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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Presidio Santa Maria de Galve: A Struggle for Survival in Colonial Spanish Pensacola. Edited by Judith A. Bense. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. xix, 492 pp. List of figures, list of tables, foreword, preface, appendices, references cited, contributors, index. \$75.00 cloth.)

Since the 1960s, there has been a sometimes-heated debate regarding Historical Archaeology—its goals, methods, and practice. Because archaeology has been taught primarily in departments of anthropology, many of the arguments related to the different disciplinary concerns of History and Anthropology. For archaeologists, however, there has never been much of a choice. The realities of cultural resource management, whether for preservation of historical resources, interpretation of historic site features, or the investigation of theoretical questions about the recent past, have forced archaeologists to confront and make sense of the material remains of the post-Columbian world. Nowhere is that requirement more evident than in the Western Hemisphere.

Long-term collaborations among historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists have been rare, but are becoming more frequent. This volume is the product of such collaboration in the coastal Florida city of Pensacola. Initially a Spanish settlement, the story of its successes and failures provides a glimpse into the living conditions of settlers in West Florida. This volume, the University Press of Florida's second on Pensacola archaeology, describes the site of Santa Maria de Galve, a short-lived defensive settlement on Pensacola Bay. The settlement persisted from 1698 to 1719 and probably is unfamiliar to most Floridians.

The initial chapter, by editor Bense, lays out the goals of this

volume. She sets the stage for the chapters to follow by introducing the reader to the nature of the archaeological remains of the site of Santa Maria de Galve and the project that was mounted to excavate, record, and interpret its remains.

The historical setting is ably presented in two chapters. John James Clune provides a chronology of events in the Pensacola area and discusses the European political environment that prompted the settlement effort. First knowledge of the area is related to the DeSoto entrada (ca. 1540) when a port was needed for resupply. Given French interest in the region, the Spaniards mounted a colonization effort under the direction of Tristan de Luna in 1559. Soon after its founding, however, the settlement and supporting supply vessels were devastated by a hurricane. Although Luna fought to maintain the settlement, it was abandoned in 1561.

The chapter by Clune, Coker, Childers, and Swann uses an extensive documentary base to develop historical details of the presidio. Santa Maria de Galve was founded in the late seventeenth century to counter French expansion. The bluffs overlooking the entrance to Pensacola Bay were selected, a location that would not prove useful for either defending Spanish interests or establishing a presence in the increasingly important trans-Mississippi fur trade. In fact, the choice was a poor one from many points of view. The wooden fortification constructed there was usually in poor repair given the natural and financial climate, and the citizenry was forced to live within its walls for years at a time given hostile local relations with French- or English-allied Indians. Although the settlement had a defensive role, it also served as a penal colony. In fact, the authors tell us that the most fortunate individuals were the ones who returned on the ships that brought them.

Bense and Wilson present the archaeological evidence. Just as the documentary record may be incomplete or vague about an incident or person, the archaeological record presents its own problems. These range from information loss caused by preservation conditions, the equivocal nature of the materials recovered, and the scholarly environment in which archaeological findings are interpreted. Archaeologists have learned that one of their responsibilities in presenting information to the scholarly public is to be clear about the sources and degree of bias, in other words, to evaluate the archaeological record.

The archaeological remains provide the opportunity to investigate various aspects of daily life at the presidio. Through material culture (e.g., ceramics, glassware, metals, weapons, items of personal adornment, and clothing), archaeologists are provided with insights regarding status, gender, and supply origins. The structural features of the site indicate how defense, housing, and other needs were met. To the presentation of the material remains, Parker and Ruhl add the data that can be gained from plant and animal remains recovered in association. This evidence provides a rich source of data that illuminate accommodations to the challenges of life at the presidio and link the material remains to diet, differential access to foodstuffs, and the use of local resources versus dependence on long-distance trade or intermittent supply.

Harris's chapter on Native Americans in the vicinity of the presidio sets the local cultural environment of the settlement. Although Spanish missions had been established in territories to the east, indigenous groups in the Pensacola area had trading relationships with the French, some with the English, and were generally wary of the Spaniards. The dynamics among these groups created an environment hostile to the Spanish settlement. It meant that the area around the presidio was never really safe for gardening and livestock raising, necessitating greater reliance on supplies from Vera Cruz, Havana, and sometimes Mobile. Johnson's chapter reveals the importance of trade with the French for the survival of the settlement.

The story of Spanish Florida has been submerged in American History. Many people who live in Florida, or who relocate to the state, are unaware of its longer historical record. Because the early history of Florida is not "American," it has not received the attention that it deserves. The resources are available, however, and new glimpses of this history are emerging. This volume reports one piece of the larger tapestry of Spanish colonial efforts in Florida. An admirable group of historians and archaeologists has produced an excellent example of how rich and interesting the result can be. Santa Maria de Galve was isolated, poorly supplied, constantly threatened, and ultimately failed. Its remains, however, in both textual and archaeological forms, are rich, informative, and enduring.

Rochelle A. Marrinan

Florida State University

Florida's Frontiers. By Paul E. Hoffman. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002. xiv, 470pp. List of figures, list of tables, foreword, preface, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

In this synthetic and comprehensive volume, Paul E. Hoffman contends that the early history of Florida is best understood as a series of changing frontiers. From 1562 to 1860, the imperial attempt to control the Florida and its inhabitants effectively shaped the experiences of all Floridians, whether Spanish, French, British, American, African, or Native. Hoffman effectively demonstrates how, for three centuries, Euro-Americans struggled to obtain a foothold in the region, and how during this time Florida's native population responded to these challenges.

Hoffman does a remarkable job with a rather daunting task. As part of a series entitled the History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontiers, this volume includes an unusually wide range of materials and topics. In addition to covering three hundred years of history, Hoffman bridges several historiographical, disciplinary, and methodological barriers. The book is informed by historical geography, economic theory, ethnohistory, and archaeology, and it draws upon manuscripts written in English, Spanish, and French. In addition, it places Florida's history in the context of global and Atlantic histories. As a result, *Florida's Frontiers* will be of interest to historians and anthropologists of the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

The volume begins with a detailed look at the physical geography of Florida in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hoffman explains how a lack of natural resources provided the setting for sustained resistance by Florida's Native peoples. From there, Hoffman sets Florida's colonial history into motion as colonizers attempted to control Florida's Indian population and create a "self-reproducing, economically attractive colony" (116). The narrative that follows adheres to a mostly chronological structure. Hoffman divides the work, and thus structures Florida's past, according to which imperial country was attempting to impose its control. He begins by exploring the Spanish tidewater frontier (1562-1608), and subsequent chapters explore a second phase in the Spanish tidewater frontier (1586-1608), a Spanish inland frontier (1609-1650), an English frontier (1680-1702) an American military frontier (1702-1763), a British tidewater frontier (1763-1790),

and then an American frontier (1790-1860). The result is a narrative that corresponds easily with the standard political periodization of Florida.

Although Hoffman distances himself from the problems that plague Turnerian approaches, he prioritizes the experience of the colonizers and their attempts to impose hegemony on a territory and its inhabitants. For Hoffman, Florida remained a frontier as long as Euro-Americans could not control the territory. These frontier conditions only disappeared after 1860, when "the peninsula had been brought under the various forms of control that nineteenth-century Americans defined as 'civilization.' The Native Americans who had populated and then repopulated the peninsula were gone, save for a few small remnants living deep in the region of the Everglades. Euro-Americans, along with their black slaves, their livestock, and their crops, dominated the land" (1). As a result, even as he recognizes that control of the region shifted among different Native chiefdoms and Native nations, Hoffman categorizes the frontiers in terms of Florida's European presence. In short, Hoffman frequently emphasizes the inability of colonists to obtain control of the region rather than credit the Natives for their resistance. This is especially true in his analysis of the end of the Spanish period. "After two hundred years and a very large investment by the Crown, Spain's La Florida was little more than what it had been in 1565, a garrison precariously perched on a sand spit by the Atlantic Ocean," Hoffman explains. The Spanish withdrawal from the region had great ramifications for Native Americans, but these results almost seem coincidental to rather than the results of Indian actions. "Indians, whose ancestors should have been incorporated into the Spanish empire but were not, were the immediate heirs and the proximate agents of the collapse of La Florida's tidewater and inland frontiers" (206).

Hoffman, whose archival work and award-winning writing have primarily focused on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Florida, draws upon his own archival research for the bulk of the book and relies on an often rich secondary literature for the latter chapters. At times, this results in some unevenness in tone and coverage. Readers may be overwhelmed by a plethora of Indian names, interpretive details, and ethnographic data included in the earlier sections. These chapters contain the most path breaking conclusions and interpretive insights. At the same time, while the latter chap-

ters on the United States are a bit more accessible to the general reader, they provide less analysis than the rest of the book.

Florida's Frontiers is an important and impressive book that deserves reading by all historians of Florida and the early south-east. It provides the most sophisticated synthesis of Florida's early past while simultaneously offering many new interpretive insights. When it is available in paperback, it should find its place in many courses in Florida history.

Andrew K. Frank

Florida Atlantic University

One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark. By Colin G. Calloway. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xvii, 631 pp. List of illustrations, list of maps, preface, acknowledgments, note on terminology, prologue, epilogue, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

First in a projected six-volume comprehensive new history of the American West, *One Vast Winter Count* sets a high standard as both encyclopedic synthesis and as interpretive narrative. English-born Calloway, a professor of history at Dartmouth College, brings expertise from his previous projects on Indian-White relations in eastern North America into the West. He also utilizes the wealth of ethnohistorical studies in Indian history that have been published in the last thirty years.

This bibliographical command in itself is impressive, but Calloway gives us more. With dexterity, authority, and plain good writing, he describes a vast region with elastic borders in the context of processes that permeate all of American Indian history. Unlike most histories of the region that briefly outline formative major cultural developments, Calloway treats the period, B.C. 500 through 1500 A.D., as "real" Indian history, devoting 115 pages to successful environmental adaptations and evolutionary technological developments prior to European colonization. The book is also a maverick in its geographical scope. More concerned with process than place, Calloway portrays the Mississippi as a conduit running through regions rather than a dividing line separating East from West, a meaningful perspective when one considers languages and cultural customs of such groups as Algonkians, Sioux, and Caddoans, represented on both sides of the great river with tribal groups well established prior to the nineteenth century.

