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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

The Spanish Convoy of 1750: Heaven's Hammer and International Diplomacy. By James A. Lewis. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Foreword, preface, introduction, maps, table, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xi, 159. \$65.00 cloth.)

This engaging account of the travails of a 1750 Spanish convoy bound for Cádiz from Havana but waylaid by an August hurricane that sank four of its seven ships and flung the surviving three on British colonial territory stretching from North Carolina to Maryland, will bring back painful memories for survivors of Andrew, Katrina and other hurricanes. The power of this riveting tale has this unintended effect and is a credit to the author and his craft as an historian. The shipwrecked merchants, military officers, sailors, and ordinary folk, many of them not Spanish, but all trying to stay afloat and make their way home again, underscore the triage and life-altering choices survivors make in these desperate situations.

In addition to survival, those accompanying the convoy worried about the fate of its valuable cargo. How to best protect and salvage, or loot, Spanish gold and silver coins and plate, cacao, indigo, sugar, vanilla, cochineal, mahogany and dye wood presented choices that divided on-board captains, owners, crew, and passengers and eventually made them fair game for predatory English officials and North Carolina pirates who made off with some of the booty to the Lesser Antilles. Adding further color and dramatic tension to the story is the bureaucratic nightmare that followed. The author examines the complicated processes involved in determining the appropriate civil and criminal authority on each

ship while at sea or in port, assigning responsibility for actions taken by those traveling with the convoy, and adjudicating and settling disputed claims as a result of the hurricane. He also evaluates colonial officials of Spain and Great Britain, the great imperial powers of the New World, and their role in these decisions. The story even has a present-day component to it. Salvage operations begun in 1996 in Virginia on the convoy's flagship *La Galga* have led to court battles over the ownership of sunken vessels and their treasure, and, more importantly, for military security issues, who can recover lost nuclear weapons from sunken submarines.

Much of the joy of writing history is in the hunt, and in this pursuit the author has found relevant documentation in the Archivo General de Indias, in the Archivo General de Simancas, in the Admiralty and Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office in London, and in colonial newspapers. This short volume not only makes the chase exciting but serves as an appropriate historiographical model for how to tell the tale and use and cite archival material correctly to convince the reader that it is history and not fiction.

This story also raises questions about what was normal and what was not in terms of the larger context of trade and imperial control. The official Spanish convoy or *flota* system, the *Carrera de Indias*, was only haphazardly in effect in the 18th century and was not operational in 1750. This particular convoy came together informally, the result of private initiative on the part of sea captains and merchants who wished to take advantage of the protection offered by the Spanish warship, *La Galga*, which at the time was rotating back to Europe. Its captain, who assumed command of the seven-ship convoy, was the Spanish naval officer and native-English speaker Daniel Huoni, who appears in the documentation at times as Huony, Ohoney, Mahoney, Huory, and O'Huonyn. Within his lifetime he would become *Don Daniel Huony, Teniente General de la Armada*, the subject and title of an oil painting that now hangs in the Museo Naval in Madrid. In reality, the Protestant Reformation still weighed heavily on both the Spanish and British Empires of the 18th century. Huoni was one of the many Irish Catholics who had immigrated to Spain and who operated as a cultural broker, at least linguistically, between the two imperial powers. There were many others who could cross the line between Europe's various empires and who could operate effectively in Europe's conflicted imperial settings. Among Huoni's own crew were both British and Spanish seamen. One of the seven ships in the convoy, the *San Pedro*, commanded by John Kelly, was "Portuguese

owned" and "almost surely British-controlled" (10). Its crew included British, Irish, and Scottish seamen. Another ship captain in the convoy, Juan Cruañes of the *Salvador*, was Dutch. Other intriguing international components of the story were the British-built *Los Godos*, which had departed Veracruz with 600,000 pesos in private money, with Dutch passengers who later complained bitterly to British colonial officials of being abandoned by the Spanish Captain Pedro Pumarejo.

