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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Creek Paths and Federal Roads: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves and the Making of the American South. By Angela Pulley Hudson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, Pp. xiii, 272. \$65 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

The construction of a Federal Road across the Deep South in the early nineteenth-century provided a means for thousands of Americans to traverse the region. However, the road penetrating the area that became Georgia and Alabama was not located within a vacant wilderness. Prior to construction, nearly 20,000 Creek Indians called the space home with their own paths crossing land and water. Angela Pulley Hudson demonstrates that as diverse peoples utilized increasingly intersecting travel routes, pathways and roads acted as sites of cultural exchange. Hudson uses the ensuing disputes between the Creek Indians, expansion minded Southerners, and federal officials to examine the implications of divergent conceptions of mobility, boundaries, and territorial ownership across 62,000 square miles that initially defined Creek country.

Hudson argues that contrasting definitions of place by various peoples distinctly influence a developing sense of identity and history. While the Creek perspective is central to her work, she uses this premise to address several important topics that shaped the South from the 1780s to 1830. Throughout the period, Creeks, American settlers, and slaves conceived of mobility and boundaries differently. Whereas American settlers integrated space into temporally linear constructions, Creek cosmology utilized a non-linear

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spatial logic emphasizing cardinal directions in origin myths or physical boundaries such as rivers as gateways into the Creek spiritual realm known as the Underworld. As Creeks and Americans encountered one another, their different understandings clashed over space that each group saw as integral to their past and future.

Examining travel and movement offers an inventive look into the changing antebellum South. Hudson traces the consequences of American desires for access into and through Creek territory. Creek responses to U.S. expansionist attempts both retarded and accommodated American accessibility. While some Creeks outright deplored outsiders traversing their territory, many invoked an entrepreneurial spirit. Initially, Creeks managed to establish trading houses, inns, and river ferries to capitalize on traveling Americans. However, Creeks quickly found themselves in competition with and eventually ousted by American entrepreneurs who took over previously exclusive commercial endeavors. Combining economic displacement with the growing concern over American families moving into the region, "the profusion of American roads . . . [became] a reason to take up arms" for the Creeks (91).

The Federal Road and American involvement within the Creek held lands split the nation, resulting in civil war. Opposition to American roads unified many independent Creek towns and by the middle of 1812 the Red Stick Creeks—those rejecting American interference and accommodation—even sought to enlist Seminoles just across the Spanish border for assistance. In an effort to gain wider support, the Red Sticks allied with the British during the simultaneous War of 1812, though they never received the support they desired. As the Red Stick Creeks continued to intimidate Americans traveling in Creek country, U.S. officials pressured loyal Creeks to seek retribution against the resisting Indians. The Red Stick attack on Fort Mims in late August 1813 precipitated America's intervention in the Creek Civil War led by Andrew Jackson. The resulting Red Stick defeat enabled Jackson to secure massive Creek land cessions and virtually complete control over the Federal Road and water routes within Creek territory.

Land cessions and secure travel unleashed a wave of emigration across the region. The population of Alabama exploded from 10,000 to more than 120,000 U.S. citizens and slaves in 1827 (126). In order to facilitate travelers during the 1820s, Georgia and Alabama reinvigorated support for transportation and communication improvements. Although territorially reduced, Creek persistence in maintaining their communities presented a distinct hindrance to

expansion. To encourage improvements, Georgia trumpeted state authority over federal power in relations with Indians. By the late 1820s, the federal government was unable to quell Georgia's defiance and the Creeks moved into Alabama while Congress debated the complete removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi River.

Hudson has written a logically argued and well-supported work that raises only minor issues. One such instance is the geographical range of her inquiry. Although she proposes to examine the South, Hudson is primarily concerned with Georgia, eastern Alabama and the Creeks. It is unclear if her intriguing findings have the malleability to connect with other southern states such as Virginia and Florida or even other southeastern Indian groups. Furthermore, this regional focus convolutes exactly what Hudson is defining as the "South." Although considering novel influences, she leaves the reader to assume that after Indian dispossession we still end up with the same "Old South" defined by plantation slavery. While Hudson highlights that disputes over states' rights and Indian affairs predated other infamous battles, it is unclear if there are any lasting consequences or connections beyond 1830.