Calloway also argues that to understand the West, one must follow the ebb and flow of Euro-Americans and Euro-Canadians along waterways connecting the St. Lawrence and Ohio with the Mississippi. St. Louis becomes less of a "gateway" to Santa Fe and the upper Missouri, and more of a continental vortex.

Another well-developed theme is trade, not just between Indians and Europeans who enter the story in search of staple commodities, but also inter-tribal exchange *prior to* the arrival of whites, blacks, and mixed bloods of every variety. From Mexico to the Subarctic and from the Pacific coast to the Plains, networks of trade trails crisscrossed the West, stretching economic boundaries as far as the Southeast, Midwest, and well into Canada.

A practitioner of the now-not-so-"new" Indian history, Calloway treats historical epochs prior to 1804 as intrusions and leads the reader from one predictable conflict to the next between Indians and outsiders. Where cooperation and alliance formations between Indians and whites are found in the historical record, Calloway balances the narrative. Familiar Spaniards, Frenchmen, English, and Anglo-American explorers, traders, missionaries, and colonizers all find their way into the pages, but their story is not the central purpose. Instead, as the title suggests, this is an ethnohistory, reconstructed from oral histories, artifacts, and the rich iconographic records kept by Indian peoples on their clothing, their lodges, their bodies, and their most sacred religious objects and sites. The West becomes one continuous series of "winter counts," glyphic symbols painted annually by tribal historians (primarily of the Plains) on buffalo robes or other skins to record and to recall that year's major developments. Indians are given voice here, often through inference, but always with a reasonable line of evidence, not burdened with emotional appeal or bound in methodological quagmires as to provenance and authenticity of sources.

The result is a book that has never been attempted for the western region, one reminiscent of the techniques employed by turn-of-the-century ethnographer James Mooney in his *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (1898), fused with that of his successor in the Bureau of American Ethnology, John R. Swanton, especially the latter's *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (1946), curiously not used in the study, but certainly a parallel project. To do this, Calloway needed the more than two inches of shelf space this book requires with its 600-plus pages. To the credit of the press, 161 pages of notes and bibliography are printed in full, not

in an abbreviated format and the author is precise in correlating his text with his notes.

Calloway's *West* is also novel in that he argues that the eighteenth century, not the nineteenth is the century of record as a marker of great change. International contests for turf, resources, and power, especially during the Seven Years War, as well as introduction of the horse, gun, cloth-trade, and the spread of disease, especially smallpox, make the 1700s the benchmark dividing what had been and what was yet to come.

The book is a *tour de force*. Sometimes it takes an outsider to write as objective and balanced a history as is possible. *One Vast Winter Count* accomplishes this huge task and demonstrates just how far we have come in exploring regional history prior to better-known starting points such as Lewis and Clark in 1804.

William R. Swagerty

University of the Pacific

The Soul's Economy: Market Society and Selfhood in American Thought, 1820-1920. By Jeffrey Sklansky. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xiii, 313 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Jeff Sklansky's title, *The Soul's Economy*, is a wonderful clue to the message of this splendid book. Those who have noted with amazement the revival in recent years of Louis Hartz's *Liberal Tradition in America* (1955) will welcome Sklansky's reminder that there were *always* major thinkers for whom the liberal virtues were insufficient bases for individual identity and social cohesion. Classical republican ideology claimed to hold selfishness at bay by emphasizing self-denying virtue, but the restraints were weak. And by the flowering of the market revolution, American intellectuals were disenchanted with the crass commercialism of American capitalism, and even more with the crabbed conception of society and self contained in its master science of society, a naturalized version of an American political economy loosely derived from Smith and Locke in which the good society was nothing more than an aggregation of economic men, masters of households, whose independence was rooted in their command of small property and in relations with others mediated by contract.

Beginning with Ralph Waldo Emerson, Horace Bushnell, and Margaret Fuller, Sklansky describes the development over the

nineteenth century of an alternative social science that decentered this narrowly individualistic political economy, constant harping on the inevitability of conflict between classes that reduced broad social categories to "factors of production." A broad-based "sociological turn" arose initially from a transcendentalist critique of possessive individualism, rooted in a trans-Atlantic Romantic reaction and in Kantian philosophy, that located the essence of humanity in mind and soul and imagination, and found a new basis for harmony in the organic connections forged in family, community, and nation, in reason informed by intuition—not rationally—and realized in self-expression. "Association" and "reciprocity" were the bywords of a cadre of mid-century thinkers (Henry Carey, Henry Hughes, and George Fitzhugh) who added to this new psychology of mind and soul an American sociology, in touch with continental Comtian discourses, that denied the Smithian mantra of scarcity and the Lockean myth of the contractual origins of human society, reembedding humanity in organic social structures and (in Carey's case) in harmonious economic relations enabled by a highly productive social and regional division of labor. Contesting the typical dismissal of Fitzhugh's sociology of the master class as a reactionary ploy, Sklansky argues that in their negative assessment of wage labor the "southern critics of liberal-republican dogma joined a transatlantic Romantic movement that was as progressive as it was conservative" (94). In a rather similar vein, during the post-bellum crisis of political economy, Henry George and William Graham Sumner cooperated to reformulate the market, not an arena of Darwinian competition but rather the locus for human invention and cooperation and for the production of a social (and socializable) surplus never contemplated in the Ricardian tradition. Completing the marginalizing of political economy, then, came the new Gilded Age psychology of the self, for which William James reinvented consciousness as an arena of moral choice, not market haggling, Dewey reinvented equality as participation in a common, identity-forming civic discourse, and G. Stanley Hall reinvented human history as a progress toward social consciousness and civilization. Thomas and Charles Cooley, father and son, completed the construction of a social science centered on the highly productive corporate entity prodded to social responsibility by a caretaker state and the socially constructed, empathic "looking-glass" self. Banished from the center of social theory, neoclassical economics

continued its prattle about individual utilities, no longer heeded in the mainstream of early twentieth century social science.

Assessing the “sociological turn,” Sklansky repeatedly offers the caveat that, in socializing both market and the self, social thinkers from the transcendentalists to the pragmatists “elided” what was happening in the real world and thereby provided less a devastating critique than a new legitimization of market society. That being the case, one wonders, was “political economy” actually so effectively decentered? All the same, this is a path-breaking contribution to the new history of social science.

Mary O. Furner

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Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1839-1907. By Carolyn Ross Johnston. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003. xiv, 227 pp. Illustrations, preface, and acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 paper.)

In *Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1838-1907*, historian Carolyn Ross Johnston channeled her personal interest in a Cherokee ancestress into a scholarly analysis of Cherokee women from the colonial era through the early twentieth century. In six chapters, Johnston analyzed three case studies that she argued challenge the invisibility of Native women in the historical cannon and emphasize the adaptation and negotiated responses of American Indian women to assimilation. She posited that removal, the Civil War, and allotment are significant historical moments that altered the ways that Cherokee women believed, behaved, and related to men. She theorized that while removal and the Civil War reinforced Cherokee women’s traditional roles, allotment undermined it.

Johnston situated her analysis both in the historiography of Native women and of American women’s history. She concurred with recent scholarship on Native women that suggests that the declension theory, explaining that indigenous women’s status plummeted following contact with non-Indians, is too simplistic. She also concluded that Cherokee women’s history provides a useful comparison to that of non-Indian women as Cherokee women have struggled to retain the rights to property, divorce, child custody, and work that American women have struggled to attain.

Johnston drew on ethnohistorical methodology, or the fusion of historical and anthropological ways of thinking, to shape her approach to her sources, which encompass Cherokee National records, missionary records, and personal papers. She included both written and oral evidence. Influenced by feminist theory, she argued that Cherokee women's story challenges the feminist notion that separate spheres equates to women's oppression. Instead, she explains that Cherokee women's roles as farmers and mothers assured their high status in a culture that valued both roles.

She began the book by grounding the reader in Cherokee mythology and culture prior to white contact, and she continued her narrative by tracing the adaptation of Cherokee women through their removal from their southern homeland to Indian Territory in the 1830s; the internal civil war within the Cherokee Nation during the 1860s; and the division of tribal resources and incorporation into Oklahoma during the allotment era of the early 1900s. Throughout the book, Johnston relied heavily on personal narratives and accounts of individual experiences, Cherokee and non-Cherokee, of the Cherokee world.

In this book, Johnston boldly dared to tread where few historians dare to go: a new field of history. Yet, she failed to grapple with several key issues in Cherokee history and culture. For example, Johnston treats blood quantum as an unchanging biological, racialized characteristic whereas scholars have historicized "blood" and have demonstrated that, for Cherokees, "blood" referred to cultural orientation and varied even among individuals in the same family. She also included analysis of missionary women and non-Cherokee women as part of her study. Though they lived among the Cherokees, Protestant missionaries did not share their moral values or cultural orientation and were not Cherokee women; they should have been excluded from this study.

Johnston shined, however, in her engaging analysis of Cherokee court cases. She explained that Cherokee women participated in the court system regarding matters of personal concern with a frequency and authority that American women were denied well into the twentieth century. Here Johnston demonstrated how Cherokee women drew on their ancestral and ancient rights to assert their interests in a court system that was adopted and adapted from the American model. Cherokee women sued over land, marriages, and all matters of concern that suggested

while they had lost formal access to political office, they maintained economic power.

Perhaps Johnston wrote this important synthesis a decade too soon. While several historians, including Theda Perdue and William McLoughlin, have written about the pre-removal era in detail, much of the post-removal era remains unstudied. Johnston did summarize much of the existing secondary literature, but unfortunately there is little secondary material to discuss, especially regarding the Civil War and allotment eras. While Johnston read widely in several collections of personal papers, she did not conduct the detailed analysis of Cherokee National or Bureau of Indian Affairs records that are needed to yet understand the post-removal Cherokee world. That is a huge undertaking for several scholars, of course. As a result, her conclusions, particularly on the Civil War and allotment, should be considered speculative. To the end that this book will contribute towards pointing scholars towards the many studies needed, she has accomplished much.