Beyond the story itself, two significant conclusions are drawn by the author. One is the importance Spanish women played in the commercial trade with the Indies as the owners of the goods and metallic currency that had to be accounted for when Spanish officials finally closed the books on the claims and counterclaims. Spanish women were 22 percent of the total number of claimants and had almost "40 percent of the total amount of [the] currency" (91-92). This may have been a function of them having married into merchant families where there was a significant age difference between themselves and their husbands that eventually left them as widows and the legal heirs of the fruit of their husbands' hard work. A second conclusion is "how closely the official ship manifests" made in the "ports of origin (Veracruz, Cartagena, Campeche, Porto Bello), then...[in] Havana, and lastly upon arrival in Cádiz matched what was really on board these ships" (104). While the Bourbon Reforms of the 18th century made contraband activity more difficult and while I would agree with the author in regard to bulk cargo, there were significant possibilities for slight-of-hand tax dodging especially with regard to light-weight but high-value items such as specie or currency transactions. Notice for example the dispute about whether it was "140,000 'dollars' in gold and silver" on-loaded to the *Salvador* in Cartagena or "240,000" (10, 111).

Maurice P. Brungardt

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Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, and Slaves in the Revolutionary South, 1775-1782. By Jim Piecuch (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2008. Illustrations, preface, acknowledgements, introduction, conclusion, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 472. \$39.95 cloth.)

The Patriots, or Whigs, who participated in the American Revolution have come down to us through history as iconic figures.

The same glorification applies to the war they fought, which is understandable as it led to the independence and creation of our nation. Undoubtedly their accomplishments were impressive and the tributes mostly deserved. But war is never a neat and clean process, although the Revolutionary War has at times been presented as such. Our historical figures were not perfect either. Jim Piecuch has written an interesting and useful book that looks at a darker side of the Revolution and at three sometimes forgotten or downplayed groups of actors: the Loyalists, the Indians, and African-Americans. His book is important for the light he puts on their roles in the drama. He also asks important questions about how the war could have been different had the British formed a better plan to utilize the three groups.

His study focuses on the colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, though the former gets more attention, and to a lesser extent on East and West Florida. He argues that all three peoples fought loyally and made significant contributions, though the British did not always appreciate them. Loyalist numbers in the South were larger than has been acknowledged by many historians, especially in the backcountry. Piecuch believes they remained dedicated to the Crown and fought hard and effectively for the most part, but were hampered by Whig intimidation and lack of support from the British. Especially harmful to the cause in the South was General Charles Cornwallis's decision to march his forces to Virginia in April of 1781. This decision resulted in Nathaniel Greene's movement of Whig troops into South Carolina largely being unopposed by British forces, leaving Loyalists isolated and unsupported.

While Loyalists have received some, if inadequate, historical attention in the past, perhaps Piecuch's best contribution is his increased attention to the roles played by Native Americans and African-American slaves in support of the British cause, which he shows were significant. With the exception of the Catawbas, who fought with the Whigs, most of the rest of the Southeastern Indians stayed committed to the British. Their effectiveness was limited mostly by the extreme retaliations of the Whigs to British actions, which is seen best in the repeated destruction of Cherokee towns. Also holding back the contributions of Native Americans was the reluctance of some British leaders, especially Cornwallis, to utilize the Indians. The British also had difficulty supplying native warriors. Many Loyalists resented any attacks by Indians, a fact that

increased British reluctance to use them. Still, Indians made important contributions, not only in actual assaults, but also through drawing off Patriot forces that could have been used elsewhere. In West Florida, Creeks and other Indians kept up steady pressure on the Spanish once they moved into the region.

Blacks as well made significant contributions, though the British were often unsure about what to do with all the escaping slaves that made it to their camps. A small number of slaves fought as soldiers for the British, most notably in a unit called the Black Dragoons. In addition, they made key contributions as laborers, guides, messengers and spies. Others served as sailors on British ships. Loyalist opposition to the use of African Americans as soldiers limited their contribution, though there is evidence that this opposition lessened to some degree by the end of the war. One of the unfortunate aspects of Patriot activities in the South was the priority they gave to preserving the slave system and securing their slaves, even above the war effort. As for the British utilization of the slaves, it fits with Piecuch's general conclusion that their primary failure was the inability to bring the three "peoples" together to fight the Americans. Too often they fought separately, or even against each other. If they had unified their efforts, the author feels the outcome could have been different.