These concerns aside, Hudson's captivating book addresses several previously unconsidered relationships. Her work seamlessly integrates a complex Indian perspective, navigating a national push for improvements with a southern drive for state authority in defiance of federal jurisdiction. Of the numerous recent works on the Creeks, none considers the significance of mobility and roadways in a similar manner giving Hudson a truly unique perspective. She is keenly attentive to the implications of Creek cosmology that other antebellum South historians too frequently dismiss. She adeptly presents the complicated, and at times divergent, motives shaping Creek society in response to American encroachment. One of the most fascinating topics she has broached is the aforementioned relationship between states' rights and southeastern Indians. Her refreshing perspective on a topic that traditionally focuses on slavery is sure to encourage further examination of the entire region. Intersecting several rarely connected topics, *Creek Paths and Federal Roads* should have a broad appeal. Those interested in the Creeks, Georgia or U.S. expansion and improvements should consider this work; however, those looking for Florida history will only find tangential mentions of Florida-Georgia border disputes and the involvement of the Seminoles during the Creek War.

Birthing a Slave: Motherhood and Medicine in the Antebellum South. By Marie Jenkins Schwartz. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006. Acknowledgements, notes, index. Pp. ix, 321. \$29.95 cloth.)

Anyone with a passing knowledge of American chattel slavery should be well acquainted with its fundamental legal principle: *partus sequitur ventrem*. A child inherited its legal status—free or slave—from the mother. Enslaved women's ability to conceive and deliver enslaved babies thus became the cornerstone of slavery, especially after Congress ended U.S. participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1808. Marie Jenkins Schwartz has written an outstanding book that presents a medical history of enslaved women's reproductive health. Over the course of nine thematic chapters, Schwartz charts the trajectory of enslaved women's reproductive lives and also addresses other related health issues such as cancer and tumors. Adding to a growing field of scholarship that focuses on issues of health and childbearing in slavery, Schwartz offers a gripping account of the ways slaveholders, physicians, and enslaved women sought to control black women's bodies.

Slaveholders devoted considerable attention to enslaved women's childbearing capacity. The birth of enslaved babies was critical to the maintenance and expansion of the southern plantation complex. Slaveholders thus directed and monitored women's social and romantic relationships with enslaved men to ensure that they resulted in sexual relationships and pregnancy. While some women who delivered healthy babies might receive so-called "rewards," such as respites from fieldwork, women who did not conceive were likely to be directed to take a new spouse and faced a greater chance of being sold. As doctors began to recognize gynecology as a field of study and practice in the antebellum period, slaveholders increasingly called upon physicians to assist with the management of enslaved women's bodies. Slaveholders asked doctors to pinpoint the causes of enslaved women's infertility and administer cures, help pregnancies go to full term, assist with difficult deliveries, and treat a range of post-partum complications.

Slavery necessarily entailed the brutal appropriation of the most intimate social, physical and emotional aspects of women's lives—marriage, pregnancy and childbirth. By enlisting physicians' participation in monitoring and governing women's reproduction, slaveholders extended the reach of their control over enslaved

women's bodies and lives. If employing physicians afforded slaveholders greater control over the women they owned, doctors, too, gained authority from this work. As Schwartz explains, antebellum physicians' knowledge and practical experience in the field of women's health was limited. Treating enslaved women, consequently, allowed physicians to gain familiarity and develop their expertise in the slave quarters. In the antebellum South, Schwartz notes, the number of physicians grew faster than in the North, and medical men who treated slaves stood to profit greatly from this work.

When slaveholders summoned physicians to treat pregnant or post-partum women, they did so to safeguard their investments and monitor their human property, not to bestow kindness. A physician, in turn, understood that the owner, not the patient, was his client. Schwartz offers a range of examples, drawn from medical journals, planter records, and ex-slave narratives that provide chilling accounts of the treatments enslaved women received to facilitate their continued reproduction and also ensure their return to productive labor. Owners also allowed physicians to test out experimental and risky surgeries on enslaved women who seemed unable to return to work because a doctor was often willing to forego his usual fees in such cases.

