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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Okfuskee: A Creek Town in Colonial America. By Joshua Piker. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004. xi, 270 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion: "The Friends of the Tallapoosie," notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

In the eighteenth century, the Creek Nation was a congregation of towns and villages. No one knows how many, but estimates generally agree on a range from fifty to eighty. Towns tended to be larger than villages, the most important distinction between them being that towns had square grounds for summer activities and enclosed meeting houses for winter. Leaders and officials met in these locations to discuss matters of interest and import to the residents, and the many rituals that composed the ceremonial calendar were celebrated there as well. As residential places that did not have square grounds or meeting houses, villages were ceremonially and politically incomplete. They were formed by people from towns who, for whatever reasons, set out to live in a different place. Physical separation was not political or spiritual separation, however. Residents of villages remained citizens of their towns of origin and returned there for public purposes.

Students of Creek history have always been aware of this organizational phenomenon. Our debates over what to call the Creeks—a Nation or a Confederacy—are rooted in our understandings of the towns. Our efforts to document the evolution of a centralized political organization hang on our thinking about town autonomy, jealousy, and ambition. But even as we recognize towns as a central principle of Creek social, economic, and political organization, Joshua Piker is the first historian to attempt to write a history of one of them.

Okfuskee was a big town in the eighteenth century, both in population (at 1500 in 1763, it held about 10 percent of the total number of Creeks) and prominence. Its civil leaders played important, sometimes controlling, roles in the complex economic and political relations of the Creeks with South Carolina and Georgia. Its military leaders commanded respect and attention. For these reasons, Okfuskee appears in the historical record frequently enough to permit a patient, diligent, and imaginative scholar like Piker to weave the pieces together into a fine new book.

Piker divided *Okfuskee* into two parts. Part One deals with Okfuskee's relations with the outside world. Two chapters explain its diplomatic connections with Charles Town and Savannah and center on the role of Fanni Mico, the title/name of an official whose role was to represent the interests of an outside group, in this case Charles Town, in Okfuskee and Creek councils. Scholars have known of the institution among the Chickasaws and Choctaws but before Piker not among the Creeks. Piker uses the Fanni Mico to interpret Okfuskee's role in Creek-Carolina relations. The Fanni Mico is an interesting twist on a pretty well-known story, however, and I do not think Piker was altogether successful in his efforts to explain Okfuskee's role in a century of complicated diplomacy in terms of the Fanni Mico.

The third chapter in Part One uses Daniel Usner's interpretive model of a "frontier exchange economy" to explain Okfuskee's economic relationships with its non-Indian neighbors. Frontier exchange economy describes the wide range of informal exchange relationships between different groups of people, and in Piker's hands it works well to explain Creek-settler interactions in the woods. Understanding the features of this set of exchange relationships also enables Piker to chart their decline, which he locates in the 1760s and 1770s, a critical period for political relations as well.

In Part Two, Piker describes "The Town and Its People." Here he shines in chapters on the domestic economy (farming and hunting), the trade economy, and on gender and generational matters. There is really good stuff in these chapters, too much to delineate in this review but, for example, Piker tackles one of the most difficult and persistent questions in Native American history—how, when, and under what circumstances did Indians become dependent on trade goods and what were the implications

of dependency? Part of the answer lies in the politics of the market. Neither England nor the United States permitted Indians to profit through land speculation. Instead, they could sell only to government officials under tightly controlled conditions and with no power to negotiate price. The imperial market denied the Indians, owners of the most valuable commodity in North America, the right to profit from their land. Furthermore, the Indians were victimized by the manipulation of credit and debt. Imperial and settler governments insisted on defining personal debt as tribal debt and then refused to admit tribes into a credit system that could keep them afloat in the market. As Piker points out, we need to focus more on the politics of political economy.

Piker's emphasis in this book is on political and economic history, and I think a deeper discussion of social history would have improved it. For example, he does not put the Creeks' kinship system into the center of his story, where I think it should be, and as a consequence he does not show how the rules of kinship informed both the domestic and foreign worlds of the Okfuskees. Despite that, this is an excellent new book by a most promising young student of Creek and Native American history.

Michael D. Green

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The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763. By Steven C. Hahn. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xii, 338 pp. Acknowledgments, Series Editors' introduction, introduction: "The Question of the 'Creek Confederacy,'" epilogue: "The Legacy of the Imperial Era," notes, bibliography, index, map. \$59.95 cloth.)

In *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670-1763*, Steven C. Hahn argues that the policy of neutrality the leaders of the town Coweta pursued between 1718 and 1763 laid the foundation for the creation of the Creek nation in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Hahn's ethnohistorical exploration of Creek origins is precise and persuasive, and the research is outstanding. Just as Claudio Saunt used Spanish sources in his book, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (1999), to open another side of Creek history in the late eighteenth century, so too does this book for the first half of the century.

The book is important for several reasons. First, Hahn's study foregrounds other work in Creek history by such scholars as Michael D. Green, Kathryn E. Holland Braund, Joel Martin, and Saunt because of the way it bridges the historic, protohistoric, and prehistoric eras. As well, Hahn builds on recent work by Greg O'Brien and Joshua Piker to point out that colonial diplomacy reflected clan- and town-based alliances and antagonisms more so than the workings of any kind of centralized authority or nation. In particular, Hahn focuses on the town of Coweta and the cluster of towns that came to be called Ochese to track the population movements and alliances of the early contact period that culminated in the formation of what we know today as the Lower Creeks.

The fractured nature of the Creeks' origins led to a fairly fragile political system in which towns and clans often competed against one another for closer ties to the Spanish, English, and French. In the early part of the eighteenth century, however, a leader named Brims crafted a careful policy of neutrality to check imperial ambitions and to coordinate broader diplomatic and trade relations with the colonial powers. His success enabled him for a brief period to transcend the local divisions of town politics and to be recognized as an "emperor," but Brims fell as quickly as he had risen when rival town leaders struck their own alliances with their preferred European trading partners.

Brims's kinsman Malatchi resurrected his ambitions in the 1740s and 1750s when he struggled to build a new kind of identity based on resistance to English expansion. Where other scholars have located the origins of the Creeks in the leadership of Alexander McGillivray or in the creation of the national council in the early nineteenth century, Hahn names Malatchi as "the first to give a definite shape to the idea of a Creek Nation (190)." Later leaders, like McGillivray, elaborated upon this nascent nationalism as they sought to save their land and to forestall their removal.

As important as *The Invention of the Creek Nation* is in terms of piecing together the Lower Creeks' complicated origins—and we still do not know nearly as much about the Upper Creeks—Hahn also hints at the nation's historiographical origins which are equally important. He explains that only the English ever spoke of Creeks while the Spanish and the French referred to the same people by the names of their towns and town clusters. When Hahn argues then that the nation was a product of contact, it is worth also asking how our modern use of "Creek" is implicated in the history

we write. Hahn dates the origins of the nation to the mid- to late eighteenth century, Malatchi's time, and while he takes great pains to use town identities where possible, he nonetheless also speaks of Creeks and the Creek nation in the early eighteenth century. The problem of how to discuss these people across time without lapsing into anachronisms like Creek and Creek nation that can distort their history is formidable. Indeed, the great value of his research into original Spanish sources and his inclusion of the French exposes how each empire's understanding of these people shaped its relations with them. In this way, I wonder if being Creek involved playing a role at first—fast friend of the English. Their adoption of the term was thus particular and strategic and, Hahn concludes, provided an intellectual framework that, when blended with common cultural practices and widespread networks of kin, transformed a specific diplomatic identity into a living and breathing nation once the Spanish and the French vanished from the scene.

James Taylor Carson

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Florida's Lost Tribes. By Theodore Morris, with commentary by Jerald T. Milanich. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. 70 pp. Suggested readings, illustrations. \$29.95 cloth.)

Florida's Lost Tribes is a collaborative work showcasing the artwork of Theodore Morris, a talented painter and graphic designer, and the "commentary" of Jerald T. Milanich, an archaeologist and prolific author of numerous books on the Indian peoples of Florida. The result of their combined efforts is an excellent text by Milanich that succinctly and clearly synthesizes the latest archaeological discoveries concerning the pre- and proto-historic cultures of Florida's native peoples, and fifty-eight beautiful color reproductions of Morris's work intended pictorially to bring these tribal peoples "back to life."

Milanich should be congratulated for clarifying for a general audience the oftentimes confusing geographically- and archaeologically-defined cultures of pre-Columbian Florida and their relationship to historic tribal societies. His contribution in this book goes far beyond mere "commentary" and actually reads better than his *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present*. My only criticism is that he occasionally assumes such continuity over millennia that he is willing to read back into ancient cultures the historical-

ly-documented social patterns of their descendants where the evidence seems to be lacking. For example, trade relationships can be clearly demonstrated by artifacts; assumptions concerning matrilineal organization and exogamous marriage patterns are harder to document on the basis of archaeological evidence. Theodore Morris's portraits of "Florida's Lost Tribes" follow in the tradition of Karl Bodmer, George Catlin, and other nineteenth-century artists who set out to document the lives of North American Indians before their cultures "disappeared." One important caveat, however, is that Morris's paintings are not made from life studies. Rather, he has based his meticulously detailed and ethnographically-accurate "reconstructions" of their material culture on historic accounts of the native peoples left by European colonizers as well as from information and artifacts unearthed by professional and amateur archaeologists.

In the book's introduction, Milanich explains why there is a need for Morris's images since the supposed "first-hand" paintings produced by Jacques Le Moyne, a documentary artist and Huguenot colonist in the 1560s, have survived—albeit one-step removed—in the form of Theodore de Bry's engravings from the 1590s. As Milanich points out, however, numerous scholars (including Carl Sauer, Christian F. Feest, William Sturtevant, and most recently John Faupel) have discovered serious ethnographic errors in the de Bry engravings, have called into question the idea that they were copied from Le Moyne's original paintings, and have even challenged the authenticity of the sole surviving painting of Florida Indians attributed to Le Moyne. Milanich persuasively suggests that the de Bry engravings may have been based on nothing more than the printed historical accounts of sixteenth-century French expeditions to Florida and quotes Sturtevant in declaring that "none of the ethnographic details portrayed in the de Bry engravings can now be accepted at face value" (7-9). After disputing the authenticity of the sixteenth-century images, Milanich claims that Morris's twenty-first-century renderings better contribute to the legacy of Florida's lost tribes by "creating a pictorial record through paintings, drawings, and research" that is "more accurate" on account of being "based on solid research" in the field of archaeology. He also praises Morris for creating "realistic" rather than "romantic" images that "demonstrate a sensitive understanding of their way of life" (1, 11). It is to this latter claim that the remainder of this review will address itself.