Rose Stremlau

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

George Washington's South. Edited by Tamara Harvey and Greg O'Brien. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. x, 345 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, list of contributors, index. \$59.95 cloth.)

Although George Washington hailed from Virginia, works placing him within the context of the early national South have been few and far between. The contributors to *George Washington's South* hope to begin a fresh discussion on this subject, and the twelve essays that comprise the volume examine sweeping topics pertaining to the shared history of George Washington and the South. The volume is a product of a conference held in 1999, the bicentennial year of Washington's death, focusing on the late-eighteenth-century South. Subsequently, the volume reflects that broad interest in the South as opposed to a more Washington-specific examination. Despite the fact that Washington is an ancillary figure in some of the essays by no means subtracts from the volume's value; the combination of regional and biographical histories works to complement and enhance both existing and future narratives, resulting in a more comprehensive understanding of both.

The volume is divided into four sections which address specific topics: geography and culture of the South, Washington's interactions with the South, freed and enslaved black Americans, and the Native American population in the South. Perhaps the most effective essays in the volume are those that closely examine Washington's thoughts of and interactions with the inhabitants of the southern frontier as a young man, his slaves throughout most of his life, and Native Americans during his two terms as President. Warren Hofstra explores the invention of Washington's virtuous image by examining the clash of two cultures, the southern plantation elite from which he originated and the inhabitants of the southern backcountry. It was on the southern frontier where Washington "came face to face with the essence of Republican politics—with the necessity of promoting the welfare of people whose support was necessary in public life even if sympathy with their way of life was impossible" (71).

The issue of slavery also necessitated a multifaceted approach that satisfied his personal and public objectives. Like most men of his stature in Virginia, Washington owned, bought, and sold slaves. But, as Philip Morgan and Michael Nicholls point out in their article examining slave flight, Washington was also keenly aware of the divisiveness of the institution. Making use of the voluminous reports that were kept for Washington's farms, Morgan and Nicholls closely trace slave activity as well as Washington's response to such things as runaway slaves proving how complex and tensioned the institution of slavery was for him.

How to manage the Native Americans in the southern United States occupied much of Washington's two terms as President. Theda Perdue examines this formation of Indian policy and asserts that it was formulated and established in order to civilize the Native Americans, essentially transforming their culture to more closely conform to the attributes of the "American" population. Peter Wood takes an interesting approach in his essay by examining the parallel lives of Washington and Dragging Canoe, a Cherokee leader. Though both men had many similarities, including leading resistance movements against oppressors, Washington rose to iconic status whereas Dragging Canoe sunk into obscurity.

Though these above-described essays reveal much about Washington, other, more regionally-focused essays in the volume help contextualize his biography. They also help situate the stories of the various groups of people, such as Native Americans, with

whom Washington came into contact throughout his lifetime. Two essays take issue with what constitutes the South as a region, something that has been debated throughout the nation's history. Regional distinctions based on geography, culture, economics, and industry have all been attractive definers. Daniel Usner and Martin Brückner suggest however, that the answer to how the South was geographically defined lies in maps produced of the South. Making use of maps and regional descriptions of both the western territories and the southern states on the eastern seaboard, Usner and Brückner explain how boundaries were culturally constructed and even constantly being redefined.

It's obvious from this brief assessment of a handful of essays that comprise the volume that this examination forges and solicits a new type of history, one that blends and juxtaposes the biographical with the regional, in hopes of better understanding America's history.

Jennifer Stertz

The Papers of George Washington

Masters of the Big House: Elite Slaveholders of the Mid-Nineteenth-Century South. By William Kauffman Scarborough. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003. xvii, 521 pp. Acknowledgements, abbreviations, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

In this grandly written narrative, William Kauffman Scarborough paints a comprehensive picture of the wealthiest slaveholders in the antebellum South. Careful scrutiny of the 1850 and 1860 census returns from the slaveholding states allowed Scarborough to identify the 338 individuals who held more than 250 slaves in either year. Decades of work in manuscript sources relating to these families complemented the quantitative material. The resulting study offers new depth and detail about the top strata of southern elites. Scarborough's approach of putting his subjects under a microscope yields great granular precision but little sense of how this group functioned within their society. At points, Scarborough's topical approach diminishes the utility of his prodigious research and reading. In order to truly prove his central point—that elite southerners shared most of their values with other Americans of the time, but their defense of slavery ensured support for secession—Scarborough must set his argument in the

context of the whole antebellum period. Instead, Scarborough's approach produces a static image during a period of rapid and consequential change.

Scarborough's characterization of elite slaveholders reinforces what others have argued in more narrow studies. The wealthiest slaveholders of the antebellum South were cosmopolitan, well-educated, and devoutly evangelical. They used marriages as a tool to expand family dynasties and they generally held land and slaves in multiple states. Echoing the judgments of James Oakes and Kenneth Stampp before him, Scarborough argues that slavery and race functioned as the central elements in the identity and action of southern elites. The argument to which Scarborough pays the most attention—in two chapters during the text and in the book's final chapter—concerns how to understand the involvement of these most southern gentlemen within the capitalist world. It may seem odd to ask for more material in an already large volume, but Scarborough's attempt to settle the now somewhat dated debate about the nature of southern slaveholding cannot rest on the investment practices of a handful of elites alone. According to Scarborough, 21 percent of his subjects invested in ventures outside agriculture. Readers are left to decide for themselves if one-fifth of the elites constitutes a substantial percentage or a relatively minor one. With no sense of whether elite behavior in this regard was modeled by others in society, it remains difficult to evaluate the importance of the practice. The example offered above is typical of the approach taken throughout the text. Scarborough gives the history of southern elites in much greater detail than any previous historian, but their importance remains asserted rather than proven. In this regard, Scarborough's study resembles another learned prosopography in the field: Frank Owsley's picture of southern yeomen. Scarborough proves that his subjects were economically successful and occasionally politically engaged (though they generally did not play prominent roles in the sectional debates), but their influence on southern society remains difficult to characterize.

Scarborough succinctly summarizes the rival poles in the debate over the extent to which antebellum slaveholders were capitalists, but his definition of capitalism seems unlikely to bridge any remaining gaps in the profession. He argues "that capitalism is simply an economic system in which individuals invest capital, from whatever source and by whatever labor system derived, with

the hope and expectation of generating additional capital" (409). This approach sidesteps one of the central issues raised by those who portray slaveholders as pre-capitalist—the lack of a free labor market. It is clear from Scarborough's account, as it is from many others, that slaveholders pursued profits aggressively; this alone does not qualify them capitalists. Nor does the pursuit of riches by itself make elite southern slaveholders typical Americans. Scarborough is certainly correct that his subjects shared a wide range of values with northerners at the time, but southerners' willingness to wage war to defend racial slavery reveals their difference from most northerners. At times, Scarborough argues for the harmony of beliefs between southern elites and their fellow Americans. At other times he shows quite clearly how differently they viewed the world. To his credit, Scarborough does not try to explain away the contradictions and tensions in elites' beliefs or actions. They were both southerners and Americans, both lords and capitalists.

Aaron Sheehan-Dean

University of North Florida

The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood, 1865-1895. By Jane Turner Censer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003. xiii, 316 pp. Acknowledgments, abbreviations, introduction, epilogue, bibliography, index. 59.95 cloth.)

The primary objective of *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* is to illuminate the experiences of elite southern white women following the Civil War. Jane Censer explores both the domestic lives of these women and their experiences outside the home. The author examined women's letters, diaries, and published writings including fiction, as well as census data and other public reports. She divided her subjects into three groups: women born before 1820; those born between 1820 and 1849; and women born between 1850 and 1869.

In fundamental respects, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* is a regional study. The area including the Upper South of North Carolina and Virginia was the focal point. Each region experienced massive destruction: North Carolina had the highest per capita war casualties of any state, and Virginia was second only to Georgia in the devastation of the landscape. At the conclusion of the Civil War, the elite women of Carolina and

Virginia confronted an enormous reconstruction task. To illustrate how the experiences of women in these regions compared to southern women generally, Censer examined the letters, diaries and writings of other southern white women from that era.

Censer joins the scholarly discourse on southern white women started by Anne Firor Scott in the seminal study, *The Southern Lady*. Scott devoted only a part of her study to the late nineteenth century and concluded that postwar southern white women altered gender roles and took on new activities. Subsequent studies tend to see less change and argue that gender roles after the Civil War returned to old practices. Also, the latter studies illuminate important aspects of the lives of southern women throughout the nineteenth century. Censer asserts that no one study combining "research on a variety of subjects with a broad perspective on women has been undertaken to revise or enhance Scott's arguments about postwar women" (3). *The Reconstruction of Southern White Womanhood* fills that space.

The order in which Censer presents the information allows her to demonstrate the ways in which elite southern women were transformed by the late Victorian period. She began with a discussion of the changing notions of southern white womanhood in the nineteenth century. After exploring the popular and didactic literature she found that the "southern belle" changed from "a modest creature, content to enjoy her brief moment in the sun in the few years between school and marriage" of the antebellum period to a young woman somewhat hardened by the encounter with poverty and other hardships of the postwar period (3). Instead of blissful dependence, the southern woman of the 1870s and 1880 was more likely to strive for "nondependence" with an emphasis on self-reliance and female capability.

By examining wills, estate records, employment information and other records providing information about the economic lives of women, Censer constructed the subsequent chapters that illustrate female self-reliance and capability in the domestic and public spheres. She reveals that the plantation mistress was transformed into the middle-class and upper-class housewife. More single women inherited and controlled property. Marriage became more of an option, which a significant number of women postponed or declined altogether. Economic necessity and growing educational opportunities contributed to the increasing participation of genteel southern white women in the work force outside

the home. These changes propelled women into the public realm beyond the area of employment. For example, new women's organizations were founded and some women became political activists; some supported and others opposed women's suffrage. Changing relationships and attitudes about African Americans, particularly the growing negative views of blacks, are also uncovered in these chapters.

