent, are given space. Photos of their respective buildings, lists of memberships, actual members posing for the camera, highlight the liveliness and effort needed to create communities. However, the mechanization of cigar making process proved the death knell of Tampa cigar makers' world. Migration out of Ybor City after World War II and the urban renewal of the 1960s nearly wiped out the history of this once vibrant Latin city.

While some of the photos in the book have appeared in other works on Tampa, the collection stands on its own. The pictures and accompanying quotes of the *lectores* (readers) retell this central aspect of cigar making radicalism. One should hesitate to use that term, though, after seeing and reading the presentation in the book. One will learn how workers actually practiced democracy in organizing their world. Workers debated over what literature was to be read and fought to keep the use of *lectores* against employer disapproval in strikes in 1920 and 1931, sacrificing money and security in the process. As the "prince of the factory," the readers used the strength of their voices (*fuerzo de grito*) without the aid of a loudspeaker to project the political news of the day (gleaned from various local, national, and international newspapers), news from labor organizations, and more entertaining and lighter material (if the early reading of Emile Zola may be deemed light). How this can be construed as radicalism only highlights the extent of how conservative discourse has shaped memory. Not only did the

reading help educate the workers, it also served to entertain and further tie the workers together in their collective work experience. Take for instance the photo preceding the presentation of the *lectores*. Manuel García Alonso served as el *Cafetero*, the man in charge of serving Cuban coffee in one factory. The photo shows him serving coffee to cigar makers, and the quotes below the picture indicate the skill of Alonso. The quotes note the additional peddling of foods that went on in the factory creating “as much fun as a carnival” (80). The placement of this photo suggests the bonding that occurred from such simple things as a shared cup of coffee. One need only imagine the extent of conversation surrounding the *lectores* readings.

While the first image appearing in *Tampa Cigar Workers* is that of Vincente Martínez Ybor, the book ends appropriately with a picture of the elderly Jose Yglesias, the son of cigar makers, standing in front of his Ybor house. Few others did as much to recover the history of Ybor City, as is noted in the short bibliography ending the book. After experiencing the lives of cigar workers through this book, though, one could hardly imagine a finer ending. While Ybor may have founded this immigrant community, it was the workers who defined its legacy.

Thomas Castillo

University of Maryland

Sugar Baron: Manuel Rionda and the Fortunes of Pre-Castro Cuba. By Muriel McAvoy. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. 340 pp. List of illustrations and maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95 cloth.)

Perhaps no other country offers as many opportunities and insights to study the rise of the United States as a world power during the twentieth century as Cuba. U.S.-Cuban relations have long been a topic of historical studies through examining such critical moments as the birth of imperialistic policies at the end of the nineteenth century, intervention through marine occupations during the early twentieth century, and the height of the cold war during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Yet, despite this rich historiography, few scholars have looked in detail at the business history between the two countries that underpinned directly and indirectly many of these antagonistic relations. For this reason, Muriel McAvoy's

detailed biography of Manuel Rionda's domination of the Cuban sugar industry through his stewardship of the largest sugar company on the island known as the Cuban Cane Sugar Corporation fills a large void in the historical scholarship.

McAvoy's biography of Manuel Rionda draws almost exclusively on material from one of the richest sources for twentieth-century Cuban history (outside of Cuba itself), the Braga Brothers Collection at the University of Florida. Few published book-length studies have mined the 730 linear feet collection as extensively as McAvoy. In order to work through the documents, she focused largely on Rionda's own correspondence to flesh out in detail his life story. Rionda illustrates the intimate economic connections between the two countries like few other individuals and offers an ideal case study to examine the business history of the two countries.

Born in Spain and educated in the United States, Rionda made his fortune in Cuba through pairing international capital and investors with the expansion of the Cuban sugar industry. The strength of McAvoy's study and its important contribution to the literature rest with its emphasis that Cuban businessmen did not simply serve as the pawns of Wall Street corporations. Through her examination of Rionda, she argues that Cubans often directed the corporations financed with U.S. capital.