Certainly, the images Morris has created are compelling works of art, and he has obviously “done his homework” in getting the ethnographic details right. The painting “Nature’s Bounty,” for example, vividly demonstrates just how much of the Jeaga tribes’ material culture derived from the “plentiful” deer populations they hunted. But if the Le Moyne/de Bry images must be discounted as products of the sixteenth-century European artistic imagination rather than as images documenting the “reality” of Florida’s Indians, then Morris’s portraits (despite their attention to ethnographic detail based on “solid research,” excavations, and study of archaeological artifacts) must also be seen as products of artistic imagination—this time imbued with twenty-first-century notions of what Shepard Krech III has aptly called the myth of the “Ecological Indian.”

Virtually all of Morris’s images evoke a strong sense of “Paradise Lost”—so much so that one might easily mistake them for the wonderful (but highly romantic) works produced by the nineteenth-century artists of the Hudson River School. Unfortunately, in intentionally depicting his subjects as pristine “children of nature,” Morris has implicitly deprived them of their “cultures” and their distinctive relationships with their environment. While each of Morris’s titles identifies the tribe and its associated archaeological culture designation, his own interpretive biases are evidenced in his captions and imagined imagery. In “Child with Scrub Jay (Ocale tribe),” for example, a “happy child” is portrayed “feeding a friendly scrub jay” perched on her fingers in the foreground of a beautiful misty morning landscape; another image entitled “Cypress Hunt (Tocobago tribe)” depicts an Indian hunter dwarfed by a “cathedral-like setting” of cypress trees intended to “depict Florida’s natural beauty and man’s place in it.” “Old Friend (Jeaga tribe)” highlights the “close connection between Florida Indians and their environment” by combining “harmonious colors to suggest the ties between people and the creatures with which they share their world.” Other paintings and captions similarly reveal the artist’s intention of capturing the Florida Indians’ “reverence for the natural forces of daily life,” and to “show the Indian’s humility before nature and to suggest the confluence of here and hereafter.” In “Panther Warrior (Timucua tribe)” a Saturiwa warrior wearing a panther headdress has been rendered in such a way as to “imply a direct connection between animal and man.” All of Morris’s images demonstrate his consid-

erable skill as an artist but also reveal his romantic tendencies in preferring to portray “pristine” Nature and “Noble Savages” rather than less-idyllic environments and flesh-and-blood human beings.

Problematically, the vast majority of the Indians portrayed in his artwork are young and impossibly handsome or beautiful. While most of Morris’s male Indians have Asiatic features and the proper amount of wrinkles for their age—see, for example, his “Apalachee with Bear Robe,” “Potano Male,” “Panther Warrior,” “Chief Outina,” and “Apalachee Warrior”—several of the portraits of native “maidens” seem to have fallen into Disney’s Pocahontas syndrome. Many images downplay the Asiatic high cheek bones in favor of Europeanized facial features or favor light brown over black hair; most have been given such impossibly-beautiful countenances and bodies as to render them less plausible as representations of real women; for example, “Tribal Woman,” “Old Friend,” “The Consort,” and “Moon Dance Women”. Still, Morris certainly deserves some credit for trying to humanize his imagined subjects as members of specific tribes. In his “Bride of Conflict,” the young woman’s beautiful face has at least been made to look pensive and apprehensive with down-turned mouth as she contemplates her fated marriage to a conquering chief in accordance with a Calusa custom designed to cement alliances and maintain order.

In spite of the artist’s acknowledgement of the important role that elders played in Indian society as custodians of culture and teachers of the future generations, very few of the fifty-eight color portrait paintings depict elderly individuals, and when they do, all the images are males. The absence of elderly women seems a strange omission for an artist attempting to represent pictorially matrilineal peoples. It is interesting that even one of these exceptional portraits of an aged Indian portrays the individual as wearing a vulture feather in his hair to “reinforce the theme of death and ruin” that resulted from the “European diseases” that unhappily arrived and “decimated his people” in the post-contact period. While disease and death certainly followed in Columbus’s wake, this obvious symbolic device paints too stark a contrast with the young and happy and beautiful faces of the pre-contact peoples of his “Paradise Lost.”

In his attempt to capture “pristine” Nature and Indian cultures yet “uncorrupted” by European contact, Morris has implicitly, if unconsciously, made post-contact Florida Indians less worthy of

representation. My hope is that in the future, this extremely talented artist will use his considerable skills and ethnographic sensitivity to depict not only those “pristine” primitives “living in harmony” with nature but also to portray Indians of the post-Columbian world interacting with the various peoples of European-origins who invaded and colonized their lands. Until then, scholars looking for illustrations to represent the contact and early colonial period will have to continue to use the admittedly inaccurate and much maligned de Bry images.

Francis X. Luca

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The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800. Edited by David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. xx, 324 pp. List of maps, list of tables, acknowledgments, notes on contributors, preface by Bernard Bailyn, introduction, afterward: “Atlantic History: A Circumnavigation” by J.H. Elliott, notes, further readings, index. \$75.00 cloth, \$23.95 paper.)

The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800 is an ambitious title. Edited volumes on the Atlantic World typically address specific topics, such as Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling’s *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender & Seafaring in the Atlantic*, or Barbara Solow’s *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*. Ambitious in time and space, yes, but these volumes rely on sharper topical focus than David Armitage and Michael Braddick’s attempt to capture something of the whole range of British involvement in the Atlantic over three centuries. The book brings together a set of papers which developed out of Harvard’s 1997 International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, organized in part by Bernard Bailyn. Bailyn conceives the British Atlantic distinctly from the British empire in the Atlantic. The British Atlantic allows one to study how “Britain was part, and an increasingly important part, of the entire Atlantic system . . . and we will understand it best within that large inter-hemispheric, transnational perspective” (xvii). While the volume contains many fine essays, as a whole it never manages to fulfill Bailyn’s promising agenda. This is a book very much about the British empire in the North Atlantic, particularly the British archipelago and the Thirteen Colonies, and much less about the interactions of Britons with the greater Atlantic World.

One does find some outstanding, dense surveys that deftly negotiate great swaths of time and space. Armitage's own "Frameworks" essay offers one of the first and thus invaluable maps to the historiography of Atlantic history over the past century in Britain, America, and beyond. As for the topical essays, Alison Games's study of migration perhaps best captures a history of British involvement in an Atlantic system. She circulates the reader among four continents over two centuries. This readable yet expansive essay concisely summarizes much of her recent book by the same name and deserves to find a place on the reading lists of undergraduate classes on immigration, U.S. colonial, British, and Atlantic history. Similarly, Elizabeth Mancke explores three hundred years of European imperial politics with insight, avoiding the dual temptations of teleology and revolution. In this important essay, a fine example of an "inter-hemispheric, transnational perspective," Mancke offers creative new suggestions about understanding the intertwined development of empire, statehood, and international, as well as local, law.

Otherwise, one does not find enough engagement with areas possessed by or critically important to the British outside the Thirteen Colonies or, to a lesser extent, the Caribbean. Such short- or long-term British colonies as Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Quebec, Guyana, and East and West Florida rarely get mentioned, and in many essays, not at all. As critical sites of contest with rival powers, these should be fruitful places to study British intellectual, commercial, and political interconnections with the greater Atlantic system. One wishes, for example, that Carla Pestana in her essay on religion, pushed her insightful analysis beyond the Thirteen Colonies to show how Britons in Newfoundland dealt with faith, or how conquered Catholics reacted to British rule, or how conquered Britons reacted to Spanish and French rule. War with rival empires, after all, formed one of the greatest constants of British participation in the Atlantic. Moreover, while several contributors grapple with the history of slavery in productive ways, in a disappointing surprise, no essay focuses on British interactions in war and peace with aboriginals. Readers of Michael Braddick's essay on material culture and authority, for instance, could benefit from explanations of how British colonists adapted the material cultures of aboriginal peoples to confirm and challenge authority, and of how aboriginal peoples used British goods to contest British authority.

In his constructive afterword, J.H. Elliot notes some of these concerns and also highlights another: determining just where the Atlantic ends. He questions if the Great Plains, or Peru, despite their remoteness from Atlantic shores, actually formed vital parts of the Atlantic system? Some authors in the volume follow these types of leads as far abroad as India, while most do not. Its nebulous quality makes the Atlantic a powerfully attractive organizing idea, but Bailyn, Armitage, and Elliot correctly propose that historians need to become more careful in describing just what they mean by "Atlantic." Providing a multifaceted summary of many of the ways in which core North Atlantic areas of the British empire developed together makes this volume conveniently useful. More attention to Bailyn's vision of charting the significance of Britons, not just within, but outside their empire, would have realized a greater ambition.

Jonathan Eacott

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A Fierce and Fractious Frontier: The Curious Development of Louisiana's Florida Parishes, 1699-2000. Edited by Samuel C. Hyde Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2004. 232 pp. "Louisiana's Florida Parishes: A Sense of Place and History" by Hodding Carter III, acknowledgments, introduction: "Discovering a Neglected Southern Subregion," contributors, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$21.95 paper.)

The sub-region known as the Florida Parishes of Louisiana remains a place that has largely escaped the analysis of historians of either state. For historians of Florida, it is likely that this area has been neglected because of its relatively brief period as a part of West Florida. For historians of Louisiana, the neglect stems from an intense focus on New Orleans rather than the many distinct cultures that developed outside of the Crescent City. This volume brings together ten essays from various historical angles as well as other disciplines, and though the editor notes that this book is not intended to be the final word on the area's history, these works contribute to the understanding of these parishes and the South as a region, and provide a foundation for further historical inquiry.

The first segment focuses on the "convoluted colonial identity" of a region that shifted hands between the French, British, Spanish, and the United States from the 1760s through the first

decade of the nineteenth century. The first two of these essays, by Charles N. Elliot and Robin F. A. Fabel respectively, focus on French and British attempts to secure dominion with Native Americans as either allies or competitors. Elliot's essay discusses the allegiances between the French and various Native Americans to protect access to the Mississippi River by either the British or hostile Indian Nations. Fabel's work is a condensed version of his earlier work on West Florida and particularly its place within the broader context of British colonial and commercial expansion. Both essays inspire questions as to how Indian Nations influenced identities in the region rather than simply military or commercial strategy. The third offering in the section by Gilbert C. Din examines the changes to slavery that occurred when these parishes shifted from French to Spanish law. In keeping with the work of Kimberly Hanger, Din notes that the Spanish looked for partners when they took over, not only among the elite but among all social strata, including the enslaved. To that end, the Spanish granted more rights to slaves, including the ability to complain about treatment, which did not exist under the *Code Noir*. How slaves were able to use this new system to their advantage and how they dealt with the loss of these rights after the United States took over Louisiana would make an interesting conclusion to this work.

The second segment uses the Florida Parishes as a local study to make sense of broader historiographic problems, and while the junction of these varied topics and approaches is vexing, it is the most likely to appeal to those not specifically interested in the history of the Gulf South. While the claims of the first two essays focusing on military actions in this sub-region seem to promise more than they deliver (i.e. that the loss at the battle of Lake Borgne allowed Jackson to win in New Orleans later, or that the whites of the Florida Parishes might have continued to fight the Civil War through guerilla tactics in the manner of the VietCong), they do effectively place this region into the larger military history of the South. Richard H. Kilbourne Jr.'s contribution examines the post-bellum economic crisis through the lens offered by the Florida Parishes. This essay makes a compelling plea to recast the historiography by looking at the importance of credit and its relationship to labor as opposed to older explanations of racial exploitation, at least in regions with similar demographic and economic compositions to the Florida Parishes. The final essay in this section by Latimore Smith offers a history of the pine forests and

an appeal for their conservation, though not an environmental history, which may have been more in keeping with the goals of the book.