Racial ideology was simultaneously central and unimportant to the ways physicians treated enslaved women. On the one hand, Schwartz argues, physicians believed that female bodies and bodily functions were the same regardless of race. The same procedures were performed on black and white, enslaved and free women. At the same time, however, racial ideology unquestionably informed the ways physicians approached enslaved women. For example, they embraced the notion that black women had a higher pain threshold than white women and thus could tolerate complicated births, invasive procedures, and even surgeries without analgesics or anesthesia. Physicians attributed miscarriages to enslaved women's efforts to terminate their pregnancies but not the slaveholders' physical abuse of pregnant women. Schwartz deftly explains the complexities of such apparent contradictions and presents a nuanced and compelling account of the ways black women's bodies were central to the development of the medical profession and yet so easily dismissed and abused by practitioners.

This book is as much a history of enslaved women's practices and ideas about pregnancy and childbirth as it is a history of the physicians who attended them. Drawing on the foundational work

of Deborah Gray White, Schwartz underscores the importance of female community, knowledge, and skills among enslaved women. Unlike white doctors, enslaved midwives who cared for pregnant women devoted time and attention to their patients' physical and emotional well-being. Enslaved women, Schwartz argues, used recognized herbal treatments and also practices rooted in folk beliefs to regulate their fertility and time rather than prevent pregnancies. Though Schwartz does not devote much space to considering the circumstances that might have driven women to avoid pregnancy and motherhood, she offers a profoundly thoughtful interpretation of their efforts to control their bodies. For example, in the examination of surgery she considers the possibility that enslaved women might not have wanted to be unconscious during the procedures. Remaining awake meant that they would be aware of what was being done to them. Schwartz does not romanticize such attempts at exerting control but rather points out the painful price enslaved women paid in their contests with physicians and slaveholders.

Schwartz presents a compelling account of enslaved women's centrality in the history of slavery and the history of the medical profession. Their bodies generated wealth, knowledge and professional authority for slaveholders and physicians. Their community based resources and skills also created black women's authority and expertise and fashioned a legacy of black midwifery that blunted the racism of many white physicians and lasted well into the twentieth century.

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Baring the Iron Hand: Discipline in the Union Army. By Steven J. Ramold. (Dekalb:Northern Illinois University Press, 2009. Acknowledgments, notes, index. Pp. xii, 487. \$40 cloth.)

Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans. By Jennifer M. Spear. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Acknowledgments, notes, glossary, essay on sources, index. Pp. xi, 325. \$50.00 cloth.)

These two excellent books, though separated by place, subject, and time, break fresh analytical and methodological ground and respond intelligently to alternative explanatory models pertaining to their respective subjects. They are significant contributions that will elicit scholarly engagement.

Steven J. Ramold's volume joins a recent deluge of works on Civil War jurisprudence, including Burrus M. Carnahan's *Act of Justice* (2007) and *Lincoln on Trial* (2010), Brian McGinty's *Lincoln and the Court* (2008), and Stephen C. Neff's *Justice in Blue and Gray* (2010). Jennifer M. Spear's text adds to a growing list of important volumes, including Kirsten Fischer's *Suspect Relations* (2001), Jennifer L. Morgan's *Laboring Women* (2004), and Sharon Block's *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (2006). These works underscore the regulation of sexual and family relations as one of the determining categories of differences in colonial societies worldwide.

As Spear explains, historians examining the intersection of race, sex, and family life in the early Americas generally have traversed one of two interpretative tacks. The so-called "cultural argument" emphasizes the defining power of sociohistorical and cultural aspects of the colonizing nation. According to this interpretation, European powers such as Spain and Portugal, both possessing long experience colonizing darker-skinned people, tolerated settler intermarriage with indigenous and other "colored" subject peoples. Northern Europeans, however, especially the British, shunned such interracial contacts. Other historians, in contrast, stress the importance of demography, especially sex ratios among the European populations and the ratios of Africans, Indians, and Europeans in particular locales as determining the degree to which European men gravitated toward non-European women as sexual and domestic partners.