While the focus of the book overwhelmingly and naturally concentrates on Rionda and the Byzantine relations with foreign investors from the 1890s to the 1930s, McAvoy accomplishes much more by touching upon other themes in twentieth-century Cuban history. For example, Manuel Rionda often served as representative of the Cuban elite with his preference for US annexation: "As far as I am personally, concerned the sooner [the Americans] gobble up the Islands, the better for me" (44). Like other important figures in the Cuban sugar industry, he corresponded with such influential shapers of U.S. policy toward Cuba as Herbert Hoover and Senator Platt, the latter author of the infamous "Platt Amendment." In addition, Rionda's domination of the sugar industry analyzed by McAvoy provides a detailed managerial perspective on the concentration of the Cuban sugar industry in the hands of fewer and fewer refiners. This process resulted in the creation of the *colono* system whereby sugar cane production resembled sharecropping with most of the risk of production passed onto agricultural workers.

The strength of McAvoy's study with its focus on Rionda also reveals some of its shortcomings. Since the biography overwhelmingly draws upon Rionda's own correspondence, other perspectives are often missing despite the author's attempt to handle the biases inherent in these self-congratulatory sources. The business records of the financial backers of Rionda's operations are not examined in detail nor are the diplomatic records and consular reports of the U.S. government that have proven invaluable for other histories of U.S.-Cuban relations. While worker strikers are often mentioned, the overwhelmingly focus on Rionda often leaves the causes behind their protest unclear and only cursorily examined.

Apart from these shortcomings only expected of a pioneering work, McAvoy's biography of one of the most influential figures in Cuba's sugar history fills a glaring historiographical gap. Hopefully, other scholars will build upon her work to provide detailed studies of other figures and firms so that Cuban business history will be understood more completely in the future.

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Death In the Everglades: The Murder of Guy Bradley, America's First Martyr to Environmentalism. By Stuart McIver. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. xviii, 167 pp. Foreword by Raymond Arsenault and Gary R. Mormino, series editors, preface, chronology, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Stuart McIver's *Death in the Everglades: The Murder of Guy Bradley, America's First Martyr to Environmentalism* will please a wide variety of readers. The details of Guy Bradley's life provide excellent source material for a lively tale, and the author's lucid style only adds to the reader's pleasure. Anyone interested in the early days of bird protection in Florida, the birth of the Audubon Society, or pioneer life in south Florida will be entertained by this book, but it also has enough historical data to serve as a supplemental text in an advanced level Florida history class.

Born in Chicago in 1870, Guy moved to Florida in 1876 after his father Edwin Ruthven Bradley, called E.R. by his friends, decided that frontier Florida offered him the promise of a bright future. E.R. well understood the value of pioneering: his family had

arrived on the *Mayflower's* second voyage, and his own father, Asa, had prospered during the 1840s and 1850s in Chicago—the period during which a mere village began its rapid growth into a major metropolis. After a couple of false starts in Florida, the family finally bought a sailboat and transported themselves to Lake Worth, the area that would be their home for the next two decades.

McIver does well in pointing out that while the Bradley family pioneered, they were hardly rugged individualists. The elder Bradley enthusiastically accepted opportunities for public employment when offered. E.R. served as keeper of the house of refuge at Ft. Lauderdale (a haven for shipwrecked seamen), delivered mail from Lake Worth to Fort Dallas (later Miami), and became the first Superintendent of Dade County schools. In addition, when Henry Flagler and his railroad transformed the Lake Worth area from a sleepy backwater to an elite resort, E.R. became a land agent for the tycoon and uprooted his family for yet another move, this time to the undeveloped Cape Sable region, where he hoped to profit from the land boom that the advancing rails promised.