Bill Wyche offers a more direct historical analysis of the interaction between humans and the environment in the final section of the book in his study of African American lumber workers. The lumber industry, Wyche argues, was not only an engine for economic change in the region but also social change. Through participation in lumbering, whites and blacks challenged racial attitudes by working with one another and, on at least one occasion, by banding together as workers in a strike, abandoning the separateness of racism. Using a text produced in 1934-1935 by African American historian Horace Mann Bond, Adam Fairclough makes a similar observation as Wyche, that is, that this sub-region contained communities that defy standard perceptions about race and racism within the South. In examining Bond's study of Washington Parish, Fairclough notes that blacks were able to found strong communities with father-centered families, which interacted at least in some cases on an equal footing with local whites. The concluding essay, by Paul H. Templet, is a study seeking to disprove the notion that economic development and environmental quality are necessarily opposed to one another. This contribution takes the study up to the year 2000, but fits much more closely with Smith's essay than those in this last section.

These essays make it clear that generalizing about the South, and even specific sub-regions within it, can distort the complex nature of cultures and communities that make up the many "Souths." While the organization of these essays can be frustrating to the reader, taken as a whole, these essays fulfill the hope of its contributors in bringing attention to an understudied area and suggesting new directions for research.

Timothy R. Buckner

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Hunted Like a Wolf: The Story of the Seminole War. By Milton Meltzer. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2004. 183 pp. Bibliography, index. \$16.95 hardcover.)

"It began with Christopher Columbus" (1). Thus does Milton Meltzer introduce his story of the Seminole struggle for freedom against the Euroamerican "reign of terror" (167). As the language

suggests, *Hunted Like a Wolf* is an earnest tale, an activist's tale, and the lines of moral responsibility are drawn very clearly. There are some drawbacks to this approach: Meltzer does not provide citations; his bibliography is limited, and not much larger than that in his first edition (1972). Yet, culpability for the removal of the Seminoles is about as clear as it can ever be. As history, Meltzer's is a balanced narrative: the years before the first major U.S. assault in 1817, those between that war and the "Second Seminole War," and the two major phases of the second conflict (1835-early 1838, and from then to mid-1842) receive equal notice. Perhaps the greatest strength of *Hunted Like the Wolf* is its attention to divisions among the hunters. Apart from World War II and the Korean War, every American war that has lasted more than a few months has stirred significant dissent, and the Second Seminole War (like the first) shows that this was just as true of "Indian" wars as of "conventional" ones. Meltzer therefore provides a dual political-military narrative of operations in Florida and debates in Washington and farther north: see especially his quotations from the Downing-Wise debate in the House of Representatives in early 1838 (130-34).

Meltzer's story tends to read as oppression after oppression, with whites as the chief actors, but he provides several insights into the Seminoles. None of these are entirely new, but Meltzer is trying to reach a wider audience than academic historians, who have already come to the conclusions, both general and specific, that he emphasizes. Divisions among the Seminoles were as extensive as those among whites, with Seminoles who had gone west returning as early as the fall of 1836 to help guide the army against their fellows. There are three points about which to elaborate: first, that Seminole divisions were in large part opened by white wedges; second, that white divisions ultimately made little difference (raising the question of the efficacy of dissent over war and international relations in U.S. history, and the reasons for its ineffectiveness); and third, that the Seminoles who returned to guide the army probably did so not for pay or revenge against tribal enemies but because they had made a difficult decision that removal was the best deal they could get given the ineffectiveness of white dissent against the war. This is very much worth noting because the success of U.S. strategy in the second phase of the war (from early 1838 to its "conclusion" in mid-1842) depended as much on Seminoles persuading their brethren to go west as it did on mili-

tary operations per se. Indeed, once military pressure led the Seminoles to disperse—and once military seizures of Seminoles negotiating, however desultorily, under flags of truce had diminished the Seminole force by at least 50 percent—U.S. strategy usually combined, or alternated between, sending large numbers of small patrols to find and attack Seminole fields and villages, and sending Seminoles who had moved west to persuade their kin to follow them.

In this context, Meltzer's emphasis on war leader Coacoochee's role in sustaining Seminole resistance after his escape from imprisonment is valuable, though I would like to see more attention from scholars of the Seminole Wars to Arpeika or Sam Jones, the Mikasuki prophet, by far the longest-lived and most elusive leader of the resistance to American aggression. The roles of Coacoochee and Arpeika suggest three further points about persistence in the Seminole struggle: first, Meltzer repeats the insight that many Seminole youths grew to adulthood during the seven-year war, producing a harder, more elusive core of resistance; second, he notes that some people of African descent remained among the Seminoles until 1842, if not beyond; and third, he does not carry his story beyond 1842. Both the first and second issues need elaboration: how did the young women and warriors adapt to the end of overt hostilities? How did their adolescence shape the majority, who went west? Which people of African descent remained with the Seminoles and Mikasukis in Florida, and why?

The third point, that *Hunted Like a Wolf* does not go beyond 1842, is surprising given the lessons Meltzer clearly wants to impart. Although the removal of most Seminoles effectively opened Florida to white settlement after 1842, the story of the last (saving?) Mikasuki-Seminole remnant, including Arpeika who never left Florida, needs more substantial attention from scholars. Neither Joe Knetsch's *Florida's Seminole Wars* (2003), John Missall and Mary Lou Missall's *The Seminole Wars* (2004), nor Virginia Peters's *The Florida Wars* (1979) explore the "third" Seminole War (1855-58) in any depth, and James Covington's *The Billy Bowlegs War* (1982), a detailed narrative of events in that war, has never received the attention its deserves.

That being said, *Hunted Like a Wolf* accomplishes its author's objectives. It is readable, concise, and nicely illustrated. Though not explicitly analytical, it is a pretty comprehensive survey, with

examples and quotations that very effectively highlight Meltzer's points. It suggests divisions on both sides, and the possible salience of the Second Seminole War to the formation of the second party system (the Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs). And, above all, it directs our attention to larger issues that still tear at us today: "[The Seminoles] made America pay a heavy price for its racism—a price we still pay in many ways. What conquering the Indian did to us as a people and a nation we are only beginning to understand. That process of fraud, corruption, trickery, violence, spread like a sickness through all the American body politic, and those methods are often the methods used still in settling political, social, and international problems." (167)

Samuel Watson

United States Military Academy

Communities of Kinship: Antebellum Families and the Settlement of the Cotton Frontier. By Carolyn Earle Billingsley. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004. xi, 215 pp. List of figures, acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, appendix, notes, bibliography, index, credits. \$19.95 paper.)

This book makes two main arguments, one more successfully than the other. It maintains that academic historians have a blinkered understanding of the concept of kinship which, properly understood, possesses as much explanatory potential as race, class, gender, or other constructs. The less compelling argument concerns the book's subject, the Keesee kinship group of Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas (but not, it should be pointed out in this journal, Florida). Billingsley argues that her examination of this family contradicts interpretations of antebellum southern migration patterns that emphasize the individual and nuclear family nature of interregional movement. In making this case, *Communities of Kinship* caricatures the views of other historians. It is also not clear that the Keesee family is representative of other southern families.

Communities of Kinship is an extended advertisement for the value of kinship studies. Billingsley concedes that historians have not exactly ignored kinship, but she demonstrates that they almost always employ it simplistically, which has led them to underestimate its usefulness. Employing genealogical methods that uncover extra-nuclear ties and anthropological insights that stress

environmental and historical definitions of effective family bonds, Billingsley demonstrates the untapped potential of kinship as a category of historical analysis. This book is particularly interested in proving the efficacy of kinship for altering our understanding of white society in the Old South. The descendants of Thomas Keesee Sr. were nearly all southerners and enjoyed variable levels of wealth and slave-ownership. Some served in public office, and most were church members. The family, Billingsley states, "can be seen as representational of antebellum southerners at large" (36). A study of this family promises to illustrate the merits of genealogical methods, since no manuscript materials or other personal records exist to flesh out the legal records and public documents on which genealogists depend. Examining migration patterns, religious affiliation, economic and political power, and post-bellum developments, Billingsley argues that kinship was the central institution in the Old South, rendering it sharply different from white society in the North and West, where well-developed institutions such as banks, public schools, and courts supplanted families.

Billingsley argues that kinship governed white migration across the southern frontier in the antebellum period. Families like the Keesees and their circle moved in search of fertile, market-accessible land on which to put their slaves to work growing cotton, and they did so in family groups, not as isolated, alienated individuals or nuclear families. Kinship also shaped the religious choices made by members of this family. Sacred and secular kinship overlapped; church membership, she argues, represented a form of fictive kinship nearly as powerful as blood ties. Kinship bolstered political and economic power. The members of the Keesee circle who attained public office did so with the support of their kin group, and the acquisition of land, credit, and slaves was facilitated through the family circle instead of through institutions such as banks. The power of kinship declined after the Civil War. Abolition, strengthening institutions, and wartime deaths loosened family ties and diminished southern distinctiveness.

This book is full of insights. Billingsley's rehabilitation of genealogical methods is as passionate as it is convincing. It allows her, for example, to offer a compelling challenge to the conventional planter/yeoman distinction by showing variable rates of slave-owning in the Keesee family depending on life cycle, familial relation, time period, and other factors. And her insistence on the centrality of kin relations to the process of migration is consistent

with Edward E. Baptist's *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War* (2002).

But there are serious defects as well. In arguing that migration was a kin operation, Billingsley crudely takes issue with Joan E. Cashin and Jane Turner Censer, who documented the strains migration placed on kin ties. The processes of migration in the Old South were variable and complex, as James David Miller shows in *South by Southwest: Planter Emigration and Identity in the Slave South* (2002). For a book eager to accuse historians of oversimplification, *Communities of Kinship* is surprisingly unsophisticated in its own ways. The contrast it draws between North and South borders on caricature. Its interpretation of kinship and politics is neither new nor especially compelling; it has been documented far more fully, for example, in Christopher Olsen's *Political Culture and Secession in Mississippi: Masculinity, Honor, and the Antiparty Tradition, 1830-1860* (2000). In the end, *Communities of Kinship* impresses the reader as much with the potential of genealogical methods as it does with its limitations. Studies depending on a single methodology are prone to offer up precisely the one-dimensional picture of their subject as the works they purport to critique.