Spear employs both explanatory devices to trace the evolution, meaning, and place of "race" as Indians, Euro-Louisianans, and Africans engaged and shaped the history of colonial New Orleans. In order to document everyday practices (how ordinary folk lived), Spear judiciously mined numerous sources, focusing on Catholic Church sacramental registries, New Orleans' notarial archives, and court records. She marshals these sources to probe how elites codified racial ideas into laws and how residents of early Louisiana responded to them. Spear notes, for example, instances whereby administrators accorded individuals different racial labels at different times in their lives. The author's incessant use of the term "racially exogamous" to describe sexual relationships between persons perceived to be of different racial groups not only grates, but contradicts Spear's stated policy of honoring original labels and terms found in her source materials (15).

While cognizant of the power of metropolitan racial ideas, Spear follows Gary B. Nash's admonition that historians identify persons "who conducted their lives, formed families, raised children, and created their own identities in ways that defied the official racial ideology" ("The Hidden History of Mestizo America," *Journal of American History* 82 [December 1995]: 954). Untangling racial ancestries and blurred racial boundaries leads Spear to conclude that many New Orleans colonists took "advantage of the city's complex racial order to define their own identities" (154). They "refused to let the racialized dictates of political elites determine their everyday lives" (214). Spear identifies various factors—personal agency, culture, economic and legal status in addition to race—to explain the degrees of social fluidity in early Louisiana, and especially the origins of New Orleans' free black population.

The 1724 revision of the French Code Noir, Spear says, shaped racial identities in lower Louisiana. Through legal means, French officials from afar sought to control mixed race marriages, manumission, and the status of free Afro-Louisianans. "Codifying status and ancestry as important determinants of rights, privileges, and obligations," she writes, signified "the transition from a status-based hierarchy to one rooted in race, thus creating a niche for free people of African ancestry, albeit one that few were able to take advantage of during the French era" (53). Whereas local secular officials less than enthusiastically tolerated French-Indian marriages, the arrival of large numbers of African slaves in the late 1710s initiated an ironclad prohibition of French-African unions.

Spanish legal acquisition of New Orleans in the late 1760s led to the organization of society into three corporate bodies—Euro-Louisianans, free blacks, and slaves. Spanish administrators introduced new laws that encouraged and liberalized manumission, acknowledged publicly mixed-race sexual relationships, established the social and legal status of free men of color, and strengthened the rights of slaves. The latter group received full rights to sue, join in contracts, and own, sell, inherit, and transfer property. Spanish rule, however, also permanently altered the texture of race relations in New Orleans by reopening the Atlantic slave trade, a circumstance that expanded the importation of slaves and significantly spurred the growth of lower Louisiana's plantation economy.

With the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, Anglo-Americans codified a tripartite racial system and imposed upon New Orleans a binary racial system, according to Spear, "that equated blackness

with enslavement and whiteness with freedom." The American system of restricting manumission, limiting immigration, and criminalizing racial mixing circumscribed the relatively fluid racial status of free men of color that had developed under the French and Spanish. Increasingly, free blacks found themselves subservient to whites and equated with slaves. Even so, Spear observes, local leaders "codified enough elements of the colonial racial system so that sympathetic judges could rule in favor of *gens de couleur libre* who sought to protect their rights" (179).

Ramold also frames his analysis around rights and liberties—which in this case were demanded by northern citizen-soldiers—when examining discipline in the U.S. Army. Delineating dual meanings of military "discipline," he notes that, on the one hand, the term refers to the determination to enter combat when ordered, to risk one's life, and to kill the enemy. Yet discipline also refers to soldiers obeying orders, subordinating themselves to military practice and customs. Ramold concludes that on balance, Union soldiers were "disciplined" in that they possessed "the will to stand, fight, and defeat the enemy," but they were undisciplined in knowing, respecting, and obeying military regulations (343).

