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## Book Reviews

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## Book Reviews

*Early Art of the Southeastern Indians: Feathered Serpents and Winged Beings.* By Susan C. Power. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. xii, 254 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, glossary, notes, works consulted, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

In this thoroughly illustrated volume, art historian Susan Power offers a comprehensive synthesis of Southeastern Indians' artistic achievements. Power's analysis focuses on artifacts from well-known sites such as Cahokia, Etowah, Moundville, and Spiro in the Mississippian period (defined here as 800-1650 A.D.), but she explores widely within the region and throughout the prehistoric period. Using the research of archaeologists, her own artifact analysis, and ethnographic accounts from the Southeast's earliest European explorers, Power weaves an insightful narrative that interprets the artistic work and everyday life of Native Southerners. As the author explains, "*Early Art of the Southeastern Indians* is a visual journey through time, highlighting some of the outstanding artistic accomplishments that emerged with the ebb and flow of social, political, and religious activities" (2-3). The first portion of the volume chronicles and describes the nature of Southeastern Indian art, while the second interprets the art's meaning in relation to Native worldview.

Although Power mentions the arrival of the first Southeastern Indians in the Paleoindian period (B.C. 10,500-8000), she argues that Southeastern art was born during the Archaic period (B.C. 8000-1000). At that time, people created patterns and themes that would endure for thousands of years: they interred their dead with elaborate, non-functional items; artists depicted symbolically important animals; communities traded for exotic materials from

which to fashion ornamentation. Significantly, Power notes that high status individuals also began to restrict others from accessing rare crafts. During the Woodland period (B.C. 800-800 A.D.), Power asserts that "a regionally identifiable iconography is observable, indicating people adhered to core beliefs that are apparently of ceremonial significance" (27-28). The region's well-integrated trade network, Power argues, produced a pan-Southeastern system of representation that all Native peoples understood. Power identifies the last prehistoric period, the Mississippian, as "the peak of artistic expression" (62). She notes that artists shifted their iconographic focus from naturalistic representations of animals to a greater emphasis on powerful and violent human figures. Increasingly, chiefs or spiritual leaders controlled the production and distribution of exquisite artistic crafts that glorified "chiefly authority, fertility, warfare, and the honored dead" (67).

The second part of the volume is the more interesting of the two, for Power uses her skills as an art historian to analyze Mississippian period works. She focuses on the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC), a diverse body of finely crafted artifacts that displayed symbols meaningful to all Southeastern Indians. Agreeing with many other archaeologists, Power explains that elites controlled and manipulated the art of the SECC, which functioned as "visual shorthand," to evidence their control of supernatural power (138). Drawing upon the work of Charles Hudson, Power explores the three Southeastern World Realms: the Upper World, the Underworld, and This World. Elites used SECC symbols to signify mastery of esoteric knowledge with which they held the three worlds in balance. Power also weighs in on the long-standing debate among archaeologists concerning craft specialization, which has important consequences for the degree of chiefly power in these societies. Ultimately, she argues for part-time specialization, but also notes that artists achieved "a high level of technical skill and aesthetic excellence by any standards" (199). In one of her more original contributions, Power argues that archaeologists have ignored female figures in the SECC iconography: "While male figures dominated leadership roles and art as a whole, the visual arts convey that female roles not only were significant but also were required symbolically to achieve a balanced world order" (125). Using the post-processual approach to artifact analysis, Power manages to investigate the spiritual, social, and political lives of peoples who left no written documents.

While Power has created a satisfying synthesis out of diverse and difficult source materials, her volume is problematic in a few ways. Power relies very heavily upon the research of archaeologists; she uses their terminology, chronology, and theoretical framework. The most appreciative readers of this book will be those already familiar with the Southeast's archaeological past. New readers in the field are not likely to recognize archaeological periods and sub-periods (i.e. Archaic or Swift Creek) or archaeological concepts like "horizon." While the volume contains a helpful glossary, the reader will not find aforementioned terms there. Also, Power never defines the Southeast geographically; at times, she includes the Ohio Valley and the Chesapeake Bay area, which archaeologists commonly exclude from the Southeastern culture area. Finally, Power ends her narrative at European contact, which she argues created "a new synthesis of southeastern art" (220). Which, if any, elements of Southeastern art continued into the historic era? How did European and Indian art blend? Power's final statements concerning the changed nature of Southeastern Indian art leave these intriguing questions unanswered.

Power's accomplishments in *The Early Art of the Southeastern Indians* outweigh these critiques. As an art historian, she adds fresh perspective to this archaeologically dominated literature. Moving beyond the oft-studied Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, Power successfully chronicles continuity in Southeastern Indian art over thousands of years. Boldly, and quite persuasively, she analyzes artistic intent and skill, thereby giving voice and agency to individual artists while illuminating the cultural landscape in which they worked.

Christina Snyder

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***Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World.*** By Trevor Burnard. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. ix, 320 pp. List of illustrations and tables, acknowledgments, notes, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Known first as an early Americanist working on the eighteenth-century Maryland elite, Trevor Burnard's recent research on eighteenth-century Jamaican slavery and society has now led to the publication of *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire*, a fascinating study



of white Jamaican society through the eyes of Thomas Thistlewood: Englishman, overseer, and slave owner. After reading this book, one cannot help but compare it to Douglas Hall's seminal work *In Miserable Slavery* (1989). While Hall's study focused more directly on Thistlewood's relationships with his slaves, in particular his sexual relationships, Burnard presents the reader with a valuable study of the complex society in which they lived.

Burnard begins with an introductory chapter that not only familiarizes the reader with the aims and goals of the book, but it also introduces the reader to Thistlewood himself. Thistlewood lived in Jamaica between 1750 and 1786, a fascinating fact in itself since such a long life in Jamaica was a rarity during the eighteenth century. Born the second son of a tenant farmer in Lincolnshire, England, Thistlewood traveled the path so many Englishmen traveled during this period. Seeking better prospects, fortune, and prominence, young Thistlewood went to Jamaica hoping to find a better life than what awaited him in Lincolnshire. While working as an overseer, estate manager, and later slave owner, Thistlewood recorded his thoughts and experiences in his diaries, a total of thirty-eight leather bound books that not only discussed the lives of his slaves and friends, as well as his daily activities, but also important historical events such as Tacky's Revolt and the Hurricane of 1780. These diaries would later become one of the most valuable sources of the eighteenth century. They not only give valuable insight into the life of an inquisitive, educated, and often oppressive and tyrannical figure, especially when it came to his slaves, they also shed light on the obscurity that was Jamaican white society.

Using Thistlewood as a case study, Burnard examines his life and diaries in order to understand how and why Thistlewood and other Jamaican whites acted as they did towards their slaves. Burnard divides the book into two sections. In the first, Burnard uses Thistlewood as an example of any given member of Jamaican white society in an extensive discussion of the peculiar power structure that was in place in eighteenth-century Jamaica. In these three chapters, the reader sees Thistlewood as a white man trying to survive within Jamaican society. Yet, while Thistlewood arrived with a few belongings and a few pounds in his pocket, he quickly made a name for himself and succeeded in living a comfortable life. Therefore, in this section, Burnard shows that while Jamaica was a highly polarized society, white Jamaicans like Thistlewood

could amass great wealth and improve their lives in social, political, and autonomous terms. Although white Jamaicans came from various social and economic backgrounds, Burnard argues that their "whiteness" created a certain degree of equality among the members of Jamaican white society. This solidarity enabled the white minority in Jamaica to maintain their power through tyranny and demoralization.

Burnard uses the second section to examine how this power structure related to Jamaican slavery. Here, while discussing Thistlewood's oppressive relationships with his slaves, Burnard attempts to piece together what little information is known about the slaves under his control. Not only does Burnard analyze the circumstances that allowed the white minority to maintain power over a slave population that far outnumbered the whites on the island, but he also delves deeper in order to show how both male and female slaves related to the disciplinarian, despot, and sexual predator that was Thomas Thistlewood. Here, Burnard also discusses at great length the life of Phibbah, Thistlewood's long-term mistress. Readers who have read Hall's book on Thistlewood know her well, not only as a liaison between Thistlewood and his slaves and occasional tyrant in her own right, but also as a woman who used Thistlewood to better her own life as well her family's. Burnard uses Phibbah as an example of the complicated bond that developed not only between master and slave mistress, but also the relationship between a slave mistress and her fellow slaves.

Having used Thomas Thistlewood's diaries in my own research, I was extremely excited to see the publication of this book. While his diaries are perhaps the best account of eighteenth-century Jamaica to date, the books create a sense of loathing for Thistlewood the man. Burnard himself states that this account of Thistlewood is an empathetic one, acknowledging that his study attempts to understand the difficulties Thistlewood faced on any given day. While Burnard rightly admits that eighteenth-century Jamaica was an island with values and morals far removed from our own, and Thistlewood was not a saint, Burnard does attempt to explain to the reader that Thistlewood was a product of his environment. Here he succeeds, and while this reviewer has not developed a favorable opinion of Thistlewood after reading this book, his life makes much more sense.

Despite Thistlewood's notorious reputation, Burnard paints a brilliant picture of eighteenth-century Jamaican white society,

where Jamaican whites flourished in a society of overindulgence, elitism, and white hegemony. In a society akin to Marie Antoinette's court, Thistlewood enjoyed his life at the center of the excess. Very few books in the current historiography on slavery in the Jamaica and the Caribbean as a whole specifically examine white society in the British Caribbean. Therefore, Burnard adds a valuable contribution to the vast historiography on eighteenth century Jamaica. At the same time, Burnard juxtaposes his discussion of white society in order to better understand the experiences of Jamaica's slaves during this period of Jamaican history. By getting at the motivations behind how and why white Jamaicans such as Thistlewood treated their slaves in the manner in which they did, Burnard offers new insight into eighteenth-century Jamaican society. Therefore, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire* presents a well rounded discussion that portrays whites as more than slave owners, and slaves as more than laborers.

Colleen A. Vasconcellos

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***The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict.*** By John Missall and Mary Lou Missall. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xxii, 255 pp. List of Figures, list of maps, foreword, preface, notes, works cited, for further reading, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

*The Seminole Wars* is the best introduction to its topic in print. A less detailed narrative than John K. Mahon's *History of the Second Seminole War*, it reads much more smoothly while providing more information than any other book of its own length. John Missall and Mary Lou Missall caution that scholars will find little new, but *The Seminole Wars* contains a number of valuable insights even for those familiar with this usually forgotten conflict. The authors stress "two recurring themes": unsatisfying, even tragic victories, and "the sheer determination of the participants" (xix). I would add a third theme evident throughout *The Seminole Wars*: the difficulty of controlling events, despite, and even because of, the determination of the actors.