Daniel Kilbride

John Carroll University

Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South. By Robert Pace. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. xii, 152 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

With *Halls of Honor*, Robert Pace seeks to uncover the values and experiences of antebellum college students. Throughout the volume, he charts the interplay between two central themes: adolescent development and the southern code of honor. His subjects, students at state universities and denominational colleges throughout the South, inhabited a youth culture between childhood and manhood. As they sought to affect the controlled comportment of gentlemen they also manifested the caprice of boys. According to Pace, the violence common on antebellum campuses derived from this interplay between youthfulness and honor. Boys routinely played tricks on one another. But if that mischief shamed a student, he felt honor-bound to defend his reputation. In this way, childish pranks could quickly escalate into duels. The

peer friendships that students formed and their reaction to school rules similarly reflected this relationship between boyishness and honor. In the end, Pace concludes that students used their college years to develop “a student peer-developed honor ethic” that allowed them to leave behind boyhood and become men (83).

The premium that southern elites placed on appearances is a recurrent and compelling topic in the book. Pace persuasively argues that gentlemen cared more about reputation than about reality. Protecting public image ranked paramount in the minds of antebellum southern elites, and Pace shows how boys learned the importance of putting on a mask of honor. Teenage students worked hard to build and protect their reputations. They worried endlessly about being embarrassed—about being unmasked as cowards or incompetents. And they dressed and spent money to project the proper image. On college campuses, these masks were not simply metaphorical, however. Inhabiting a raucous peer culture, these boys felt tempted to engage in pranks and violence, actions they enjoyed as boys but knew to be imperiling to their future reputations as men. Ever mindful of the call to manifest honor, boys often put on physical masks to cover their identities when they misbehaved. “Blackriding,” riding on horseback at night in black masks, was a popular form of campus disorder. Pace fails, however, to explore the racial implications of this choice of mask. Indeed, the influence of race and slavery in the attitudes of these boys is under-analyzed throughout the book.

Pace’s work reveals a good deal about youth culture at antebellum colleges. In many ways, these students replicated the values of their fathers. Students shared a zeal for oratory, for example, and they loved to drink, gamble, and socialize. Their literary debate societies played a central role in student culture and, with their emphasis on leadership, competition, and loyalty, replicated “the larger ethos that governed the ruling society of the region” (72). The peer group exerted terrific influence in the lives of college students. Boy relied on their classmates and friends for validation, support, companionship, and fun. The coming of war transformed this generation of men and their college culture forever. Pace explores the impact of the Civil War in his closing chapter.

In some instances, Pace leaves his reader eager for more clarity. In the first chapter, he indicates that students respected their teachers and that the image often projected by scholars of

obstreperous southern boys challenging their professors at every turn distorts the reality of the college experience. But in subsequent chapters he presents substantial evidence to the contrary. Boys broke schools rules prodigiously, ridiculed faculty members, and conspired to subvert the punishment of errant classmates. Pace's anecdotes on these scores reveal his adept archival research and should hearten current professors whose greatest worry is internet-driven plagiarism. One wishes also that Pace had confronted the growing historiography on masculinity and speculated on what his subjects' behaviors reveal about meanings of manhood. At times, Pace over relies on Bertram Wyatt-Brown's honor thesis to the exclusion of other works in southern history. Steven Stowe, for one example, does not make the bibliography, even though his *Intimacy and Power in the Old South* (1987) extensively and artfully explored education in the lives of the antebellum gentry.

Despite these matters, Pace has crafted an important, interesting, and very readable discussion of antebellum student life. He succeeds at placing the boys—not their parents or educators—truly at the center of his analysis. Readers learn about students' letter-writing practices, examinations, roommate and courtship travails, even their eating habits while gaining real insight into their emotional lives. Sometimes heartbreaking, sometimes exasperating, sometimes despicable—the boys appear, in Pace's rendering, always real. Historians interested in antebellum culture, early American education, and southern men will enjoy their journey through these *Halls of Honor*.

Lorri Glover

University of Tennessee

Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War. By Kirsten E. Wood. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. xiii, 281 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

In *Masterful Women*, historian Kirsten Wood argues that between the American Revolution and the Civil War, a small but important group of women lived in the southeastern United States who were left with considerable economic and social resources following the death of their husbands. These women were not only powerful and independent, they survived and often thrived as

slaveholders and planters in the male-dominated South. Using the personal diaries, letters, wills, land deeds, estate, and legal records of slaveholding widows who resided in Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, Wood traces the victories and travails of this tiny minority of female masters. Mastery commonly referred to a white man's "traditional prerogative" to govern his wife, children, and servants, but by the 1800s, slaveholders were calling themselves "masters" of their slaves, a term indicating something greater than mere ownership of chattel property. While married, a woman's legal and social identity was subsumed into that of her husband, and he had mastery over her. But upon her husband's death, a widow was no longer bound under the legal fiction of coverture. She became a free and independent entity. For the widows of slaveholding men, this meant that plantation mistresses were transformed into the masters of their households. Slaveholding widows were not masters in the same way that white men were, however, and they developed a "distinctive version of mastery," one that played upon the cultural stereotype of the defenseless, dependent woman and at the same time asserted their rights and privileges as land and slaveholders.

Widows could not practice all the forms of mastery that Southern society allowed to men. They could not vote, hold elective office, serve on a jury or in the militia, or participate in a duel. Nonetheless, slaveholding widows exerted mastery over their human chattel. They bought, sold, and punished their slaves as white men did, though they typically delegated the physical aspect of punishment to men and they rarely resorted to sexual violence as a mechanism of control. Slaveholding widows also managed their farms, hired and fired overseers, loaned and borrowed money, and participated in all of the commercial activities of the Southern economy. Wood disagrees with historians who have asserted that the plantation mistress could not even cook her own meals after her slaves ran off during the Civil War. There was more continuity between the duties of the plantation wife and the widowed slaveholder than has generally been recognized. Wood posits that plantation mistresses were not only managing their house slaves, but oftentimes worked alongside them in the kitchen and elsewhere out of necessity. She also disagrees that farms declined during the Civil War because women could not run them while the men were away fighting in the Confederate Army. She states instead that marauding armies, excessive demands for men

and materials, and the Union Navy's successful blockade of Southern ports, which made goods difficult to obtain and prevented the sale of cotton to overseas markets, were responsible for the decline. The war also disrupted the slave labor system upon which the Southern economy was so dependent. Every Southern household felt the effects of the war, including those run by men.

Most of the slaveholding women that Wood considered in the book successfully negotiated between the cultural construction of femininity and the reality of their mastery, which at least rhetorically were antithetical to one another. Importantly, Wood demonstrates that wealthy white men tended to support slaveholding widows in myriad ways and her evidence suggests that, at least among planters, class frequently trumped gender in the antebellum South, a finding that merits further examination. Wood succeeds in demonstrating that slaveholding women were generally successful masters and plantation managers, and that their mastery did take a different form than that of white men. Wood might have given readers a better sense of how many or what percentage of slaveholders widows may have actually constituted, but this book is a positive contribution to women's and Southern history for demonstrating the complexity between the reality of female lives and the rhetoric of prescriptive literature.

Mary Block

Valdosta State University

Brothers One and All: Esprit de Corps in a Civil War Regiment. By Mark H. Dunkelman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. xii, 344 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Brothers One and All is Mark H. Dunkelman's third book about the 154th New York Volunteer Infantry, of which his great-grandfather was a member. Written with Michael J. Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment* was a fairly standard regimental history. *Gettysburg's Unknown Soldier* chronicled the living and posthumous career of Sergeant Amos Humiston, who became the regiment's most famous soldier after his death. *Brothers One and All*, by contrast, proposes to examine the evolution of *esprit de corps* in the 154th, which Dunkelman defines as "the common spirit existing in the members of a group, a spirit that inspires enthusiasm, devotion, and strong regard for the honor of the group" (5).

Dunkelman justifies his project, as historians must, by telling the reader what new ground it breaks. "Surprisingly little has been written about Civil War regimental esprit de corps," he writes before launching into an involved historiography of all that has been written (7). The related topics of unit cohesion and soldier motivation have been hot topics at least since James McPherson published *What They Fought For* in 1995. Regimental histories, meanwhile, are by now pretty thick on the ground. But *Brothers One and All* is the first work to examine esprit at the regimental level which, Dunkelman maintains, is the logical perspective from which to view the phenomenon. And in fairness to the author, "surprisingly little" takes on a different meaning when speaking of the Civil War, which has been the subject of countless thousands of books.

That *Brothers One and All* is not wholly *sui generis* does nothing to diminish Dunkelman's accomplishment. This is a terrific book, the culminating achievement of three decades of work. Its chief virtues lay not in its originality but in its thoroughness. Through the years, Dunkelman has contacted 900 descendants of members of the Hardtack Regiment and consulted some 1,300 letters and a couple dozen diaries. And he brings to his task the accumulated knowledge from having researched and written about the same group of roughly 2,100 men for thirty years.

Esprit was in some ways built into regiments because they were recruited from the same area. The members of the 154th, for example, all hailed from Cattaraugus County in upstate New York, thus ensuring a certain community-mindedness from the outset and making difficult shirking or deserting without bring lasting shame on oneself and one's family. During the war, the soldiers' connection to each other grew as they fought and suffered together at Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Chattanooga, Chattanooga, and other battles. The men likewise grew closer to those who remained on the homefront in New York, and organized soldier aid societies and supported them in other ways. Tied to their home in a more meaningful way than before, many members of the 154th, including Dunkelman's great-grandfather, went on to become pillars of their community. These findings mirror those of G. Ward Hubbs, who documented a similar phenomenon in an Alabama town during the Civil War.

Military historians have in the past been too often seen as practitioners of an old and outmoded type of history by academics. Sometimes that can have its benefits. It is now military historians

like Dunkelman and Hubbs who, more than anyone, are fulfilling the promise of the new social history and the community studies of the 1970s and 1980s. The cutting edge of the discipline has long since moved on to “cultural” history which, in addition to other advantages, has the virtue of being a lot less work than finely grained community studies. *Brothers One and All* will certainly appeal to fans of the old “new social history.” It should also find a wide readership among Civil War enthusiasts.

Chad Morgan

St. Andrews Presbyterian College

Divided Mastery: Slave Hiring in the American South. By Jonathan D. Martin. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. 237 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, epilogue, notes, index. \$ 39.95 cloth.)

In the vast literature on American slavery, in which seemingly every topic has been examined, revised, and revisited, it should surprise readers that no scholar ventured a full-bodied book-length study of slave hiring, even if only to describe that most fundamental practice . . . until now. Jonathan Martin has filled the huge chasm in our knowledge by writing a cogent, compelling, and almost comprehensive history of slave hiring from its roots in colonial America to its mature permutations by the mid-nineteenth century. In doing so, he especially reveals how the elasticity of slavery as an economic institution imposed strains on slavery as a social institution.

As Martin details, slave hiring was ubiquitous in the South. Slaves were hired to do all manner of work, from caulking ships, to manning river craft, to lading and hauling goods, to making barrels, to digging coal, to raising levees, to putting up buildings, and to bringing in and processing crops, and more. Hired slaves worked in cities and on farms; they bolstered changing economies in the tidewater and lowcountry areas and provided vital labor in the westward march of the cotton South. Slaves were hired on a yearly basis, a seasonal one, or for particular jobs. Slave hiring made slavery an adaptable, profitable, expansive institution. It also invested many whites in its fortunes. Non-slaveholders otherwise unable to buy slaves might hire them for specialized tasks, gaining seasonal and skilled labor and also social benefits as “masters,” even if only for a time.