The author develops this argument in detailed chapters on American military justice to 1861, strained relationships between officers and enlisted men, disciplinary problems within the ranks, problems associated with abuses of alcohol, insubordination, desertion, theft, property, violent crime, the process of courts-martial, and the application of punishment. By 1862, Ramold contends, northern troops had become "an army of grim survivalists," succumbing to behaviors unthinkable as civilians, including violent crimes, murder, defilement of the dead for souvenirs, and pillaging (301). "Someone who observed a typical Union army camp," Ramold states, "might characterize the assembled body of men as little more than a mass of hooligans, with a thin line of officers as all that kept the entire mob from unrestrained lawlessness . . ." (7).

Ramold identifies several elements that circumscribed the level of discipline in the Union Army. These included tensions that existed between the military ideals of the Regular Army and the largely volunteer army, clashes between citizen-soldiers and traditional military controls and regulars, and conflicts between what he terms the ethos of individualism and masculinity of American volunteer soldiers and the rigid expectations of Victorian-era

morality. Accordingly, Ramold explains, the army command struggled “to reach a point where they could accommodate the populist inclinations of its volunteers with the more stringent traditions of military law. The result was a flexible legal system that entirely satisfied “neither the volunteers nor the professional soldiers” (4).

Union officers found themselves overwhelmed by their troops’ disregard of the regulations and, as a result, military discipline evolved over time and became a work in constant progress. Offenses punished early in the war went largely unpunished at war’s end. Changes in discipline resulted from the extraordinary numbers of cases that came before the army justice system, the fact that most officers themselves came from civilian life and identified with their men, not the officer corps, and unsurprisingly, shared their men’s sense of military discipline.

Ramold insists that the army’s best method of disciplining its soldiers lay in ameliorating the problems that bred unacceptable military behavior in the first place, not in enforcing rigid military justice. Over time military justice came to be characterized by “flexibility, leniency, and individuality.” Court-martial panels, for example, “took circumstances into account, listened to both sides of the issue, and operated a system that administered proper justice in the vast majority of cases” (342). In Ramold’s opinion, had “the Army shot every soldier found guilty of a capital offense or punished to the ultimate degree every defendant who stole a chicken or got drunk, the army itself might well have revolted” (343).

Ramold differentiates between disciplinary cases in which officers looked the other way (for example, soldiers earning money on the side or soliciting prostitutes) and enforced regulations (for instance, soldiers flaunting established military or disciplinary codes). To control their citizen-soldiers, commanders employed incentives other than traditional military discipline, including “unit cohesion, personal loyalty, and demonstrations of masculinity” (217). In the end, Ramold credits the Union’s military justice system with working adequately. It maintained order sufficient enough to create an effective fighting force necessary to suppress a domestic rebellion and sustain republican ideals. Unfortunately, in arguing this point Ramold overstates and under explains the roles of masculinity and Victorian understandings of order and respectability in his otherwise valuable work.

Spirit of Rebellion: Labor and Religion in the New Cotton South. By Jarod Roll. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 266. \$80 cloth, \$30 paper.)

Jarod Roll's *Spirit of Rebellion: Labor and Religion in The New Cotton South* explores tenant and sharecropper strikes in a region of Missouri known as the "Bootheel," where large planters sought to dispossess smallholders and to relegate tenants and sharecroppers to wage labor. As they tumbled down the socio-agricultural ladder in the 1920s and 1930s, agricultural workers organized, joined unions, and protested in an effort to save their status as producers. Of significant importance to Roll were roadside encampments that appeared in January 1939 along the highways of the Bootheel region. As members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU), agricultural producers used these carefully planned protests to make their evictions from the estates of area planters known to the American public and the U.S. government, particularly the Farm Security Administration (FSA). In doing so, they hoped to keep their jobs as agricultural producers by securing their own farms to cultivate. In relating the history of these workers, Roll discusses the dispossession of both white and black agricultural workers in southeast Missouri, documenting the changing course of their fortunes between roughly 1900 and 1940. Building a thematic narrative, Roll provides a well researched contribution to Labor History and various other historiographies, including African-American, Agricultural, Southern, and New Deal History.