Censer's focus on the lives and work of southern women writers of the late Victorian period in the final section of this study provides additional insight into gender constructs and furthers understanding of the unique persona of the southern white woman in comparison with her northern counterpart. The elite southern woman who emerges during this period is more confident and capable than her antebellum antecedent. However, she is "nondependent," rather than independent, the characteristic that is associated with the New Woman of the Progressive era.

The Reconstruction of Southern White Womanhood is an important contribution to the scholarship on Women and Gender Studies and Southern History. It appeals to both the general reader and is a useful text for students enrolled in upper division classes in Women and Gender Studies, the History of Reconstruction, and the South during the Progressive era.

Carolyn Williams

University of North Florida

Never Surrender: Confederate Memory and Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry. By W. Scott Poole. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. x, 263 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

If W. Scott Poole's study of Confederate memory and conservatism has a clear precedent, it would be the work of Lacy Ford Jr. Both Poole and Ford suggest that if we can understand the contours of social thought and politics in the South Carolina upcountry (what the back cover copy calls "a reactionary hotbed within a notably conservative state"), we will be better able to get at the purest strain of what it was that made the South tick. Poole's book represents part of a new wave of scholarship on the Lost Cause that builds on but challenges the conclusions Gaines M. Foster and Charles Reagan Wilson drew in the 1980s. Yet, while Poole has new and significant things to say about the Lost Cause, his deeper

purpose is to unravel the ideas of southern conservatism. He finds the wellspring of a distinctively southern conservatism in the "aesthetic of the Lost Cause" which "describe[s] how conservatives fashioned a variety of cultural materials into a public articulation or an ordered and organic society, a society that worked harmoniously guided by a patriarchal ethos" (3).

Beginning his story with a survey of the decades before the Civil War, Poole suggests that upcountrymen rejected modernity *in toto* and made significant progress in constructing a world based on patriarchal reciprocities. However, this worldview was inherently unstable, as Poole's chapter on the role of religion during the Civil War points out. Members of evangelical churches sometimes used the very primacy of individual conscience to challenge the validity of the conservative social hierarchy, but the Civil War sublimated these sometimes cantankerous tendencies into what Poole describes as "Confederate religion," the sacralization of the Confederate efforts to preserve a vigorously anti-modern society in the South Carolina upcountry. One of Poole's most important points is that far from marking the end of southern conservatism, the defeat of the Confederacy brought about the conditions in which it could best flourish. Having failed to make secession a lasting political reality, southern conservatives had greater freedom to "attempt . . . a cultural secession from the optimistic, nationalistic, and bourgeois experience of the modernized West" (18). By explaining Lost Cause commemorations as a natural continuation a worldview developed before and during the Civil War, Poole provides a convincing explanation of the way that movement grew. Rather than dismissing the early expressions of mourning and intransigence as digressions (as earlier historians of the Lost Cause have done), Poole shows that these helped consolidate ideas that would be deployed in opposition to Reconstruction. His chapter detailing how Confederate imagery became central to Wade Hampton's 1876 campaign to "redeem" the state from Republican rule should be required reading for anyone trying to understand the dynamics of the ending of Reconstruction. Poole even does a good job at making sense of the lackluster Conservative Democrats who ran South Carolina in the 1880s, showing that their ideas, including the "aesthetic of the Lost Cause," were part of a long-standing opposition to the bourgeois values represented by Ben Tillman and all the cotton mills springing up around the state. In this reading, the flowering of Lost Cause organizations such as the

United Daughters of the Confederacy and the United Confederate Veterans in the 1890s is in fact the very middle-class antithesis of the anti-modern conservatism that animated the supporters of the Confederacy and its first celebrators.

Poole brings a very thorough set of sources to bear on the questions he addresses, having fairly exhausted the manuscript collections for the South Carolina upcountry and giving welcome attention to the underutilized papers of neglected figures such as William K. Easley. Along with correspondence and speeches, Poole draws on a wealth of local newspapers and provides solid explications of several local novels, which articulate the ideas of southern conservatism. While Poole's persistence in searching out primary sources provided a solid foundation for the study, broader engagement with the secondary literature would have helped readers connect Poole's ideas to others on related topics and better appreciate their novelty and significance. A laundry list of uncited secondary works is a pointless endeavor, but David W. Blight's work on the Civil War and memory is conspicuous by its absence, and it would have been helpful to see Poole's arguments in dialogue with Charles H. Holden's recent study of South Carolina conservatism.

Bruce E. Baker

Royal Holloway, University of London

A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggle in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration. By Steven Hahn. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2003. 610 pp. Prologue, epilogue, appendix, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Steven Hahn's *A Nation Under Our Feet* attempts to revise our understanding of rural Southern African American political organizing. Hahn makes the case that African American politics has its origin in the rural South dating back to the height of the antebellum slave communities. In this work, he recovers a past his predecessors have long overlooked.

The strength of this work is in the new interpretive frameworks Hahn introduces to readers. Hahn argues that African American political networks and civic experience really began on the antebellum plantations of the South, not in the post-Civil War politics of Reconstruction. Hahn, along with a growing number of schol-

ars, is trying to reclaim the primacy of the rural experience in African American history. Since W.E.B. DuBois first examined the phenomenon of African American migration, scholars have either romanticized or criticized those migrants that left the rural South for an urban destination. For more recent scholars, it was these migrants and their descendants who were the dynamic, heroic, and forward-thinking pioneers that blazed the trail for twentieth-century African American civic participation and protest. Hahn challenges these notions by shining light on the African Americans who remained in the rural South throughout this time and elevates their political activities to equal if not the progenitor of modern black urban politics.

Hahn also introduces readers to new ways of imagining African American history. He places the center and impact of the Great Migration squarely on the entire nation. Traditionally historians have tended to examine this demographic movement as a Southern to Northern population shift, but Hahn makes the case that this was a national event that touched not only the North but the South and the West, as well as the rural and urban communities of the nation. Hahn also includes black Caribbean immigrants in his examination of African American migrants, something wholly neglected in other treatments. In the same way Timothy Tyson's book *Radio Free Dixie* challenged us to rethink the origins of Black Power to include the 1950s rural South, this book points to the origins of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism to the Pre-Marcus Garvey rural South.

Although Hahn challenges readers to move beyond traditional notions of African American history, readers interested in the story of Florida will be left wondering why the black experience in the Sunshine State is mere window-dressing. The references to Florida are few and far between, which is curious since Florida was a magnet for black Caribbean migration as well as rural Southern migrants during this period, thus it would have served to better empathize this important component to the Great Migration. In the appendix, Hahn quantifies the number of black officeholders in the South during this period. Florida is clearly at the bottom of the list with eighty-five state and local office holders. This is an undercount not seen in Florida since the 2000 election. Canter Brown, in his book *Florida Black Public Officials* has uncovered the names of over 600 black office holders between 1879 and 1924. Additionally Florida's Reconstruction black politicians as well as

their native-born black labor leaders frequently communicated and supported Afro-Cubans, which seems to support Hahn's assertions concerning Pan-Africanism. The Florida story missing in this work would really contribute to this book.

Also Hahn uses agency in slave society to describe the foundation of black political interactions. This claim is not a stretch for scholars of the subaltern; however the role agency plays in power relationships is something still contested in academia as evidenced by recent debates in the June 2004 issue of the *American Historical Review*. More than likely this will cause even more debate rather than quell dissent regarding how to appropriately measure the impact of the "voiceless" in history. Also there are many historians who still question the true number and impact of Garvey's UNIA movement. This book seems to side with those that believe that Garvey had a greater role in black politics and does not critically analyze the exaggeration of this movement by Garvey himself or scholars that have since studied him.

A Nation Under Our Feet is one of those books that will provide the necessary debate to transform an entire field of study or cause traditional definitions to appear quaint after ten years. Anyone interested in African American or grassroots political history will be delightfully inspired by this book. Those scholars agreeing with Hahn and wanting to build upon this important work will find Florida fertile ground for a future project.

Robert Cassanello

University of Central Florida

The Stingaree Century: A 100-Year History of Miami High School. By Howard Kleinberg. (Miami, Fla.: Centennial Press, 2003. 225 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, endnotes, bibliography, index. \$39.00 cloth.)

Since its inception one hundred years ago, Miami High School has represented one of the city's most noteworthy institutions. The school's academic and civic accomplishments, a stellar athletic tradition, and a cast of alumni whose achievements have drawn national notice have ensured its preeminence. In recent decades, the school has been responsible for the education and acculturation of thousands of youths—and many of their parents in its large night school program—whose families fled to Miami from the Caribbean and Central America. Arguably, Miami High School

has met the challenges resulting from the winds of change buffeting Miami-Dade County in the past century as well as any other area institution. Howard Kleinberg, a member of the Miami Senior High School class of 1951, self-admitted Stingaree (the school's moniker) "fanatic," and a stellar journalist and author for the past half century, has written a loving but balanced account of the remarkable history of the school for its centennial.

There were no schools in Miami prior to 1896 because few people lived there. With the entry of the Florida East Coast Railway in 1896, Miami incorporated as a city, with white and black public schools appearing in its immediate aftermath. In 1903, a high school was added to the downtown "white" public school. In the following year, the first high school class graduated with three members, two more than in the following year!

The high school expanded with the city, outgrowing several buildings in the downtown area before moving, in 1928, into a grand Mediterranean-Revival style high school building, which still serves the school. Standing three miles due west of downtown, this singular structure looms over the flat landscape of Little Havana with its scattering of modest one- and two-story homes. While Miami High School's early enrollment exceeded that of the city and county's other high schools, those numbers paled by comparison with the enrollment figures that followed a "deluge" of Hispanic students in the 1960s. By then, the old Riverside-Shenandoah neighborhood, for decades a mix of Jewish and residents of Deep South backgrounds and the host neighborhood for the school, became known as Little Havana. By 1968, with 4,300 students, Miami High School was the largest high school in the South. In the following year, with 300 additional enrollees, the school began operating on a split-shift. The enrollment topped off at 5,000 in 1972 and declined sharply in subsequent years due to school boundary changes, an aging neighborhood, and many youths opting for work rather than a high school diploma.