At the same time, slave hiring complicated and compromised slavery's hold on the enslaved and on those who would be their masters. Slave hiring divided the authority of the "master," for the slaveholder's interest in gaining profit from hiring slaves combined with his interest in protecting his slave from abuse or conditions that might cost him the health and loyalty of the slave. The hirer, in turn, wanted the full authority of the master in order to direct and exact as much labor from the slave as possible. The law favored the master's interest over the hirer's, but the actual arrangements varied according to the customs of the country, the personalities and interests of the principals involved, and the tasks at hand.

The slaves seized on the inherent tensions between the master's interests and the hirer's to negotiate their own best interest. At hiring fairs, slaves presented themselves in ways that influenced who bid for their labor, and on the job they played off the master against the hirer. If a hirer proved too demanding, abusive, or obnoxious, the slave might refuse to work for him again, thus putting the master in the position of having to decide whether the short-term gain from a hire outweighed the long-term prospect of an unhappy, unruly slave. Over time, slaves gained some measure of control over the terms of their hire, including the kinds of work they would do and visiting rights with family, for example, and habits of accommodation over time became "rights." Some slaves even hired their own time, acting as their own agents in making contracts and living apart from the master and the hirer. To some whites, such slaves seemed hardly slaves at all. Slave hiring thus opened up slavery to internal tensions that threatened its stability, even as it provided needed labor flexibility that ensured its viability.

Martin's book succeeds because he understands the contradictions the triangularity of slave hiring created and because he recognizes that, in the end, slave hiring was driven by market forces. Slave hiring, he concludes, forced slaveholders to individuate the slaves based on their value in the hiring market. All slaves, regardless of age, thus acquired some potential worth, in dollars. But that worth also hinged on what the slaves did, or refused to do. Therein was the dynamic that most distinguished slave hiring from slave holding. Martin is especially good at bringing the slaves' interests and actions into view, by drawing on frequent accounts of slave hiring related in slave narratives, American Freedman's

Inquiry Commission interviews, and WPA ex-slave testimony. Martin loses some clarity on the peculiar local variations of slave hiring by stretching his canvass across the whole South. He also cheats the complexity of the slave hiring story by slighting the extent to which white artisans, mechanics, and other skilled laborers, and immigrant workers of various abilities, protested slave hiring and became estranged from slaveholders' interests because of it. One wonders, too, if non-slaveholders who hired slaves later aligned themselves with slaveholders politically, in part because of their experience as "masters" for a day.

Martin closes his book by reminding us that, for all their "freedom" in manipulating masters and hirers to make the best out of a bad situation, hired slaves were still slaves, and they knew it. Violence and separation from family and community threatened them constantly, and in the end, their labor was not their own. Such a coda is necessary and refreshing in light of scholarly tendencies to ignore the horrors of slavery in giving the slaves so much agency in supposedly controlling their own lives and culture. And such a book as Martin's is necessary and refreshing by shining much light on an essential subject that heretofore remained on the margins of historical consciousness. Martin's book will cause us all to rethink the meanings of "mastery" and the dynamics of slavery.

Randall M. Miller

Saint Joseph's University

Echoes from a Distant Frontier: The Brown Sisters' Correspondence from Antebellum Florida. Edited by James M. Denham and Keith L. Huneycutt. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004. xxxii, 325 pp. List of maps and illustrations, series editor's preface, acknowledgments, introduction, editorial procedures and policies, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Part of the series *Women's Diaries and Letters of the South*, this charming collection of letters chronicles the adult lives of the Brown sisters, Ellen and Corinna, from the 1830s when they moved from their childhood home in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to the frontier of Florida, until the 1850s when the sisters returned North. With a devotion to maintaining their strong family ties, the sisters and their three brothers stayed in touch over long distances

of time and place. Brothers Charles and George migrated to Florida, but their artist brother Mannevillette spent years in Europe and New York. Their extensive letters to him constitute the bulk of the book. Both sisters eventually married and some of the surviving correspondence between spouses is also included. Corinna married Edward Aldrich, a physician in the army and later private practice; Ellen wed army officer Willoughby Anderson. Both men served in the Seminole War; Anderson lost his life in the Mexican American War, leaving Ellen with three small children in a society that offered little help for single mothers.

This work gives a rare glimpse into life in territorial Florida during and after the second Seminole War. Visiting and living in many places in the state, the sisters provide portraits of several areas over time as well as insight into the attitudes of white settlers. With their early years in the territory punctuated by the war, the sisters showed little sympathy for the plight of the Seminoles. Through household servants, they became acquainted personally with the South's institution of slavery, accepting both ideas of black inferiority and supposedly beneficent white paternalism. Their prejudices also included poor Florida whites, to whom they referred as "crackers."

The Florida environment was strange and new to the Browns. In 1835, Ellen wrote to her brother: "I . . . am by no means in love with the place." A year after settling there, Corinna was still calling her new home a "wilderness." Adapting to the heat, storms, mosquitoes, and other challenges led to frustration and sometimes serious illness. The fragility of life in the face of microbes, climate, and hostile humans becomes clear through the sisters' writing, but their own adaptability and persistence also shows.

While valuable for its information on the development of antebellum Florida, the collection is equally significant for the insight it gives into the lives of women and their families. The letters reveal intelligent, well-read women, who easily and often eloquently expressed themselves. Phrases of French and Latin pepper their letters, as do references to the Bible, literature, and history. Knowledgeable and opinionated on the issues of the day, the Brown sisters considered themselves to be staunch Whigs in spite of their lack of voting rights. They discussed the foibles and virtues of politicians and military leaders at the territorial and national levels, and in their writings assumed that they should do so.

Although the sisters remained within acceptable gender roles, their writings show that they did not fully accept the cult of true womanhood. Corinna, although she originally did not intend to marry, was the first wed; she appears to have done so reluctantly. She made the decision, she wrote, after "[I] suffered myself unknowingly to be led from flower to flower accepting attentions that served but courtesy until I am completely sick of the path I inclined to pursue." After reflection on her "present dependent situation," she called her decision the "honorable course." But she made clear to her future husband that she had "no heart to give" (52).

Ellen was also outspoken on the subject of men and the role of women. She castigated her brother for writing that marriage was the "great aim" of women: "You must pardon my prolixity but I cannot suffer a brother of mine to entertain this absurd and . . . derogatory opinion." Ellen explained that men wanted marriage as much as women, but did not see it as their only goal; they saw marriage as women's only aim because "being their only publick act it strikes you as being their only act of interest" (59). In 1838, she spoke on the subject of love: "we are such betwixt and between half good, half bad, indifferent sort of creatures with just sense enough to make trouble for ourselves deserving after all more charity than censure. How can a person expect to find a being one could love? I hate to bring my imagination down the level of humanity. . . ." (79). Ironically, Ellen fell in love and the letters in the collection from her husband reveal a passionate, intimate relationship. After his death, the limited boundaries for women frustrated Ellen: "Bless my stars what a helpless individual a women is. . . . If it was not wicked I would wish myself a man. I would put my two legs into a pair of trousers and take the longest kind of steps, I don't know where" (266). Were the attitudes of the Brown sisters unusual for women in pre-Civil War Florida? Were they a function of the frontier society, their northern upbringing? A little more historical context on antebellum Florida women would be helpful.

James Denham and Keith Huneycutt have done a sound job of editing these letters, with extensive footnotes providing information on people, places, and events in the letters. The introduction provides genealogical and background information necessary to understand the lives of the Browns, while chapter introductions and editorial bridges between some letters fill in gaps in the correspondence, keep the reader informed of significant develop-

ments, and unravel the sometimes confusing movements of the various family members. The epilog satisfies the reader's curiosity about the post-Florida lives of the Brown family members. Photographs of the family portraits are also a welcome inclusion. The letters themselves weave a fine story, as readable as fiction, with all the elements of a good novel—humor, romance, grief, and tragedy.

Lee Ann Caldwell

Georgia College and State University

All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970. By Alan Scot Willis. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004. xiii, 260 pp. Preface, introduction, conclusion, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Alan Scot Willis begins his study of Southern Baptists missions with the professed aim of understanding ways in which religious beliefs shaped white Baptist views on race relations. Situated within the post-World War II American South, Willis's research explores Baptists' treatments of various dimensions of racism rooted in regional culture, national policy, and global colonization efforts. Willis suggests that World War II served as a discursive shift for a new version of "prophetic" Baptist theology which emphasized social reform and racial equality over traditional and more provincial religious dogmatism, placing Southern Baptists at the forefront of the Civil Rights movement. In their attempts to eradicate domestic racism as inconsistent with the teachings of Christianity, Baptist Convention leaders and missionaries in the mid-twentieth century faced resistance from local church congregations whose religious identities and perceptions were inextricably rooted in southern segregationist culture.

Through a thorough analysis of Baptist literature in the post-war period, Willis finds that Southern Baptist missionaries and their leaders "persistently challenged the prevailing views of race and dominant practices of their region" (5). Empowered by a "radical individualism" and beliefs in personal salvation, church members at the bottom levels did not always fall into line behind the renewed rhetoric of equality, integration, and Social Gospel advanced by progressive Baptists and missionaries at the top. The result was a divided organization, in which leaders struggled to chart a new course for their reluctant constituents. The path,

according to Willis, led to new ideas not only about domestic social relations, but also about revisions to international diplomacy and global missionizing efforts.

Willis's analysis is essentially organized into three sections. The first deals with the intersection of southern culture and Baptist theology, as the race question and issues of social reform increasingly distanced church leaders from their local congregations. At the center of the debate lay contested interpretations of biblical scriptures and the teachings of Christ. "Cultural Christians" in the South, Willis argues, justified the practice of segregation and the perpetuation of racist ideology by "divorc[ing] righteousness from politics and business and social life" (35). Progressive missionaries sought to repair that perceived chasm between theology and practice within the Southern Baptist church.

The second part of the book deals with mission work outside of the United States, particularly in regions of Africa where Baptists competed with Islam and atheistic communism for the hearts and minds (and souls) of local populations. In the context of the Cold War, Willis writes, Southern Baptist leaders critiqued the imperialism of colonial powers around the world and "saw evangelization as a key component of world peace." (65). Willis successfully illustrates how missionaries understood American racism to undermine conversion efforts abroad, thus provoking "prophetic" challenges to segregation and discrimination at home. Not surprisingly, it was at the height of the Cold War that Baptist missionizing efforts in Africa increased "more than tenfold" and a renewed emphasis was placed on conversion (91).

Fearing that post-war materialism and corruption would undermine Christian principles, Baptist missionaries also undertook renewed efforts to convert Native Americans, Latinos, and African Americans in the United States. Through such organizations as the Department of Language Missions and a program of "Negro Work," church leaders sought to improve both their domestic and international images by spreading the Social Gospel among American minorities. However, as Willis notes, "The missionary message was laced with cultural imperialism" and functioned to enforce an exclusively white Christian definition of "Americanism" (126).

