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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

The Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 14, *Southeast*. Edited by Raymond D. Fogelson. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2004. xvi + 1042 pp. Preface, maps, tables, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$72.00 cloth.)

Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys & Miami, 1514-1765. Edited by Gail Swanson. (Haverford, PA: Infinity Publishing Group, 2004. 136 pp. Maps, illustrations, index. \$12.95 paper.)

Different in scope and effect, these two books reveal the growth of scholarship and interest in southeastern Indian history. In the *Southeast* volume of *The Handbook of North American Indians*, readers will find a comprehensive synthesis of current historical and anthropological interpretations of the Indian past and present. Published under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute, this volume will remain a standard text for years to come. It is hard to imagine a single work replacing it. The tone and intent of this work contrasts sharply with *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys & Miami, 1514-1765*. A primary source reader with a narrower scope, this volume offers the means for students and general readers to understand how the Native American past can be reconstructed.

In *The Handbook of North American Indians*, Raymond Fogelson and the Smithsonian Institution have provided the definitive reference work for anyone interested in southeastern Indians. This impressive volume is expansive in scope and the entries are almost uniformly outstanding. It covers the entirety of the region's history from its Early Holocene Period more than 10,000 years ago to the more modern issues of cultural persistence, gaming, and the pur-

suit of self-determination. Each chapter is written by a noted scholar—mostly anthropologists and historians, with the former outnumbering the latter. The result is a text that provides local details as well as a broad view of the themes that have united the region.

This volume of *The Handbook of North American Indians* is an invaluable resource for scholars and should be a standard addition to any academic library. It includes chapter-length explorations into the divergent histories and cultures of the five major southeastern nations—Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole. It also includes chapters on many smaller tribes in the historic era as well as the chiefdoms of the prehistoric era. Although most of the volume is arranged according to tribe or nation, the book also includes several “special topic” chapters on subjects such as exchange and interaction, music, mythology, Native Christianity, and African Americans in Indian society. The result is coherent mosaic of the Southeast.

Several themes emerge from the volume, none of which will surprise readers familiar with southeastern ethnohistory. The story of cultural persistence connects the experiences of modern Seminoles with those of the Indians in the Early Woodland Period. Trends across space are equally compelling, as disease, trade, missionaries, warfare, and slavery shaped the histories of all the southeastern peoples. The same can be said for the traditions and beliefs that defined and united the Southeast into a somewhat coherent cultural milieu. At the same time, the volume details the vast range of distinctions within the region. Kristen J. Gremillion’s chapter on “Environment,” for example, carefully and effectively balances the climatic and topographical differences within the region with the environmental features that defined the region as a whole.

Despite the generally superior quality of the essays in the *Southeast*, there are a few interpretive inconsistencies. The historical tone and content of Claudio Saunt’s “History until 1776” and Gregory Dowd’s “The American Revolution to the Mid-Nineteenth Century” contrast sharply with the relevant sections in Willard B Walker’s discussion of the “Creek Confederacy Before Removal.” Some of their differences may have resulted from their backgrounds in different disciplines, but others point to a generational divide. This is most apparent in the discussions of the Red Stick War. Walker’s description of “assimilated mixed blood chiefs” (p. 390) recalls the mid-twentieth century interpretations of Angie

Debo and Grant Foreman rather than the modern interpretations of Joel Martin, Saunt or Dowd. This interpretive divide results from the process that produced the final version of the volume. Fogelson and the Smithsonian originally began planning the handbook in 1970. Although many of the chapters were assigned and some drafts were completed, the volume was never published. Fogelson revived the project in 1999 and Jason Baird Jackson as an associate editor, and the current volume took form. Several of the original authors remained on board (including Walker), and all of the essays underwent revisions in order to take advantage of recent interpretive and empirical findings and to meet contemporary standards of scholarship.

Readers interested in Florida will find much to appreciate in the volume. The prehistory sections by Jerald T. Milanich and William H. Marquardt are uniformly superb and provide a detailed overview of the archaeological record. The historical sections are equally inviting, especially the chapters on “Seminole Maroons” by Kevin Mulroy and the “Florida Seminole and Miccosukee” by William C. Sturtevant and Jessica R. Cattelino. Florida also appears elsewhere, especially in relation to the modern resurgence of Indian identities. The volume contains a brief description of the non-recognized Florida Tribe of Eastern Creeks and of the Pine Arbor Tribal Town near Bruce, Florida. At the same time, readers will be surprised to learn that the Creeks were not in Florida. This is stated in multiple places in the volume, with several authors concluding that Creeks became Seminoles when they entered Florida.

Swanson’s *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys & Miami, 1514-1765* provides a somewhat dated and arbitrary look at the history of south Florida’s Indian population during the Spanish period. An often overlooked topic in southeastern history, the history of the Florida Keys frequently gets lost in the academic abyss that falsely separates the history of Florida from the Caribbean. Unfortunately, this volume does not address or resolve this issue. The author provides a 40-page historical chronology of the region organized by year. At times, this section feels like an outline or list of events—some events are covered with detail while others receive a brief mention—and it is unclear if the author intended for the outline to be comprehensive.

The centerpiece of the volume contains a mixture of 13 primary and secondary sources on the period. These documents, which are written and explained from the vantage point of the

Spanish conquistadors, missionaries, and diplomats, include an excerpt from the sixteenth-century memoir of Do d'Escalante Fontaneda, a 1573 petition to enslave the South Florida Indians, a description of slave traders and pirates written by Swanson, and some archaeological findings. All of the primary sources have been published and translated elsewhere, while the secondary sources are non-academic essays written by Swanson. Furthermore, it is unclear what method the author has used to select the various sources or topics covered. Instead, Swanson tends to cover issues and events where "truth is stranger than fiction" (p. 75). Had the author included an introduction to the volume or an overview of the state of scholarship on the topic, these issues could have been addressed.

Although the volume incorporates interdisciplinary findings, Swanson's bias toward telling the Spanish rather than the Native story permeates the volume. The final source "Archaeology: The Settlements a Millennium Ago," for example, begins with a statement that reveals the author's bias toward written historical rather than archaeological sources. "Anything about the area 1000 years ago has to be only an educated guess, and could be a very wrong guess at that, for North America's people north of Mexico development no permanent way to record their history." Swanson continues by asserting that "The European invaders from about 1500 on are the ones who recorded the people of Florida they encountered. Before that, historians are out of it, and archaeologists can only reason and suggest" (p. 102). Such a comment asserts that the written word provides the only verifiable means toward understanding the past, but it betrays the methodological advances of ethnohistorical scholarship. As a result, the volume is not appropriate for classroom use.

The distinctions between these two volumes illuminate the value of the *Southeast* volume. Although the discussion of the Tequesta in south Florida and the Indians of the Keys is much shorter in Milanich's essay in the *Southeast*, it is a superior summary. In less than a page, Milanich outlines elements of the Native social and diplomatic world, topics ironically left unexplored in the more specialized volume. For this and other reasons, readers should avoid *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys & Miami* and obtain a copy of the *Southeast*.

Andrew Frank

Florida Atlantic University

Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links. By Gwendolyn Midlo Hall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. xxii, 225 pp. Dedication, acknowledgements, preface, appendix, illustrations, maps, charts, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

Much has changed in the history of slavery in the two decades since Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* first appeared. Scholarly works in the fields of both the Atlantic world and West Africa have fundamentally revised the way we think about the early modern world. Hall countenances these changes in her latest work *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas*, but insists that much work remains to be done. She explains the purpose of her latest contribution to the study of the African Diaspora in the preface: "This book challenges the still widely held belief among scholars as well as the general public that Africans were so fragmented when they arrived in the Western Hemisphere that specific African regions and ethnicities had little influence on particular regions in the Americas" (xv). Hall gathers evidence from familiar primary sources and new and important electronic databases on the slave trade to prove how African ethnicities profoundly impacted the Americas.