For Guy Bradley, however, life in Florida entailed much more than an opportunity in a new land. He came to Florida as a mere child of six, and for him, Florida offered a world of possibilities only partially apparent to his parents. Growing up amid the flora and fauna of a virtually untouched land, Bradley developed an intimate understanding of the environmental realities of the only home he ever truly knew, and he readily adapted to the ways of its people. This meant that Bradley shot birds for plumes, killed alligators for hides, and caught fish for food or trade with little thought for the environmental changes his activities caused. For Bailey, the bounties of Florida's environment presented not only natural wonders to admire but also cash opportunities for the taking. But he also shared a good dose of his family's ambition for official position, and when the Audubon Society began looking for a warden to protect the plume birds around Flamingo, he readily offered himself for the position. When the Society offered him the job, Bradley's joy knew no bounds, for he finally not only had an official place but also a reliable cash income.

Bradley's new task proved daunting. Responsible for protecting the plume birds along Florida's southern tip with only a motor launch and a .32 caliber pistol, he met with little success in spite of seemingly sincere efforts to accomplish his task. To put it simply,

the plume hunters knew of Bradley's actions and imitated the advice given to hitters during the early years of the twentieth century, baseball's dead ball era: that is, they simply "hit em' where they ain't." In addition, Bradley chose a bad time to try to dissuade local residents from giving up a traditional source of cash. During the second year of his tenure as Audubon warden, Henry Flagler decided to bypass Cape Sable and build the Key West extension down the Florida Keys rather than across Florida Bay from Flamingo. This move crushed the hopes of E.R., Flagler's land agent for the Cape, and surely caused some degree of consternation among Flamingo's other leading families, the Smiths and Robertses.

In better times, the Smiths, Robertses, and Bradleys had been on good terms, but by the Spring of 1905, about eighteen months after Flagler's fateful decision, someone shot up the Smith's home under the cover of darkness. Although nobody was injured, the message was clear—somebody wanted the Smiths out of town, and the family assumed they were the Bradleys and Robertses. Walter Smith, the head of the clan, had distinguished himself in combat during the Civil War and responded to the threat by going to Key West and buying a .38 caliber rifle—the same gun that killed Guy Bradley in July 1905 as the warden attempted to arrest Walter's son for hunting birds illegally on Pelican Island, a National Wildlife Preserve since March 1903. After a slipshod investigation and the use of political connections, the grand jury at Key West refused to indict Walter Smith for murder. At Flamingo, unknown people burned the Smith homestead to the ground, and Walter Smith, this time taking the not-so-subtle hint, moved his family first to Chokoloskee, on Florida's lower west coast, and then to Pompano, even further out of harm's way; and peace returned to the small town of Flamingo.

McIver's handling of Key West's legal process and his depiction of the people of Flamingo represent the book's only serious flaws. As presented, the reader can only view the grand jury's failure to indict Smith as a whitewash perpetrated by a particularly brazen group of scoff laws for whom justice represented a foreign concept. As for the citizens of Flamingo, the author reports, "In Flamingo it is doubtful that everyone was upset by Flagler's decision to bypass the cape. People who had fled to Mingo would not have applauded the coming of law and order."

McIver does not give the grand jury a fair shake. From the beginning, the case lacked a thorough investigation, and most cer-

tainly within the five months between the killing and the hearing all the citizens of Key West became aware of the feud between the Smiths and the Bradleys. Surely this knowledge raised questions about selective enforcement of what was, at best, an unpopular law; and an attempt by Bradley to use his official position to persecute a known enemy could not be overlooked. At the time of the killing, then, both men bore both arms and animosity. In addition, both men came from respected, if not elite, families, and American jurisprudence has at all times and in all places treated such people with a deference unknown to common criminals. The failure to indict did, after all, have the effect of bringing peace to Flamingo, and in a small face-to-face society this may be the most important value of all.