While Willis's text is well researched and clearly argued, it could be strengthened in several respects. Foremost, his reliance on formal Baptist publications and written public exchanges is

problematic, for it represents only the formal public face of a presumably complex and potentially hostile process of negotiation and debate within church leadership and among their followers. Employing a largely institutional, top-down approach, Willis does not effectively acknowledge the unofficial business conducted outside of the public discourse. Such an approach lends itself to a conveniently dichotomized and perhaps oversimplified bifurcation between leadership (missionaries, Convention officials) and Baptist congregations at the local level. Finally, though he situates progressive Baptists at the forefront of the modern Civil Rights movement, Willis does not devote adequate attention to minority voices and responses. Some examination of the debate beyond the official dialogue would likely yield a more insightful and multifaceted discussion.

Overall, however, Willis makes a valuable contribution to discussions of religion, race, and culture in the American South. He does an excellent job of linking southern segregation to international missionizing efforts, effectively examining the conflation of culture, politics, morality, and theology among Southern Baptists. Willis provides an engaging and accessible study which raises important questions and merits further investigation of Southern Baptist missions in the South and around the world.

Jared G. Toney

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Jacksonville: The Consolidation Story, From Civil Rights to the Jaguars.

By James B. Crooks. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xx, 274 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, foreword, preface and acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95 cloth.)

In 1967, voters in Jacksonville and the suburban areas of Duval County supported a successful city-county consolidation that transformed Jacksonville into Florida's largest city. James Crooks's detailed study of Jacksonville prior to and after the consolidation provides a wealth of information and insight about the community. His analysis focuses on the role of municipal leadership in coping with a myriad of issues regarding race, urban development, and the environment. Crooks analyzes the successes, failures, and complexities in these policy arenas during the administrations of Hans Tanzler (1967-78), Jake Godbold (1979-1987), Tommy

Hazouri (1987-1991), and Ed Austin (1991-95). The author makes a useful distinction between the adoption of policies and their implementation, and illustrates that policies initiated by one administration often are not implemented until a later mayor takes office. Crooks also shows the important roles that federal and state policy played in influencing policy in Jacksonville.

W. Haydon Burns served as Jacksonville's mayor for five terms from 1949 to 1965 in an antiquated governmental structure that included a nine-person city council as the legislative arm and a five-person city commission as the executive branch, with the mayor being the "lead commissioner." Burns never tired of telling the "Jacksonville story" to out-of-town visitors, and the mayor and the city's boosters, primarily the leadership of the Jacksonville Chamber of Commerce, boasted of "Jacksonville's Decade of Progress" from 1955 to 1965. True, developers built new buildings downtown, the Jacksonville Expressway Authority constructed needed roads and bridges, several insurance companies and banks built new offices in Jacksonville, and the port was improved. Still, Jacksonville at the time of the consolidation campaign was facing many of the same problems of most of America's central cities. Its historic downtown was losing much of its commercial base to the suburbs, middle-class whites were suburbanizing, racial tensions were high, the public school system was poorly funded, and government efforts to protect the environment were limited. The weak-governmental structure, along with what Crooks calls a "low-tax, antigovernment attitude," contributed to the inability of government to deal with some of Jacksonville's problems (56).

Major business and professional leaders in Jacksonville initiated the drive for the consolidation of the governments of Jacksonville and its suburban area. They were responding, in part, to their perception that outdated governmental systems in both the city and county were not responding to the needs of either Jacksonville or its suburbs. The fact that the city's population was over 40 percent African American might, according to Crooks, have been another motivating factor, because the charter movement leaders feared the city becoming majority African American. Crooks dissects why voters both in the city and county voted for the consolidation in 1967 that replaced the existing city government of Jacksonville and the county government with a new consolidated government. No one singular factor brought about the success, but certainly the fact that a grand jury uncovered rampant corrup-

tion in city government that resulted in indictments and convictions contributed to the desire of citizens for a change. The successful consolidation brought nationwide attention to Jacksonville. For example, the National Municipal League named Jacksonville an "All-American City" in 1969 in recognition of the successful consolidation.

Crooks provides a balanced account of the successes and failures of the consecutive administrations of consolidated government in coping with problems related to race, the environment, and economic development, and he does a good job of pointing to similarities and differences among the mayors and their administrations. For example, in assessing Godbold's time in office, Crooks notes that he supported some growth management and affirmative action initiatives, but would not challenge powerful interests that opposed these policies, such as the builders' opposition to strong growth management measures and the firefighters' opposition to affirmative action. By contrast, Hazouri was more willing to oppose established interests, and he was successful in persuading the city council to pass an odor ordinance that was opposed by some of Jacksonville's major business interests.

In the concluding chapter, Crooks provides an overview of consolidated Jacksonville. In addition to summarizing the observations of several actors who were involved with the transition to consolidated government, Crooks undertakes his own assessment of the impacts of consolidation. He generally concludes that consolidated government achieved its greatest success in environmental policy, its least success in race relations, and partial success in downtown development. In all these policies, Crook realizes that it is difficult to discern what policy differences might have resulted if consolidation had not been achieved. Still, he concludes that consolidated government was a positive factor for Jacksonville. In itself, consolidation was no panacea, but with wise leadership and an engaged citizenry, this structure was more likely to bring about better urban governance than the fragmented governmental structures that are common in many metropolitan areas.

Crooks's study of Jacksonville is a positive addition to the fields of urban history and politics and also contributes to the growing literature on Sunbelt cities. Crooks has much to say about urban leadership, governmental structure, and power relationships in urban governance, and his excellent discussion of environmental policy is relatively rare in studies of post-war urban politics and his-

tory. Crooks provides no simple answers regarding the complexity of governance and also offers no singular theoretical perspective in this book. Different readers are likely to come to different conclusions regarding the Jacksonville consolidation. Regardless, the time they devote toward studying this book will be time well spent.

Robert Kerstein

University of Tampa

The Mosquito Wars: A History of Mosquito Control in Florida. By Gordon Patterson. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. xviii, 263 pp. List of figures, foreword, acknowledgments, abbreviations, postscript, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

The Mosquito Wars is an examination of the relatively unknown and often unappreciated history of mosquito control in the formation of modern Florida. Gordon Patterson presents the story of the anti-mosquito workers who, with single-minded determination, went to war against both disease-causing and pest mosquitoes that thrived in Florida's environment. By attempting to limit or even eliminate these insects, they safeguarded not only the health of the state's residents but also the well-being of its tourist-driven, public-ity conscious economy.

The author has presented the topic with great energy and a prodigious amount of primary research that includes reports from anti-mosquito associations and mosquito control districts, as well as from public health documents and articles from contemporary medical journals. In addition, he has utilized the relevant literature concerning the new environmental history. The book is organized in rough chronological order from the 1880s to the present, but it begins with a brief and rather exotic tour of the history of insect control that reaches back to ancient Greece, Rome, and China, and even into the text of the Talmud.

Florida's mosquito control crusade starts in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century with the attack on the mosquitoes that carried yellow fever, malaria and dengue fever. It then moves into the 1920s with mosquito controllers facing governmental indifference and financial restraint in an era when the necessities of scientifically studying the mosquito and of educating the public about the insect began to coalesce. The Great Depression eventually led to New Deal funding that focused more

on ending unemployment in the state than on eliminating mosquitoes. World War II and its immediate aftermath enhanced the anti-mosquito movement as a result of the military's need to combat malaria and subsequent introduction of a seemingly remarkable pesticide called DDT. The post-war years witnessed the problems caused by DDT-resistant mosquito strains and the development of ditching and impoundments to eliminate salt marsh mosquito breeding places. The 1950s and early 1960s were, according to Patterson, the movement's "golden age," although it is not terribly clear why this period should rate such a designation. Perhaps the most interesting section of the study involves the decades following the 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* which criticized the use of pesticides and helped create the modern environmental movement in America. It also, however, led to another type of mosquito war, one that pitted two equally dedicated groups against each other. One believed in removing mosquitoes from Florida's environment, and the other saw the methods used to accomplish this help to destroy that same environment. The sense of betrayal that this created among anti-mosquito workers can be felt through their utter disdain for the environmentalists who attacked mosquito control for its use of insecticides and impoundment of natural wetlands.

Mosquito Wars, therefore has an important story to tell, but it tends to be lost in the style of Patterson's telling. The book falls into an older tradition of administrative history, one that is strung together from the available sources often consisting of reports from associations, committees, and government bureaus. It also insists on including the names (and brief biographies) of a very lengthy roster of mosquito "warriors" that covers a century. The major figures blend into the image of the selfless scientific hero. They are all driven to the point of obsession with killing mosquitoes, and all are deeply involved in a culture of mosquito abatement that had its own associations, publications, and agenda. Patterson describes their activities too often by the listing of objectives, tasks, or principles that seem to have been lifted directly from his official sources. Also, his text is littered with overdone superlatives such as "tremendous," "profound," and "astonishing," and the evolution of the mosquito control movement seems to have more "turning points" than a labyrinth.

The book could have been improved by a more thematic approach that focused on specific issues and then developed them

more fully. A number of topics could also have been examined in depth. For instance, it would have been useful to probe the tensions created between the localism that surrounded mosquito control districts and the advantages of having more state-run supervision and support. It was an issue that divided the mosquito workers themselves during the 1950s. Another topic that may have been worth exploring is the politics of mosquito control, especially during its "golden age" when one of its leaders routinely went to Tallahassee in order to influence policy through his network of friends and allies. Also, there are potential sub-themes involving ties, if any, between pesticide companies, land developers, chambers of commerce, and mosquito control, or over the ethics of having a paid public health official as leader of an anti-mosquito lobby group pushing for more government funding.

Perhaps the most important inquiry, however, is that dealing with the incessant need for mosquito controllers to educate and win over the public. This activity was believed to be crucial to the movement. One might legitimately ask that if the negative impact of mosquitoes on Florida was as obvious as Patterson and the mosquito men claimed, then why did such a public relations effort always seem necessary. It may be possible to suggest that Florida's population growth during the 1920s and the 1950s preceded serious successes in mosquito abatement instead of the other way around.

In the end, the reader comes away from this study with a great admiration for the effort and thoroughness that it displays and for the wealth of information that it provides. It is unfortunate that significant themes often get lost along the way. It makes one wish that the author and his editors had attempted one more rewriting in order to pull the themes out of the narrative and thus turn the book into a systematic and critical analysis of mosquito control within the context of Florida's modern historical development.

Eric Jarvis

King's University College

Politics and Growth in Twentieth-Century Tampa. By Robert Kerstein. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. xi, 440 pp. List of figures, maps, and tables, foreword, acknowledgments, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

In this well-researched and carefully reasoned book, Tampa University political science professor Robert Kerstein traces the

history of Tampa politics from the period just before the cigar industry moved to town in the mid-1880s through the end of the twentieth century. He tells which people and organizations were active and influential in the city's politics, and which were excluded. Thus, we learn of vigilante activity against Latin (Cuban, Italian, Spanish) labor activists, the disenfranchisement of African Americans for forty years after 1910, and omnipresent electoral corruption, but also of Latins winning political voice after the 1920s, civil rights progress in the 1950s and 60s, and the success of female political candidates in the 1970s.