At the opening bell, Hall comes out swinging. Assessing the evolving historiography of slavery, she repudiates the new conventional wisdom regarding African involvement in the Atlantic slave trade and provides plenty of evidence to support her view that Europeans bear responsibility for both instigating and perpetuating the international traffic in African men, women, and children: the majority of Africans whom Europeans enslaved in the New World were free people in Africa, and many of them resisted their own enslavement as well as that of their neighbors; in parts of Africa slavery existed neither in the language nor traditional social practices prior to European contact, and nowhere were Africans familiar with the oppressive and lethal form of slavery that Europeans introduced. Further distancing herself from the current literature, Hall laments the devastating impact of the slave trade on West African life. By both depriving Africa of its people and flooding it with increasingly effective firearms and addictive agents like alcohol and tobacco, Europeans started a chain reaction that reverberates today.

African ethnicities survived the Middle Passage, in spite of its

horrors. Europeans kept detailed records of the people they considered property, and in their effort to make sense of hundreds of disparate ethnic groups often left the critical assignment of African ethnicity to Africans themselves. Slave masters and traders throughout the Americas asked enslaved Africans to indicate their "nation." Consequently, these men and women testified to their own ethnic identification. In addition to these declarations, which in many cases survive today in French- and Spanish-language archives, enslaved Africans recorded their ethnicities in court documents and newspaper advertisements for runaways. The proliferation of these self-identifications among enslaved people throughout the Americas illuminates important linkages with Africa that neither the Atlantic Ocean nor generations of forced labor severed.

The book's thesis depends largely on an enlightening discussion of "clustering." Africans shut the doors of some coastal trading points in the face of Europeans and kept others wide open. Europeans did not arbitrarily select captives from random locations along the African coast—they targeted specific ethnic groups and called repeatedly at the same port. The result was a succession of migratory patterns that affected the clustering of ethnicities in the Americas. Enslaved Africans embarked from the African coast and disembarked along the American littoral beside men and women who shared the same ethnicity, or at least understood the same culture and language. Both Europeans and Africans benefited from this homogenization. Slaves worked more efficiently and lived more comfortably alongside people they readily identified and communicated with. The phenomenon of clustering reveals itself in the demography of the slave trade. Hall writes, "although Africa is a huge continent with many different peoples, only some of them were involved in the Atlantic slave trade, and relatively few African ethnicities were brought to the Americas in significant numbers" (57). Hall focuses on four points of origins of enslaved Africans: Upper Guinea, Lower Guinea, West Central Africa, and Mozambique. Privileging Africans' self-identification at the expense of Europeans' imposed categorizations she traces the path of ethnic groups from each of these regions to their final destinations in the Americas. Clusters were everywhere: Wolofs, Biafaras, and Brans in Mexico and Peru; Minas in Colombia; Ibos in North America; Kongolese and Angolans throughout the Western Hemisphere, as these groups comprised nearly half of all enslaved Africans in the Americas.

Hall writes with a passion that is regrettably absent from much of the new literature of Atlantic slavery. There is a concern, however, that her strong advocacy of the databasing and quantification of the slave trade might encourage scholarship that lacks this pathos, which is necessary to explain the holocaust of slavery. Another concern is that while Hall admits the studying of African ethnicities is a daunting task for both students and novices, the book does little to assist readers in understanding the exact location from which African ethnic groups derived, and where they ultimately resided in the Americas. The maps, moreover, are a disappointment. These oversights make the book impractical for undergraduates and perhaps general readers as well. In spite of these shortcomings, however, one thing is clear. Hall commences the difficult process of hammering away at the stubborn image of the anonymous and generic American slave with no connection to Africa by insisting on the paramountcy of African ethnicity. This in itself is an accomplishment, though Hall readily admits, "This book is only the beginning" (165).

Matt Clavin

University of West Florida

The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel. Edited by Peter A. Coclanis. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2005. xix, 377 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, illustrations, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

This volume includes thirteen essays originally presented at a conference exploring the emergence of the Atlantic economy. To the surprise and delight of the organizers and participants, most of the presenters opted to focus on groups or regions previously underappreciated rather than concentrating on the usual suspects, such as a particular empire or staple good. These essays aptly demonstrate this shift in the conceptual framework of Atlantic history, especially in terms of early modern commercial and consumer opportunities and practices. Although the authors acknowledge the empires, staple goods, and trade policies of the period, these concepts merely provide context in the collective project of decentering the metropolitan core in favor of examining people and activities on the margins of the Atlantic economy. Unfortunately, limited space prevents discussion of every essay's

contribution to a multifocal view of the Atlantic economy, though similar themes play out across most of the essays.

Several essays offer fresh examinations of groups that played a vital, though previously underestimated, role in the composition and organization of commerce by focusing on "the fluidity of the Atlantic economy, its casual borders, and its blurred lines" (xiii). April Lee Hatfield demonstrates how the cultural heritage of seventeenth-century Dutch settlers in the English Chesapeake allowed them to impact the local economy in unexpected ways. Indeed, in her exploration of commercial roles available to Dutch women, Hatfield is the only author to significantly incorporate women into the economic sphere, as traders or consumers. Several of the essays nod toward the importance of African labor in building and expanding the Atlantic economy, but Ty M. Reese takes a long look at free and unfree Africans and mulattos in the employ of English slave traders at the Cape Coast Castle during the second half of the eighteenth century. Other scholars have addressed the participation of the local African elite in the slave trade; Reese convincingly argues that other Africans benefited from the economic opportunities presented by English slavers and administrators who hired them as wage laborers. Peter C. Mancall, Joshua L. Rosenbloom, and Thomas Weiss strive to integrate Indians in the Carolinas into the Atlantic economy, using the trade in deerskins to demonstrate how Indians adapted to and benefited from their participation in the Atlantic economy, but they gloss over complications that arose. In contrast, Robert S. DuPlessis' examination of consumption patterns for cloth among English, French, African, and Indian consumers in North America more satisfactorily integrates Indians into the Atlantic economy.

DuPlessis provides perhaps the most convincing evidence for conceiving an integrated Atlantic economy that crossed borders of all kinds, jettisoning the more traditional view of empire-specific Atlantic economies. He illustrates a market for cloth "that largely ignored political and social boundaries both between the British and French empires and between colonies within the same empire" (77) by the 1760s. Of course, when presented as evidence of the emergence of an integrated Atlantic market this assertion demands to be challenged with evidence from other locales, such as the Dutch and their trade in the West Indies examined by Jan de Vries or the Spanish and their tobacco outpost in Cuba scrutinized by Laura Náter. To this end, Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert

strongly argues that Portuguese merchants viewed the Atlantic economy in much the same way the authors see it nearly three centuries later. They developed "multilateral circuits that integrated markets from different regions and economic sectors" by "establishing connections between, around, and through the putative boundaries established by the various states of the period" (160), though political and religious currents within the Spanish Empire eventually neutralized these reform-minded traders.

The emphasis on supranational trade in many of the essays creates a delicious tension with concepts of regional identity presented in others. While DuPlessis identifies increasing standardization in the textile market, David Hancock traces the growing popularity of Madeira wine, carefully noting regional differences in its composition and consumption. Although the "humblest drinker was aware of his connections to the wider world" (39), colonists who imbibed this beverage were "focused more on their own opportunities and needs" (61) than emulating the styles and practices of their mother country. Claudia Schnurmann echoes this sentiment and applies it to all sorts of goods in her examination of the role of regional American identities within the Atlantic trade.