A more accurate and balanced portrayal of the Whigs, the three "peoples" and the Revolution definitely is needed. While I believe that Piecuch has made important contributions with this work, one difficulty in his presentation unfortunately takes away from its overall effectiveness. His almost complete focus on the instances of abuses by the Whigs and the language he uses to present them distracts from his argument and purpose. Whig actions against Loyalists are consistently described using terms such as "cruelty," "barbarity," "terror," and "franz of rage," while corresponding actions of the Loyalists or British, such as those of Banastre Tarleton in the Waxhaws, when mentioned at all, are labeled as "alleged massacres," and the Loyalists are said to have "struck back." In his introduction, Piecuch declares "the British failed to restore royal authority in Georgia and South Carolina, not because Loyalists were too few, too passive, or too cruel, but because the rebels relentlessly murdered, imprisoned, abused, and intimidated those who supported the King's government" (7). The Whigs clearly deserve criticism for some of their actions, but we need to remember that the Revolution was, in the South at least,

as much a civil war as a rebellion. Wars are usually ugly affairs and this often applies even more to civil wars. To present the true picture of the war, the actions of both parties must be accurately presented. Rarely is one side alone in committing excesses.

Richard Durschlag

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Fear and Anxiety on the Florida Frontier: Articles on the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842. By Joe Knetsch. Dade City, Fla.: Seminole Wars Foundation Press, 2008. Foreword, introduction, acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xix, 322. \$29.95 cloth.)

This collection has been a long time coming. Students, myself included, have found it hard to keep up with Joe Knetsch's prolific publications; in the end, you sometimes have to ask Joe to send you copies (and he readily does so). *Fear and Anxiety* is, perhaps necessarily, something of a "best of" collection; it does not remotely exhaust the *oeuvre*. No one else, aside from the late John Mahon and James Covington, knows the long history of the Second Seminole War as intimately as Joe Knetsch, and the cornucopia of articles in this collection provide easily digestible snapshots of its many facets.

Indeed, *Fear and Anxiety* is effectively a history of the war, arranged chronologically through local community studies. These studies include glimpses of Forts King, Drane, Micanopy, Brooke, and Lauderdale; Dunlawton, Tampa, the Keys, St. Augustine, Charlotte Harbor, Tallahassee, Jacksonville, the Caloosahatchee, the Cove of the Withlacoochee, and West Florida. (Suggestion for Knetsch: how about writing a gazetteer of Florida during the war, or from 1821 to 1845 or 1860?). Many of these glimpses are primarily descriptive, but there are several analytical highlights: an article on the tensions fostered by competition for cattle and grazing grounds which few casual students would have associated with the Seminoles, two articles on efforts to colonize Florida's southern frontier with armed civilians, and an essay on the impact of hurricanes on the war. As the latter suggests, Knetsch is particularly attuned to the logistics of the U.S. war effort, a theme that runs through many of the articles. The article on the cattle industry is especially important because it hints at why settlers wanted land

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that many outsiders (army officers, for example) considered of limited agricultural value. The combination of fear and anxiety, the consequent demands for protection, and the difficulties of supply help explain how the Seminoles were able to maintain the initiative and substantial freedom of action for far longer than the general balance of forces would suggest.

Fear and Anxiety is an essential resource for any student of the war, but there are some lacunae here, albeit less so if read in tandem with the author's narrative history, *Florida's Seminole Wars, 1817-1858* (2003). Knetsch has focused on white Floridians, for whom his indefatigable research has uncovered a wealth of information. I for one would like to see more of his thoughts on Seminole motivation, action, and particularly, political organization. He has published a very thorough article about U.S. strategy during the war that is not included here, though an enhanced version will soon be available in a collection of essays edited by William Belko for the University Press of Florida. I also would like to see Knetsch look more closely at civil-military and U.S.-Florida relations, the interaction between citizen-soldiers and the regular army, and the operational capability of the different forces engaged in Florida. Ultimately, Knetsch could write the great secret history of the Second Seminole War, but he is too busy to do so until he retires, and Joe is not a retiring guy.