Finally, a word about the lawless rabble that supposedly inhabited the Florida frontier. Although McIver's assertion about Mingo citizen's lack of enthusiasm for the law bears no attribution, surely his confidence in making this statement comes from his knowledge of traveler's accounts about Florida's crackers. Mostly northerners or Europeans, their condemnation of all aspects of cracker life springs from their deep ignorance of what they saw rather than from a dispassionate assessment of a people. Stated simply, Crackers lived in ways they found rewarding within the context of their environment, both natural technological. Railroads, and the changes they initiated, came late to Florida, and those who made use of rails to visit the state little realized that they were, in effect, taking a trip back in time. Historians of Florida should start regarding the biased accounts of Gilded Age advocates of gentility for what they are—the reduction of a culturally different people to little more than stick figures—and begin the process of taking the lives of Florida's crackers and pioneers seriously.

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Baptist Ways: A History. By Bill J. Leonard. (Valley Forge, Penn.: Judson Press, 2003. xv, 480 pp. Foreword, preface, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$30.00 paper.)

In *Baptist Ways: A History*, Bill J. Leonard attempts the near-impossible, namely, writing a single volume general history of people who range theologically from extreme Calvinists to anti-Calvinists and whose polity ranges from liturgical to com-

pletely unstructured. These people are called "Baptists," and Leonard maintains that while they may share certain distinctions, there are numerous ways to "be Baptist."

Generally speaking, Baptist history instructors only have two choices for texts. On the one hand, Robert G. Torbet's *A History of the Baptists* has been around since 1950 and is dated despite the fact that it is currently in its third edition. On the other hand, H. Leon McBeth's *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness* is a much heavier tome than Torbet (850 pages versus 585 pages) that bogs readers down in a sea of details, but likely will not see a second edition. Neither text has pictures, maps, or any other "student-friendly" learning aid. McBeth's text has a supplemental reader, *A Sourcebook for Baptist Heritage*, but much like its corresponding text, *Sourcebook* is cumbersome and can overwhelm students with material.

Happily, Leonard's work addresses some of these challenges. First, most Baptist history survey courses are one semester long and with 480 pages divided into sixteen chapters, this text is more easily digestible than Torbet's eighteen chapters or McBeth's seventeen chapters. Second, Leonard has an engaging writing style that keeps readers interested without sacrificing detail. Thus, he may have produced a text that students will enjoy reading. He has also highlights the roles that women and minority groups have played in shaping Baptist history. Moreover, his treatment of hymnody may be the book's most surprising and refreshing feature.

Unfortunately, Leonard's work suffers from many of the same flaws that mar Torbet and McBeth. For some reason, Judson Press chose not to grace *Baptist Ways: A History* with pictures, charts, or graphs. In fairness to all concerned, Leonard may be working on a supplemental volume that will be released at a later date. It may also be that Judson chose not to use pictures in an effort to keep the final price reasonable. In either case, visual aids of some sort would have strengthened this work.

On a more serious level, Leonard's prose may be clear but his organizational scheme for this book is not. In Chapters 1-7, he addresses the theories of Baptist origins, Baptist identity, and early Baptist development by toggling between Britain and the United States. Chapters 8 and 9 cover American Baptists in the nineteenth century, while Chapter 10 addresses Baptists in the Caribbean. Leonard then dedicates Chapter 11 to African American Baptists but does not return to American Baptists until

Chapter 16. Moreover, when he returns to the United States, Leonard pays scant attention to Southern Baptists over the past forty years. Granted, anyone familiar with Leonard's career knows that he faced considerable turmoil when he taught at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary during what has come to be known as "The Controversy," "The Conservative Resurgence," or "The Fundamentalist Takeover of the Southern Baptist Convention," depending on one's perspective. Nomenclature aside, subsequent generations of historians will surely rank "The Controversy" as one of the most significant events, or series of events, in Baptist history for the entire twentieth century. How is it, then, that Paige Patterson and Paul Pressler, the men most closely associated with Southern Baptist life between 1970 and 2000 are not even mentioned by name?

In the last analysis, *Baptist Ways: A History* maintains that Baptists have never constituted a monolithic movement in their march through history. Rather, they have been a noisy, contentious bunch that occasionally "got it right" but seldom agreed on anything. Leonard captures this spirit by suggesting a list of thirteen "ideals and emphases that seem endemic to Baptist individuality," but wryly observes in an endnote that other Baptists will probably find his list lacking (424-25). Amen to that . . . and a number of other things.