On the whole, these essays represent a significant addition to our understanding of the Atlantic world marketplace. The authors deliver on the promise imbedded in the title, *Atlantic Economy* rather than *Atlantic Economies*, convincingly demonstrating that economic connections crisscrossed the Atlantic world without necessarily having an endpoint fixed at a European metropolitan core.

Carl Robert Keyes

Johns Hopkins University

Joseph Mills White: Anti-Jacksonian Floridian. By Ernest F. Dibble. (Cocoa, Fla.: The Florida Historical Society Press, 2003, 210 pp. Preface, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$23.95 cloth)

In his recent book on Joseph Mills White, Ernest Dibble brings into historical focus the life and contributions of a major figure in territorial Florida, one who has somehow remained outside the limelight shed on contemporaries such as Richard Keith Call or James Gadsden. In this Dibble and the Florida Historical Society are to be congratulated for finally doing justice to a man who argued cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, played an instru-

mental, if oblique, role in the start of the Second Seminole War, and had one of the most successful political careers of any Floridian in the 1820s and 1830s.

It is hard to say why Joseph White—a man who is simply everywhere in the written record of Florida's land claims and legal cases—should have remained obscure for so long. He was anything but obscure in his time. A noted and vocal opponent to the favorites of Andrew Jackson, he was a populist and a democrat who won most of his campaigns for elected office and most of his court cases. In an era when the Jacksonians hoped to stamp out every vestige of Florida's Spanish colonial past, White was noted for his fluency in Spanish, his study of Spanish law, and his defense of the landholding rights of former Spanish subjects. He left behind several precedent-setting land claim cases that influenced judicial thought at the highest levels. Besides this, he was hardly a silent man, but one of forceful opinions, expressed both in speech and in writing. Yet, as Dibble notes in his preface, this able and embattled legal mind was overshadowed in history by his wife, Mrs. "Florida" White, who seemed to capture the attention of the diarists and article writers of the times much more ably than her husband.

What readers will find in this work, then, is a rather interesting biographical essay not only about White but about his epoch. It is not a particularly personal look at the man. In comparison to White's business and political correspondence, his legal opinions, and his comments on affairs of the day, sources of personal reminiscences are fairly sparse. Dibble has made an interesting choice in organizing his book by making the chapters topical—they all take the form of "White and the Jacksonians" or "White and the Spanish land grants" or "White and the question of secession." On the one hand, this can be quite disconcerting, as the author does not always move through White's career in strict chronological order, and frequently has to backtrack or repeat himself to cover White's diverse activities in certain years. However, while this is perhaps not the best way to do biography, it is quite an intriguing way to look at major issues of the day, and White's role in them.

For instance, Dibble devotes a chapter to early feelings about union and secession in Florida in the 1830s (White came down firmly on the majority side, which supported union). The chapter serves as a reminder that 30 years before the Civil War, Florida was (as the author notes) "as impatient to break into the union as

South Carolina [was] to break out" (62). Again, in a chapter devoted to the Second Seminole War, Dibble highlights White's efforts in the late 1820s to meet directly with Seminole leaders and persuade them to migrate west. Indeed, if there is a shortcoming to this chapter, it is that Dibble dedicates only a small amount of space to Whites' days as delegate to Congress between 1825 and 1837—one of the most dynamic and unsettled periods in Florida's history. Other chapters cover White's close working relationship with Henry Marie Brackenridge, particularly in relation to programs to conserve and manage live oak resources in Florida, and, more significantly, also provide a detailed review of White's legal precepts and cases, and their impact on U.S. Supreme Court precedent. Dibble augments this discussion with a useful appendix that summarizes the cases and their decisions. Other appendices provide excellent supplements to the narrative and aid to future research—in particular one identifying the nature of Florida's colonial archive and another that lists White's published and unpublished works.

There are, of course, disadvantages to portraying someone's life in relation to specific topics. Readers will come away from this work with a fair sense of White's contributions to the public life of Florida. They may have more difficulty getting any sense of him as a person. Dibble does offer various commentaries about White. For instance, he highlights him as a man who "ran" for office while contemporaries "stood" for office. In other words, he was a forerunner of the canvassing, palm-pressing politician of later days. He notes that White had strong, prejudicial, but fairly common opinions about both Indians and blacks in Florida, and was a major advocate for Indian Removal. In contrast, White bucked the trends of his times by defending small landholders and former Spanish subjects from those who would divest them of their property. Unfortunately, these statements about White give little idea of what was at the core of his philosophy—of what existed in his background to prompt such strong predispositions. Dibble might have been justified in jumping into speculation to bridge the gap, especially as he is well-versed in such things as the books that White read. Indeed, the final chapter of the book is highly ironic. In it, Dibble tries to address the question of White the man and husband—and, for lack of material, ends up writing mostly about Ellen Adair "Florida" White, the wife and woman who once again manages to upstage her spouse on the historical landscape. Ultimately,

then, this is a book about White the public man and not White the private individual; but for those of us who want a new look at Florida's territorial period, Dibble should be thanked for bringing White, in any form, into the light of published history.

James G. Cusick

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Union Jacks: Yankee Sailors in the Civil War. By Michael J. Bennett. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. vii, 337 pp. Preface, epilogue, tables, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

If there is one area of the American Civil War that remains significantly understudied it is the naval history of this conflict. It appears that this is a lingering problem dating back to the war itself. As one disgruntled veteran of the U.S.S. *Brooklyn* complained, "The sailors were the first in the war, the last out of it; and last 'in the hearts of their countrymen.'"(x) Michael Bennett seeks to remedy this.

Union Jacks is a sweeping study of the lives of common sailors in the Union Navy from 1861 to 1865. The author, an Ohio attorney with a Ph.D. from St. Louis University, grounds the story in four key themes: an examination of the everyday lives of sailors on board combat vessels, an analysis of the social roots of enlisted men to understand their motivations for service, a detailed study of the transition from landlubber to experienced seaman, and an effort to place the sailors' wartime service within the larger social and cultural issues of the Civil War. To accomplish this Bennett gathered a broad sampling of 4,570 common sailors who enlisted in the Union Navy at naval rendezvous for all four years of the war. He developed a statistical sample by "taking every twenty-fifth name from every rendezvous report from every rendezvous opened during the war," ensuring a broad and balanced analysis of a significantly understudied group. (xii) Unfortunately, the majority of these sailors did not leave written accounts of their experiences. Bennett managed, however, to unearth the letters, diaries, or journals of 169 sailors, many of which have never been used by scholars, and these men speak for the Jacks who comprise his database. The result is a fascinating, well-researched and informative book that builds on Robert M. Browning, Jr.'s studies of the

Atlantic Blockading Squadrons, Denis J. Ringle's *Life in Mr. Lincoln's Navy*, and Donald L. Canney's *Lincoln's Navy*, but sets a new standard for any future examination of the Union or Confederate navies.

The book takes a thematic approach, with chapters examining sailors' motivations for service and noting that few Tars had strong ideological convictions and that "practical circumstances" combined with racial, ethnic, or class issues inspired their service. Other chapters detail the difficulty of making sailors of men who had little, if any, experience at sea and break down the geographical experiences of sailors in the Blockading Squadron and those serving on the rivers of the Mississippi Squadron. Chapters 5 and 6 address social life on board ships, examining drinking, rioting, religion and health and shed light on the larger social and cultural traditions and transitions in nineteenth-century America.

Chapters 7 and 8 are two of the strongest in the book. Bennett does an excellent job of embracing the complexity of race relations on board, particularly between whites and former slaves. The limited acceptance demonstrated by white sailors, he argues, was the result of "basic empathy, pragmatism, and romantic racism." (160) Racial tensions never disappeared, though, and the interaction between the races was frequent due to the tight quarters on board, a situation soldiers in segregated camps frequently avoided. As in previous chapters, Bennett uses the sailors' actions to offer a broad commentary on the issues of race, class, and ethnicity in America during the Civil War.