Kleinberg tells the story of Miami High School in chronological fashion, skillfully weaving its story into the broader context of American history as well as the rich saga of a frontier town that grew quickly before exploding in population growth and development amid the real estate boom of the 1920s. By then, the school offered not only a broad-based education but also a wide array of organizations and activities. Students responded in positive fashion to the plentiful opportunities for enrichment, and their all-star

cast included, in the brief window between the late 1920s and early 1930s, C.G. "Bebe" Rebozo, future confidant of Richard Nixon and a highly successful businessman and investor, George Smathers, who served nearly two decades as a United States Senator from Florida, Phillip Graham, later president of the *Washington Post*, ageless tennis star Gardner Mulloy, and C. Clyde Atkins, a Federal District Court judge whose school desegregation ruling reshaped the Miami-Dade County's public education system. The roster of future leaders and achievers is even more impressive. Their ranks include several corporate chief executive officers, a path breaking surgeon, inventors, one United States Senator, a college president, elective leaders, and a myriad of professional athletes. The school counts nineteen Woodrow Wilson scholars among its graduates since 1958. And then there are the proud athletic accomplishments. As its avid alumni will remind anyone who cares to listen, Miami High School footballers did not lose a football game in local competition in its first twenty-six years of scholastic competition. Stingaree football teams count three national championships among their accomplishments, while the schools basketball teams have recorded fourteen state titles.

Kleinberg has consulted a rich array of primary and secondary sources for this study. His sources include nearly fifty personal interviews. *Stingaree Century* is richly illustrated with appealing photographs, copies of pages of advertising from school yearbooks, excerpts from several other school publications, and interesting sidebars on personalities and events. In the mind of this reviewer *The Stingaree Century: A 100-Year History of Miami High School* will serve as a model for subsequent studies of this genre.

Paul S. George

Miami-Dade College, Wolfson Campus

The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review. By Ney C. Landrum. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004. xv, 288 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, prologue, appendix, selected bibliography, index. \$44.95 cloth.)

State parks serve far more visitors each year than the much better-known national park system, but they remain largely unstudied. *The State Park Movement in America* is thus a welcome addition. It is an unusual volume, combining as it does a history of the movement and author Ney Landrum's personal interpretation of needs

and developments based on his forty years in state parks work. There have been state parks since the late nineteenth century, and after reviewing the record, Landrum concludes that Minnesota's "Itasca, more than any other single project, probably deserves recognition as the real prototype of a classic state park" (47). There also had been something that might be called a movement since the 1920s, but activity has been as diverse as the states themselves. Landrum, Director Emeritus of Florida State Parks, sorts through and attempts to make sense of this plethora of parks and approaches. Though one might not always agree with his interpretations, he does his job well.

Stephen T. Mather, first director of the National Park Service, distressed by increasing calls for new national parks of inferior quality, sought to encourage state and local governments to establish parks of their own. Toward this end, he arranged in 1921 for a conference on parks to meet in Des Moines, Iowa. The National Conference on State Parks resulted, and for some forty years, it provided states with leadership as more and more sought to build park systems, and it caught public attention through its slogan "A State Park Every Hundred Miles." However, as parks work gradually became more professional and technical, the NCSP slipped into irrelevance, its leadership role assumed by a new group, the National Association of State Park Directors (a body in which Landrum himself played an important part).

Although at first the NPS was a major source of help and guidance to states, its role gradually diminished, especially after the end of Civilian Conservation Corps projects, which had helped many a state get started in parks. For a time beginning in the 1960s, the federal Bureau of Outdoor Recreation assumed the role of leader through the Land and Water Conservation Fund, but as its funds dried up states were increasingly left on their own and, with state funds often in short supply, administrators turned more and more to user-fees to finance their programs. Many, including Tom Wallace of Kentucky and Charles G. Sauers of Indiana, decried the resulting emphasis on use, rather than preservation, as contrary to "the true state park tradition . . . of providing more passive uses in an essentially wild and natural setting" (178). Landrum also weighs in on the subject: "State parks are not a business," he states, "they do not exist to make money" (251). Indeed, especially in relatively remote locations, they could hardly be expected to make money even in the hands of the increasing number of administrators who

were political appointees with business backgrounds, rather than the parks professionals Landrum would prefer.

Landrum's focus on national organizations and developments behind state parks keeps his work from becoming an impossibly complex tale, for, as he notes, there were almost as many approaches to parks as there were states themselves. A few outstanding systems and various key individuals and developments get their due, but the work never becomes a catalog of parks and people, too long and diverse to have much meaning. And while occasional examples from Florida appear, Landrum avoids letting the state where he did so much of his own work dominate the study—throughout the focus remains on the big picture.

Still, Landrum's study is not above reproach. My own comparative study of the parks of three states, *The Parks Builders* (1988), demonstrates that state parks systems inexorably are shaped by the social and political dynamics of the states involved and by the values and objectives of individuals charged with building them. Landrum's first two chapters, largely devoted to developing uniform definitions of what parks and parks systems are—or should be—demonstrates the administrator's mentality at work. This influence results in an overly homogenized view of state parks in the United States, a view in which much of the drama of local events (and many an irony) is lost. It is also a view in which such a colorless, unimaginative administrator as the National Park Service's (and NCSP's) Conrad Wirth can take on undeserved importance. It is desirable to see the large picture, the national forces at work, but surely it is not necessary to take color and excitement from the picture in the process. The history of state parks is full of people and events that go unmentioned or get short shrift, but which could have been used to give this study greater vitality, relevance, and reader interest.

Thomas R. Cox

San Diego State University

Making Waves: Female Activists in Twentieth-Century Florida. Edited by Jack E. Davis and Kari Frederickson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. viii, 345 pp. Foreword, introduction, contributors and editors, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

Jack E. Davis lays out the two-fold aim of *Making Waves: Female Activists in Twentieth-Century Florida* in his introduction to the book.

He and co-editor Kari Frederickson conceived of *Making Waves* as an opportunity to "bring Florida women more fully into the field of American women's history and to contribute to the ever-expanding body of literature exploring the activities of women in public life," while simultaneously highlighting "the importance of Florida history itself" (2). As Davis points out, Florida has not garnered significant attention from southern historians, who have tended to identify the state as "somehow unsouthern;" nor has Florida figured significantly in many national histories (2-3). Given the relative inattention to Florida in general, it is not surprising that women of Florida have also been largely overlooked in the burgeoning literature on both southern and U.S. women's history.

The wide-ranging essays in *Making Waves* illuminate many facets of Florida women's activism over the course of the twentieth century. Specialists in Florida history will learn much from this volume about women's individual and collective actions in state politics, from the impact of individual female political leaders to the work of Florida women in such diverse fields as home demonstration work, environmentalism, the civil rights movement, and women's liberation. Given the significance of environmental issues to Florida's twentieth-century development, the essays on women active in Florida conservation, ecology, and environmental movements seem especially pertinent for both historical studies and current-day politics, while essays on post-World War II activists such as Ruth Perry, a leader in the state NAACP who took a stand against McCarthyism, and Elizabeth Virrick, a white Floridian who worked together with black activists to create better housing for African Americans in Coconut Grove in the 1940s and early 1950s, help to draw out links between early-twentieth century women's activism and the onset of the modern civil rights movement in the state. Nancy Hewitt's essay on Anglo, African American, and Latin women in early-twentieth century Tampa explores the full complexity of women's political organizing efforts along lines of race, ethnicity, and class.

Even as the essays in *Making Waves* make clear the significant contributions of women to various facets of twentieth-century Florida politics, however, they should also be read by specialists in other fields. Reflecting the broad aims of Davis and Frederickson, the collection has much to say not only to scholars of southern and women's history but also to researchers in other areas, including

environmental history, political history, and the history of the civil rights movement. Essays on Florida women conservationists and environmentalists, for instance, suggest the potential for more fully exploring the role of women and gender ideologies in environmental history outside the state, and essays on both civil rights and women's liberation point to important links between organizing efforts and innovations in Florida and broader regional and national developments. Nancy Hewett's work can be taken as a model for ongoing scholarship that seeks to move beyond mainstream political rhetoric to reveal a multiplicity of shifting political alliances organized along the lines of sex, race, ethnicity, and class.

As a volume that challenges historians to re-conceive the role that both Florida and the women of Florida have played in United States history, *Making Waves* is the kind of book that can prod readers to ask new questions and open up new lines of historical inquiry. As a book that emphasizes the importance of women's activism in Florida—and the centrality of Florida to southern history in particular—one promising line of inquiry would be the role of *conservative* women activists. Although *Making Waves* offers multiple perspectives on women's activism, there is a near absence of attention to conservative women activists—with the notable exception of Hewett's work. This relative neglect has also characterized much of the scholarship on women's activism in both the South and the country at large, at least until very recently. What role, for example, did both women and gender ideologies play in massive resistance to the civil rights movement in Florida? What roles have women, individually and collectively, played in promoting patriotism and anti-communism in the state? If Florida was vital to regional and national politics over the course of the twentieth century, as it most surly was, and if women were important players in political struggles in the state, then historians must certainly grapple with the critical role of women (and gender ideologies) in promoting conservative political agendas, from disenfranchisement to the development of neo-conservative politics. Such work would contribute to the project advanced by this volume of bringing both Florida and the women of Florida out of the "intellectual vacuum" that they have occupied—and make a signal contribution to a better understanding of the significance of women's political activism for the South and the country at large (2).

Kathleen Clark

University of Georgia

The Whiteness of Child Labor Reform in the New South. By Shelley Sallee. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. xi, 207 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper, \$49.95 cloth.)

The Whiteness of Child Labor Reform in the New South is a welcome addition to the scholarship on public welfare, Progressivism, labor, and women reformers in the South. This slim, revised dissertation examines the efforts of reformers from the 1890s to the 1920s to eliminate child laborers from Alabama cotton mills. New South cotton mills were notorious for their use of child workers for long hours at low wages. The children came overwhelmingly from poor white families that had migrated to the mill towns, and these families expected all members to earn income. This view of the family as an economic unit also suited the mills' needs for cheap labor, and Sallee notes that 22 percent of the southern mill labor force was children. The effort to bring an end to child labor took a sustained campaign and pitted Progressive reformers—mostly white middle-class women—against “mill men” (capitalists), with the actual mill families usually more talked about than a voice in the debate.