In recounting these tales, Kerstein takes pains to distinguish his perspective from what he terms the "mainstream view" of political evolution in Sunbelt cities. The mainstream view he associates with the work of Earl and Merle Black, among others. In their overly linear view, writes Kerstein, the governance of Sunbelt cities by a commercial-civic elite gradually and decisively gave way to a more inclusive pattern of political participation. Only more recently, in this mainstream account, have Sunbelt cities become more conflictive, and then more inclusive, as the business community divided into central city and suburban factions, urban professionals developed an interest in quality-of-life issues, minorities gained political voice, and district elections replaced at-large ones.

Kerstein finds that Tampa experienced a more complicated pattern of political development than the mainstream view allows. Domination by a commercial and civic elite was not uniformly the case a century ago, he shows. Back then, ideological differences, divergent business interests, and competing political organizations fragmented the business elite. As well, cultural differences permeated the ranks of business. True, the traditionalist political culture emphasizing hierarchy and resistance to change that the Blacks associate with Southern cities existed in Tampa. Yet, it existed alongside an entrepreneurial political culture, embraced by some commercial elites, that welcomed growth and change irrespective of their potentially disruptive effects on society.

Kerstein likewise disputes the mainstream premise of steady progress from exclusion to inclusion in local politics. African Americans, women, Hispanics, and neighborhood and civic groups all strove for greater voice in Tampa's politics, yet no clear progression from oligarchy to pluralism occurred. "History can move backward as well as forward," he writes. Pointing to Atlanta, he notes that middle-class African Americans were included to

some degree in the governing coalition by the 1960s, while African Americans had little influence in Houston, even decades later.

In eschewing this mainstream perspective, the author lays claim to the regime-theory perspective in vogue among urban political scientists. This perspective, which emerged in response to the development-friendly analysis of Harvard political scientist Paul Peterson, understands that urban growth often harms as much as it helps (as we know in Florida). As presented in the work of Clarence Stone, this approach postulates that an informal coalition of public and private interests—the regime—governs the city, and that the character of the regime largely determines the nature of local policies. Consistent with this perspective, Kerstein asserts that business control of Tampa a century ago was incomplete (the regime had broader membership) and that minority participation in governance in more recent years has been discontinuous (it fluctuates with the power game).

He does not adopt regime theory entirely, however. For one, he observes that no discernible regime existed in some periods of Tampa's history, making this approach unusable for those periods. As well, he challenges Stone's perspective on power. Stone conceptualizes power as the "capacity to act," focusing attention on "power to" (e.g., the power to accomplish downtown renewal) rather than "power over" a person or group. Demurring, Kerstein finds ample evidence in Tampa history of "power over," as when economic elites turned vigilantes on labor activists.

Among political scientists, Kerstein's exposition on Tampa politics will be appreciated for his emphasis on choice and struggle. Reacting against meta-theoretical perspectives that emphasize the constraining hand of structural economic factors and the imperatives of globalization, he thinks that politics matters and cities have choices; thus, he urges re-attention to such factors as leadership, interest mobilization, and the struggle for power. Historians will appreciate this book not only for its carefully researched account of Tampa political history but also for Kerstein's devotion to the historian's craft. The process of urban growth and change is complicated, he writes; unraveling it requires close analysis of particular cities over a long time span.

Non-academic readers will appreciate this story, in particular, for its attention to the role of corruption in Tampa's political history. Certainly this Florida city has no monopoly on political corruption; but political ill-deeds loom large in its history—more than

in other Florida cities, excepting Miami. Stuffing ballot boxes, repeat voting, and kidnapping poll watchers influenced election outcomes for decades, and Tampa figured prominently in the Kefauver hearings on organized crime in the early 1950s. This pattern continued into the 1980s, when three of Hillsborough County's five county commissioners were indicted for bribe-taking and had to be replaced by the governor.

Readers uninterested in the changing trends of historiography and urban political theory may wonder what all the fuss is about. At times, the difference between Kerstein's historical perspective and the mainstream view seems more apparent than real; his view is simply more nuanced. The debate over regime theory may seem beside the point as well. It is not always clear what difference the regime makes; having a more inclusive political structure may not make a city more livable. Without these theoretical debates, *Politics and Growth in 20th-Century Tampa* would have less heft; at four hundred pages, including one hundred pages of endnotes, it would be much shorter but far less analytical.

Richard Foglesong

Rollins College

Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South.

Edited by Glenn Feldman. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004. Acknowledgments, foreword by Patricia Sullivan, prologue, epilogue: "Ugly Roots: Race, Emotion, and the Rise of the Modern Republican Party in Alabama and the South," notes, contributors, index. \$27.95 paper.)

This set of essays contributed by civil rights scholars from around the world examines multiple varieties of civil rights organizing and white resistance in the 1940s and 1950s. Prominent historians and up-and-coming scholars created this geographically and methodologically diverse collection—Louisiana, as well as North Carolina and Florida gain a place in what is too often framed as a Deep South story. Biography, local study, and oral history are just some of the techniques used by these authors to deepen our knowledge of early civil rights activism. Although diverse, these essays are bound by a commitment to push the chronology of the civil rights movement backwards to the critical moment just after World War II. In this way, they join the general expansion of civil rights movement studies into what historian Jacquelyn Hall

has called “the long civil rights movement.” Consistent with this desire to broaden not only the time frame but also the definition of “the movement,” these authors challenge the dichotomies usually employed to explain civil rights.

Glenn Feldman’s introductory essay emphasizes the interwoven and long-standing relationship between civil rights and white backlash—what he describes as “a two-sided coin.” Civil rights activities at this time created and made possible the assault on segregation in the 1960s. The usual divisions between radical and liberal activists, pre- and post-*Brown* tactics dissolve as Raymond Arsenault traces continuities in leadership and the evolving ideology behind the little-remembered 1947 Journey of Reconciliation that served as the direct model for the 1961 Freedom Rides. The NAACP emerges in several of the essays as less stolid and unified than typically understood. Instead, its leaders work creatively within Cold War strictures of communist and un-American fears. While some of the contributors stress the youth of activists, other, older leaders, including T.R.M. Howard and Dorothy Tilly figure prominently. The study of Howard represents a challenge to the usual dichotomy of radical versus conservative civil rights activities; David and Linda Royster Beito take Howard’s progressive work seriously, even as they explain his shortcomings and often accommodationist tactics. Likewise, in his excellent piece on Tilly and Methodist women’s groups in Atlanta, Andrew Manis places a much-needed spotlight on the long tradition of women, both black and white, who organized through the churches for racial justice. These groups, as well as fraternal lodges and other African American community institutions, would be the vital framework that sustained the successes of the 1960s.

The 1940s and 1950s are often seen as a time of lost possibilities in southern history, a moment when an interracial labor movement created by the Depression and New Deal policies, as well as the engine of World War II, could have put an end to segregation but did not. Jennifer Brooks’s piece on veterans returning to Georgia illustrates the ambiguous role of the war in advancing civil rights or solidifying white backlash—black and white veterans organized for change, just as other soldiers returned determined to defend Jim Crow. Union agitation and the labor movement are woven into these essays, showing, if not explicitly addressing, the complex and overlapping networks of radicalism that worked to expand civil rights in the postwar era. As Adam Fairclough’s piece

assures us, there was no static racial status quo before *Brown*: activism, protest, white entrenchment, and backlash existed throughout this era. This fluidity allowed for “the rapidly changing terrain of race and politics in the South at mid-century,” as described by Patricia Sullivan in the prologue.

The immediate post-war period would set the stage for the rest of the century in America and the South. The assault on legalized segregation began amidst rising suppression of dissent, an awareness of America’s international image, as well as a long realignment of the national political parties on race that left the white South solidly Republican and the Democratic coalition weak. While these essays look toward the national civil rights movement and these kinds of broad implications, *Before Brown* does not evaluate success or failure. Rather we see a time of contested possibility and, in the words of one activist, “the flag-bearers of work for integration and for justice and for peace” whose efforts allowed the 1960s to blossom.

S. Willoughby Anderson *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

The American South in a Global World. Edited by James L. Peacock, Harry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. 299 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction: “Globalization with a Southern Face,” contributors, index. \$24.95 paper.)

Historians of Florida have long recognized the American South’s rich global and multicultural history. Because of this consistently transnational past, however, Florida has often been pushed to the margins of U.S. Southern history—a field that has been particularized itself because of its own legacy of slavery, culture, and character. *The American South in a Global World*, edited by James Peacock, Harry L. Watson and Carrie Matthews, is thus a welcome volume.

Growing out of a series of institutes held at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill that were sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation between 1992 and 2005, the essays in this volume reflect a wide variety of interdisciplinary perspectives and questions. How immigrants are transforming southern industries and communities, identity and citizenship, and what these changes mean for activism and education are all explored. While the focus

of these studies lean heavily on the past twenty years, historians will also find the work thought-provoking. As the editors note, "Social and economic studies are not the end of analysis but the basis for further questions" (3). Reflecting a wide variety of perspectives, research methodologies and stages—from early and pioneering efforts by junior scholars to reflections by experienced practitioners—the essays pioneer new ground in the field of American Studies and compliment recent works like Leon Fink's *Maya of Morganton* (2002), Thomas Bender's edited collection *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (2002), and Miles Richardson's *Being-in-Christ and Putting Death in Its Place* (2003).

Although the essays cover a wide range of topics, North Carolina receives the lion's share of scholarly attention. Because these essays grew out of UNC's institutes, this is not entirely surprising. As one of the leading destinations for new arrivals from Asia and Central America, North Carolina is also among the southern states most significantly transformed by recent migrations. But the heavy focus on North Carolina is a bit of a disappointment to a Florida historian. Without question, the essays go a long way to address the perception of the American South as a "quintessential exception—a region all to itself, uniquely defined vis-a-vis the rest of the United States, with a distinctive heritage, history, and character—singular and locatable from its cuisine, race relations, manners, dialects, folklore, and customs," as David Nonini observes (248). But Florida, it seems, still remains on the margins of even these new global, Southern studies.

This is not to say that Florida is left out altogether. Florida's place in a "globalizing south" is mentioned on a few occasions through the "Tripartate Epilogue." It is also the primary focus of Paul Levengood's "Latino Migration to Miami and Houston: Transnationalism at Work in Two Southern Cities" which opens the collection and explores how specific ethnic groups can obtain political power in Southern cities. While Levengood primarily synthesizes existing secondary work, his comparative analysis yields important insights. Other essays focusing on labor practices at FedEx's world headquarters in Memphis, Tennessee, the globalization of West Virginia's coal industry, ethnic and class identity in an Arkansas chicken processing plant, global relations in Mobile, Alabama and the Latinization of Rome, Georgia, also extend beyond North Carolina to explore a range of settings, both urban and rural, across the U.S. South.