The Missalls present a balanced narrative of the years prior to 1817, the First Seminole War, the "interwar" years, and the Second Seminole War. Like all the other books which claim to address the years through 1858, *The Seminole Wars* comes up short at the end:



we still have no substitute for James Covington's *Billy Bowlegs War* (the Third Seminole War, 1855-1858), and no substantial account of the years 1842-1849. The Missalls' astute assessment of the First Seminole War as "a blow from which [the Seminoles] were never able to recover" (50) is matched by three perceptive conclusions about the years between Florida's cession to the United States and the outbreak of war in 1835: that minimal government failed to keep the peace or to protect either Seminoles or white settlers, and the John Quincy Adams administration supported the policy of westward removal initiated by the Jeffersonians and usually associated with Andrew Jackson, while the limited pressure from white settlers gave the Seminoles the sense that they had time, that removal could be deferred. Tragically, the dynamics represented in these conclusions worked at cross-purposes and led to war.

Once they turn to the "long" Seminole conflict, the authors' analysis focuses on the reasons the war continued for so long. Stalemate set in after two and a half years (mid-1838); an equal period went by before the United States could claim proximity to victory, and the U.S. never actually achieved its stated objective of removing *all* the Seminoles from Florida. The Missalls present a subtle analysis of motives on all sides, and of the ways in which language shapes expectations, and thus strategy. On the white side, they blame the war's continuation on the Jacksonian politics of land hunger and Indian-hating and the physical climate that led U.S. commanders to pause each summer. Behind these factors, one senses a lack of national strategic direction: Martin Van Buren and John Tyler seem to have provided virtually no direction to the commanders in Florida, content to press for removal to satisfy southern constituents without ever making precise, realistic assessments of the war's cost or the presumed benefits of victory.

Though the authors disclaim special insight into Seminole motives, their analysis is not one-sided. The Missalls view the war as a struggle over land, with slavery as a contributing rather than predominating factor, and observe early on that war made the Seminoles as a nation. Though they are unable to draw direct cause and effect connections, their attention to Seminole motives helps explain the war's continuation after 1839, when many white Floridians supported the armistice negotiated by army commanding general Alexander Macomb. This agreement was not accepted by all the Seminoles, much less the other Indians (Mikasukis, "Spanish Indians," and Creeks) who made up the resistance. The



Missalls observe that Seminole operations in northern Florida were not merely defensive, that the attack on William S. Harney at Caloosahatchee was not the only act in the resumption of fighting in the summer of 1839, while they raise the often-neglected question of Indian violence: why did some Seminoles sometimes go beyond scalping, an act common on both sides, to mutilating bodies, which whites seized on as evidence of native savagery and reason for continued war? Though they cannot answer the question, it raises others about the origins and escalation of violence and its psychic impact on white and Seminole cultures.

Although *The Seminole Wars* is generally balanced in coverage and perspective, this balance comes awry in the conclusion, which may prove a regrettable distraction from the great majority of this valuable book. Despite their attention to Seminole motives within their narrative, the Missalls tend to rely on the assumption that the Seminoles shared the same human nature, and hence the same underlying motives and values, as whites. This is obviously true in the sense that the Seminoles wanted the land, but in their conclusion it leads to what many will regard as a confusion of responsibility for the conflict. Did “the solitary homesteader drive American expansion” (222)? Was that homesteader merely a yeoman farmer looking for land on which to feed his family? If so, why did he not go to more fertile, more easily accessible, and less hostile lands? (Most did—Florida’s population growth was remarkably slow, compared to other U.S. frontiers, before the Civil War.) The yeoman farmer may not have been a greedy slaveholder—though he may well have hoped to become a slaveholder—but he was hardly innocent, either of racism or of stealing others’ land. Given the dynamics of white society and expansion, one must question whether Andrew Jackson was “nothing more than a superpatriot, very much like Osceola” (223).

Unfortunately, the conclusion to *The Seminole Wars* seems to suggest that all was for naught, a less historically minded assessment than its usually nuanced narrative supports. Recognizing, or perhaps asserting, that “there was simply no way the two cultures could coexist,” while claiming that the Seminoles would have complied with treaties “fairly negotiated” (225) forces one to ask what fair negotiation would have meant, or whether it was possible given the politics and values—democracy for white men only—of Jacksonian America. Assuming, on the other hand, that leaving the Seminoles alone would make no difference to the outcome,

because “various pressures” would lead them to sell their land, suggests Indians little different from white farmers and leaves removal “a natural occurrence” (225). But would white yeomen, as individuals or as group, have sold all their land to the government and gone west? It is unfortunate that the Missalls’ usual perceptiveness, and their laudable attention to the diversity of motives, should be overlaid at the end by so deterministic a conclusion, an unexpected reversion to a perspective not unlike that of the nineteenth century. That said, readers will profit from the authors’ insights, and even more from the questions they raise.

Samuel Watson

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*Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution.* By Laurent Debois. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004. viii, 357 pp. Prologue, epilogue, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

To the non-specialist, the Haitian Revolution was the world’s largest and most successful slave revolt and an historical event that was clear cut and dramatic. But specialists have noted its tremendous complexity and contradictions as much as its sweeping narrative. Earlier accounts sometimes dwelt upon the ironies of the revolution: the complexity of the pre-revolutionary social structure, the Machiavellian maneuvering of the participants, the precipitous changes of sides. Many writers have found great contradictions, and most heroes, as it turns out are less than heroic, loyalties are more complex. Why, for example, would slaves not just rescue their masters, but defend and continue working their estates? The revolutionary leaders abolished slavery, but desperately wished to retain forced labor and the plantation system, ultimately having to repress popular reaction to such a policy. As for the slaves, a great many opted for much less than half a loaf, taking personal freedom over general liberation, a few more days of leisure over independence.

In the past two decades a great deal of solid new research by Carolyn Fick, David Geggus, Pierre Pluchon, Stewart King, and John Garrigus to mention only a few have radically changed the way many events and actors are viewed. This newer scholarship is grounded in detailed research in the many archives that hold material on the revolution making a much fuller account possible

than the pioneers like Lothrop Stoddard or C. L. R. James could write. While these authors wrote with partisan passion and style, they could only tell a part of the story.

More sober and less polemical research now shapes the way we understand the revolution, and Laurent Dubois has taken this new work and created a new and substantial synthesis of the revolution. Dubois ranges as widely as is necessary to encompass this task: he is careful to work through all the relevant aspects of the French Revolution as it affected France's richest colony. He is attentive to the African past of the slaves, and how that past might have charged the Haitians who revolted in 1791. He carefully unravels the many threads of social structure in Saint Domingue: its multiple layers of estate ownership, the rivalries among the white population, the important role of the free people of color, the divisions even among the slaves, and the changing complexities of plantation ownership and management during the Revolution. He is particularly evenhanded with regards to Toussaint, avoiding either lionizing him for freeing the slaves, or condemning him for their virtual re-enslavement in the period of his ascendancy.

Dubois writes in a straightforward narrative format, his chapters proceed chronologically, social and economic background information is presented when and where the narrative makes them necessary, though it is more a political than an economic or social history, more history "from above" than "from below." He writes engagingly and the narrative flows from one topic to the next, the background information is judiciously inserted without undue interruption. Although Dubois relies considerably on secondary literature, he clearly has a command of the primary literature as well, and takes existing historiography into consideration while necessarily turning to original sources either for color or for key pieces of evidence that connect isolated research into the overall story. One gets the sense of reliability. Dubois has seen the relevant literature, knows what the primary sources can tell us, and where it is still necessary to fill gaps in secondary literature. Dubois has produced more than a synthesis of existing work, even if it is not primarily the statement of a new thesis.

Reading the book as an Africanist, I remain convinced that if there is a next step in the project of understanding the Revolution, it will be a fuller integration of Africa into the tale. There is more that can be added by carefully studying late eighteenth century Africa, the interplay of African nations in the American setting, the



impact of European thought on Africa itself in the pre-revolutionary period, and the further exploration of African ideology. Such research might make more accessible the ideas and actions of the African born participants whose point of view is often lost in the higher politics of Dubois' narrative.

*Avengers of the New World* is an admirable book, and an excellent starting point for understanding the Haitian Revolution. Its solid scholarship, judicious use of sources, and readable narrative style will make it a standby in the years to come.

John K. Thornton

Boston University

***On the Bloody Road to Jesus: Christianity and the Chiricahua Apaches.***

By H. Henrietta Stockel. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, Press, 2004. xii, 314 pp. Acknowledgments, author's note, preface, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95, cloth.)

The conquest and settlement of the Americas has long been a subject of fascination among historians. From Herbert E. Bolton's work on the mission complex to Robert Ricard's classic work on the spiritual conquest of Mexico, historians have presented the conquest as a grand and inevitable triumph of Christianity and civilization over barbarism. H. Henrietta Stockel's *On the Bloody Road to Jesus: Christianity and the Chiricahua Apaches* follows the path of many post-WWII historians who switched the focus of the conquest from the conquerors to the people they intended to conquer. In doing so, Stockel challenges notions regarding the civilizing nature of Christianity or of its inevitable triumph.

*On the Bloody Road to Jesus* examines the spiritual side of the conquest and its impact on the Chiricahua Apache. For Stockel, Christianity was a tool used by the Spaniards, and later by the Americans, to undermine Apache society, destroy its identity and support mechanism, and to marginalize and incorporate its individuals into its system. Her work looks at four centuries of resistance by the Chiricahua Apache: from the missions of the Spaniards to their relocation in military camps across the US and the forced education of their children in a Protestant boarding school. Ultimately, her story is one of resistance and survival.

Stockel's work attempts to follow the work of such ethnohistorians as Nancy Farris's study of Maya resistance and conversion



experience in Yucatan, Inga Clendinen's work on the perceptions of the "other" in analyzing Franciscan and Maya mentalities during evangelization, of Jesus Gutierrez's study of the impact of the missions and Christianity on the Pueblo Indians. However, Stockel has a distinct disadvantage in that she does not possess the sources necessary to carry out such an ambitious agenda.

On her first chapter, Stockel seeks to provide the reader with an understanding of Apache religion and cosmovision prior to the arrival of the Spanish. Stockel does an excellent job in reconstructing Apache creation myths, sacred rituals and stories. Most fascinating is her discussion of female puberty ceremonies and of Apache death rituals and beliefs. The problem arises in that Stockel relies on personal experience, oral interviews, folklore and twentieth century missionary accounts as tools to reconstruct this Apache cosmovision. This is somewhat the same predicament that Nancy Farris encountered in her study of the Maya, a practice called *upstreaming*. Can we assume the same beliefs and practices recorded in the present day were present in these pre-conquest societies? What part of this cosmovision is not a result of syncretism? If we cannot figure out what the societies were like during the Spanish evangelization, how can we understand the impact Christianization had? Fortunately for Farris she was able to use Spanish records and was greatly aided by the fact the Maya had a written language. The same is not true for Stockel.