Roll stresses the blending of religious and political ideology in the Bootheel world view. Labor historians have long noted the force of religious fervor in organizing, a particularly acute phenomenon in the developing New South, where some churches served labor and others served industry. The more formalized denominational congregations tended to resist any activity deemed challenging to the status quo of entrenched and powerful elite planters and industrialists. At the same time, less institutionalized churches, such as the Pentecostal-Holiness discussed in *Spirit of Rebellion*, spoke for and supported workers in their daily and union activities. The existence of a nondenominational church often identifies a community where southern labor could and did organize; an independent church provided a forum for workers to congregate, plan and converse beyond the watchful eye of employ-

ers. More uniquely, Roll notes that farmers measured their freedom and citizenship, as well as their manhood, through their role as agricultural producers. Union meetings and prayer meetings often shared the same space, songs and leadership.

Roll also discusses race relations and his findings support recognized conclusions in the history of southern labor. In the first two decades of the 20th century, he documents white on black violence, where white agricultural workers physically assaulted and killed black agriculturalists. At the same time, planters in the Bootheel recruited KKK members to protect black agricultural tenants and pickers against their displaced white counterparts, suggesting elite ties and dominance of white supremacist organizations. Planters encouraged racial animosity between white and black agricultural labor, reaping the benefit of labor market competition. Despite this, race relations between white and black Missouri agricultural workers did improve during the Great Depression. They joined unions together, participated in strikes and other protests, and they planned and organized these events through shared leadership. While there were mixed-race union locals, whites never seemed to overcome their demand for segregation, but most continued to insist on separate communities and white union leadership. Significantly, at least some of the STFU highway encampments in 1939 were integrated with black and white farm families setting up temporary shelters and protesting side by side. Campers held religious meetings where "many whites" joined in the service and knelt with "African American activists" (141). White elites, on the other hand, vehemently and violently resisted interracial labor cooperation, using high-level political pressure and violent assaults to prevent federal land settlements in the Bootheel (166).

Responding to racial animosity in the 1920s, many black agriculturalists in the Bootheel joined the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), shaping its international message to fit their local circumstances. UNIA leaders continued to play a prominent role in Bootheel activism in the 1930s and were prominent in the STFU and as organizers of the roadside encampments. As strikers set up camps in 1939, Bootheel STFU organizer Owen Whitefield wrote to thirty-one year old "NAACP lawyer Thurgood Marshall," describing the "suffering of our people" and their determination "to stand" for their rights against the planter elite (146). The blurred line between class and race in American history, as well as

the close association of labor to civil rights activism is reinforced in Roll's narrative. Working across racial tensions, the highway encampments captured the attention of the federal government, including that of the President and First Lady, and resulted in federal cooperative production communities, where some settlers were eventually able to purchase their own land. The labor activists in *Spirit of Rebellion* successfully challenged the disproportionate relief commandeered by planters and secured long-lasting results for protestors. In the case of the La Forge and Delmo Settlements, descendants of some early settlement families continue to own the houses and related acreage to this day.

Spirit of Rebellion highlights American rural labor activism at a time when the history of American populism needs to be understood. Contrary to the present day anti-government, anti-tax rhetoric of Tea Party candidates, who claim and are erroneously awarded a "populist" mantel, American populism has always been about using government to help workers combat the greed and exploitation heaped upon them by unscrupulous capitalists, be they finance magnates or planter elites. In the 1930s, agricultural workers understood the role government must play in securing the economic security of American workers; through stimulus spending, regulation of concentrated economic and financial interests and, at times, direct government ownership of production assets, government partners with labor to set boundaries and manage the private sector. Bootheel populists demanded that the federal government support agricultural producers, meaning workers, those who needed assistance to keep their homes, their income, and their productive place in the American agricultural economy.

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Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching. By Crystal N. Feimster. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, appendix, index. Pp. 235. \$35 cloth.)

Southern Horrors is the story of two women activists, Rebecca Latimer Felton and Ida B. Wells, "who would radically change the sexual and racial politics of the American South" (6). Yet the book's contribution to historical scholarship moves beyond the

impact of these remarkable women. In an effort to remedy the dearth of scholarship on how women encountered and reacted to lynching violence, Crystal Feimster uses Felton and Wells to forge a fresh analytical connection between debates about mob violence and political arguments for female protection. Through detailed research and analysis, Feimster highlights the saliency of gender politics in the postbellum South and complicates our understanding of lynching violence.