Samuel Watson

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Rationing Justice: Poverty Lawyers and Poor People in the Deep South.

By Kris Shepard. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007. Acknowledgments, notes, index. Pp. x, 396.)

In 1965, the U.S. Congress added a legal services component to the federal war on poverty legislation, the Economic Opportunity Act. While never as controversial as the Community Action Programs, which were the heart of the war on poverty, the legal services program was always controversial and contested. It continues to be so today, although the program was reorganized in 1974 under a quasi-private entity called the Legal Services Corporation.

Lawyer and historian Kris Shepard's book, *Rationing Justice: Poverty Lawyers and Poor People in the Deep South*, offers a unique perspective on the history of this remarkable federal project. Shepard

offers a close view of legal services within the South, focusing on the Atlanta and Northern Mississippi Legal Services Programs and similar endeavors in rural counties of Georgia and in southern Mississippi. *Rationing Justice* illuminates the impact of federal, state-level, and state-federal conflicts over legal services in a region of the country with more than its share of poor people. Shepard allows readers to assess the on-the-ground impact of southern legal services efforts by chronicling the range of cases poor people in Georgia and Mississippi made with the help of attorneys. Importantly, and alone among the studies I have read on the war on poverty, *Rationing Justice* addresses the impact of legal services on southern family law, specifically in reference to the experience of divorce and the legal dimensions of domestic violence. Shepard is unusually sensitive to the role of legal services programs in advancing the careers of female and African-American attorneys.

Shepard does not discuss them in these terms, but proponents of the federal legal services program were of two main types. One believed in the processes of law, and thought that providing access to the instrumentation of justice to people who could otherwise not afford it would change the United States for the better. Poor people, this group of proponents believed, would have less reason to riot or protest if they could take their grievances to lawyers, their lives would be less chaotic as a result, and the whole society would be more orderly and well-run. The second group believed that legal services were a weapon in the battle for social change. Some of the people in this category were strongly influenced by the civil rights movement, and believed that legal action had made it possible for African Americans to fight segregation, unjust criminal prosecutions, and years of political suppression. Others in this group were allied with the movement for welfare rights, which called for the extension of public financial benefits to all poor people on the basis of constitutional entitlement. They saw the federally funded lawyers as part of their social-movement organizing strategy, resources that could help raise the profile of the movement, attract people to it, and improve its bargaining power with local and national government authorities. On a daily basis, the lawyers could help individuals exercise their welfare rights by appealing the negative decisions of local bureaucrats.

While he does not distinguish them sharply from one another, Shepard evaluates the legal services program in the South from the perspectives of both groups. Overall, he finds that the program

made law accessible to many low-income southerners in the years between 1965 and 1996. Attorneys represented thousands of people who had been denied food stamps, disability benefits, and other forms of welfare before administrative tribunals. Much of the time, the tribunals decided in the clients' favor, and thus made millions of dollars available that individuals and families would otherwise not have had. They represented scores of tenants in public and private housing who were facing eviction and whose collaborations with attorneys resulted in them not being evicted, or being granted more time before leaving their apartments. The lawyers represented African-American community organizations in struggles to desegregate schools. They were also at the cutting edge of reformist law in the 1970s and 1980s, representing the families of people who were institutionalized in mental hospitals and children who had been involuntarily placed in juvenile jails by adult family members.

Shepard deems the legal services program in the South a success in its bid to make law accessible. However, he is not certain that the program used law, or enabled low-income communities to use law, as a tool for social change. He chronicles many of the "test cases" southern legal services lawyers brought on behalf of their clients, cases that were designed as forms of "impact litigation" that would improve the treatment of large numbers of people by governmental or private agents. While some of the litigation really did make an impact, much of it was limited to compelling southern states to implement federal edicts. Other ambitious lawsuits, including a 1971 Georgia case concerning Medicaid payments for legal abortions, spurred changes in state law but lacked value as precedents because they were settled before they reached the appellate courts. In still other instances, such as the case regarding the rights of children to be freed from juvenile facilities despite their parents' belief that they should be institutionalized, the legal services attorneys ultimately lost before the appellate courts.