The second and third chapters provides a fascinating look at Spanish efforts to evangelize indigenous societies in the southwest and gives an introduction on the workings of the mission system, the problems with diseases and of moral control and punishment by the Jesuits and later, the Franciscans. The author discusses the different ways the Spanish tried to subdue the Apache and stop their raids, all with little success. Despite the failed efforts to control the Apache the chapters do not backup much of Stockel's argument of resistance. Overall, these chapters provide an institutional history of the Spanish missions, government policy and legislation affecting the Apache. Stockel's argument of Apache resistance would be greatly strengthened if the chapters focused more on how the mission system impacted Apache tribal economy, religion and life. This is a key point since it is difficult to determine resistance if we do not know what is being retained, lost or incorporated. For example, many Apaches had become bilingual as the tribal economy became dependent on raiding the Spanish

population. The reader is also left wondering how Catholicism was influencing Apache religious practices. Spanish language, tools, clothing, religion, and religious celebrations were all becoming familiar to Apache tribes despite the fact we do not read much about it. There was a constant flow of Apaches moving in and out of the missions, where they learned and practiced Catholicism. There had to be a fair number of Chiricahuas who converted to Christianity and yet chose to live with their tribal group and must have taken religious symbols and practices back to their group. This information, however, cannot be found by relying solely on secondary sources.

Chapters four through six discuss the decline of Spanish power, Mexican independence, the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-1848), and the development of US Indian policy in the Southwest. The inability of the Mexican government to supply troops or the traditional gifts led to the collapse of the mission system by 1828 and to a resurgence of tribal attacks and lootings that forced Hispanic frontier settlements to retreat south. Twenty years later, this power vacuum was filled by the United States. Stockel examines America's "Indian policy" and finds strikingly similarities in aims and methods to those used by the Spanish. However, now the indigenous tribes are dealing with a nation with far greater resources and manpower at its disposal. Chiricahua Apache refusal to stop looting and relocate into reservations eventually led to U.S. military action and the eventual defeat, deportation and imprisonment of the rebellious tribes in 1886.

The internment experience is one of the most interesting and moving sections of this work. Making use of government reports, official correspondence and newspapers articles Stokel describes the living conditions and daily activities of these prisoners of war. More important, the reader can appreciate the internment experience as a complex acculturation program in which Christianity and Protestant missionaries would play a central role. The author provides a detail account of the Carlisle Indian School, where Chiricahua Apache children were separated from their families and sent to live in a boarding school. This chapter uses school publications and missionary reports to examine the curriculum, extra-curricular, and religious activities that each Apache child experienced. The objective was to Christianize and Americanize the younger generations of Apache allowing for an eventual assimilation. Students were trained to shed all loyalty to their tribal

group and its customs, to abandon community living and incorporate oneself into the ranks of the U.S. labor force. Once graduated these children returned to their tribal group where they assisted the missionaries, served as cultural intermediaries and eventually became community leaders.

It is difficult to agree with Stockel's thesis of resistance during the periods of confinement. Children returning from the Carlisle School become the strongest supporters of Christianity, there is little mention of native religious rites taking place and the reader is surprised to read how the Apache overwhelmingly requested the government to allow missionaries into the camp. Stockel does not dwell too much on this, attributing the demands for missionaries on the influence of the children and proceeding to discuss how successful these missionaries were and how little resistance there was to their conversion efforts. The author is having a hard time finding resistance against Christianization because she has no sources on Apache religious practices, how they practiced their religion or what syncretism had developed. Clearly, the chapter's great weakness lies in its excessive use of documents and reports produced by missionaries and which were intended to inform Church members of their great works and to request more funding. The reader is left wondering again how well Protestantism was accepted by the Apache, did they continue to practice their spirit dance or puberty rituals in secret? How did the arrival of these Americanized children, many not speaking their native language, impact the community? It is the belief of this reviewer that the Apache invited the missionaries because there were clear benefits in having them there: better medical attention, education, clothing, living conditions or they realized that allowing missionaries in would speed their release.

The final chapters of the book describe the release of the Chiricahua Apaches in 1913 and the permanent relocation in New Mexico and Oklahoma. Years of incarceration and indoctrination have taken their toll on the Apache. Oral interviews conducted by the author describe a people who have little knowledge of their origins, their religion and traditions but no longer see a contradiction between being an Apache and a Christian. The interviews with the survivors from the military camps are one of the most enjoyable and informative sections of this book and could have provided much needed information. Surprisingly the author made little effort to incorporate these interviews into their relevant



chapters, placing them instead in the last chapter. A final reminder on the impact of Christianity on the Apache was that none of the interviews conducted by the author included Apaches who might have resisted the conversion experience. Stockel should be commended for reconstructing the experience of the Chiricahua Apache and reminding us the conquest was a centuries long struggle that went beyond a few military victories.

Rodney R. Alvarez

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***Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America.*** By Angela Lakwete. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University, Press, 2003. xiii, 232 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, essay on sources, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Angela Lakwete takes on one of American history's more enduring narratives in her book *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America*: that of Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1792-94. The traditional narrative of Whitney's invention revivifying the cotton economy (and thereby the institution of slavery itself), she argues, ignores a real strain of progress in the antebellum South. The old tale, writes Lakwete, "begins with inept planters and sleepy finger-ginning slaves and ends with battlefield dead. It celebrates Yankee ingenuity in invention and victory and insinuates southern incompetence in passivity and defeat" (191-92). In place of this she wishes to substitute a narrative of an "innovative antebellum southern gin industry," in which Southern planters and industrialists actively pursued technological advances throughout the antebellum era (ix).

In describing what some have called "modernity" in the cotton South, Lakwete follows scholars such as Joyce E. Chaplin and John Hebron Moore; yet no one has yet tackled so loaded an artifact as the cotton gin, and certainly not so thoroughly as Lakwete does here. Her analysis hinges on the premise that antebellum American cotton manufacturers used not one but two competing methods of ginning cotton (that is, removing fiber from seeds). She demonstrates in exhaustive fashion that Whitney's saw-toothed gin, which *pulled* fiber from the seed, was not the first gin but rather arose to challenge "roller" gins, which instead *pinched* fiber from seeds. She traces the development of roller gins nearly from the outset of the Common Era up through the British colonization



of North America and examines “conservative”—but hardly unimportant—innovations worked on the gin by American cotton producers until the end of the eighteenth century (21). From the invention of Whitney’s gin, she describes the halting process by which the roller gin succumbed to the saw gin in the nineteenth century, keeping the South firmly at the forefront of the story. Rather than simply purchasing gins made by northern industrialists, Lakwete argues, Southerners constantly sought innovation in both roller and saw gins, sometimes proving more adept than northerners. “The [Southern] cotton gin industry from 1830 to 1865,” she writes, “channeled resources into a manufacturing industry that complemented the south’s agricultural economy” (97). Simultaneously she documents the efforts of gin makers (particularly Whitney and his business partner Phineas Miller) to stake their claim to patent rights, and shows how these efforts resulted in an implausible but legally-sanctioned narrative of Whitney’s gin being preceded only by “finger-ginning slaves,” not by centuries of roller gin innovation.

Of the two adjectives in the subtitle, Lakwete’s study tilts more toward “machine” than “myth.” She confines most of her discussion of myths surrounding the gin and its various progenitors to the final chapter, and even there some aspects of her analysis feel incomplete. Surely the persistence of the legend claiming that Catharine Green (wife of Revolutionary War general Nathanael Greene) variously inspired, suggested, or independently invented the saw gin has some bearing on the gender history of the South. If it does, readers must decipher it for themselves; Lakwete brings up the legend but leaves it unexplored. With some exceptions, Lakwete’s focus on the technical aspects of gin making and credit claiming yields a dry linguistic crop. The first two chapters in particular make difficult reading, and readers may have trouble pulling arguments about Southern ingenuity within a global economy out of pages packed tightly with technical descriptions and quotations from patent applications.

*Inventing the Cotton Gin* definitively places Whitney’s gin in its proper context, dissuading (we should hope) future historians from blithely declaring that Whitney invented the cotton gin. More important, it propounds an example of Southern industrial achievement before the Civil War. But what are we to do with such an example? Lakwete insists that by telling the whole story of the cotton gin’s development, she can “force . . . a reconciliation of an

industrializing, modernizing, and slave labor-based South" (ix). Yet, she leaves open the question of the gin's relation to slavery. She declares that neither the roller nor saw gin "exerted causal influences" on slavery, but still admits that "both were integral factors in the development of a slave labor-based southern economy" (192). In her conclusion, Lakwete suggests that gin makers "succeeded in rallying white and enslaved African mechanics around an industry ideal by providing an environment that rewarded personal achievement" (192). Are we really to believe that enslaved persons rallied around "an industry ideal" that, even incorporating Lakwete's detailed examination of the gin's history, still seems to have perpetuated their enslavement? Lakwete acknowledges the "stark ironies of industrialism in the slave south," but she does not delve nearly deep enough into them (111).

Patrick W. O'Neil

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***Reign of Iron: The Story of the First Battling Ironclads, the Monitor and the Merrimack.*** By James L. Nelson. (New York: William Morrow, 2004. xvi, 368 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, selected bibliographies, index. \$25.95 cloth.)

With *Reign of Iron*, James L. Nelson tries to bring the oft-told tale of the first ironclads to life for a new generation of the reading public hungry for such books. A veteran seaman, Nelson has written several workmanlike novels centering on some episode in American naval history, most of them set during the Revolutionary War. This represents Nelson's first foray into nonfiction, as he enters the ranks of what are often referred to, and not always admiringly, as "popular" historians—the implication being that their books may sell well for a short time to patrons of Barnes and Noble, but that they are making little lasting contribution to historical learning. But one ought not disparage Nelson for writing something accessible, which is an undervalued (and frankly underpracticed) skill among professional historians. One may, however, fault Nelson for not providing more meaningful analysis. Insofar as Nelson has a thesis, it is that the *Virginia* and the *Monitor* ushered in a "reign of iron," which immediately rendered the world's existing wooden navies obsolete—not exactly stop-the-presses material.

Still, just as it is unfair to lump all academic historians into the same cohort, so should one make a distinction between good and

bad popular historians. Nelson is more than a nodding acquaintance of Clío; *Reign of Fire* is a strenuously researched book that sent its author to all the relevant archives. And he is no historical dilettante of an unfortunately familiar stripe these days, dumping his thinly researched wares on the market to cash in on the history boom. Instead, Nelson gives the reader a well-researched, well considered, and eminently readable account of the events, which culminated in the naval battle of March 8, 1862. In it, he charts in detail all the traditional elements of the story: the building of the *Merrimac* (re-christened the *Virginia*) and its devastating progress through the North's wooden fleet in the James River; the engagement by the U.S. Navy of the eccentric Swede, John Ericsson, to build a counterweight to the *Virginia* and the evolution of his revolutionary turreted design; and finally the riveting stalemate fought between the two ships off Hampton Roads. If Nelson's goal is simply to tell a familiar story and tell it well, it must be said that he succeeds. And *Reign of Iron* stands as perhaps the most engaging history of this important episode even if it does not venture an especially original thesis.