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American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy.

By Andrew J. Bacevich. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002. x, 302 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

For nearly half of the twentieth century, American foreign policy decisions evolved directly from the ideological posturing of the Cold War. Americans rallied and unified under the banners of freedom and democracy, defining our collective identity in opposition to the "evils" of communism. But, as the Communist regimes around the world showed signs of faltering—Eastern Europe in the 1980s, Tiananmen Square in 1989, and, ultimately, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991—a coherent and familiar policy simultaneously dissolved. With the rhetorical lynchpin

removed, American policymakers watched helplessly as unquestioning support for foreign policy uncoupled from the momentum-generating engine of the Cold War. It appeared that presidential administrations would need to find a new drum to beat when garnering support for international ventures.

At first glance, foreign policy decisions in the 1990s were undertaken on a case-by-case basis, dependent as much on the mood of the American public and the administration as they were on the situation at hand. Upon further inspection, however, Andrew J. Bacevich discards that proposition. In *American Empire*, Bacevich, professor of international relations and director of the Center for International Relations at Boston University, identifies a remarkably consistent policy that allowed for minimal shifts in foreign policy decisions despite such momentous global upheaval. Since the end of the nineteenth century, American foreign policymakers have formulated policies based on the tacit yet consistent strategy that economic expansionism is a necessary prerequisite for American security and well-being. An open global market is the most productive atmosphere for the pursuit of that strategy, and threats to the multilateral exchange of products and information also threaten the progressive development of American interests.

The self-serving nature of this strategy has been well disguised by altruistic proclamations touting the "interdependence of nations" and the "indivisibility of peace." Anywhere people are deprived of personal liberties, the United States has an obligation to alleviate such suffering. So long as the Soviet Union could be portrayed as the aggressor, the creativity of that mission statement constructed American intervention as a defensive strategy. When communism faltered in the 1990s, George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton transitioned to an aggressive stance based on the same domestically driven principles, as witnessed over and again in Columbia, Bosnia, Somalia, the Persian Gulf, and China to name a few examples. So entrenched were these ideals that when the United States remained on the sidelines during crises in Rwanda and the Sudan, allegations of irresponsibility and moral indifference raged across the nation and the world.

Yet, Americans reflecting on U.S. foreign policy rarely recognize an aggressive element in such undertakings. Bacevich attributes this to the "myth of the reluctant superpower," or the widespread belief amongst Americans that international activism is

more a duty than a choice. Whether by provocation, as with World Wars I and II, or by its responsibility as the most technologically advanced and militarily superior nation, the U.S. is bound by ethical code to protect the concept of a global open market and defend personal liberties everywhere. Thus, globalization has its conceits; the price of success and progress (as defined, of course, by Americans) is constant vigilance and the proactive mediation of potentially explosive situations. The various American naval attachments patrolling the globe in concert with strategically positioned allied forces—respectively labeled “gun-boats” and “Gurkhas” by Bacevich—exemplify efforts to preserve the prosperity of the American economy (first) and of democracy as a whole.

While Bacevich’s assessment is insightful, the comprehensive nature of his foreign policy foray does invite certain criticisms, the most glaring of which is the placement of American allies in this grand scheme. Throughout the narrative, he tends to focus primarily on contentious relationships and controversial events. Britain, NATO, and the United Nations are frequently present, but they are rarely presented as more than willing pawns in U.S. humanitarian missions or as obstacles in the way of American intervention. Perhaps this is only fitting; the bilateral posturing of the Cold War relegated other international players to the fine print of history texts as well. Still, those relationships are as integral to the formulation of a foreign policy strategy as any others, and they are sorely missing from this book.