Several essays also deserve special mention. Thaddeus Countway Gulbrandsen's "Entrepreneurial Governance in the Transnational South: the Case of Durham, North Carolina" provides an especially thought-provoking look at the creation of "new governmental partnerships with private and nonprofit entities" and the central role played by politics in any economic transformation (94-95). Barbara Ellen Smith, Marcela Mendoza and David Ciscel examine how FedEx has used flexible labor as a new paradigm of work time. Their essay, "The World on Time" raises a fascinating set of questions about how information technologies and global demands are collapsing "the distinction between work and leisure, or work and life, by requiring infinite availability of labor" (35). Steve Striffler's description of fieldwork in a Tyson chicken-processing plant, "We're All Mexicans Here," focuses on the interrelationship between ethnicity and class, suggesting "that we should at least consider the possibility that transnational migration and the resulting experiences may make people question the very categories that borders support" (164).

This volume is not intended to be exhaustive. But it does provide a critically important start. As James Peacock concludes, "Within the world context, the globalization of the South is merely one of many Souths; within the context of the South, global impact is huge" (274). While this may not surprise Florida historians, it should inspire us to continue to forge new theoretical and methodological ground.

Melanie Shell-Weiss

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Look Away: The U.S. South in New World Studies. Edited by Jon Smith and Deborah Cohn. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. 521 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, postdata, contributors, index. \$26.95 paper.)

One of the most exciting new directions in Southern literary studies over the past decade has been envisioning the U.S. South not in relation to the North or even to the rest of the United States (which, to many southerners, has always been simply "the North" as well) but rather in relationship to other nations and other regions which have shared, historically and economically, much in common with the South. In particular, scholars have examined the writings of the South in relation to those of Central and South

America as well as the Caribbean, other regions blessed (or cursed) with a warm climate which have also had a plantation economy based on slavery and which have experienced colonialism.

Historians have taken such a view of the South for some decades: they have suggested, for example, that Brazil's northeast bears many similarities to the U.S. South, not only slavery and a plantation past but also a one-crop economy (sugar cane instead of cotton), similar class anxieties, and a reputation as a cultural backwater. Non-U.S. writers have also seen the similarities: as Earl Fitz notes here, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, considering history, culture, and literature, has spoken of the southern United States "as constituting the northernmost reaches of Latin America." Others, then, have recognized the parallels, but not until Deborah Cohn and Jon Smith—along with a very few other scholars, most notably Barbara Ladd—have students of Southern literature turned their eyes even further southward. In this collection, Smith and Cohn have brought together a notable group of scholars of Southern and Latin American literature who give this approach to Southern studies its most thorough examination yet.

The title of the book plays, very cleverly, on "Dixie"—except this group of essayists (unlike the Southern Agrarians, who took their title for *I'll Take My Stand* from that same suspect Southern anthem) looks outward. Smith and Cohn place the essays in four sections, the most inclusive of which treats Southern ties to the Caribbean. Another section examines the U.S. South in relation to Mexico, and still another sees William Faulkner in relation to Latin America—since Faulkner is the Southern writer, the prominent Southern writer in any case whose work seems to find parallels most readily in Latin American fiction. (Wendy B. Faris discusses Faulkner in relation to Carlos Fuentes, and Dane Johnson finds parallels—as have other scholars—in Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!* and Garcia Marques's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. And Helen Oakley, in a fascinating piece, examines the marketing of Faulkner by the U.S. State Department, who sent him twice to Latin America as a sort of "cultural ambassador" whose presence could help "in a time of strained political relations.") A fourth section, "Rethinking Race and Region," is a somewhat less focused collection of excellent essays on such subjects as Richard Wright and Africa (by Richard King) and "California and the Contemporary White Southern Imagination" (by Robert Brinkmeyer and Debra Rae Cohen).

It is inevitable that several of the essays (most persuasively, John T. Matthews's) will see in the U.S. South what in many respects it is: a postcolonial region sharing many qualities of that condition with its neighbors to the south. The matter of the South and colonialism, of course, has always been complicated by the fact that Dixie is doubly postcolonial—white southerners in thrall to the dominant, moneyed Northeast (for which the South, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, indeed served as a sort of colony), black southerners in thrall to southern whites. Thus, white southerners have been both colonized and colonizer, the oppressed and the oppressor.

Smith and Cohn fully realize the complexity of their subject, and one of the virtues of their book is that they do not claim too much. They recognize, for example, that the U.S. South, although belonging in part to that larger Caribbean/Latin American postcolonial region, belongs as well to mainstream Anglo-American culture, thus is First World (indeed, predominantly First World) as well as Third.. And they recognize as well that their model does not fit the entire U.S. South: "What role does Appalachia play . . . besides sharing in colonial exploitation?" (Indeed, it has always seemed to me that Appalachia is to the U.S. South what the South is to the rest of the country: the backward corner, even poorer, judged even more benighted—the South's South as it were.)

Look Away, to repeat, is one of the most stimulating books in Southern studies in recent years. It opens up the (U.S.) South to areas of inquiry that are fruitful and highly promising— and, indeed, at a time when the states of the "Late Confederacy" are assuming an increasingly Latin flavor, it looks not only "away" but also to the future.

Fred Hobson

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Book Notes

by Michelle Manns

Florida History from the Highways. By Douglas Waitley. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 2005. xiii, 370 pp. A Word, about the Organization of This Book, Acknowledgments, Chronology of Florida History, A Brief History of Florida, Bibliography, Index. \$18.95 paper.)

Florida History from the Highways is, just as its title indicates, a history of the state organized around the major sites, cities, and attractions accessible from the major state and interstate roads. Waitley begins the work with a chronology of events and a very concise history of Florida from pre-historic times to the present. The first section of the book discusses the cities of Orlando, Miami, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee. The second section examines specific sites along highways such as Florida's Turnpike, I-75, US 41, I-95, US 1, US 27, I-10, and US 98. Also included in the book are many photographs of historical locations and recent historical events. Researchers studying Florida history, specifically in regards to specific cities, may find the bibliography section helpful, and general readers will most certainly enjoy the straightforward manner in which Waitley presents the history of the Sunshine State.

The Lost Florida Manuscript of Frank Hamilton Cushing. Edited by Phyllis E. Kolianos and Brent R. Weisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xiv, 281 pp. List of Figures, Foreword, Preface, About This Volume, Introduction, Notes, References, Index. \$59.95 cloth).

Frank Hamilton Cushing, an anthropologist of the late nineteenth century, explored the Gulf Coast of Florida. This manuscript, heretofore unpublished, gives thorough descriptions of the Florida environment, plants, animals, and indigenous peoples as they existed during Cushing's time. He provides valuable information on the Hope and Safford mounds and the local inhabitants. On his second visit to Florida, he compares and analyses artifacts found during his initial visit artifacts found at Tarpon Springs. Cushing attempts to connect the major prehistoric civilizations of North and Central America, and is considered by many anthropologists to be very perceptive in his understanding of ancient peoples. The book contains many maps and sketches, and will be of interest to students and scholars of archaeology, anthropology, and Native American studies. It may also prove useful for understanding and analyzing nineteenth century archaeological methods.

The Florida Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing. Edited by Phyllis E. Kolianos and Brent R. Weisman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. xv, 161 pp. List of Figures, Foreword, Preface, Introduction, Notes, References, Index. \$49.95 cloth).

During his archaeological studies of Florida, Cushing not only compiled a manuscript intended for publication, he also compiled this journal of his personal observations. During the years 1895 and 1896, Cushing traveled the Gulf coast investigating cultures known for their mound-building. Cushing is highly regarded for his discovery of a muck pond called the "Court of the Pile Dwellers" (also known as the Key Marco site) in which a great many artifacts were found. The discovery allowed Florida archaeological endeavors to gain national attention. In this journal, Cushing also reveals his belief that all related ancient cultures shared a mysterious psychic bond. While it is unlikely that modern archaeologists would give much credence to this theory, for historians it does show him to be a man of his time, aware of and concerned with contemporary psychology. The work contains many drawings and sketches, quite a few of them originals drawn by Cushing himself. Historians will find the book useful for what it tells about nineteenth century science while archaeologists and anthropologists will find it helpful for its descriptions of methodology and theory.

Images of America: Barberville. By Benjamin D. Brotemarkle. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2005. 128 pp. About the author, acknowledgments, introduction. \$19.99.)

With the aid of roughly two hundred photographs, Brotemarkle takes the reader on a journey through the development of the Central Florida community known today as Barberville. He begins with a chapter entitled "Before Barberville." This chapter explores not only Barberville but the entire Central Florida region during the prehistoric period. Photographs show the fossilized remains of saber-toothed tigers, mastodons, and "armadillos the size of small cars." (7). The chapter also discusses native inhabitants of the region, first Ais Indians, then Timucuan, and lastly Seminoles. By the early 1800s waves of white settlers were pushing the Seminoles out of the area. "The Barber-Mizell Feud" recounts the deaths of eight people from the two feuding families and also reveals the origin of the name Barberville. James D. Barber named the town Barberville after himself, but before that time it had been known as Midway. "Building Barberville" discusses the influences such as the railroad, general store, and post office that led the community to grow. It also argues that the village school was a focusing institution uniting the agricultural community. "History of Racing" highlights the town's penchant for speed, from racing on dirt roads to racing on paved raceways. "Camping Traditions" links the community's pioneer spirit to the Florida Sheriffs Youth Camp which provides enrichment and leadership programs for troubled and gifted youth. The concluding chapter contextualizes Barberville as the crossroads of several neighboring Central Florida communities including Pierson, DeLeon Springs, DeLand, Ormond Beach, Daytona Beach, and Ocala, and Orlando.

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. free 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 contextualizing 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.

High Seas and Yankee Gunboats: A Blockade-running Adventure from the Diary of James Dickson. By Roger S. Durham. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005. xvii, 185 pp. List of Illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth).

Durham uses James Dickson’s Civil War diary and other primary sources to reconstruct Dickson’s life as a blockade runner. Early in the Civil War, Dickson, a Georgia native, joined the crew of the *Standard*, a wind-driven brigantine. She set sail from New Jersey bound for Nova Scotia and then Georgia. The *Standard* carried merchandise, medicine, and other provisions. Though the ship was blown off of its heading after departing from Nova Scotia, she finally made port in Brunswick, Georgia after enduring more than a month in the storm-tossed Atlantic. Dickson’s diary records

the challenges the crew faced while at sea. Since Dickson's diary ends abruptly, Durham relies on other sources for the outcome of the journey. Ultimately, the *Standard* did accomplish its mission of transporting its cargo to Savannah, however, she was soon lost in an engagement with a Union vessel. Durham's historical reconstruction may be of interest to professors teaching undergraduate courses on the Civil War or the Confederacy, as it conveys more of a sense of immediacy to history than one might find in a monograph on blockade-running. The book will, of course, also be of interest to anyone who simply enjoys a historical adventure.