Chad Morgan

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***Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South.***

Edited by Craig Thompson Friend and Lorrie Glover. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. xvii, 234 pp. Introduction, contributors, selected bibliography. \$19.94 paper.)

Studies of manhood in America have become more substantial and sophisticated. The older tendency to identify American masculinity with individualism, materialism, and aggression has been complicated and contested by recent studies that map a more intricate and sometimes shifting terrain. American masculinities have varied by class, race, religion, age, region, and time. They have also been riddled with tensions. For example, males have attempted to establish manly independence in contexts where family responsibility, middle-class sobriety, and patriotic citizenship were abiding ethics. The figure of "the bachelor" was admired for his freedom but detested for his irresponsibility.

*Southern Manhood* is a marvelous addition to our understanding of textured manhood. It is a collection of essays based on the shared conviction that defining pre-Civil War southern manhood



in terms of manly honor and mastery of slaves is, at best, an incomplete reading of southern masculinities. Each article demonstrates that other norms, new challenges, and changing environments had significant effects on how boys and men sought to achieve, establish, and secure their manhood in the Old South.

Lorri Glover establishes a baseline by showing how southern elites began to distance themselves from northern norms, especially antislavery attitudes, by sending their sons to southern schools that emphasized self-mastery and social refinement over self-control and formal education. In effect, southern schools crafted manly reputations, whereas northern schools prepared youths for manly careers. The requirements of ruling, slave-holding elites drove the development of a regional version of manhood.

However, these elites constituted a small segment of southern society. They also could not fully impose hegemonic masculinity on the rest of the population, in part, because honor and mastery were inaccessible to most men. Craig Thompson Friend chronicles the story of an upwardly mobile youth, a blacksmith's son, who sought admission to elite ranks but failed for lack of proper family, wealth, and social skills. The youth refocused his aspirations on the ranks of professionals, who considered education and achievement markers of manhood. Heather Andrea Williams adds that black soldiers during the Civil War aspired to join the ranks of free men by claiming manly credentials founded on literacy and military service.

Hegemonic masculinity also had limited impact because marketplace values made inroads into the antebellum South. L. Diane Barnes explains how white artisans forged fraternities that redefined masculinity in terms of reliability, trustworthiness, productivity, and citizenship in opposition to stereotypical views of black males as lazy, vicious, and irresponsible. In turn, black mechanics created their own fraternities to establish reputations for middle-class sobriety and respectability by disciplining members and distancing themselves from laborers and slaves. John Mayfield suggests that southern humor was shaped by tensions between cavaliers and the capitalist con men. These tensions were complicated by the fact that planters were often entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs adopted planter paternalism and gentility.

The influence of the marketplace was striking among Choctaw men. Greg O'Brien writes that Choctaws traditionally equated



masculinity to the spiritual power associated with hunting and warfare. As Choctaw families began to engage in cash cropping and commerce, however, they adopted masculine norms that were more attuned to capitalism: individual self-interest, business acumen, and material accumulation. A new marker of Choctaw manhood was European clothing.

Southern males who lacked access to hegemonic masculinity and marketplace manhood devised other ways to achieve manly identities. Edward E. Baptist points out that slaves of "ordinary virtue" sought manly dignity by caring for other people and, in some instances, by becoming loners and outlaws in search of a sliver of independence. Jennifer R. Greene and Harry S. Laver show that non-elite youths sometimes resolved conflicts over manhood by enrolling in military academies and enlisting in militia units that favored attainable, manly values such as self-discipline and martial prowess.

The authors' appreciation for the textures of Southern manhood is commendable, but it is also problematic. The authors agree that southern manhood was defined in opposition to womanhood. If so, one would expect that the complexities of southern manhood would be related to variations in southern womanhood. But *Southern Manhood* says very little about womanhood. Does that mean that southern manhood was not forged in opposition to womanhood? Or does it mean that the opposition itself should be a focus for further study?

Mark E. Kann

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***Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America.*** By Jane E. Shultz. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xiv, 360 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendix: A Note on Historiography, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In the last two decades, historians Drew G. Faust, Catherine Clinton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, George Rable, Reid Mitchell, and numerous scholars not listed herein, have illuminated our understanding of the role of women in the American Civil War. Most recent scholarship concerns plantation mistresses' relationships before and during the war, and a few books have focused on Northern women. Though civilian women who

stayed at home were crucial to morale during the war, many left home and served in various military installations and at the front. Women labored in various traditional domestic duties on behalf of the troops, but the greatest number of women served in the hospitals. Despite their large number, the sixth volume of the *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* (1875-88) contained a mere two hundred-word paragraph about the "female nurses." After scouring vast archival records, Jane E. Schultz discovered over twenty thousand women engaged in relief and humanitarian work during the war, but that figure may be low considering that many served without pay or formal enlistment. Confederate data is not precise, because for many Confederate women, the front was near their homes, and, many hospital workers were slaves; therefore, both classes of women often served gratis. In addition, many of the Confederate Surgeon General's records burned in the fall of Richmond. As a result, the figures for the number of women who served are a conservative estimate.

According to the author, she desired to look "broadly at hospital work across regions, races, and classes, insistently foregrounding differences among women and restoring agency to those whose voices did not rise above the pitch of traditional source narratives" (2). Hence, the purpose of her account was to serve as a "corrective and an expansion of the two hundred words that the compilers of the *Medical and Surgical History* saw fit to devote to female relief workers" (8). In addition, the author declared that, "A central tenet of this project has been to show the limitations of an earlier era's definition of nursing, which eclipsed the vast majority of women who took on relief work during the war and were glad, for the most part, to be paid for it" (247). Shultz used the concepts of class, race, and gender, in an effort to understand the workers' relationships with one another, the soldiers, and the military bureaucracy. Though the author included several charts based on those concepts, the inclusion of the charts within the text did not detract from the story or result in de-humanizing her subjects. In the first part of her narrative, Schultz examines the hospital workers during the war as to who they were and how they conducted their work. In the second part, she examines the psychological impact of the war upon the women, who served at the front, and in addition, how it affected them in later years in their pursuit

of pensions, and how they remembered and memorialized the war.

Civil War buffs, social historians, and women's studies scholars will recognize the names and writings of the Union's Clara Barton, Dortha Dix, Annie Turner Wittmeyer, "Mother" Mary Ann Bickerdyke, Louisa May Alcott, and African American Susie King Taylor. The Confederate women easily recognized (or cited frequently) are Kate Cummings, Phoebe Yates Pember, and Fannie Beers. Though the aforementioned women are the most well known, Schultz does not neglect the work or memoirs of lesser-known individuals who served the dying and maimed among the soldiers. Particularly moving are the accounts of those women who served as a means of Christian devotion and evangelism, as Schultz insightfully states, "Nurses believed that patients' redemption hallowed their work" (76). Nevertheless, many viewed the war as retribution, and sometimes their Christian compassion deserted them when needed most. Notably, the Catholic Sisters of Charity, eventually refused to obey orders *not* to minister to the enemy wounded, and they remained neutral throughout in ministering to the injured and dying.

The post war period in the lives of the women hospital workers is poignant reading. Many of the women suffered hardship, deprivation, and discrimination as to pensions, lack of recognition for work performed, and frustration at the injustice they suffered. By the 1890s, many of the former hospital workers, especially in the South, lay mired in poverty. The memoirs published by the former white-middle class hospital workers were a means to raise funds needed to sustain themselves in their later years.

The narrative concludes with the memorializing of the war by the former relief workers and a description of their work in building statues and monuments to their Union and Confederate dead. It is at this point that Schultz marred an otherwise outstanding book by slipping into a digression of political correctness concerning memorializing the Confederate dead in the late twentieth century and in the present. Disparaging the practice of memorializing a soldier ancestor after the Civil War centennial is out of place—along with negative connotations about those who choose to remember and honor their service. This is particularly regrettable since her discussion had nothing to do with the main subject or her book.



The author closed the book with a historiographical essay as an appendix, in which she credited those who both inspired and informed her research on women in the war beginning with Mary Elizabeth Massey's *Bonnet Brigades* (1966). Indeed, as Schultz asserted, works similar to *Women at the Front* has resulted in scrutinizing the war through "the lens of gender" (251). Unlike those who preceded her, she succeeded in her original objective of writing a *corrected* and *expansive* account about the women who toiled in the hospitals of the Civil War.

James S. Baugess

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***Black Flag over Dixie: Racial Atrocities and Reprisals in the Civil War.***

Edited by Gregory J.W. Urwin. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004. xiii, 264 pp. List of illustrations, preface, map, introduction, selected bibliography, contributors, index. \$45.00.)

In his introduction to this anthology, editor Gregory J.W. Urwin explains how into mid-twentieth-century groups such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and United Daughters of the Confederacy "lobbied to ensure that only pro-Confederate history was taught in Southern schools. Educators who did not justify secession or who dared suggest that slavery had something to do with the Civil War ran the risk of censure, ostracism, and even termination" (2). The result has been the historiographic mythification of a violent, blood-drenched conflict, which falsely remembers the ravages of war as an "ennobling experience," a "brothers' war" wherein kin killed kin and friend killed friend; and, when the smoke finally cleared, a celebrated contest from whose ashes emerged a "stronger and purer" white America. As an antidote to the South's scripting of this "comforting national myth consistent with the tenets of American exceptionalism" (3-4) and which betokens our "collective amnesia," *Black Flag over Dixie*, writes Urwin, "attempts to highlight the central role that race played in the Civil War by examining some of the most ugly incidents that stained its battlefields" (6).

Of these eleven essays—most of which analyze several war campaigns in which black Union soldiers became the favored targets of the Confederacy's vicious reprisals, including the Battle of the Crater, the Fort Pillow Massacre, and the Battle of Poison Spring;

and which seek to measure the range of these and some less infamous Civil War atrocities—David J. Coles’s “‘Shooting Niggers Sir’: Confederate Mistreatment of Union Black Soldiers at the Battle of Olustee” will be of particular interest to *FHQ* readers. Like the other authors in Urwin’s collection, Coles recognizes that the Union’s use of black regiments “contributed to the Rebels’ post-battle brutality” toward captive African American soldiers (75). Some wounded blacks were given no medical treatment, while some who were treated “suffered from unnecessary or brutally performed amputations after the battle” (76). But African Americans were not the only victims of the South’s racist wrath; some “Confederate officials refused to care for the captured white officers of African American regiments” in the same way they would for officers of all-white units, or to care for them at all (80). And although due to the remoteness of the Olustee Battlefield some Union officials were unaware of the atrocities that African American soldiers endured, even those who knew downplayed the abuses because “such information might restrict black enlistment and turn Northern public opinion against the continued recruitment of black soldiers” (84).