Chapter 8, "My Youthfull [sic] Emagination [sic] of Hell: The Face of Battle for Union Sailors," concludes the book on a powerful note. It offers amazing detail into the sights, sounds, and smells of combat in the Union navy, following the style introduced in 1976 by John Keegan's *The Face of Battle*. Pushing beyond the physical descriptions of naval warfare, Bennett includes a comparison of how soldiers and sailors handled the psychology of combat and death. He argues that "Tars seemed to take every death hard, even when they did not like or know the deceased," and were puzzled by the way soldiers seemed to accept death, becoming hardened to it as the war continued. Part of this, Bennett theorizes, was because "sailors did not see the quantity of death that soldiers did," and because many of them had joined the navy thinking the life of a sailor would be "scar free," which left them totally unprepared for the experiences of combat. (202, 208) Indeed, Bennett makes

a strong case in this chapter and throughout the book that these were not the happy sailors at sea who appear in the studies of Ringle and Canney, but rather men who suffered under tremendous strain, difficult conditions, and repeated disappointments while playing an essential role in the Union victory in the Civil War.

Michael Bennett's *Union Jacks* makes an outstanding contribution to the fields of the American Civil War, U.S. Military History, naval history, as well as the history of race, ethnicity, and class in nineteenth-century America. It is recommended for classroom use as well as general readers.

Susannah U. Bruce

Sam Houston State University

Henry Adams and the Southern Question. By Michael O'Brien. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005. xiv, 199 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In this volume, originally one of the Lamar Memorial Lectures of Mercer University, a distinguished scholar of southern intellectual history examines Henry Adams' connections, personal and intellectual, to the South. Michael O'Brien asks what the South meant to Adams and what his views – particularly his notorious “slur” (xi) that “the Southerner had no mind; he had temperament” – meant to the South.

O'Brien begins by examining the surprisingly numerous entanglements of Adams and his New England family with the South. Then he assesses Adams' move to Washington, D. C., in 1877 and the “sustained intimacy” (59) that he established there with southerners such as Richard Taylor, L. Q. C. Lamar, James Lowndes of South Carolina, and Sarah Nicholas Randolph of Virginia. After analyzing Adams' treatment of the South in his historical and fictional writings, O'Brien discusses the relevance of the South to Adams' later works and the reaction of influential southern writers and thinkers to Adams' judgments. This book has little to say about Florida, which Adams rarely discussed except to condemn his grandfather's acquisition of the territory as an act of obeisance to the slaveholding oligarchy.

For most readers the latter chapters on Adams' writings and the reaction of southern intellectuals to him will be most important. The significance of the South would “mutate” (113) for

Adams in the years after his wife committed suicide, in 1885. Oriented in his early years to facts and reason more than to emotion and imagination, Adams later changed his priorities "when he came to think that the world made little or no sense" (113). In his later writings he looked to the South as embodying an important feminine side to culture, but first he gave great attention to the South in his early nine-volume history of the United States under Jefferson and Madison.

Critical of New England culture and living in Washington, D.C., Adams the historian emphasized the emergence of the nation rather than the peculiarities of its regions. In his telling, the South and southerners loomed large. Adams produced a outstanding literary portrait of Thomas Jefferson, judges O'Brien, and to Adams "the Jeffersonians had wished to produce 'a fresh race of men' and ventured 'a theory of democratic government which he and his associates attempted to reduce to practice.'" (109) They failed because they "overestimated human nature," (109) but Adams treated them favorably as patriots rather than as slaveholders, and the southern characters in his novels tended to represent "the lost world of George Washington" (110) rather than the an aggressive slaveholding oligarchy of the Civil War period.

In his later years, Adams "liberally abused 'the cotton planters'" (139) and was quite dismissive of southern culture. But O'Brien reminds his readers that in "the whole corpus of Adams's writing, there is scarcely a culture he did not find inadequate, especially in its intellectual capacities" (135). In fact, the South received some appreciation from Adams "as the feminine side of American culture" (132). A disillusioned Adams became more interested in the feminine side of culture after his wife's death, when he felt that the modern world had "lost its grip on the idea of order and surrendered to the confusions of multiplicity" (129). Adams then turned away from realism and "fell back . . . on the world of idealism—on art, poetry, religion, philosophy, &c'" (130).

Nevertheless, Adams' negative views of the South have been most clearly remembered, so why did twentieth-century southern intellectuals so often accept those judgments? O'Brien gives a number of answers. Some were "troubled by the direction of industrial modernity" and Adams "had fashioned the most compelling image in American prose of modernity's disorder." Others found him "available as a model for the elegiac patrician, a type

with which the postbellum South was much endowed" (146). In addition, the Civil War had robbed southerners of cultural authority and left them seeking a new role. In this dilemma "New Southerners came to concede that New Englanders had possessed the better minds" but argued "that Southerners had had the better hearts" (150). In this way "Southerners took Adams's slur and made it a cultural asset, though few noticed that he always meant more than a slur" (151).

O'Brien's book will reward those who are well-grounded in southern intellectual and literary history and others fascinated by Henry Adams. His focus on "the Southern question" contributes to a deeper understanding of Adams and does so by a path not often traveled.

Paul D. Escott

Wake Forest University

Henry Plant: Pioneer Empire Builder. By Kelly Reynolds. (Cocoa, Fl.: Florida Historical Society Press, 2003. 234 pp. Illustrations, works cited, about the author, index. \$23.95 cloth.)

The Plant System of Railroads, Steamships, and Hotels: The South's First Great Industrial Enterprise. By Greg M. Turner and Seth H. Bramson. (Laurys Station, Pa.: Garrigues House, 2004. 144 pp. Introduction, about the authors, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth.)

The books under review offer welcome contributions to Florida history. While scholars have published numerous articles and several biographies about the Gilded Age land baron and developer of Florida's east coast, Henry Morrison Flagler, much less has been written about his west coast predecessor and competitor, Henry Bradley Plant. Both of these new works on Plant's life and career help place Florida's development into a broader context temporally and geographically. Beginning with descriptions of Plant's humble origins, both books chronicle his experiences as a nineteenth century entrepreneur—a career that spanned six decades beginning in the 1830s. Plant, a native of Connecticut, came of age as an employee of Cornelius Vanderbilt working on a steamship plying the waters of the Hudson River. He then entered the express package industry, a career choice that would eventually lead to his moving south. By tracing Plant's exploits in the

express package business, especially as he capitalized on new opportunities in the antebellum South, the authors effectively situate Florida's development during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries within America's broader transportation and communication revolution.

Each book approaches its subject from a distinct perspective. On one hand, in *Henry Plant: Pioneer Empire Builder*, Kelly Reynolds describes his biography as "somewhat restricted" in that he "attempts to tell the story of a businessman's life as a man." (ix) In *The Plant System of Railroads, Steamships, and Hotels*, on the other hand, Greg Turner and Seth Bramson "chronicle what Henry Plant created" (11). Thus, according to the authors' stated purposes, the books are complimentary in their depictions of Plant's accomplishments, and together tell a richer and more complete story.

The authors share an explicit admiration for their subject, both as a man and as an entrepreneur. Kelly celebrates Plant's "long lifetime of astonishing feats," explaining that, "his success as an entrepreneur followed from his success as a human being" (ix). Turner and Bramson introduce their book by quoting a public tribute to Plant, followed by an account of his funeral including quotes from his eulogy. They make clear their esteem for Plant, observing that his "personal life, like his corporate persona, were above reproach." Comparing Plant's life to a Horatio Alger story, Turner and Bramson conclude their Introduction by claiming their book offers "a lesson in entrepreneurship that time cannot tarnish or erase" (10). Both books are written for a general audience; the authors clearly state their intentions and give the reader what they promise.