On the whole, *American Empire* is a fluid and captivating read. Bacevich eloquently blends analyses and suppositions with the abundance of newspaper articles, speeches, and policy evaluations he offers as documentation. Anyone struggling to understand the position of the U.S. in the global hierarchy and the opposition that often emerges from American intervention will benefit immeasurably from this work. As one final endorsement, the conclusions offered within still remain valid in the post-September 11 world. One need look no further than to the 2004 State of the Union address: “By bringing hope to the oppressed, and delivering justice to the violent, [American servicemen and women] are making America more secure.”

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Searching for Their Places: Women in the South Across Four Centuries.

Edited by Thomas H. Appleton Jr. and Angel Boswell.
(Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003. 296 pp.
Introduction, about the editors and the contributors, index.
\$39.95 cloth.)

Thomas Appleton and Angela Boswell chose the thirteen essays for *Searching for Their Places* from the best papers presented at the Southern Conference on Women's History held at the University of Richmond in summer 2000. Like others in the series, this fifth volume developed from the triennial conferences of the Southern Association of Women Historians celebrates the diversity of recent scholarship in women's history. The editors included histories of individual women, of women's work and volunteer organizations, and of the ways women have wielded influence and affected change from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Some of the women studied in these essays found empowerment by using the special, if generally marginalized, perquisites of gender and feminine sexuality. In other cases, women reformers found their options limited by gender; and in most cases, race became a factor in their successes and failures. They were all southern women, living and operating in mixed race societies from 1600s Jamestown to 1960s New Orleans; and both race and gender determined their opportunities and status in their respective milieus. The title tells us the book is about southern women—native and enslaved women, elite slave owners, Lost Cause apologists, and middle-class churchwomen, club women, and other reformers—finding “their places” in their various societies. Another theme that surfaces throughout the essays is the significance of individual and small group efforts: that is, the changes affected for entire communities by the efforts of one determined woman or by a group of like minded women. As general rule, the women found personal empowerment through this individual agency, even when their efforts were not obviously or immediately successful.

The female empowerment of which these essays speak did not always indicate southern progress. Winnie Davis, the “perpetual daughter” of Jefferson Davis, and the women of the United Daughters of the Confederacy who canonized her, are the best examples of this phenomenon. Cita Cook details Davis's apparent disinterest in her father's legacy and almost

cynical acceptance of the royal mantle offered by her worshipers in the late nineteenth century. The white women who idealized Winnie Davis looked back to an idealized Old South and, with the unproductive martyred "daughter" as their standard bearer, bartered away the possibility of joining as equal partners in the New South. In Cook's memorable language they "agreed to wear a mask of feminine innocence and to remain (motionless) atop a pedestal. . . . [T]hey chose . . . daughterly dependence over mature self-reliance" (160).

On the other hand, authentic royal women in seventeenth-century Virginia used similar but perhaps more forthright feminine stratagems to gain advantages for Indians of the Powatan Confederacy. In "Pocahontas Was Not the Only One," a splendid essay by Virginia Bernhard, we learn how Indian women also bartered with white men but, in their case, for power and diplomatic advantage in a time when their people were at terrible risk. Another essay about the use of sexuality to advantage, and sometimes to obtain freedom, is "Nocturnal Adventures in Mulatto Alley" by Cynthia Kennedy. Kennedy's heroines are black women who served as mistresses and housekeepers for white men in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Charleston.

Many of the remaining chapters speak to the possibilities for women in the arena of social reform. Surprisingly, only one essay, Shannon Frystak's close investigation of the local, state, and national pressures on the League of Women Voters of New Orleans as it worked to integrate its membership between 1953 and 1960, describes the period after World War II. The lack of essays about women in civil rights or other movements of the post-war period is disappointing; but perhaps the omission is corrected by the other volumes in this series. Radical women of any stripe are rare among the reformers whose stories appear here, though southern opponents of New Deal labor reform, like the opponents of the non-partisan League of Women Voters, often characterized reforming women as radicals. After the essays on slave women, the heroines (if that is a proper designation) are all white, middle-class southern women, politically middle-of-the-road. Some, like the Poppenheim sisters of South Carolina, were very conservative women on matters of race; others, like Abbie Holmes Christensen in the same state, hid their interest African Americans in order to fit in socially and remain

able to raise money for her causes. *Searching for Their Places* is an interesting collection of essays for general readers and, though narrow in its scope, a fine book for teachers of southern history to share with *students and colleagues*.