Because this anthology’s book jacket declares that “military history regularly takes precedence over social history, and the contemporary Civil War community too often ignores an integral part of the conflict: African Americans,” one might assume (at least this reviewer did initially) that *Black Flag over Dixie* explores the hearts and minds of those too-long-ignored African American soldiers; however, throughout the book’s narratives, the black voice remains conspicuously silent. These essays about Civil War battles, though welcome retellings (or, to some degree, first tellings), are primarily about the white Confederacy’s reactions to, or the white Union’s exploitation of, Northern black soldiers, not about the agency of nor about the lived histories of African American soldiers themselves. This does not necessarily detract from the value of the well-documented reports compiled for this collection; by focusing on the torture that black Union soldiers suffered at the hands of white Confederate soldiers, Urwin achieves his primary objective, which is to demonstrate that race, and therefore racism, fueled not only those supremacist reprisals, but had ignited the flames of an uncivil battle from the very start. There are other common themes that thread through and connect most of these essays: 1) The presence of

black Union soldiers in the South enraged white Confederate soldiers; 2) Some African American Union soldiers inevitably became Confederate captives; 3) Confederates were typically more vicious toward black than to white Union captives; 4) The abuse of black Union soldiers at the hands of Confederates is a subject historians tend to ignore; 5) These abuses were not isolated outbursts, but were part of a campaign of racial intimidation that sprang from an Antebellum mythos which defined racio-social hierarchies; and 6) It was not unusual for black Union soldiers to be exploited by Northern officials and troops, demonstrating that the Confederacy held no monopoly on the theory and practice of white supremacy.

For social historians less schooled in military maneuverings, the book's most theoretically comprehensive article is Chad L. Williams's "Symbols of Freedom and Defeat: African American Soldiers, White Southerners, and the Christmas Insurrection Scare of 1865." In contrast to many of the essays in this collection, by examining the "*symbolic power* of African American troops and their role in fueling the fear of white Southerners during the closing months" (emphasis added) of 1865, Williams's work addresses racism as a cultural, social, and political phenomenon—not by gauging the scope of reprisals in certain military campaigns but by examining a black insurrection that, like Gabriel's Rebellion, never happened but, unlike Gabriel's Rebellion, was never planned at all. Addressing the Confederacy's perception of black Union troops as a "disgrace and insult to white Southern manhood and womanhood" (215); the fact that decades before the first shot was fired at Fort Sumter "all holidays, particularly Christmas and New Year's, generated significant apprehension among white people for fear of slave insurrections" (219); and "the question of Union-controlled lands and distribution to the freed people [which] became an explosive political issue well before hostilities ceased" (215), Williams skillfully illustrates how "the rumored insurrection hastened the disarmament and ultimate removal of African American troops and set the tone for the social and political acrimony of Reconstruction" (226).

In a thoughtfully-argued summative article, "A Very Long Shadow: Race, Atrocity, and the American Civil War," by identifying white racism as an ideological/cultural construct, a system of exploitation, and a psychological phenomenon (233), Mark



Grimsley contextualizes the book's essays by placing them inside a wider historiographic frame. Though his theoretical conclusion that during the earliest period of English colonization family or origin, religion, and wealth contributed to socio-economic and racio-social status but "skin did not" (234) is in conflict with prevailing evidence that color prejudice existed centuries before colonization of the American continent, Grimsley ably demonstrates that "race and racism is not something remote in time and place," but is instead "part of the living present and therefore very much contested terrain" (232). All these issues are especially relevant today when some Americans, in the South and the North, view outside populations, Urwin writes, "as bloodthirsty fanatics who operate outside the rules of war." Only the coming years, indeed the coming months, will reveal "if fear, anger, hatred, and a desire for revenge will stampede Americans into embracing the savage excesses that represents the most painful memories of their great Civil War" (12). If this type of compassionate intelligence is representative of the new Civil War historicism, Gregory Urwin and his *Black Flag over Dixie* is a gift to us all.

*The Accidental Republic: Crippled Workingmen, Destitute Widows, and the Remaking of American Law.* By John Fabian Witt. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004. 311 pp. Introduction, conclusion, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

John Fabian Witt has written a book that is simultaneously engaging, innovative, and irritatingly incomplete. Witt's aim is to describe a paradigm shift in the American law of workplace accidents. According to Witt, the paradigm shift was based in an intellectual movement "from the categories of free labor to the organizing principles of risk and insurance" (185). It occurred in the 1910s, when workmen's compensation laws were adopted in many states. Witt arranges his analysis around alternative responses to the workplace accident crisis of the late nineteenth century. The choices among these alternatives produced an "accidental republic" (20) because of their long-term effect on social policy and the unforeseen manner in which the choices shaped policy.

The book is organized nicely around key themes used to support Witt's paradigm shift thesis. The ferocious toll of workplace

accidents in the nineteenth century is clearly explained. Four chapters, which form the core of the evidence, provide Witt's sense of the most important public and private responses to the death and injury of industrial workers. The first of these chapters discusses the response of tort law, primarily in the courts, to expanding waves of personal injury. The second, offered in light of the failure of courts to compensate many injuries, describes efforts by cooperative insurance companies to cover death and disability. The third explains how "managerial engineers" (103) at the turn of the twentieth century sought greater industrial efficiency by having employers exercise more control over workers and by developing internal company funds to compensate workers for on-the-job injuries. Finally, Witt considers the movement toward government-controlled compensation for worker death and disability.

The greatest contribution of the material is its broad vision of what constitutes legal history. Witt expertly describes the constitutional and common law dimensions of industrial accidents. He then deepens our understanding of the context of these rules by exploring private responses to the failures of the tort system by cooperative fraternal organizations, unions, and corporations. Witt also shows how these forces impacted the rise of workmen's compensation. Altogether, there is an admirable use of diverse sources, and these sources effectively push the history of work injuries in new and fruitful directions.

On the other hand, certain aspects of the execution will be disappointing to readers of this journal. In the title and throughout the book Witt claims to be writing about an "accidental republic," the United States, and the remaking of "American" law. Yet a reader will not learn much about accident law in Florida or elsewhere in the South. Witt forthrightly admits as much, conceding in the introduction that "the South as a whole plays relatively little role in the story I set out" (18). He justifies this with the conclusion that "southern states tended to be laggards in the development of work-accident reform, following paths charted by northern states" (18). Unfortunately, this contention, including the normative implications of "laggards" and "reform," is never fully explained, and Witt's research focuses on New York, the Northeast, and the Midwest. However, the history of "American" accident law cannot possibly be written without specifically accounting for the South. One cannot lop off an entire region and pretend to be discussing America. American law is no more defined by a few selected

regions than American history is about white males.

This is not just a matter of tipping one's hat to geography. The essential contention of Witt's study is that American accident law related to work injuries experienced a paradigm shift from considerations based on the values of free labor as articulated in the nineteenth century to the aggregate risk values of insurance of the early twentieth century. The legal result was workmen's compensation. Yet even a cursory evaluation of the South's experience with workmen's compensation casts serious doubt on Witt's thesis as an accurate explanation of "American" law. Ten of the last eleven states to adopt workmen's compensation before 1959 were in the South. The final state to adopt workmen's compensation was Mississippi, which did so in 1948, almost forty years after New York, the first. Florida adopted the system in 1935. It is doubtful that Mississippi or Florida objected to workmen's compensation because of a prolonged commitment to nineteenth century values of "free labor." After all, they tried to secede from the union partly because of those values. "Free labor" was never a significant political force among ruling whites in the South, yet they rejected workmen's compensation much longer than their northern peers. Contrary to Witt's thesis, the evolution of workplace accident law in the South seems unrelated to "free labor" values.

Another obvious difficulty involves African Americans. Given that African Americans formed the core of the southern labor force and that relatively few blacks lived outside the South before World War I, one assumes that the effect of workplace accident law on African Americans would be essential to understanding "American" accident law. Yet Witt curtly dismisses the issue by noting that his lack of attention to the South means "there is also little about African Americans" (19).

Most frustrating is that Witt was clearly aware of these issues but chose to brush them aside. Ironically, while Witt ably uses diverse sources in writing legal history, he constructs a thesis about "American" law that ignores the messy complications presented by an entire region and its population of black workers. If readers seek a sophisticated and thoughtful study of the forces behind workplace accident law in the Northeast and Midwest, Witt provides a model study. It remains unclear, however, whether the United States as a whole is an "accidental republic."

James L. Hunt

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***Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics.***

By Mark Wahlgren Summers. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xiv, 352 pp. Preface, coda, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth.)

The most recent presidential elections have shown that politics generates controversy. The American political system infuriates, invigorates, entertains, and (almost as an afterthought) transfers the popular will through elected officials who can then enact policy.

Mark Wahlgren Summers's book *Party Games* reveals that little has changed since the late nineteenth century. This work, by the author of several other classic works on Gilded Age politics, distills tremendous research into a readable narrative. The bibliography of *Party Games* is enormous, yet rarely does Summers even cite a secondary source. He effectively uses example after example from newspapers and manuscript collections. When he does engage the historiography of one particular issue, he often takes the topic in an entirely new direction. Clearly this is the work of a scholar fully immersed in the sources.

Yet all his scholarly work has not produced a dry tome. Summers writes with a great wit. He steps in at appropriate times to draw conclusions and he also knows how to step back and let the players speak for themselves. His thesis is clear: the political system in America between 1877 and 1896 restricted democracy and served only those who had attained or sought power through traditional means.

The rabid press of the post-Civil War era declared that every election, from local and state contests to presidential races, would decide the fate of the republic. Each party claimed that if the opposition won, citizens would be doomed to corruption and wrongdoing. The dramatic, and unintentionally humorous, tone of these political writings both enlightens and entertains.

Politics during the Gilded Age was about getting people elected, not about passing laws or promoting policy. Summers noted three main goals of the system: "to maintain, to sustain, and to restore" (49). Reforms were discussed and popular initiatives were entertained, but the two-party system remained in place by resisting change.

Actually, as Summers notes, the "2 and ? party system" (28-29) tolerated the Greenbacks or Workingmen's parties but traditional-

ists furiously worked behind the scenes to thwart any of their election chances. So the nomination of William Jennings Bryan, a Populist, to the Democratic ticket in 1896 was a great shock to the Republicans who rallied to get McKinley elected. This election marked the beginning of the end for corrupt partisanship.