Reynolds' narrative is most successful in its attempt to humanize Plant. This is a formidable task considering the scarcity of Plant's papers. Reynolds is forced to speculate—however reasonably—to fill in gaps concerning details about Plant's thoughts and intentions. The reader is persistently faced with such qualifiers as "it must have been," "quite likely," and "surely." Still, Reynolds has devoted much time and energy trying to get inside Plant's skin. For nearly a decade Reynolds has performed as Henry Plant in a one-man show. His intuitive sense of Plant comes through in his narrative. And combined with Reynolds' expertise as a professor of literature, *Henry Plant: Pioneer Empire Builder* reads like a novel.

One of the more intriguing aspects of the story Reynolds tells concerns the formidable stage in Plant's career as the southern

representative of The Adams Express Company. Moving to Augusta, Georgia, with his wife in 1854, Plant worked feverishly expanding the company's interests beyond Georgia into Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. As a northerner conducting business in the antebellum cotton belt, Plant seemingly honed his entrepreneurial skills in what Reynolds—as well as Turner and Bramson—depict as a land of untapped economic opportunities. And like other Gilded Age Robber Barons, Plant made the transition from ambitious employee to independent entrepreneur by capitalizing on the opportunities fostered by the Civil War. Reynolds argues that Plant never really became a southerner, even though he temporarily became a Confederate citizen, purchased a slave, and built his empire in the South. Reynolds offers the keen observation that Plant and his first wife Ellen never “invested in southern real estate,” (63) always living in hotels or their private Pullman car while in the South. Yet, contrary to Reynolds' claim that Plant always maintained “his status as an all-around ‘good fellow,’” (67) he avoided military service in either the Confederate or Union armies and escaped to Europe during the war, all the while protecting his own economic interests.

In *The Plant System of Railroads, Steamships, and Hotels*, Turner and Bramson recount in rich detail the story of Plant's business activities. They carefully move the reader from one business transaction to another, methodically recounting the creation of Plant's empire. Along the way, their text is peppered with maps, photographs, advertisements, contracts, post cards, and various other illustrations. The authors' choice of maps provides excellent geographic context and, together, the maps tell an interesting story on their own. Turner and Bramson offer a nice balance of text and illustrations that should enhance the general public's understanding of and appreciation for the role Henry Plant played in shaping the course of Florida's development, as well as his participation in transforming this nation from a rural and agricultural society to an urbanizing and industrial giant.

Henry Plant deserves the attention he has received from Reynolds, and Turner and Bramson. Each book, in its own way, makes for enjoyable and informative reading, particularly for a general audience interested in Florida history, southern history, or the era of steam power.

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Veiled Visions: The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and the Reshaping of American Race Relations. By David Fort Godshalk. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Acknowledgments, introduction, conclusion, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. xiv, 365 pp. \$59.95 cloth, \$22.50 paper.)

David Fort Godshalk, chair of the History and Philosophy department at Shippensburg University in Pennsylvania, has revised and expanded his 1992 Yale doctoral dissertation into this important monograph on southern race relations in the Progressive Era. A timely publication, since 2006 marks the centennial of the notorious Atlanta riot, this study focuses less on events in that fateful night of September 22-23, 1906, and more on its causes and consequences.

1906 Atlanta, a city of 155,000, was more progressive in its racial customs and laws than most other southern cities. It allowed leniency in its segregation ordinances, and even permitted the operation of several integrated saloons and brothels. It hosted a large black middle class; more than fifty black-owned businesses thrived in the downtown business area; and it served as a major center of black higher education and news media. As a railroad hub, it attracted industries, including the giant Coca-Cola Company. And people of both races came to Atlanta looking for jobs. Whites and blacks seemingly got along quite well in this symbol of the New South prior to the summer of 1906. Indeed, Atlanta was a model city until an "alleged crime wave" (35) hit that summer.

The primary cause of the Atlanta riot of 1906 was white fear of black rapists who, according to the local white papers and political candidates, freely roamed the streets of the semi-integrated downtown area of the city preying upon white women. Godshalk verifies a few isolated cases of such black sexual miscreants, but proves that race-baiting editors and politicians greatly exaggerated the threat in order to sell papers and win elections. The gubernatorial campaign of 1906 pitted local lawyer/newspaperman Hoke Smith against challenger Clark Howell, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and each candidate/journalist tried to outdo the other in sensationalizing the threat. Other local editors, including the famous Populist Tom Watson, intensified the racist rhetoric by offering rewards for the capture of black rapists and by creating a new version of the defunct KKK called the "News Protective

League" (47). Further inflaming the situation, Thomas Dixon's notorious novel, *The Clansman* (1905), which portrayed white men heroically lynching a black predator, had been performed recently on stage in Atlanta. Thus, the time was ripe for a real spectacle lynching or similar vigilante outburst.

In this flammable atmosphere, the sparks that ignited the riot were back-to-back alleged rapes on Thursday and Friday, September 20 and 21. Local whites first tried to lynch a black suspect in custody, but the police would not give them the satisfaction. Thereafter, a mob, which may have numbered as many as 600 white troublemakers, formed on Saturday night and initiated premeditated attacks on randomly-selected blacks at the Five Points. Mayor James Woodward arrived on the scene immediately and pleaded with the mob to stop. He ordered the fire department to disperse the attackers with blasts from fire hoses, but to no avail. The mob instead grew, spreading out and raiding several black neighborhoods on the west and south sides. Governor Joseph Terrell took military action to stop the rioters, but it was too little, too late. Although sporadic residual violence occurred for several days thereafter, the riot itself was basically a one-night event. In the end, no accurate body count could be determined, although estimates range from a low of 12 to a high of 250. Godshalk makes the conservative contention that "at least twenty blacks lay dead . . ." (1).

The long-term political and social consequences of the riot were many and notable, and Godshalk's examination of them is the most valuable aspect of this book. First, newly-elected governor Hoke Smith signed into law ballot restrictions which disfranchised all but four percent of potential black voters and called for strict enforcement of segregation laws, putting Georgia finally in league with the rest of the deep South on these racial issues. Secondly, Georgia became a completely dry state, shutting down all saloons—black, white, and integrated alike—putting it in the vanguard of the Progressive Era prohibition movement. Third, famed northern muckraker Ray Stannard Baker wrote the most influential *exposé* of his illustrious career, *Following the Color Line* (1908), on race relations in the South after investigating the causes of the Atlanta riot. Baker, in considering the riot an aberration caused by black crime, supported Booker T. Washington's accommodationist approach, thus propping up Jim Crow for years to come and dealing a serious blow to W. E. B. Du Bois and proponents of black resistance. Fourth, Du Bois, although temporarily stymied, rein-

vigorated his protest efforts and catalyzed the founding of the NAACP as a result of the riot.

A fifth consequence that Godshalk identifies was the tacit seal of approval Georgia public officials placed on the practice of lynching alleged rapists—a measure that allowed white vigilantes to vent their anger against an individual rather than the whole black population. Indeed, the next time white Atlantans demanded the blood of such a high-profile alleged rapist—the infamous Leo Frank case of 1913-1915—they got what they wanted. Sixth, the rebirth of the KKK in 1915, in Atlanta as opposed to somewhere else, was not by chance but the direct result of the racial antipathy stemming from the riot. Finally, local blacks such as the Reverend Henry Proctor of First Congregational Church and John and Lugenia Burns Hope of Atlanta Baptist (Morehouse) College led campaigns, without white help, to improve black neighborhoods and quality of life, instill morality, promote education, and support the revitalization of the black middle class in Atlanta, all of which paved the way for the arrival of a messiah in the form of Martin Luther King, Jr, a generation later.