In alternating chapters, Feimster traces the ideas and experiences of Felton and Wells in an effort to locate black and white women in the turbulent culture of the post-war South. Felton and Wells were both advocates for women's safety, but they were on opposite sides of the issue of lynching. Felton famously condoned mob violence as a necessary weapon in defense of white womanhood, while Wells sought to expose lynching as a tactic used by white southerners to deprive African Americans of basic rights. Although Felton and Wells had different ideological goals, debates about lynching violence gave them and other women an entry point into the public sphere, and would pave the way for southern women's participation in politics.

Rebecca Felton was raised as a plantation mistress in antebellum Georgia, but her experiences during the Civil War convinced her that southern women could no longer depend on men to ensure their safety and well-being. Consequently, Felton devoted her attention to a variety of movements that she hoped would lessen women's vulnerability, including campaigns for temperance, anti-rape laws, and prison reform. These issues crossed race and class lines, showing that Felton thought poor whites and black women were entitled to protection. However, as lynching violence swelled in the late nineteenth century, Felton increasingly concentrated on white women rather than the empowerment of southern womanhood as a whole. The popularity of Felton's 1897 speech defending lynching gave her a public platform to endorse white women's rights, and she would go on to become the first woman to serve in the United States Senate.

Internationally known for her anti-lynching writings, Ida B. Wells argued that mob violence was not about female safety, but served as justification to violate black citizenship rights. White men used violence to consolidate their power in society and ensure their control over southern women of both races. Feimster builds on recent scholarship about Wells and anti-lynching activism, out-

lining the unceasing efforts of black individuals and organizations to pass legislation that would prevent extralegal violence – an objective that would never be realized. The comparison between Wells and Felton satisfies Feimster's goal of presenting women's varied responses to lynching, but her discussion also reveals similarities in how Felton and Wells analyzed problems in southern society. Both women argued that the ideology and behavior of white southern manhood aggravated the region's racial conflicts, and they believed that many problems in southern society could be fixed if women were able to influence political decision-making.

Feimster reinforces that gender is central to our understanding of racial violence with her discussion of white women as both architects and objects of lynching. While black women were vulnerable to sexual violence because racist stereotypes undermined their claims to respectability, white women derived some degree of power from their exalted place in southern culture. Feimster points out that white women participated in lynch mobs, and in some cases dictated in what gruesome way those accused would be executed. Lynching ideology and the myth of the "black rapist" actually gave white women a measure of political leverage. The claim of white women's vulnerability in southern culture strengthened arguments in favor of protection – a rationalization that Felton used to demand political rights for women. Yet lynching also policed white women's sexual behavior, forcing them to conform to the image of the pure white woman that lynching was founded upon, and threatening them with violent consequences should they transgress. Thus, while lynching was committed in the name of white womanhood, in the end, such violence served to maintain white *male* supremacy, and perpetuate control over white women as well as African Americans.

In a chapter discussing black and white female victims of lynching, Feimster shows that southern women of both races were raped and murdered by southern mobs. Feimster asserts that between 1880 and 1930 at least 130 black women and 26 white women were lynched in the South. Poor women constituted a disproportionate number of victims, and even pregnant women and mothers were not exempted from brutal execution. Most historians view female victims as atypical, and thus give them fleeting mention. In contrast, Feimster not only includes an appendix of women victims of lynching, but carefully analyzes the historical causes and reactions to these violent episodes. The execution of

women was more rare and controversial than the murder of men, but such instances clearly attest to the false argument that lynching was a punishment reserved for black male rapists. Yet Feimster's research also shows that gender was indeed at the heart of lynching politics, and that sexualized hysteria surrounding lynching was a reflection of real anxieties about the boundaries of race and gender in southern culture.