The significance of this book goes far beyond establishing a narrative of this reform effort in Alabama, however. Sallee's thesis is that the movement is significant for historians to consider both because of the means employed by reformers and the multiple outcomes of the reform effort. By 1920, the reform movement had benefited white children in more ways than squashing child labor. Sustained rhetoric about improving their lot also resulted in much higher standards for compulsory education, greater funding for public education, and the establishment of the Child Welfare Department in Alabama. The means included the rise of women-led organizations that worked increasingly in conjunction with women's reform groups around the country, creating what Sallee calls a “transregional white middle class” (2). These women's experiences in the child labor reform movement brought about a shift from “conservatism to Progressivism” for these Alabama women, and led many into further engagement in other Progressive era reform efforts, including women's suffrage and temperance (9).

This story is not only about of the empowerment of middle-class women. These middle-class Progressives made a strategic choice to campaign against child labor by emphasizing white soli-

darity, saying that the “crackers [are] poor Anglo-Saxons” (4). This discourse served several functions: It made it difficult for mill men to attack the reformers as radicals or pawns of organized labor (though Samuel Gompers’s AFL worked behind the scenes to initiate the movement). This approach also fitted the rhetoric into the emerging white supremacy of that era, and in doing so it helped to turn attention away from efforts to assist African Americans.

Sallee takes seriously both the good intentions of middle-class reformers and their arrogant paternalism in assuming they knew what was best for the poor whites. She thinks that they were right to fight for reform but is critical of them too. She tries ably to avoid the constraints of presentism and the cultural assumptions of being part of the middle-class herself.

A few maps or photographs would have enriched the book. Not all readers will know the location of Florence or Alabama City. In addition, readers unfamiliar with the kinds of labor that occurred in turn of the century textile mills will not find a description of it here.

There are also occasions when the documentary record does not supply Sallee with enough evidence, as the voices of the mill children and their families are almost absent from the book. One of her most important points, that the reformers made a strategic choice (albeit one that reflected their social Darwinist views on race) to frame the issue in terms of whiteness is plausible, but is supported with minimal evidence. There is no inside view of strategic meetings to confirm that they considered framing it any other way. Also, the middle-class credentials of the reformers are not demonstrated. Was there one clearly delineated middle class in Alabama without any sense of gradations of status and concomitant tensions? Finally, she argues that the campaign succeeded due to the combination of several factors, the most important being that “it was victory by forfeit—manufacturer’s opposition had declined in Alabama” (145). This is an intriguing statement, but her explanation of it appears in one paragraph and is more speculation than evidence. This important point bears further research by the author or future scholars.

These criticisms aside, the arguments made in the book are provocative and have wide-ranging implications that show the way to some new areas of scholarship.

James H. Tuten

Juniata College

This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740-1940. By Elna C. Green. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003. xiii, 356 pp. List of illustrations, list of abbreviations, acknowledgements, introduction, conclusion, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95 paper, 54.95 cloth.)

In her introduction, Elna C. Green claims that she initially wanted to write a history of southern settlement houses, but was drawn to the evolution of social welfare policy in the South instead. She broadened her time period, narrowed her focus to Richmond, and as a result, has produced a masterful narrative of changes in social welfare policy from 1740 to 1940. It is precisely this attention to change over time that is the greatest strength of the book. Green is ambitious—she explores the relationship between federal, regional, state, and local policies and conditions, the uneasy partnerships between private and public welfare, the role of the Civil War and race relations in the South, and the changing nature of the almshouse. Green concludes that the South's social welfare policy in many ways mirrored that of the nation, but with small, sometimes significant, variations.

Green begins in colonial Richmond, which adopted poor laws typical of England. Poor laws assumed that social welfare was a local institution, given through the parish vestry (after the Revolution, through the county) to local residents only. Most notable in light of the 1990s debate over welfare in the United States, this "system viewed relief as both a civic and a religious duty, an obligation that members of the community owed one another," (10) and funds were collected through a tax paid by "tithables" without complaint.

Green argues that as a growing industrial city, Richmond was not well served by a system that relied so heavily on residency requirements in its poor laws. Too many migrants were excluded. Richmond did build a poorhouse, which housed primarily white male and female residents and provided the indigent basic health care, including maternity facilities. Over time the poorhouse suffered from city officials who focused more slashing budgets than on upgrading the facility. The poor also suffered from changing attitudes towards the causes of poverty. Biased against the rising numbers of Irish and German immigrants, Richmond residents conflated ethnicity with poverty, and mid-nineteenth century Evangelicals "stressed individual morality as the key to overcoming

poverty," (45) distinguishing the deserving from the undeserving poor.

Green also argues that even as private charity grew, it never supplanted public welfare as the primary source of aid to the poor. Richmond residents were reluctant to accept a large role for the federal government, preferring to keep public welfare at the city (sometimes state) level. During the Civil War, dire poverty forced desperate residents to turn to the city, state, and Confederacy for aid, but at the end of the war, Green contends that racism and Reconstruction "stigmatize[d] federal welfare in the minds of southern whites" (68). While the Freedman's Bureau aided thousands, to white Southerners it symbolized federal intervention in southern race relations. Excluded from much of the public and private welfare available in the city, African Americans suffered mightily when it ceased operations. The war also associated the poor with Confederate veterans, and Lost Cause sentiment pushed the state of Virginia to approve pensions and homes for elderly veterans and their widows. Green notes that although this legislation did not mention race, African Americans were excluded from these benefits.

The charity organization movement, which emphasized the need for casework to determine individuals' fitness for assistance and opposed public welfare, grew at the turn of the century. At the same time, however, Progressive reformers were beginning to work for greater public welfare, in the form of state and local legislation, regulation, and funding.

Poor laws were finally dismantled during the New Deal, with the development of a social welfare system that linked local, state, and federal welfare programs. Virginia's resistance to the New Deal was enormous. In 1936, the Virginia legislature refused to pass an old-age pension, for example, despite the fact that the federal government would have paid 90 percent of the cost. However, despite great changes, Green points out that the system remained segregated and discriminatory against African Americans, that Confederate veterans continued to benefit from a separate system funded at the state level, and that families continued to put together local, state, federal, and private assistance as best they could.

One of Green's most interesting chapters is an attempt to reread sources to understand the experience of the poor themselves, primarily utilizing records from the almshouse. Green discovered that some families used the almshouse to board children

until they were old enough to work, and some poor women used it to keep their families together because the almshouse took both mothers and children.

Given Green's earlier work on the Southern woman suffrage movement, there is less on gender and the nature of women's role in building private relief than anticipated. However, *This Business of Relief* is a welcome addition to the literature on social welfare in the South. Although it focuses on only one city, its breadth of chronology is impressive, as Green deftly weaves story lines throughout the book, tracing the contests between public and private welfare, and between local, state and federal efforts.

Joan Marie Johnson

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Animal Sacrifice and Religious Freedom: Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah. By David M. O'Brien. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004. xii, 196 pp. Editors' preface, acknowledgments, epilogue, appendix, glossary, chronology, list of relevant cases, bibliographic essay, index. \$12.95 cloth.)

The Castro Revolution of 1959 drove waves of Cubans into exile in the United States, where they formed strong ethnic enclaves in Miami, New York, and environs. In addition to the tropical rhythms and cuisine that they added to the American cultural tapestry, they also brought with them Santería, Lukumi, and other African-derived religions that had been preserved in their homeland since slavery. Animal sacrifice is integral to these traditions as a ritual to appease and feed the spirits. By the mid 1980s, so many practitioners had settled in the Miami-Dade County municipality of Hialeah that a leading priest of the religion, a Cuban immigrant named Ernesto Pichardo, established the first public Lukumi temple in the United States not far from Hialeah City Hall. Ignorant of the theology behind Lukumi animal sacrifice (which is similar to how the practice is understood in Judaism, Islam, and even Hinduism), city officials, citing Florida's state animal cruelty statutes, passed an ordinance in 1987 outlawing the practice. Pichardo and his Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye fought against this discriminatory legislation all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, where they eventually won their landmark case in 1993. Due to this historic ruling in the domain of religious freedom, the rights of all people in the United States (including Jews,

Muslims, and practitioners of Haitian Vodou) to sacrifice animals are constitutionally guaranteed.

In this engaging book, legal scholar David O'Brien traces the history of litigation in *Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah*, from municipal hearings to the final ruling of the Supreme Court, unpacking complex legal arguments and rendering them understandable to general readers. In light of the historic importance of this case, O'Brien's has done a wonderful service to scholars of law, religion, immigration, and American history. The text is divided into seven chapters, five of which cover the Hialeah animal sacrifice controversy and ensuing litigations. The other two are useful contextual discussions of the religious and cultural socio-history of Cuban immigrants in Miami and a masterful overview of "Minorities and Religious Freedom" in United States history, which ranges from a discussion of the views of the founding fathers to twentieth-century cases embroiling Mormons' defending polygamy against federal legislation.

The only places where O'Brien's voice sounds less than authoritative are where he ventures to explain Cuban history and religion. Experts in these areas will notice several factual errors and misrepresentations. Discussions of African ethnic groups enslaved in the Caribbean are sometimes unsound (who, for example, are the "Kongo-Anglo" people?), and O'Brien wrongly portrays the Catholic Church as the dominant force in colonial and pre-Castro Cuba. Most scholars, furthermore, are likely to be disappointed by the absence of citations (there are no footnotes or endnotes, not even for long block quotations, which are merely attributed in-text to their authors).

These rather minor criticisms aside, O'Brien has equipped this book laudably with a number of helpful extras, like an appendix of the various ordinances and resolutions pertaining to *Lukumi v. Hialeah*, along with a chronology of this case, a glossary of basic Lukumi terminology, a "Santeria Calendar of Feasts," and a bibliographic essay. Throughout the narrative, his writing is very crisp and effective, and his portrayal of characters and his able construction of legal background make this a lively and readable book.