Interestingly, Summers devotes an entire chapter to the off-year elections of 1886. At first glance this would seem to be an obscure choice when compared to the McKinley-Bryan contest or other national elections. But the issues of the day—the fate of the Knights of Labor as well as some of the worst monetary and journalistic corruption ever seen in American politics—elevated this contest to national urgency. The 1886 case study is informative, as are chapter-long discussions of voter fraud and on “gerrymandering” or re-districting. At other points in the book, the dense source material sometimes obscures Summer’s message.

Summers’s research is vast and the anecdotes are colorful. However, the book might have benefited from other sources such as political party memos or convention records. What emerges is the popular image of elections and politicians and not the actual machinations of “keeping and using power” for legislative means, as the title infers. Despite the enjoyable tone of the primary writings, Summers offers a gloomy picture of politics. His book is an articulation of a political system that promised much but delivered only to those in power.

Towards the end of the book, reforms begin to appear. One significant change was the Australian ballot. Introduced in the 1880s and still quite familiar to voters today, the Australian ballot was a major breakthrough in election reform since it featured all candidates from all parties on one ballot. Previously, card-carrying Democrats or Republicans would enter the polling place and then nearly always vote a straight ticket. Poll workers usually could tell who was deviating from the party line if each party’s ballot was a unique size or color. Some rabidly partisan districts did not even carry ballots from the opposition. The openly democratic Australian ballot truly liberated the American voter and spelled the beginning of the end for corrupt party machinations. Summers also might have discussed other reforms of the day such as the Pendleton Act of 1883, which opened up federal jobs to a wider range of applicants.

The illustrations in the book are priceless but other visual aids could have helped even more. The author moves quickly from dis-

trict to state to election. Tables or charts could have broken down much of the election data in a more comprehensible form.

*Party Games* is a dense but enjoyable read. The anxious Gilded Age partisans produced great rhetoric that is enjoyable to read when compared to today's media pundits and their sound bites. Much has changed in American politics, but Summers shows that much has remained the same too.

Sean McMahon

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***The Pussycat of Prizefighting: Tiger Flowers and the Politics of Black Celebrity.*** By Andrew M. Kaye. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. 208 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95 cloth.)

In an era of exaggerated claims, the *Pussycat of Prizefighting* delivers much more than its title promises. Andrew M. Kaye's brief book offers both the first detailed scholarly account of Theodore ("Tiger") Flowers's life and a thoughtful analysis of American boxing's evolving social and cultural meanings. In so doing, Kaye resurrects the largely forgotten life of one of America's most celebrated black athletes and highlights prizefighting's central role in helping shape the contours of twentieth-century American race relations.

Drawing upon a wide range of published and unpublished sources, the author painstakingly traces Flowers's early childhood in Brunswick, Georgia, during the 1890s, his residency in Philadelphia as a young adult during World War I, his emergence as a professional boxer in Atlanta during the early 1920s, and his brief reign as middleweight world champion between February and December 1926. During a decade-long career, Flowers lost only fifteen out of an astonishing 157 boxing matches. Measuring five feet ten inches and weighing in at approximately 160 pounds, the black boxer's rapid-fire punching style earned him numerous sobriquets, including the "human octopus," the "man with a thousand gloves," and the human "buzz-saw."

At the height of his career, Flowers's charisma and his entertaining fighting style attracted mixed black and white crowds numbering as high as twenty thousand. These achievements and Flowers's reputation as a devout Christian and upright family man won the respect of many African Americans. Many whites likewise



applauded the boxer's conservative dress, his respectable manners, and his avoidance of public criticisms of Jim Crow racial injustices. White southerners praised Flowers as "the whitest black man in the ring" and black and white journalists trumpeted "the Fighting Deacon's" exploits. Following Flowers's unexpected death in late 1927 during a medical operation, tens of thousands of black and white mourners paid their final respects to the boxer during his public funeral in Atlanta.

Much of Kaye's analysis focuses on the origins and significance of Flowers's biracial popularity. Whites' celebration of Flowers's accomplishments is all the more problematic given its timing on the heels of the white racist fulminations that had greeted black heavyweight Jack Johnson's rise as world champion. Johnson's 1910 defeat of white challenger Jim Jeffries had triggered white-on-black violence throughout the country. The heavyweight's open defiance of Jim Crow racial mores enraged white Americans; his reputation as a late-night carouser and saloon habitué drew criticisms from those whites and blacks who viewed public drinking and entertainment as unrespectable. Johnson's open sexual relationships and marriages to white women led to his 1913 federal prosecution under the Mann Act, when a court ruled that Johnson's interracial sexual union with his white wife represented an immoral and illegal act. In contrast to whites, many African Americans embraced Johnson as a hero.

Kaye rightly argues that a full understanding of Flowers's singular glorification among both blacks and whites is possible only by simultaneously locating his career and public persona within the broader history of African American prizefighting, the larger context of what Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham has characterized as a black "politics of respectability," and the unique social and cultural milieu of his adopted city of Atlanta. In the process of telling Flowers's story, Kaye offers a brief but sophisticated introduction to African American boxing that will serve as a useful primer for students and scholars of diverse disciplines. As Kaye demonstrates, references to black prizefighting have taken center stage in the writings of such American writers as William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and Ralph Ellison. Civil rights activists and black commentators ranging from Andrew Young and Maya Angelou to Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver have affirmed the key role played by black boxers in influencing racial politics and the formation of black identities.

With 157 pages of text, the *Pussycat of Prizefighting*'s brevity and clarity make it both accessible to a general audience and suitable as an assignment in many undergraduate and graduate classes. As is often the case with highly original historical works, Kaye's book broaches provocative questions that future scholars will want to explore in greater depth. Drawing upon Gail Bederman's research, the author briefly notes that both interracial boxing and interracial social violence shared similar symbolic functions as ritualistic struggles for racial dominance. White opposition to any hint of integration and fears of prizefighting's potentially explosive symbolism led white civic leaders in Atlanta and other southern cities to ban interracial prizefights. Presumably, given the large number of whites who attended Flowers's funeral, some of the same whites who might have rioted had the black boxer defeated a white rival in Atlanta lauded Flowers after he defeated a white opponent for the world championship in New York. As Kaye notes, many of the black Georgians who embraced Flowers as a racial hero were also avid followers of white baseball player Ty Cobb and Atlanta's all-white baseball club, the Georgia Crackers. Southern sports fans' willingness to cross racial boundaries at the height of Jim Crow segregation poses exciting questions for future scholars regarding the complexities and problematic nature of racial identities, the relative tenacity of whiteness ideologies seeking to establish ironclad distinctions between whites' and blacks' social status claims, and the role of celebrity in influencing racial assumptions. The *Pussycat of Prizefighting* succeeds brilliantly as both an introduction to the historical significance of black prizefighting and a pioneering exploration of the new insight into the Jim Crow South promised by closer attention to the social and cultural history of its sports.

David F. Godshalk

Shippensburg University

*Singing in My Soul: Black Gospel Music in a Secular Age.* By Jerma Jackson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xii, 193 pp. Acknowledgements, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

Jerma Jackson's *Singing in My Soul* investigates the emergence of twentieth century gospel music within the black community. A late nineteenth-century preoccupation with spirituals rooted in the

slave community eventually gave way to dominance, both commercially and within black churches, of the style of gospel singing pioneered by Thomas A. Dorsey in the 1930s. Dorsey, with an intimate mixture of the blues style and a traditional gospel message, endorsed innovative stylings, which furthered the commercial appeal of black gospel quartets, choirs, and especially soloists like Rosetta Tharpe.

Jackson locates the roots of black gospel within “sanctified churches,” the large number of holiness and Pentecostal churches that embraced the enthusiasm of the music and found fewer objections to mixing gospel lyric with secular sound. The debate initially centered on decorum within the church worship service but it expanded, she argues, because “in contrast to a doctrine such as sanctification, music was decidedly ambiguous” (65). In the final analysis, music, more than theology, would be the issue that would bridge across the religious spectrum to shape the face of the black religious subculture in America.

Jackson explains that women played an extraordinarily important role in the development of black gospel. Prior to the success of Tharpe, sanctified evangelists like Arizona Dranes pioneered in both performance and gospel recordings. Another evangelist, Sallie Martin, became the key component of Dorsey’s publishing enterprise, linking it directly to the needs and concerns of the sanctified community. In those early days, gospel music existed firmly within the confines of the religious community—unorthodox only in that the large presence of women made gospel music more akin to street preaching than to the routine activity of the established churches of the black community. Unlike later more commercially successful soloists, Dranes and Martin stayed within the confines of the sanctified church, thus avoiding the contentious arguments that emerged later over singing gospel in secular settings.

The sea change that came with gospel music’s tremendous commercial success after World War Two brought even more controversy within the black community. Dorsey’s music had subtly moved away from the biblically rooted message of early-sanctified numbers, focusing increasingly on personal experience. More importantly, the strict personal values of the sanctified community tended to give way to a more general evangelical message. Ministers often opposed the new-style gospel because overtly popular music seemed to cheapen the religious message. They especially objected to the presence of popular gospel singers like



Tharpe in prominent secular environs like New York's Cotton Club. Some feared that the commercial success of gospel music would erode the spiritual foundation of the singers and thereby of the audience that sought to emulate them. Others objected to the new music precisely because the older spirituals had formed a mark of pride in the contributions of black Americans to the nation's cultural heritage. They worried that the new style would erode this cultural recognition.

Despite such objections, the overwhelming popularity and commercial success of the music forced compromise. By the 1950s, Jackson contends, subtler arguments had surfaced—arguments, which ultimately spoke to the heart of the Christian faith that lay behind the message of the music. Two general camps emerged. One, espoused primarily in commercially successful gospel music, viewed the spreading of gospel in any context as essentially good. The other, centered primarily within the church, saw context as crucial. Gospel music should first and foremost be in the context of religious worship. As a result, a related concern was the lives of the singers themselves. In part because of the very success of gospel in the secular area, many worried that the loss of personal devotion and a Christian testimony by the singers would erode the value and integrity of the music.

Jackson's treatment of black gospel music, particularly the struggles over style and context, is especially valuable because it demonstrates the degree to which American Christians, regardless of race, fretted and debated over the same fundamental issues. Parallel to the development of black gospel, white Americans were also engaged in arguments about the suitability of jazz and blues rhythm, popular instrumentation, and commercial prosperity as it related to gospel singing. *Singing in My Soul* fills a void in the scholarship of religious music and reminds scholars that the context within which gospel music emerged and developed is crucial to our understanding.

James R. Goff Jr.