Godshalk has written a page-turner which must be applauded for its readability and thorough documentation. It should find a ready audience not only in academe but also among readers in the general public.

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Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920. By Paul Ortiz. American Crossroads Series (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005. Pp. 382. Acknowledgements, illustrations, tables, notes bibliography, index, \$27.50 cloth.)

There is probably no area of Florida history in more need of revision and reconceptualization than the African American past. At one time it seemed that black history in Florida was headed in groundbreaking directions. Joe Richardson's *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877* (1965) came out at the same time as Joel Williamson's *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877* (1965). Both studies were part of the first wave of revisionism that successfully challenged both U.B.

Phillips and William A. Dunning's views of slavery and black emancipation. Although Richardson's book and numerous journal articles were at the foreground of a new school of U.S. history and demonstrated the promise of a Florida topic informing an entire school of historiography, authors of Florida's black past since then have not been able to place the state within the dynamics of a contemporary interpretive framework. Thus the promise of future works on blacks in Florida leading to groundbreaking ideas that transcended local and state history never materialized. In *Emancipation Betrayed* Paul Ortiz offers a fascinating and contemporary paradigm that will no doubt force historians to understand again why African American life in Florida was so important.

Without being too critical, a more appropriate subtitle would have been "The Ignored History of Black Organizing." Although Ortiz fails to demonstrate that this history was hidden, readers will understand that African Americans in Florida vocally and overtly organized and demanded civil rights from the end of the Civil War through the presidential election of 1920, where Ortiz ends the story. Organization and protest took place in the face of white supremacy and racial intimidation. Thus, readers will recognize the openness of the civil rights activity and wonder why historians, civil rights activists, and the public ignored this history.

Ortiz wants readers to understand why and how African Americans organized to demand their rights of citizenship, but like current historiography, he refuses to portray the events as a tale of victimization. It is difficult to write about topics such as lynching, interracial violence, and terrorism without yielding to a sense of pity for the subjects under study; yet Ortiz demonstrates that one can tell a story of empowerment, agency, and uplift within an environment of racial hostility. Reminiscent of the work of Robin D.G. Kelly and Kenneth W. Goings, Ortiz addresses the methods by which African Americans controlled and participated in the world around them. The 1990s ushered in new approaches to African American history where black diversity of thought, gender issues, socio-economic status, and even ethnicity were examined with complexity and sophistication. Similar to works by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, Fon Louise Gordon, and Irma Watkins-Owens, Ortiz demonstrates that there was not one black community in Florida, but a diversity of thought, people, and action, divided by class, gender, and ethnicity. Finally, the author advances the idea that

the early fight against Jim Crow was part of a continuum of protest and resistance that culminated in the better-known protests of the 1950s and 1960s.

Although groundbreaking in a number of important ways, some minor flaws are worth mentioning. At times the author implies a unity of protest that may be overstated. For example, in his discussion of the streetcar protests of 1905, readers get the impression that there was one protest in two cities—Jacksonville and Pensacola. However, from this reviewer's reading of the same sources, the boycotts in Jacksonville, Pensacola, and Tampa appeared to be independent of each other. Ortiz generalizes the issues surrounding segregation and the streetcar protests, suggesting that multiple boycotts over several years were efforts to end segregation, when, more often than not, they were about negotiating segregation (121).

There are also some minor factual errors. Andrew Patterson, not J.E. Cashen, was the person at the center of the Florida Supreme Court case that declared the Avery Segregation Law unconstitutional. There were two failed attempts to bring the case before the court, and Cashen was the first; Patterson was the third, successful litigant (123). Additionally, the author erroneously names George W. Wetmore as the lawyer who defeated segregation in the Florida courts; it was J. Douglas Wetmore (136).

Readers might take exception to the author's overemphasis of the Great Migration as an outward movement of blacks from Florida to the North. World War I-era accounts focus on white fear of the black migration north with its adverse effects on labor. As a consequence, researchers sometimes incorporate a view that migration moved in one direction only. While Ortiz acknowledges migration into Florida, he places that analysis separate from the migration north in the text. Whether the black migration north was more important than the intra-migration is really a point of contention. Many scholars, such as Louis Kyriakouides, *The Social Origins of the Urban South* (2003), de-emphasize the northern migration and focus on the movement of rural blacks and whites to southern urban destinations, a demographic shift in which Florida also participated. Ortiz hints at this, but his traditional depictions of the Great Migration cloud his analysis on this important issue.

These minor points of criticism will not be noticed by readers

who do not have an intimate knowledge of this period of Florida history. Overall this book should be greeted with excitement and inspire future important works.

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Torches of Light: Georgia Teachers and the Coming of the Modern South. By Ann Chirhart. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005. Pp. xv, 334. Introduction, illustrations, epilogue, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper.)

Ann Short Chirhart covers enormous territory in her excellent new history of Georgia teachers in the first half of the twentieth century. *Torches of Light* argues that teachers helped usher in the modern South as they reformed the educational system in Georgia. In the process, Chirhart has much to teach us about Progressive reform, the New Deal in the South, southern women's history, the history of education, the early civil rights movement, and the history of religion in the South.

Chirhart begins the introduction to her book with Dorothy Oliver Rucker, and African American teacher, and Leonia Clark Williams, a white teacher. She points out the similarities of their teaching experiences in Georgia during the Great Depression—as well as the gulf separating them. Chirhart subsequently starts each chapter with Rucker and Williams, constantly reminding readers of the role race played in determining one's educational opportunities, despite the best attempts by equally dedicated teachers.

In 1900 Georgia had a public education system virtually in name only, with not enough schools accessible to the state's children, especially those living in rural counties. In the 1920s, reformers finally succeeded in changing that system, building schools, standardizing requirements, and educating teachers to meet new qualifications. But this transformation was not easy. Local officials clashed with state officials and with the national foundations that provided some of the funding. Furthermore, blacks and whites fought over segregation and the lack of resources provided to black schools.

One of the most interesting aspects of *Torches of Light* is the collective biography of Rucker, Williams, and other teachers drawn from Chirhart's oral interviews. Chirhart argues that black female teachers usually came from poor to middle class agricultural

families who valued education and pushed daughters to become teachers, an acceptable profession that freed them from agricultural or domestic work. White women also became teachers because it was one of the 'proper' professions open to women. Their backgrounds, however, tended to be somewhat more prosperous—the daughters of middle class farmers or professionals—than their black colleagues. Female teachers of both races were influenced strongly by their Christianity. Chirhart argues that "Teachers saw themselves as answering their calling, spreading God's word by serving him in their churches and classrooms" (70). Furthermore, as they pushed for more professional identity, black women "reject[ed] racist limitations," while white women resisted gender ideals that called for them to choose between marriage and a career.

School boards tended to choose teachers who fit their idea of a proper role model—that is, not only teachers who were known to them, but also teachers who were evangelical Protestants, and who had proven their upstanding character. When teachers and other education reformers pressed for education reform, including standard requirements and certification for teachers, they removed some of the power of local school boards to hire whomever they wanted. Yet, even with hiring changes, Chirhart points out that most teachers remained devout and continued to see their teaching as an extension of their religious duties, thus continuing the influence of evangelical Christianity in the public school system. This history is particularly interesting in light of recent debates over prayer in schools, the teaching of evolution, and the increase in home schooling by evangelical Christians.

Chirhart's central thesis is that teachers mediated the traditions of localism and evangelical Protestantism with the coming of the modern South and the economic and social transformations modernity wrought. Thus, the changes they fostered were not limited to their own professionalization. Both black and white teachers fought for better school facilities, increased funding, and more training for themselves. Yet, black women sought to improve conditions and opportunities for all African Americans by improving their educational opportunities, while white women focused more on training white boys and girls for professional jobs and wage labor. Because teachers were religious, they ensured that schools continued to promote traditional moral values, while at the same time, they embraced change by supporting individualism and

encouraging students to accept new opportunities in the paid labor force.