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Southern Heritage on Display: Public Ritual and Ethnic Diversity within Southern Regionalism. Ed. Celeste Ray. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003. viii, 301 pp. Illustrations, introduction, glossary, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

What is the South? Who is a Southerner? Is there still a South and, if so, how do you describe its culture? Is the South a solid, homogeneous entity? What lies beyond the "stereotype" Southerner that people envision as a true Southerner? These are questions that historians of the South have pondered and debated for decades. The debate continues and not just among historians.

In this collection of essays a diverse group of scholars—anthropologists, a historian, a cultural geographer, a researcher of health policy and epidemiology, a sociologist, and an English professor—tackle these questions. They do not rely on solid facts like census reports or quantifiable economic trends, but on their "field observations" of how diverse ethnic groups living in the southern United States display their culture through public rituals and community gatherings.

The essays provide a useful and interesting look at the ethnicity and cultural diversity of the South. From the jazz funeral processions in the streets of New Orleans to the annual Natchez Pilgrimage in Mississippi and the Scottish Highland games atop Grandfather Mountain in North Carolina, the reader is exposed to a diverse southern culture, or heritage, that is often overlooked by many people, both within and outside the South. The reality of a southern culture based in Mexican heritage or a celebration of Southeastern tribe's heritage through the powwow helps deconstruct the myth of a solid southern culture as one that is simply portrayed as black and white.

Southern heritage is often a combination of memories, both true and false. This heritage is not static but in fact changes or adapts. And people often choose to remember the past in light of

their present needs. The best example of this is in the essay on "Forget the Alamo: Fiesta and San Antonio's Public Memory" by Laura Ehrisman. She points out that the annual celebration no longer has a focus on the actual battle of the Alamo. The celebration of the Battle of the Alamo and its power to place Mexican Americans in a "subordinate status in the region's public memory" (194) has slowly been set aside. San Antonio's Mexican community now shares control of the event with the Anglo community—the "cultural custodianship" of local history.

Often, public ritual becomes the battleground for competing memories of the past. Steven Hoelscher's essay on the display of heritage in Natchez is a good example. In Natchez, Southern heritage is defined, or shaped, by competing forces—those who want to preserve the myth of the Lost Cause, those who want to be remembered as part of the past, and those who look at the past as a tool for economic prosperity. Instead of bringing the entire community together, the Natchez Pilgrimage, or actually control of it, acts as a permanent wedge between African Americans and whites.

There is one essay that focuses on Florida. Joan Flocks and Paul Monaghan examine Mexican Independence Day Festivals in Central Florida. They demonstrate that public rituals like the Eustis Festival held by the Mexican community in this area of Florida "expresses and promotes its culture to outsiders" (175). But they also argue that the festival has a tint of American culture: raffles for pickup trucks and microwaves, young Mexicans wearing Tampa Bay Buccaneer jerseys and baseball caps, and the *gran baile* rather than the traditional, formal *vaquero*-style dress.

While the essays provide useful insight into the true culture of the South—one that is diverse—they do not include all of the cultures and heritages present in the region. In Atlanta, for example, there is a growing Asian community and one of the largest concentrations of Caribbean island immigrants in the United States. Koreans are also a growing presence in the metropolitan area. In the mountains of North Carolina and along the Texas and Louisiana coast there are Vietnamese immigrants who have established a new home and have tried to maintain their cultural heritage amidst an overpowering American and Southern cultural influence.

This is a wonderful collection of firsthand research that will

enlighten those who view Southern history as a story with only white and black actors. Although not in the vein of historical research, the collection gives historians a useful tool for discussing the diversity of southern culture and its people. The questions "what is the South?" and "who is a Southerner?" have been made easier to answer with this book.

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