The weakest aspect of *Rationing Justice* is its ambiguous, even ambivalent, assessment of the southern legal services program. Shepard concludes, in terms that sound extremely critical, that "poverty lawyers enmeshed their clients in the regulatory state," but offers in the same sentence that the attorneys, "when possible, bent statutes and public policy to the interests of the poor" (134). He argues that opponents of the program have failed to understand its conservative value, its role in "assimilat[ing] . . . clients

into American legal culture" (243). But it is not entirely clear how he expects non-conservative readers to value this dimension of the program, the source, he suggests of its most enduring legacy.

Felicia Kornbluh

University of Vermont

Paving Paradise: Florida's Vanishing Wetlands and the Failure of No Net Loss. By Craig Pittman and Matthew Waite. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Foreword, acknowledgements, prologue, appendices, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp.376. \$27.00 cloth.)

In this latest volume in the University Press of Florida series on Florida History and Culture, St. Petersburg *Times* journalists Craig Pittman and Matthew Waite examine the destruction of Florida's rapidly disappearing wetlands. Extending beyond the geographic limitations of previously attempted case studies, the authors' work provides an encompassing assessment of locales threatened by the political machinery of development. Pittman and Waite employ a wide range of sources for a compelling, but deeply disturbing read. As many residents of Florida are keenly aware, the wanton destruction of wetlands and their natural environs to make way for commercial and residential development is by no means an historical event with consequences relegated to the past. Pittman and Waite illuminate the seemingly ceaseless cycle of bargains between developers, politicians, and officials on the state and federal level.

With Ann Vileisis's *Discovering the Unknown Landscape: A History of America's Wetlands* (1999) and Mark Derr's *Some Kind of Paradise* (1998) providing theoretical precedence, Pittman and Waite illustrate the failure of "No Net Loss" established under the Presidency of George H.W. Bush. In an attempt to resonate with both conservative conservationists and left-leaning voters concerned with the environment, the first Bush administration sought to enact protective legislation espousing a policy of "No Net Loss" of wetlands. Despite nearly two decades of broad support underscored by political propaganda emanating from the Right, "No Net Loss," in the words of Pittman and Waite, "creates the illusion of environmental protection while doing little to stem the destruction of precious natural resources" (3). As the authors make clear, the systematic ruin of Florida's wetlands under the protection of "No Net Loss"

speaks to the utter failure of policy in the face of corruption and negligence demonstrated by developers frequently working in cahoots with state and federal officials.

Pittman and Waite devoted the better part of four years to investigating the varied forms of political expedience, corruption, and negligence undertaken by federal and state agencies that led to failures in enforcing regulations on developers. In canvassing the state to interview hundreds of people, the authors unearthed thousands of documents and analyzed satellite imagery to show the transformation of former wetlands into houses, stores, and parking lots. The authors highlight the failure of the Clean Water Act and other supposedly protective legislation handed down by officials in Washington, but the heart of their story is the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and its permissive approach to development and environmental destruction in the Sunshine State. In reading *Paving Paradise*, it is clear that the Corps, an agency plagued by incompetence and environmental irresponsibility for the last twenty (or more) years, stands as the foremost enemy to the protection of what little remains of Florida's unspoiled lands.

Throughout the book, Pittman and Waite demonstrate that the decimation of Florida's wetlands stands as a testament to the insensible and callous approach to the natural environment undertaken by developers, state and federal officials, and many of the state's politicians, past and present. A chapter on the "Myth of Mitigation" will prove particularly infuriating for public taxpayers manipulated by pro-development state government, federal agencies, and developers themselves. The farcical myth of a stringent regulatory presence in the state illuminated by the authors makes for a grim outlook, as well. At its broadest contextual level, *Paving Paradise* offers new insight into the blatant disregard for environmental protection regulations that were far too lenient to begin with. Readers may ponder whether any hope for protection exists in the face of corruption and blind disregard for regulations. Pittman and Waite offer potential pathways for enhanced conservation of Florida's wetlands, but ultimately their work stands as a heartbreaking assessment of man's dominion over the natural landscape in a state once considered exceptional in terms of its ecological and biotic setting.