Torches of Light provides additional evidence of a long tradition of the African American struggle for civil rights that preceded the modern Civil Rights movement of the mid-1950s. Chirhart carefully mines the records of the Georgia Teachers and Educational Association (GTEA). She argues that when black teachers found it dangerous to belong to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and when that organization failed in the Georgia in the 1920s and again in the 1940s, educators continued their efforts to better conditions for African Americans through the GTEA. As the largest black organization in Georgia in 1950, the GTEA supported education reform because the group believed education was the key to opportunity. Moreover, they backed lawsuits for school equalization and endorsed voter registration.

Chirhart has written an excellent history of Georgia teachers that provides insight into many aspects of the South in the first half of the twentieth century.

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Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties. By Arthur F. Raper. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. Reprint, with a New Introduction by Louis Mazzari, Southern Classics Series, eds., John G. Sproat and Mark M. Smith. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005. xlv, 427 pp. \$14.95, paper.)

In the Series Editors' Preface, Mark M. Smith and John G. Groat offer a brief criteria for works included in the Southern Classics Series. For selection a book must contribute to a "... broad understanding of the region, timeliness in relation to events and moments of particular interest to the American South, usefulness in the classroom, and suitability for inclusion in personal and institutional collections on the region" (ix). For almost seventy years *Preface to Peasantry* has brilliantly fulfilled all those criteria. Its inclusion in the Southern Classics Series merely acknowledges what generations of scholars have taken for granted: Arthur F. Raper's study of these two "black belt" counties is foundational to understanding southern history.

Contemporary reviewers have the luxury of seventy years of accumulated scholarship, and thus find it easy to praise his study of two "black belt" counties in Georgia; the reviewers in 1937, had no such assurance of its future fame. Raper's contemporaries, long before any elements of hagiography had a chance to mar their objectivity, reviewed *Preface to Peasantry*, and pronounced it plausible, profound, and prophetic. They marveled at the pleasing use of graphs and charts that computed everything from poultry husbandry by race and ownership-status, to the relative consumption of patent medicines by the same categories. Arthur Raper told his sad tale in a winsome way. One example of the practical manifestations of the intrusive color-line was the ritualistic self-placement of blacks and whites around the community store stove. Such word pictures helped to give color and passion to Raper's dispassionate, repetitive, statistical barrage that assaulted the armor of those that would defend the economic system of the "black belt."

It is plain that the series editors need no help in defending their inclusion of *Preface to Peasantry*. This new edition offers at least two important considerations that will serve to make this volume even more useful. First of all, this classic work is now available at an affordable price. All of us who were too poor to buy the book when we first encountered it may find it now within our reach. Secondly, and most valuable, is the very excellent Introduction by Louis Mazzari. The author of a forthcoming biography of Arthur F. Raper, Mazzari offers an engaging picture of Raper post *Preface to Peasantry*. In this necessarily brief portrait of the development and maturation of Raper's career – described by Mazzari as that of "A Modern Realist in the New Deal South," Mazzari offers insights into Raper's personality and passion that he channeled into work that was scientifically reliable and socially profound.

Greene County was what the more prosperous Macon County, and by extension the rest of the South, soon would be; the very economic and social system protected by the New Deal's Agricultural Adjustment Administration and local governments, ensured, according to Raper, the creation of an American peasantry. Raper invoked the notion of a regional economy and society of which both Greene and Macon counties were typical of the cotton South. For Raper the "... approximately 200 counties in which over half the population is Negro," (1) formed a "black belt" crescent from

Virginia to Texas. His use of the term "black belt" is problematic, since the designation "black belt" is used by scholars to define the rich agricultural plain that extends from North Carolina to East Mississippi. The topographical and agricultural designation existed prior to Raper's sociological definition, consequently the term has become one that connotes fuzzy boundaries and uncertain properties, rather than the crisp numbers of latitude and longitude which accurately and precisely define the black belt.

Raper saw the diminished productivity of the land and concluded that such deterioration was inevitable in the cotton South and was the prelude to total collapse of the plantation system and thus, the end of the American dream of a nation of yeoman farmers. Other scholars have relied upon Raper's methodology and his conclusions, especially the view that the "black belt" was typified by Greene and Macon counties. By extension, policy makers and scholars have applied what Raper learned from his efforts in Greene and Macon counties to the South as a whole.

So great has Arthur F. Raper's influence been on scholars, that the picture that he drew of his "black belt" from the hard data laboriously collected between 1927 and 1934, has been used by scholars as a sort of scholarly short-hand for communicating about the depression South. Unfortunately, despite the work of James C. Cobb, Jeanie Whayne, John C. Willis, John Solomon Otto, Nan Woodruff, and Robert Brandfon, scholars too quickly apply Raper's work on Greene and Macon Counties to places where neither the data nor the conclusions fit—as if the two counties in Georgia defined all the cotton South.

Finally, it should be noted that Americans of Raper's day were exposed to all degrees of rhetoric concerning the poor of the South. Americans had read of the hopelessly aberrant poor whites in Erskine Caldwell's novels. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union attracted the attention of the press to the delta, and the same year that Raper published *Preface to Peasantry*, James Agee and Walker Evans began their tour of the South. In 1941, the results of their travels, *Now Let Us Praise Famous Men*, further educated Americans about the "black belt." But it was Arthur F. Raper's solid research combined with a keen social eye and a restrained yet profound passion that made his work, almost alone of the works of the period, both well researched and well communicated. *Preface to Peasantry* still informs many research papers and theses; it also serves as a fine example of the skill to which all his-

torians should aspire. It is then, both relevant to modern studies and emblematic of what scholars do. It is, after all, a Southern Classic.

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The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory. By W. Fitzhugh Brundage. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005. xiii, 418 pp. Dedication, acknowledgements, introduction, conclusion, illustrations, notes, index. \$27.95 cloth.)

The idea that we “construct” understandings about our past, though increasingly popular among academic historians, is not new. As early as 1949, George Orwell’s *1984* warned of a future where the government might “thrust its hand into the past and say of this or that event, *it never happened*.” It was all nicely summarized in a slogan: “Who controls the past, controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.” Orwell’s protagonist, a government employee, had the task of “correcting” old newspapers, so that they reflected the current “truth.” Infelicities were flushed down the “memory hole.” (Orwell, 32)

For all their new-found fascination with “memory,” scholars today struggle to match Orwell’s old insights. When Brundage doubts “fixed images of the past,” he echoes Orwell. (4) Brundage writes that white southerners overpowered black southerners to put forth their own highly racist memories of happy slaves and no black accomplishments (“*it never happened*”) into school text books, community celebrations, state archives, and public monuments. In broad outlines, the intellectual force of this book repeats David Blight’s more powerfully written *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American History* (2001). Blight posited rival visions of Civil War memory, including a white supremacist vision and an emancipationist vision.

Brundage reaches beyond Blight to examine the construction of southern archives, the “bulldozer revolution” that wiped out black communities in the name of urban renewal, and even recounts recent controversies over renaming southern landmarks. This book offers a fine and useful narrative, one that races over the entire southern landscape. The list of archives and libraries in the acknowledgments is impressive. But, at times, Brundage shrinks his vast narrative down to a more manageable scale. His chapter on southern

tourism looks at one city, Charleston, South Carolina. The bulldozer revolution chapter covers just two, Durham and Savannah.