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***The Disfranchisement Myth: Poor Whites and Suffrage Restriction in Alabama.*** By Glenn Feldman. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2004. xiv, 311 pp. Acknowledgements, Introduction, Conclusions, Notes, Bibliography, Index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Glenn Feldman, in *The Disfranchisement Myth*, revises over fifty years of historical scholarship on the politics of Southern racial disfranchisement. Feldman rejects C. Van Woodward's assertion that poor and working class white Alabamians rejected restrictions on suffrage, while privileged white Alabamians supported these measures to restrict the vote of blacks and end their electoral participation. Feldman points out that subsequent studies, such as those by J. Morgan Kousser, Samuel L. Webb and Michael Perman, built upon Woodward's over-generalized and inaccurate dichotomy of the white electorate. Feldman challenges readers to rethink the complexities of the white electorate in Jim Crow Alabama.

Feldman believes that the Populist Revolt in Alabama did not represent a true political coalition of poor Alabamians and blacks, because white Populists shared the same racial views of Bourbon Democrats. Instead, Feldman argues this coalition was tenuous at best and slowly broke down as the nineteenth century ended. Thus scholars of this period should not be surprised that these same white Populist supporters would become advocates of the infamous 1901 Alabama Constitution that disfranchised poor whites and black voters and restored white supremacy to the state. Feldman contends that Woodward got it wrong to describe this disfranchisement process as the tragedy he did, because poor white voters who were one time opponents of the Bourbon Democrats and industrialists were not championing Jeffersonian views of universal suffrage in the face of a constitutional convention meaning to limit the electorate, but instead were the more ardent advocates of reducing black political participation and returning the state and local governments to the control of white oligarchs. Feldman points out that the 1901 Constitution passed with little more than fifty percent of the vote in Alabama's majority white counties, so support must have come from whites in the former Populist-leaning Black Belt counties. What the new Constitution really represented was a reuniting of Democratic Party factions such as the Anti-Democrats, Independent Democrats, Populists and Jeffersonian Democrats along with the "lily-white" Republicans in a reform movement to "Whiten" politics in the state. This really was not a pitched battle to preserve the Jeffersonian ideology of universal manhood suffrage, but was the successful evolution of unified white supremacy.

*The Disfranchisement Myth* makes an important contribution in examining the intersection of race and class. Labor and working

class historians have traditionally had a hard time reconciling their desire to create an admiring picture of white workers in the age of a racialized work place. Thus many labor historians tended to down play race or ignore it altogether. David R. Roediger's *Wages of Whiteness* first introduced readers to the idea that poor working class whites actually constructed and controlled racism and were not introduced to racism by factory owners and managers who wanted to create a permanent division between black and white workers. Feldman's work also fits into this literature on the working class and introduces the idea that the white poor and working class were active agents in the construction and control of racism and the voting in the Jim Crow South.

Although Feldman adroitly chronicles the political process of disfranchisement from the state to the local level, there are very few black voices in the study. Only national and state wide black leaders such as Booker T. Washington are mentioned in the text and little care is given to how this measure divided blacks along class lines. Black leaders like Washington tended to be just as paternalistic toward poor and working class blacks as whites in the South. No credit is given to African American agency. In the text blacks are acted upon by white supremacists, and there is no analysis as to why whites are so eager to curb the black vote other than paternalistic ideology. Could one also make the case that blacks were not voting as whites expected and whites in turn punished them? Clearly the recent work of Robin D. G. Kelley and Kenneth W. Goings suggests that African Americans were able to create and control a political environment in the Jim Crow South, there is little here from the grassroots black Alabamians. Feldman also falls into the trap of picturing Alabama as the most exceptional place in the South without substantiating this assertion. What makes Alabama racism and white supremacy different or worse than racism in Mississippi, Arkansas or even Massachusetts? As such the author feels no need to frame the importance of the 1901 Constitution in any broader context.

The framework Feldman presents would be useful to Florida historians. Like Alabama, many white voters left the Democratic Party and drifted toward the Populists, Anti-Democrats, Reform Democrats and local movements such as the Straight-outs. This division made such an impact that Jacksonville and Pensacola both experienced heated and abusive political contests when these splinter groups garnered black votes. Additionally there were



pockets of Republicanism in many of the port cities of Florida that would be similar to Alabama's "lily white" Republican regions. Scholars wishing to address similar questions concerning Florida will look to Feldman as a model of support or future revision.

Robert Cassanello

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***The Stranahans of Fort Lauderdale: A Pioneer Family of New River.*** By Harry A. Kersey Jr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. xvii, 200 pp. Foreword, preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Broward County is a curious place. Less than one hundred years of age, it stands as America's sixteenth largest county with a population in excess of 1.6 million. A quintessential example of suburban sprawl, Broward stretches from the Atlantic Ocean west to the eastern edge of the Everglades some forty miles away. Much of this development is new, but developers are fast running out of available land for new versions of "Silver Lakes," "Hawks Landing," "Cimarron" and a myriad of other communities with similarly enticing, though now familiar, names. What would it take, they wonder, to find a way around Highway 27, the barrier to additional westward development?

On the other hand, Broward County possesses a rich history, much of it the result of its meteoric post-World War II growth. Surprisingly, it is blessed with scores of historical societies and several quality research centers. The county and many of its municipalities stage wonderful historical celebrations each year. Even Broward's public sector has supported, through subsidies, real estate awards, and grants-in-kind a rich array of historical institutions, programs, and events.

Researchers delving into the history of Broward will be hard pressed to avoid at some point in their work the name Stranahan, for Frank and Ivy Stranahan, pioneering residents of Fort Lauderdale, who stand at the top of the county's historical pyramid. Until now little has been written about Broward's first "power couple" other than the obligatory mention in books and articles treating the history of Fort Lauderdale and the County. Now Harry Kersey Jr., a professor of history at Florida Atlantic University and a prolific writer, has filled that void with a wonderful, richly detailed biography of the couple. Kersey has researched

the Stranahans since the 1960s in conjunction with his long-term study of the Seminole Indians and their trade with Frank Stranahan on the New River. Kersey has consulted a wide variety of source material in preparing this study, material that has not been examined before with any frequency. He has also interviewed Ivy Stranahan and others close to the family. The author has taken these sources and crafted a narrative study characterized by clarity, warmth, and balance toward his subjects.

Frank Stranahan, a smart, taciturn person, came to Fort Lauderdale in 1893, from Ohio by way of Melbourne to operate an overnight camp on the New River for the Bay Biscayne Stage Line. He quickly added an Indian trading post to his offerings, and soon his complex on the eastern edges of today's downtown Fort Lauderdale became the community center. Stranahan grew as an entrepreneur, becoming the community's first unofficial banker, a leading merchant, and the possessor of a growing portfolio of real estate holdings. Following the municipality's incorporation in 1911, Frank began playing an even larger role in community affairs, holding a seat on the city commission for many years, and, along with Ivy, serving as an important benefactor for his adopted city. Frank was also the "go to guy" for aspiring officeholders and entrepreneurs, and his counsel was wise and prudent. Stranahan's investment portfolio grew significantly during the great real estate boom of the mid-1920s, but he lost a sizable portion of it with the bust that followed in 1926. A combination of failing health, remorse for having led friends into what were, ultimately, failed investments, and clinical depression led to his suicide in 1929.

For the next forty years, Frank's beloved wife Ivy, the community's first school teacher, carried on by herself while continuing to live in the residence she and Frank had built as an Indian trading post in 1901, and converted into a home five years later. Ivy, who met and married Frank shortly after her arrival on the New River in 1899, had already achieved, by the time of his death, a record of accomplishment as a feminist, suffragette, civic activist, temperance crusader, conservationist, and friend and mentor to Seminole youths. A dynamo in contrast to the withdrawn Frank, Ivy continued to work in many of these areas for the rest of her life. As founder of the Friends of the Seminoles, Ivy convinced the tribe to accept reservation land west of Dania. Ivy Stranahan was also a leader in the successful campaign to prevent termination of federal benefits for the Seminoles in the 1950s. Kersey's narrative and

analyses in these chapters treating the accomplishments of Ivy Stranahan are, in this reviewer's estimation, the highpoints of his study. Mrs. Stranahan passed away at age ninety-one in 1971, while still residing in the home Broward County residents know as the Stranahan House, the county's most important historical structure.

With this study, Kersey has added an important element to the small corpus of works on the history of Broward County and its flagship city, Fort Lauderdale. He has also provided those residents of the county who come in contact with this book a heightened sense of place, and perhaps a greater stake in a community that in its sprawl and "newness" personifies the rootlessness and concomitant need for belonging felt by many who call that slice of southeast Florida home.

Paul S. George

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***The Deacons for Defense: Armed Resistance and the Civil Rights Movement.*** By Lance Hill. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. x, 363 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95, cloth.)

Lance Hill's history of the Deacons for Defense and Justice is a timely addition to the literature on the African American freedom struggle in the South. Hill joins the ranks of those historians, notably Timothy B. Tyson, who have begun to uncover the ways that the black community consistently espoused and frequently exercised the right to defend self, family, and property, even in the midst of a civil rights campaign that was publicly committed to nonviolent direct action tactics.

The book begins in the summer of 1964, with the emergence of the Deacons in Jonesboro, Louisiana, where they protected indigenous and visiting civil rights workers—and the black community more generally, from white segregationist violence and intimidation. Hill does well to place the Deacons within the overlapping contexts of both local agendas and intra-communal schisms, and broader trends in civil rights activism. For example, the Jonesboro Deacons were at one level the product of black dissatisfaction with the town's half-hearted effort to create an auxiliary black police that might show more respect for black safety and rights than was forthcoming from the white police. Under the



egis of Earnest "Chilly Willy" Thomas, an informal self-defense group was created to assume some of these protective responsibilities. Yet, although this was a departure from the nonviolent ethos of the Movement, one of the Deacons' main objectives was to make Jonesboro safe for the nonviolent campaigns and voter registration work of activists from the Congress of Racial Equality. These activists included Charlie Fenton, a white civil rights worker whose organizational expertise and encouragement was indispensable to making the Deacons a viable black self-defense group. There are clearly multiple layers of significance in all of this, but there are times when Hill may exaggerate the notion that the Deacons represented a clear rejection of nonviolent tactics. His evidence suggests a more complex, reciprocal—though seldom publicly acknowledged—relationship whereby armed self-defense groups outside the conventional Movement sought to create a climate in which nonviolent campaigns could be conducted with some modicum of security.

Hill is at his best in his coverage of the Louisiana chapters of the Deacons. An engaging writer with a nice sense of drama and a good ear for the telling anecdote, his depiction of the Movement in Bogalusa is particularly compelling. In Bogalusa, a new chapter of the Deacons, led by Charles Sims and Bob Hicks, confronted some of the most vicious white violence in the Deep South, thereby helping to bolster black pride and appetite for the struggle. Moreover, by drawing federal attention to the systematic abuses of black bodies and black rights by the Klan and local authorities, the Deacons and their allies triumphed over the terrorist wing of the segregationist movement in Bogalusa.