Religious Freedom and Animal Sacrifice is an informative and important contribution to legal history, immigration studies, and religious studies, as well as to our understanding of the thorny political culture of South Florida. Most significantly, O'Brien treats religious matters with the utmost respect, and is quite

assertive, though objective, in pointing out the legal failings of those who tried to suppress the religious freedom of Pichardo and his followers. The book should be received with appreciation and acclaim by general readers and experts alike, and should shed some welcome light on the flourishing African-derived religions in the United States, which are still so misunderstood and maligned in popular discourse. This is a fascinating story well told, which should be a source of pride for those whose relationship to the divine entails animal sacrifice, and to anyone who cherishes religious freedom as one of the greatest things about the United States.

Terry Rey

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Green Empire: The St. Joe Company and the Remaking of Florida's Panhandle by Kathryn Ziewitz and June Wiaz. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xii, 363 pp. List of illustrations, preface, chronology, list of abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In *Green Empire*, writers Kathryn Ziewitz and June Wiaz explore the history of the St. Joe Company. Formerly St. Joe Paper Company, the firm is Florida's largest landowner, controlling nearly one million acres in the northwestern part of the state. Following the closure of its Port St. Joe paper mill in 1998, the St. Joe Company moved into real estate development, hoping to attract upper- and middle-income residents to the relatively undeveloped Panhandle coast. While *Green Empire* explores St. Joe's current plans in detail, it also delves fully into the company's past, showing how the firm has had a major impact on the Panhandle's environment for more than eighty years.

Early chapters are dominated by Ed Ball, the long-serving president of St. Joe Paper Company. Backed by a business alliance with brother-in-law Alfred Du Pont, Ball came to the Panhandle in the 1920s and began buying land cheaply. As well as establishing the large paper mill in Port St. Joe, Ball forged links with powerful state politicians and built a diverse business empire that included the Florida East Coast Railroad and a large sugarcane operation in south Florida. A colorful character, the Virginia native disliked any outside interference in his business operations. Described by Ziewitz and Wiaz as a "conservative codger," he opposed early sug-

gestions to build model housing for Port St. Joe's largely low-income residents and maintained a fierce dislike for both labor unions and civil rights groups (6). In the early 1970s, he also engaged in biting correspondence with presidential contender George McGovern, who accused the magnate of being one of Florida's worst polluters. For nearly six decades, Ball maintained strict control of the St. Joe Paper Company. When he died in June 1981, at the grand age of ninety-three, the stage was set for a new direction in the history of the company.

In the years after Ball's death, the St. Joe Paper Company gradually began to move into real estate development. As the ailing paper mill was hit by increasing global competition, a decline in linerboard prices, and environmental problems, the company's executives soon realized that their extensive landholdings offered more profitable returns. In early 1997, a key change occurred when St. Joe appointed Disney executive Peter Rummell as their new CEO. At Disney, Rummell had overseen the construction of a new town on land owned by the tourist giant, and he sensed that St. Joe's vast tracts of beachfront property had enormous potential value. "[W]e got rid of the people who understand sugar and railroads and paper," he noted bluntly, "and brought in a group of people who understand development" (123). In 1997, St. Joe acquired Arvida, a building and community management company. An "upscale developer," Arvida was soon building second-home complexes with names such as "The Retreat" and "WaterColor." Affluent outsiders were quick to put down healthy deposits in order to secure their slice of what St. Joe called "Florida's Great Northwest" (8). Although the firm has pledged to not develop more than 5 percent of its holdings over the current decade, this still means that over 50,000 acres of Panhandle land will be built on.

The authors concentrate chiefly on the operations of the St. Joe Company and could devote more attention to the lives of the residents of the area, including the paper mill employees. In particular, it would be interesting to learn more about what local residents think of the closure of their main employer and of the new company's moves to attract wealthy outsiders to the area. Despite all the growth in the area, the St. Joe Company has in fact failed to provide affordable housing and has converted formerly public wildlife management areas into private hunt clubs. While *Green Empire* covers St. Joe's history well and has a broad sweep, it is

strongest on recent events. It would benefit from more discussion of historiography, and the authors' conclusions need to be related more to other historical work, particularly corporate histories. In addition, it would be helpful if Ziewitz and Wiaz could provide more comparison of Port St. Joe with other post-industrial communities. *Green Empire* was also written without access to St. Joe's corporate historical files, although the authors do make profitable use of public records, interviews, and newspaper accounts.

Taken as a whole, *Green Empire* is an interesting read and it tells an engaging story well. It also raises important questions that are of broader relevance. As U.S. paper companies confront increasing foreign competition, it will be interesting to see whether they follow St. Joe's moves into real estate development. Events in Port St. Joe also highlight the broader decline of manufacturing industries and the accompanying shift to a service-based economy. In addition, the authors detail the tension that developers face between promoting growth and protecting the environment. Wiaz and Ziewitz assert that St. Joe has a "mixed" record as an environmental steward, and they close by doubting whether its largest landowner will properly protect the unique environment of the Panhandle in the years ahead. "The St. Joe Company," they note, "has put a For Sale sign up on its Green Empire. It is clearly the company's intent to develop or sell as much as it can for the highest price possible to meet the ambitious demands of its bottom line" (299). The population of the northwest Florida region is set to increase by over 40 percent by 2020. A lively and well-researched narrative, *Green Empire* provides a timely look at the company that will oversee much of this rapid growth.

Timothy J. Minchin

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Minding the South. By John Shelton Reed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003. xiii, 292 pp. Preface, sources. \$24.95 paper.)

For over three decades, sociologist and historian John Shelton Reed has been "minding the South" in every, and using every, sense as observer, commentator, and even protector of southern life and culture. Hardly any topic has escaped Reed's eye in his meanderings through and musings about an ever-elusive South. This collection of largely previously published essays catches the

real Reed in fine form. It consists of writings stretching from an early review of C. Vann Woodward's *American Counterpoint* to recent autobiographical confessions of a Tennessee-born Episcopalian who hiked off to study sociology in New York City and ended up at Chapel Hill, in the tracks of Howard Odum and Rupert Vance, applying it. These essays attest that Reed's sociology is more than a numbers game. He reads social behavior in the stories people tell, the food they eat (and how and with whom they eat it), the music they listen to and play, the God they love and fear, the politics and other blood sports they revere, and the ways they organize their days. In the end, Reed is a porch-sitter, telling stories and, like Flannery O'Connor, pointing to the oddity that reveals the truth. His is a big tent full of characters, as varied as Elvis, governor John Connally, silversmith William Spratling, and historian Eugene Genovese, and the reach is grand enough to embrace Florida and Texas in one warm hug. White men mostly get their say in these writings, but women and blacks are a constant backbeat in explaining why southerners think and act as they do and why, too, the South is a-changin'.

No central theme rules this collection, but several subjects bind the essays together. For Reed, the South was and is a riddle of contradictions that defies easy summary and belies a strong sense of place. Reed reminds us that part of the problem of "mind-ing the South" is understanding that "the South" consists of several Souths. The best known South is "Dixie," which is the agricultural South that lasted from plantation days through the Depression and still holds on in some places, and which suffered from troubled, tangled racial relations and its bondage to Nature, creditors, and market forces. More recent, and vibrant, is the "Southeast," with its prospering industrial, service, commercial, and communications economy and metropolitan mindset. Most enduring is the "cultural South," which is a state of mind as well as the common bonds of and experiences with religion, family, manners, foodways, music, and leisure activities that often cross racial lines. These Souths overlap and even conflict so that sorting them out is a full-time occupation. Enter Reed.

Reed's South runs against stereotypes of a supposedly static land of drooping moss, mildew, and lassitude. Tennessee Williams and Erskine Caldwell had their day, but for Reed much of the South is on the move and in the money. Investments and people coming into the South (including a significant in-migration of

blacks) over the past half-century have remade the economic, political, and social landscape in many ways. The Civil Rights movement fundamentally altered public life and private expectations, and by Reed's reckoning literally set the South free. He does not discount the resiliency of racism, but he contends that southerners are nursing a healthier world of "diversity" that depends less on the law than on common culture to enforce it. Reed at times also echoes the so-called southern moderates of old who decried segregation and racism but resented the federal government and other outsiders poking into southern matters. He rescues Strom Thurmond's populist past to recast the late senator and former Dixiecrat from caricature, and he bows before the eternal wisdom of the Tenth Amendment.

Reed "minds the South" not only to understand it but also, even more so, to sustain it. He worries that modern life such as the air-conditioning that made possible the tourism trade centers, banks, and so much more of the "New South" insulates and isolates people from one another. The porch-sitting culture is passing, and with it the rhythms and relationships that created a southern people. Indicative of the changes, Florida has moved from the periphery of the South to its center as it charts the way in economy, demography, and society of a newer South. And white boys now grow up caring more about getting stoned than going to Stone Mountain.

Reed concludes his collection with the sociologist's dictum that those most marginal to a society are often those persons most likely to observe it closely. Reed is no longer marginal to the South, as any reading of southern dailies and listening to talk radio will tell, but he has been and remains the region's most astute observer and careful minder. These essays show why. Let's toast him for that. A Coke will do.

Randall M. Miller

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Southern Histories: Public, Personal, and Sacred. By David Goldfield. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003. xvii, 123 pp. Foreword, preface, acknowledgements, notes, index. \$24.95)

Since 1990, Georgia Southern University has sponsored a lecture series that has included such luminaries as Eugene Genovese, George Tindall, Samuel Hill, and Houston Baker. The UNC-

Charlotte historian David Goldfield joined this distinguished company in the fall of 2002. His three-part *Southern Histories* resulted.

Part one, a historical analysis, critiques a dominant version of the regional past as it developed in post-Appomattox Dixie. Built to the general exigencies of Confederate defeat and the particular desire to control the freedmen, this “white history” still controls the regional imagination, Goldfield maintains, even after 150 years. Predicated on negrophobia, it is racist in its nature and can be nothing else, hence Goldfield’s disdain of such bumper sticker politics as “Heritage Not Hate.” For such reasons, it is now completely outdated and must be abandoned for a new, bi-racial understanding of the Southern past.

Part two treats Southern religion, or what Goldfield characterizes as “southern evangelical Protestantism.” He condemns it in the same terms as he dismisses post-Appomattox history. Actually, he considers “white history” and regional Protestantism of a cloth. In the neat summary of Alan C. Downs’s Foreword, Goldfield calls for a new history where Southerners black and white “must” acknowledge each other “so that they can create a new community”; even so (also in Downs’s language) Goldfield demands “a broad based attempt to disconnect southern evangelical Protestantism from its culture.” “Without a progressive religion,” he continues, “there will be no progressive history for the south to call its own” (x).