Sadly, there are no heroes in this work, only those pulling the strings and those manipulated by forces of economic continuity and environmental degradation. Anyone concerned with the pro-

tection of Florida's ecological world would do well to read this book. If advocates of Florida's wild places are not outraged before they read *Paving Paradise*, they just might be upon finishing it.

Robert Krause

University of Mississippi

Voices of Our Ancestors: Language Contact in Early South Carolina. By Patricia Causey Nichols. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009. Illustrations, acknowledgements, prologue, epilogue, references, index. Pp. 208. \$29.95 paper).

Patricia Nichols offers a focused look at the area's progression from a land of dozens of tribal and community languages and dialects to the fewer, but subsequently enriched, language patterns in existence today. The author takes a traditional but comprehensive approach to the topic. She begins by addressing the language families and influences of the native tribes centuries before the Spanish occupation and well before Africans and Europeans came to the continent, a time when identities were defined by the tribes, communities or chiefdoms to which one belonged. Nichols then examines the Spanish, French, German, Welsh, Scottish, Sephardic Jewish, Irish, and English influences on language evolution and Native American language patterns. She also provides an in-depth look at the links from the African continent to particular regions of South Carolina through the transport of African slaves.

The book is a rich narrative of a changing world and the cultural shifts that required adapting, in one way or another, to new languages. That adapting included the evolution of new language forms, including the Gullah dialect that still can be heard today and what Nichols describes as the "leveling" out of languages and dialects. Part of that detail includes looking at how groups adapted to other languages or learned completely new ones for public use while preserving their own linguistic heritage. Nichols offers examples of modern-day language patterns, compares them to Standard English and points out the indicators of source languages, comparing word order, use of verbs, vowels and locative prepositions. Examples come from her language research working in classroom environments where Standard English was a rarity. Nichols also details her own expo-

sure to the language variations that came with her South Carolina childhood.

In later chapters, Nichols shows how remnants of those early tongues are still spoken in South Carolina, including examples of how something would be said in Standard English compared to how it might be expressed by those whose speech continues to retain influences from an earlier time. There is also discussion of the idea that the modern concept of slavery (slaves as life-long property) developed during the same time that the need to learn the language of newcomers, and the shortcomings of that process, was moving inhabitants away from tribal or community identities to identification by racial characteristics. Nichols gives examples of how the words coined to express new ideas and new relationships contributed to changes in attitudes toward racial identification.

Nichols, a linguist and contributor to more than one collection on language and its influences, includes discussion of how women (slaves and free) used language and contributed to the dissemination and leveling of subsequent language forms in South Carolina. The book's topical organization allows the researcher to focus on a variety of sub-topics, such as Native People, European People, Language Contact, etc., while maintaining a historic timeline within each chapter. The same references, even the same statements, are repeated in different chapters. Researchers may find this a valuable reinforcement or an annoyance. The final chapter, specifically the portion on storytelling traditions, is interesting and useful in and of itself, but gives the reader the impression of being a fill-in rather than an integrated part of the whole. Nichols spends little time on the broader national context of a developing continent. The Carolinas were one of the gateways into the continent and some of the slave-owning planters and speculators would ultimately spread out to Florida, Georgia and other states, laying the foundation for debates on statehood and freedom. The narrow focus of the book can be forgiven, however, as it corresponds to the author's stated purpose.

The book's detail is extraordinary, drawing as the author does from personal experience with native speakers and extensive research from primary documents. The maps and time-line graphics offer a visual reference for language distribution, population changes and language specifics. Like the *New Encyclopedia of*

Southern Culture (NESC), volume five of which is on languages, Nichols takes a straightforward approach, moving from early history to modern times, connecting the threads of African and European language influences to regions in South Carolina. Unlike the NESC, Nichols chooses not to spend time on war, urbanization and politics of the 1800s.