Hill also evaluates the Deacons' diaspora and legacy beyond Louisiana. In Natchez, Mississippi, for example, they managed to forge an awkward alliance with the local NAACP, helping to secure concessions from the white power structure unparalleled elsewhere in the Magnolia state. And yet, as Hill concedes, in Natchez the Deacons' concern to impose discipline within their own ranks and a general intolerance of dissent from other sections of the movement and the black community led to a kind of bullying intimidation that lurked permanently just below the surface of their more productive militancy. Perhaps this was not surprising. Although the initial Jonesboro chapter was comprised largely of mature, respectable, middle-class members with a concern for dialogue and consensus-building within the black community, subse-

quent chapters drew more heavily from a black male working-class whose patience was exhausted as much by middle-class black moderation as it was by enduring white discrimination and violence.

By the time Earnest Thomas, in many ways the heart and soul of the Deacons, ceased to work with the organization in 1968, the black power era was in full swing and the Black Panthers were front-page news. As Hill suggests, in some ways, the Panthers were the obvious heirs to the Deacons, with many of their vices and virtues. Both groups helped to promote black pride, self-respect, and a determination to resist white oppression and violence. But both groups also ended up making a cult of the gun and, despite having limited female membership, pursuing an increasingly macho agenda sometimes yoked to or masquerading as, a real concern for personal honor.

In sum, while one might have wished for more engagement with the work of Christopher Strain, who has written on the Deacons, and of Jenny Walker, who has probed why historians have equated the civil rights movement with nonviolence despite the abundance of contradictory evidence exemplified by the Deacons, Hill has written a graceful book that fills an important gap in civil rights scholarship.

Brian Ward

*University of Florida*

***Civil Rights Crossroads: Nation, Community and the Black Freedom Struggle.*** By Steven F. Lawson. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2003. xiii, 384 pp. Preface, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth).

Steven F. Lawson, professor of history at Rutgers University, is one of the foremost authorities on Voting Rights and Civil Rights history in the United States. The author of several books and articles on twentieth-century civil rights activism that includes *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944-1969*, *Running For Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics in America Since 1941*, and *Debating the Civil Rights Movement: 1945-1968* has produced another landmark publication entitled, *Civil Rights Crossroads: Nation, Community and the Black Freedom Struggle*.

The manuscript is an overview of the twentieth-century civil rights movement that analyzes the organizations of grassroots activism and community organizations that laid the foundation for

national groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Community to name a few. In addition, Lawson explores the negotiating effects of presidential administrations such as the Lyndon Johnson's White House tenureship in their manner to support and negate civil rights activism. Specifically, the author argues that there was a collection of white and Black leaders, state and federal officers, moderate and liberal philosophies, and hints and sparks of violence that made the movement successful. However, the greatest effort and significance of the work is the scholars reflections on women in the movement, the busing and affirmative action debate of the 1970s and 1980s, the Jesse Jackson presidential campaigns of the 1980s, the legacy of rock and roll music in the fight for equality, Black nationalism within the debate and the off times forgotten civil rights movement in Florida from the 1930s through the 1980s.

Lawson begins his analysis by presenting the reader with an extended historiographical review of the twentieth-century civil rights movement. In chapter two that is entitled, "Lyndon B. Johnson and the Black Freedom Struggle," he explores how the moderate Johnson, first as a senator from Texas, vice-president to President John F. Kennedy, and later still, president of the United States, negotiated between southern white politicians, and civil rights activist to forge civil rights legislation that would expand the rights of African-Americans as being full citizens while influencing key southern leaders that it was in their best interest to support his initiatives on racial equality. In addition, Lawson argues convincingly that while Johnson dictated a philosophy to work with responsible Black leaders, i.e., individuals who understood the legislative process for change, he realized that it was necessary for those leaders to occasionally present a militant stance against him for their contingents. However, he urged the civil rights leaders not to extend themselves with excessive criticism and to stay away from negative rhetoric on the Vietnam War.

In chapter III, entitled, "Civil Rights and Black Politics," the author masterfully explores the movement of Black empowerment within the Democratic Party. In the 1980s the argument for Blacks who labored within the political process was inclusion. That is, the day of just nominating and voting for white men to represent the Black community transformed into a modern Black power element for Black Democrats. The belief, like Stokely Carmichael's



thus comprising a diary of sorts. The letters in Tarr's collection will be of interest especially to feminist and social historians, but may also prove useful for those investigating attitudes about the major political and social events between the early and mid-twentieth century.

***Blockade Runners of the Confederacy.*** By Hamilton Chcohran. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005. 350 pp. Introduction to the 2005 edition by Robert M. Browning, Jr., bibliography, acknowledgment, index. \$22.95 paper.)

Originally published in 1958, Hamilton Cochran's *Blockade Runners* is now available in a new edition with a new introduction by Robert M. Browning, Jr. Shortly after the Civil War began with shots fired at Fort Sumter, the Union established a blockade covering some 4000 miles of Confederate coastline. Confederate blockade-runners driven by profit or love of the Cause used low profile ships to attempt to avoid the Union patrols. These ships imported such diverse materials as leather, salt, silk, rifles, medicine, copper, steal, liquor, and shoes, enabling the Confederacy to survive. In addition to discussing the running of the blockade, Cochran also discusses the blockade itself: it's conceptualization, implementation, and its ultimate effect upon life in the South. Furthermore, the author discusses the principal figures involved both in maintaining the blockade and in running it. The book contains sixteen illustrations and will be of interest to lay readers as well as naval military historians.

***Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr.*** By Ben Green. (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 2005. xii, 310 pp. Preface to the paperback edition, afterword, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$19.95 paper).

Green, as clearly stated in the subtitle, presents Harry T. Moore as the first civil rights martyr. Moore was an African American who spent the 1920s as a schoolteacher and the 1930s and 1940s working as an NAACP organizer. He worked to improve black teachers' salaries, increase black voter registration, fight white terrorism that kept black voters from the polls, and launched investigations into cases of lynching. On December 25, 1951 a

bomb exploded beneath Moore's Mims home. He was dead upon arrival at the hospital and his wife, Harriette, also died within a few days. An FBI investigation was launched, and the crime was determined to most likely be the work of Klansmen, but no one was charged or convicted. In 1991 the case was reopened but remained inconclusive. Green explores the FBI files of these two investigations in order to develop a clearer picture of both Moore and the people who murdered him. After the book had gone to print, Charlie Christ, Florida Attorney General, once again reopened the case. The results of that investigation are pending. Green's research will be of interest to civil rights and legal historians, as well as students and general readers.

*The History of the American Indians.* By James Adair. Edited and with an introduction and annotations by Kathryn E. Holland Braund. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005. xiv, 589 pp. Illustrations and maps, acknowledgments, James Adair's History: A note on this edition, notes on introductory essay, annotations to Adair's text, bibliography, index. \$65.00.)

James Adair's *History of the American Indians* was originally published in England over two centuries ago. In the mid-1700s, Adair lived with and was accepted by various Indian nations inhabiting the regions from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River. As a trader living among the various groups, Adair took the opportunity to observe, compare, and contrast the different cultures. He set down his observations, thoughts, and analyses in this volume. The new edition of his text benefits from Katherine Braund's editorial expertise. Braund's bibliography is broken out into primary and secondary sources and the index is thorough, making this edition an excellent resource for starting research on Native Americans. There are twenty-six pages of notes (on the introductory essay) and seventy-two pages of annotations to Adair's text. Useful as both a primary source for European cultural assumptions and as a secondary source for Adair's descriptions, *The History of the American Indians* will appeal to both anthropologists and historians.

*The Majesty of St. Augustine.* By Steven Brooke. (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005. 96 pp. Acknowledgments, "Map of the City." \$18.95 cloth.)

Brook provides the reader with an "architectural tour" of America's oldest European settlement. St. Augustine has been continuously occupied since its founding by Spanish explorers in 1565. In 1702, the British launched an invasion that left only the Castillo de San Marcos intact. Brooke's tour takes the reader through the Castillo and its surrounding areas, and down St. George Street to see the City Gates, the Genoply School House, and the Saint Photios Greek Orthodox Chapel. Moving on to the City Center, the reader visits the Government House, Plaza de la Constitution, and the Basilica Cathedral. Leaving the early period, Brook moves onto the architecture of the Flagler Era, including, of course, Henry Flagler's famous Spanish Revival Hotel Ponce de Leon (now Flagler College), the Alcazar Hotel (now the Lightner Museum), and the Moorish Revival, Villa Zoryada. In South St. Augustine the author shows off the Civil War era Carpenter Gothic style in the Gingerbread House, and Moorish-Romanesque Revival in the Villa Flora. The reader also tours the Gonzalez-Alvarez House, "the oldest house." The tour stops briefly in St. Augustine's cemeteries, before moving on to the North side of town. Here Brooke demonstrates Queen Anne style in the Pismukes House, and the most elaborate example of Moorish Revival in Castle Warden (now Ripley's Believe It or Not! Museum). The tour concludes with a visit to the Fountain of Youth and the Lighthouse on Anastasia Island. This small but beautiful book of photographs and descriptions will appeal to all who plan to visit St. Augustine and to anyone who simply enjoys fascinating and unusual architecture.

***Cold War in South Florida: Historic Resource Study.*** By Steven Hach. (Atlanta: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 2005. x, 102 pp. List of figures, figure credits, foreword, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. Available online at <http://www.nps.gov>).

Hach's report "provides a historic context for, and identifies, sites in south Florida related to the Cold War and U.S. relations with Latin America" (1). Hach specifically focuses on the role of four national parks: Everglades National Park, Biscayne National Park, Big Cypress National Preserve, and Dry Tortugas National Park. The report is divided into four sections. The first section is a broad introduction to the Cold War and a basis for contextualiz-



ing the sources introduced in the section two. Section two discusses the historic resources within the four aforementioned national parks. The author takes a balanced historical view, neither ignoring the negative aspects of the Cold War and regarding U.S. motives as entirely altruistic, nor taking a completely revisionist stance that focuses *only* upon the negative aspects of the period. Sections three and four will be useful for researchers. Section three provides a list of museums, archives, and other facilities consulted by the author. In his introduction he explains the importance of moving beyond strictly government generated sources because they “may not be the best place to look for documentation on negative, environmental effects, civil rights violations, or the true cost of a foreign policy that often did business with dictators and other questionable characters in the name of anti-communism” (2). Section four provides a bibliography of primary and secondary sources on the Cold War. The author offers a word of caution to Cold War researchers. Much information on the Cold War is dubious in nature and a researcher must be wary of hoaxes and conspiracy theories, especially when conducting research online. Teachers will find this resource helpful and students of the Cold War will find it fascinating.