If parts one and two assume historical activism (and activists), of course, part three makes this explicit as Goldfield recounts his more personal extension of professionalism into the public, non-academic sphere, chiefly as consultant in government programs and expert witness in six murder trials. The most charming of the three, the last part offers a glimpse of a passionately involved teacher and incurably curious intellectual who believes in History as an almost redemptive enterprise. Much more problematical, the other two raise significant issues of interpretation, analysis, and understanding about what the South means.

As for the thesis of Chapter One, Goldfield offers little new about the sources and implications of post-Appomattox southern history. At the same time, his demand for a new history in order to advance a bi-racial southern community pushes the limits of historical activism while his treatment of religion pushes the limit of good sense.

With Post-Modernists and Constructivism, Goldfield shares the idea that the past is all man-made with rational purpose—usually to

the end of power. Naturally, this encourages the inclination to remake history along more suitable lines as power shifts. Such assumptions emphasize human action, will, and reason; they deemphasize, likewise, tradition, culture, nature, and the irrational. Goldfield's insistence that Southerners—at least white one—renounce their outmoded “history” fits logically into this frame. So too does his practical, almost non-ideological but non-the-less astonishing, charge that Southerners will just have to jettison their religion and orthodoxy, modernize and adapt to a brave new pluralistic world.

Goldfield's analysis (not to mention his solutions) ignores the possibility of an impersonal history that shapes individuals rather than the other way around. Applying an honorable liberal analysis to the region, his work is deaf and blind to the possibility of an intractable, resistant conservative South. *Southern Histories* assumes that regional history began after Appomattox; prove that false and the dawn breaks. But what of the 250 years before Ft. Sumter? What if secession and even slavery were effect as much as cause? If “The South” did not exist before 1830, characteristic values did, and these crop up repeatedly in those centuries before the Civil War. They still do—and with no necessary reference to slavery and race, much less to “post-Appomattox white history.” Southern black folks, for example, for all their loyalty to the

Democratic Party, tend otherwise towards conservative norms; as proof the shortest visit to any Southern black college campus would prove. Even among white folks, the on-going flap over the Confederate flag reveals odd manifestations of adherence to the traditional. The most mindful—literally—of the Confederate past, Southern scions of the planter-officer class ignore the stars and bars less from liberalism but from other traditions; ancient class bias against the prols who wave the banner and their own traditional politesse and desire to avoid a ruckus.

Goldfield's *Histories* offers no appreciation of such subtleties. At one point in his work, Goldfield quotes the most un-Southern William Den Howells to describe regional attitudes, that we desire tragedy but with a happy ending. Extraordinarily apt for the liberal tradition in the United States, the aphorism squares poorly with Southern gothic. Goldfield's work cannot acknowledge that indeed the South might be a different country. Actually then, Howell's epigram fits Goldfield's attitude much more closely than the regional ones he describes and scorns. His response to the

earnest, silly re-enactors and the assumption that everything will work out fine when black folks and white folks get together to put enough leg irons on display during spring tour in Natchez fails to do justice to the awful spectacle of Southern history.

Darden Asbury Pyron

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Warm Ashes: Issues in Southern History at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century. Edited by Winfred B. Moore Jr., Kyle Sinisi, and David H. White Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003. xiii, 413 pp. Preface, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Warm Ashes is a collection of eighteen essays selected from nearly one hundred presented at the Citadel Conference on the South held in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2000. The essays are grouped into seven topical chapters that begin with insightful introductions and provide a summary of each essay. *Warm Ashes* is more than a snapshot of what historians were doing at the turn of the century; the collection purports to chart the direction in which historical scholarship seems to be heading.

Emory M. Thomas begins the volume with speculations on the future of Civil War studies. He predicts fewer military histories and greater emphasis on slavery, social, and gender issues. For example, what was the war's impact on marriage or religion? The failure of compromise intrigues him as well: why was not a peaceful alternative to four years of brutal warfare found? Thomas also suggests that online databases will play a larger role in research as more primary material becomes available.

The book's second part affirms that slavery will likely continue as a popular topic among historians of the South. James McMillin argues that more Africans were imported into post-revolutionary America than heretofore suspected. Under-reporting by customs agents and smuggling account for much of the discrepancy. He concludes that this larger labor force was vital to the cotton boom of the early nineteenth century. In her well-written essay on slave-owning widows, Kirsten Wood finds that widows expanded their roles from the traditional women's sphere to comprehensive management of their estates. They often sought advice of male relatives and neighbors, and reposed greater confidence in senior male slaves than their husbands had. Widowed planters often demonstrated greater benevolence and consequently enjoyed bet-

ter relations with their slaves. According to Patrick H. Breen, Southern women were more likely than men to fear slave insurrections and sensibly sought refuge among large groups of whites rather than remain on isolated plantations among often-sizable black majorities. Motivated by fear for themselves and their families, some women wrote letters and circulated petitions urging a variety of means to reduce the threat.

Part III explores war and Southern identity. Christopher Philips suggests that antebellum Missourians preferred to think of themselves as Westerners, but increasing ferment over the expansion of slavery, especially in neighboring Kansas, forced a more "Southern" identity on Missouri. Brian R. Dirck informs us that Abraham Lincoln was a decidedly better public speaker than Jefferson Davis. Dirck offers that the two presidents had fundamentally different visions of the war, at least in their public discourse. One might reasonably ask if Davis had demonstrated exceptional oratorical skills *before* 1861. In "The Politics of Language," Christopher Waldrip traces the vocabulary of violence in the post-bellum South. Apparently, the term "lynching" implied community consent and came into common use only after Reconstruction when such atrocities could take place openly. Earlier acts of racial homicide were described as "murders," "outrages," and "assassinations" because they were committed in secret by a minority—the Ku Klux Klan. One wonders if the victims and their families—or even the perpetrators—engaged in such semantic hair-splitting.

Part IV focuses on Southern religion. In a well-crafted essay, Paul Harvey recounts that the early Holiness Movement of the early twentieth century fostered bi-racial worship to a surprising degree. Indeed, many early Holiness congregations began as bi-racial groups even if they later segregated themselves. In his eloquent essay, James Farmer Jr. discusses key figures in the women's suffrage movement in South Carolina. Like much else in the Palmetto State, opposition to women's suffrage was rooted in race: opponents feared the proposed nineteenth amendment would somehow revive the fifteenth. Two heroines of the movement, Emma Dunovant and Eulalie Salley, leaped over the garden wall of genteel Southern womanhood to form a symbiotic partnership. Farmer relates how Dunovant's commitment to voting rights flowed through her pen into her weekly column in the (Columbia, S.C.) *State*. Joan Marie Johnson discusses the South Carolina Episcopal Church's Commission on Interracial Cooperation. This

Progressive Era organization, led and supported mostly by women, sought to promote better race relations by ameliorating the poor living conditions of blacks. Johnson argues that Episcopalians' greater wealth and sense of noblesse oblige made them natural pacesetters. Judged by the standards of the 1910s and 1920s, the CIC did much to aid education and healthcare in the black community. Only much later would this generous impulse be denigrated as "paternalism." In "Reconciliation and Regionalism," William R. Glass reviews the debate among Southern Methodists and Presbyterians over reunion with their Northern co-religionists. Opponents feared "Northern imperialism" in matters of policy and property. Southern identity was manifested in social and racial conservatism and anxieties over doctrinal purity.

Four essays addressing Jim Crow comprise Part V. In "*State v. William Darnell*," Michael E. Daly et. al. recount an early victory over Jim Crow by an unlikely alliance of black tobacco workers, real estate agents, and white elites (including some Confederate veterans) that defeated restrictive housing laws in Progressive Era Winston-Salem. Peter Wallenstein chronicles the complexities of desegregating North Carolina's public universities in the 1950s. Progress came from the top down as racial barriers fell first in post-graduate programs. Undergraduate admissions began in the wake of *Brown* as federal courts ruled that landmark case applied to higher education. Ironically, North Carolina's universities had welcomed Chinese students for decades. Rod Andrew Jr. discusses "Black Military Schools in the Age of Jim Crow." Most black land-grant colleges, like their white counterparts, began as military schools. Northern as well as Southern educators saw military education as useful in correcting the perceived flaws of the black race. But whites were willing to tolerate black military training only so far. They often balked at putting arms in the hands of young black men, and black cadets were compelled to drill with wooden sticks. The intersection of race and military education continues in Alexander Macaulay's discussion of integration at The Citadel. While the institution officially complied with court-ordered desegregation in the mid-1960s, black plebes were often subjected to more hazing than whites. But as they endured and even thrived in the harsh environment, blacks earned the respect and friendship of their classmates. As black enrollment and seniority grew, the inherently conservative Citadel gradually—and perhaps grudgingly—adapted to change.

Fitzhugh Brundage begins Part VI by recounting black observances of historical memory in the post-bellum decades. In an effort to construct a useable past, blacks celebrated a variety of historical events—Emancipation, Lincoln’s birthday, and Memorial Day to name a few—that often competed with white memories of the Civil War and Reconstruction. In “Memorializing the Movement,” —one of the volumes better essays—Glenn T. Eskew contrasts the campaigns to establish Civil Rights museums in Southern cities. Albany, Georgia, offers a model of efficiency and sound management while Birmingham’s Civil Rights Institute took far longer and cost far more because corrupt black officials shamelessly lined their pockets. The desire for heritage tourism has been an important factor in every venue.

Warm Ashes saves the best for last. Sheldon Hackney closes the volume with a thoughtful and thought-provoking speculation on the nature of Southernness. The region’s bi-racial character and evangelical religious tradition are rich with contradictions. The South is constantly molting—shedding its old skin to reveal a still-distinctive new one. The South is thesis and antithesis; to be Southern is to be ambivalent. If *Warm Ashes* is a reliable predictor, twenty-first century historical scholarship will run the gamut from the brilliantly insightful to the blatantly obvious.

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