Thinking of Orwell's *1984* might prompt a reader to wonder just what went down Brundage's memory hole. What did he erase from history? It is an infamous practice to criticize the author for the book he did not write, but in a book about past erasures it seems fair to ask what the current generation wants to forget. Brundage mentions World War I, but does not explore its impact or see it as causal of anything. Yet, Brundage observes that after World War I southerners' history became more commercial and less a matter of heartfelt patriotism. In that decade "'individualism and self-realization' threatened older norms of selfless service." (50) This is an important insight. A more careful look at the spectacle of "Western Europe destroying its youth in the trenches of blood-soaked fields" (102) and a consideration of its impact on American culture, might explain why southern neo-Confederate patriotism withered at that particular moment. All war, even the Civil War, lost popularity after Versailles. Brundage comes tantalizingly close to considering the possibility that this great cultural happening had some impact on his story, but never quite grasps it.

Brundage forgets what Orwell most wanted us to remember. While Orwell blamed historical forgetting on the state, Brundage never considers what role the national government might have played in mythologizing the South. Brundage's first chapter examines white southerners' commemoration of their heroic past, the preservation of the "moonlight and magnolias" mythology. Brundage insists that white women created the white South's past, observing that state governments offered little help and white southern men often stumbled. Brundage offers a striking example of this when he tells us that the United Confederate Veterans tried – and failed – to raise \$210,000 for a Jefferson Davis memorial. After the men raised a measly \$20,000. The United Daughters of the Confederacy stepped in and got the job done, "a striking testimony to the capabilities of the UDC" that "confirmed the organizational limits of the UCV." (49) In fact, the women didn't raise \$210,000 either. They collected \$70,000. (Did that include the \$20,000 already raised by the men? We don't know.)

What Brundage doesn't tell us is that during this period the United States Congress spent millions on Civil War memorials. In Vicksburg, a place curiously missing from both Blight and Brundage, local women tried to raise money to memorialize the

Confederacy, but their puny efforts could not hope to match the federal government's economic firepower. And, as federal officers built the Vicksburg National Military Park, the federal government pushed moonlight and magnolias with a vengeance, celebrating Confederate heroism and imposing segregation on park grounds (organizing separate black and white Fourth of July celebrations). The National Park Service even invented the false idea that Vicksburgers did not celebrate the Fourth of July – a fiction Ken Burns made famous in his television history and which Brundage repeats here, applying it to the entire South rather than to Vicksburg. When northern-born federal officers came to Vicksburg they sometimes found local whites seemingly indifferent to their Civil War history. The locals had to be ginned up. The federals did so, to promote the patriotism they thought necessary for the Spanish American War, World War I, and the New Deal. Promoting the whites' racist ideals served a federal purpose. Local whites' indifference suggests preserving a white memory of the past, in some instances, could matter as much or more to the US Government's purposes than to white southerners.

Brundage raises his most interesting issues on his last pages. Academics sometimes seem to think that there are no overarching truths and all "reality" is constructed. "Scientific" history now appears encased in quotes. "Objectivity" was never possible, just a "noble dream," as Peter Novick argued in his book by that title. All of this suggests that one truth has no forensic advantage over another; power alone determines which one gets accepted. Yet, in the South, as Brundage accurately points out, "Certain interpretations of the southern past are indefensible." (343) Slavery just was not a good thing. White supremacy should not be justified. These truths, Brundage seems to conclude, are not "constructed." They are scientific realities. Without the quotes.

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Paradise Lost?: The Environmental History of Florida. Edited by Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. Pp. xiv, Illustrations, forward, acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. \$59.95 cloth.)

Paradise? The word's best but only slightly less problematic synonym would be Eden, perhaps—a perfect landscape so lush

with edible bounty that labor is unnecessary, and so warm that folks might stroll about naked all year. Florida is the United States' own paradise, then, as every Yankee land-shopper has been reassured by every Floridian realtor for close to a century. But what of mosquitoes? Not to mention countless lurking vipers of several mean species, and the prehistoric monsters called alligators that feast upon pets and the occasional person? Except for one climbing, talking serpent, *Genesis* includes none of the above. Then there are killer hurricanes, tornadoes, tidal surges, and floods. Unbiblically, then, so-called paradise begs for certain rearrangements, protections, and improvements. Labor there must be, after all, especially agricultural (food for non-Floridians, presumably), so lakes and wetlands must be drained and dried. The piney woods of northern Florida do not suit Eden, either, so they ought to be replaced with palms. Crooked rivers—Kissimmee, Ocklawaha—slow drainage and commercial barge traffic, so must be made straight. Then, perhaps, paradise. Except it will be overcrowded, silted, poisoned with pesticides, transformed into non-indigenous ecosystems, and so on.

In this eloquent, sophisticated, invaluable new book, editors Jack Davis and Raymond Arsenault present all the paradoxes of paradise suggested above and more in one of the best introductions to a multi-authored collection I have ever read. Following are sixteen essays, including one by Arsenault, on hurricanes, and two by Davis, on the commercial slaughter of alligators and plume birds and on Marjory Stoneman Douglas. The sixteen are grouped into four parts—"Paradise Explored and Interpreted," which begins with Thomas Hallock's wise and engrossing interpretation of early Florida landscape writing; "Science, Technology, and Public Policy," including Arsenault, David McCally's able treatment of the Everglades, Gordon Patterson's fascinating brief history of anti-mosquito programs, and Christian Warren's survey of Florida citrus's strange recorded histories; "Despoilation," with three jarring chapters on animals slaughters, construction of the Tamiami Trail, and poor Lake Apopka; and finally "conservation and Environmentalism," featuring Florida's iconic Marjory Stoneman Douglas (by her biographer, Jack Davis), the losing struggles against Ciega Bay's dredging and filling, the loss and partial retrieval of Big Cypress Swamp, and finally, the saga of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

There is not a poorly-done chapter in this large volume; all are able and authoritative, not infrequently by historians and others who are principal investigators of their subjects—Davis on Douglas, for instance, McCally on the Everglades, Gordon Patterson on mosquito control, Bruce Stephenson on St. Petersburg and Ciega Bay, Charlotte Porter on William Bartram in Florida, and Dave Nelson on the New Deal Civilian Conservation Corps' rearrangements of nature to create comfortable and illusory public parks. Raymond Arsenault's essay on hurricanes' evolution as "public storms" is gripping as well as deeply informed. It is also illustrative of Arsenault's large role over the past two decades both in promoting and generating excellent historical geographies of the tense relationship between humanity and the rest of nature in Florida.

Yet this hefty book might well have been somewhat longer. For example: surely any environmental history of Florida must include a good chapter on Marjory Stoneman Douglas. Her many writings, most famously *The Everglades: River of Grass*, publicized her essential activism in conservation; so naturally there is such a chapter, and quite a good one, here. Another writer, however—Douglas' contemporary (whose life was less than half as long as Douglas') Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings—was to my mind the subtler, more versatile nature write; yet Rawlings is barely mentioned here. More important, arguably, is the near absence of Howard Thomas Odum (1924-2002). With his elder brother, Eugene P. Odum, H.T. Odum was not only an ingenious giant of ecosystem ecology (which dominated world ecological science from about 1950 through the '70s), but spent most of his illustrious career at the University of Florida.

One of his senior colleagues in the zoology department there was the beloved herpetologist Archie Carr (1909-1978), a globe-trotting authority on sea turtles. Carr is the subject of Frederick R. Davis's delightful chapter early in this volume, where Davis seems nonetheless rather uncomfortable in repeated reminders that Carr's important labors in African and Latin America included comparative allusions to Floridian turtles. Howard T. Odum traveled far, too; but he was the Florida-centric researcher—most famously at Silver Springs—also principal founder of the university's ecological research center, and not least, publicly engaged in contemporary environmental issues, especially Floridian ones. Odum appears only once, and briefly, toward the end of this