What Nichols offers is a more vivid narrative than the stacking of facts and figures that characterize the NESC's assembly of articles, taking the opportunity offered by the narrow focus of the work to provide more depth. Nichols sets the tone in the prologue when she asks the reader to imagine Charlestown in 1715 and the dozens of conversations going on at the same time in dozens of different languages: slaves and servants speaking to masters, traders communicating in cobbled together dialects or through interpreters, mixed race children switching with ease from one language to another, Germans talking to Dutch, French to English, Scot to African. Readers of her book will gain an appreciation for present-day speech patterns that might otherwise be dismissed by a listener as unintelligible rather than valuable remnants of the many voices of South Carolina's history. It is a historical narrative with something for the linguist, as expected considering Nichols's credentials, and for the student of southern history. The author points out that many European Americans today can't "hear the voices that were here before their coming" (7). This work truly does bring those voices to the front.

S. Lynne Farabee

Kent State University

Delaying the Dream: Southern Senators and the Fight Against Civil Rights, 1938-1965. By Keith M. Finley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008. Acknowledgements, introduction, conclusion, notes on sources, selected bibliography, index. Pp. 352. \$40 cloth.)

On January 11, 1938, freshman senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia strode into the Senate chamber and joined the southern filibuster against the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill. Determined to defend the southern way of life, Russell delivered his first major speech in what would be a three-decades-long struggle to stem the tide of civil rights legislation.

The 1930s represented a political crossroads for the Democratic Party and for southern conservatives within that party, author Keith Findley argues. For although they defeated the anti-lynching bill, southern Democrats realized that the campaign to dismantle Jim Crow would only continue to gain power over time. Conscious of the changes taking place in the larger culture, and aware of their own diminishing power, southern senators adopted a new strategy designed to delay, rather than defeat, civil rights advances.

The chief architect of what Findley calls "strategic delay" was Richard Russell, whose knowledge of Senate rules was unmatched. By the mid-1940s, Russell was in firm command of the southern caucus. Under his leadership, southern senators toned down their heated rhetoric, adopted lofty constitutional arguments that often swayed the votes of conservative Republicans concerned about the growth of federal power, and offered limited concessions on minor legislation in an effort to win goodwill from the colleagues that they could call on when more threatening legislation came to pass. Despite Russell's firm grasp of the reigns of power, though, the southern opposition to civil rights was never as monolithic and unified as has been routinely portrayed. Keeping southern senators on the same strategic page was often difficult. In one of the book's strongest sections, Findley dissects the counter-veiling forces that played out in the behind-the-scenes maneuvering surrounding the civil rights bill of 1957, in which Lyndon Johnson's political aspirations and seething opposition from the southern grassroots had to be taken into account.

A book that is necessarily concerned with strategy, procedure, and manipulation of the Senate rules has a more than fair chance of being a dreary slog. Findley keeps the narrative moving at a brisk pace and livens up his tale by incorporating colorful anecdotes. Round-the-clock Senate sessions in 1960, he writes, drew "large numbers of visitors to the Senate gallery who desired to steal of glimpse of U.S. senators shuffling to answer quorum calls in pajamas and slippers" (205). He also includes little-known, perhaps apocryphal, gems for political junkies, such as Russell Long's revelation that "his father Huey always wore dark suits on the days he planned on delivering lengthy speeches. Unbeknownst to his Senate colleagues, the dark clothing enabled Huey to urinate while standing at his desk without having to relinquish the floor" (184).

In a work of painstaking detail, this reviewer found only one error. George Wallace's infamous "stand in the schoolhouse door" took place on June 11, 1963, the same date as President Kennedy's civil rights address and Medgar Evers's murder. They did not occur "later that year," as the author writes (240). This small error aside, *Delaying the Dream* is a smart, judicious, and useful look inside the vaunted southern opposition to civil rights, and a must-read for serious scholars of political history.

Kari Frederickson

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