Feimster's book is a thoughtful and compelling contribution to scholarship on lynching violence. While other historians have concentrated on race as the driving force of bloodshed in the South, Feimster effectively asserts that gender as well as race shaped lynching violence and social responses to mob brutality. Analyzing the ideological connections between the politics of female protection and lynching, Feimster also successfully highlights how women channeled debates about violence into claims for their own political involvement. Thus, *Southern Horrors* deepens our understanding of the history of race and gender politics in the South.

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The Life of Ruth Bryan Owen: Florida's First Congresswoman and America's First Woman Diplomat. By Sarah Pauline Vickers. (Tallahassee, FL: Sentry Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography, index Pp. xviii, 213. \$30.00 cloth.)

Sarah Pauline Vickers' biography of Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde (1885-1954) offers an insightful account of a "leading post-Suffrage" pioneer (xvi)—a woman whose public service spanned close to fifty years, from her work as her father's secretary during his third bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1908, through her advocacy of world peace, to which she devoted herself wholeheartedly after World War II.

Owen was also the first woman to represent the state of Florida in Congress—serving two terms in the House from 1928-1932, advocating on behalf of agricultural protectionist legislation, citizenship reform, child welfare, and the founding of the Everglades National Park. When she failed to gain reelection in 1933, in part because she remained committed to Prohibition when her constituents desired the repeal of the Volstead Act, Franklin Delano

Roosevelt appointed her Minister to Denmark, a post she held for three years, 1933-1936.

Vickers' biography, the most extensive account available, is cogently and sensitively written, making it possible to appreciate how this highly intelligent, ambitious, and well-connected woman operated within the political sphere. Although Ruth learned about politics at her father's knee—she was the eldest child of Nebraska Congressman, William Jennings Bryan, who gained national acclaim for his "Cross of Gold" speech as the Democratic presidential candidate in 1896—her political career was forged out of economic necessity and personal grief. Needing to support an invalid husband and four children in the early 1920s, Ruth took to the Chautauqua lecture circuit, where she was on the road for months at a time. She was a popular speaker and earned a very good living, addressing millions of people in the winter and spring of 1921 alone.

Despite the circumspect quality of many of Owen's letters, Vickers effectively reveals the passionate and romantic side to Ruth's nature, explaining how in the fall of 1903 she left college to marry William Homer Leavitt, an artist twice her age, over her parents' strenuous objections. Ruth gave birth to two children (Ruth in 1904 and John Baird in 1905), but a year later, she was separated from her husband and had returned to her parents' home in Lincoln. Although Ruth concealed the true beginnings of her next love affair, Vickers describes how Ruth fell in love again, this time with a young British officer, Reginald Altham Owen, whom she married in May 1910. She subsequently had two more children—Reginald Jr., known as Bryan, in 1913 and Helen Rudd in 1920. This marriage, although a very happy one, was fraught with tragedy, as Reginald suffered from illnesses he contracted during his military service in World War I. At the end of the war, Ruth again returned home to her parents, who were now living in Florida, so that she could rely on their support while she figured out how to provide for her family. Her husband died prematurely in 1927 of Bright's disease, leaving Ruth a forty-two-year-old widow.

After the death of her father in 1925, Ruth entered the world of electoral politics on her own behalf, first running for office in 1926 and using her remarkable public speaking skills to win over a Florida electorate that did not approve of women's participation in politics. Florida remained an anti-woman suffrage state until 1969. During Ruth's first campaign, her opponent William Sears chal-

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lenged her eligibility for office—U.S. law deprived women, but not men, of their citizenship upon marriage to a foreigner—while Ruth argued that she had regained her citizenship through a naturalization process. Ultimately, Ruth lost the Democratic primary to Sears by a margin of 776 votes (21,223 v. 20,447). Some of her supporters alleged that there had been “irregularities” in Monroe County, but Ruth did not ask for a recount, instead accepting the defeat. In 1928, from March through June, Ruth ran against Sears again, and even though she was now widowed, her political loyalty remained an issue. Ruth bought a new Ford coupe so that she could canvass her district more efficiently, meeting face-to-face with her electorate. This time she defeated Sears by a vote of 56,031 to 42,011 in the Democratic primary, going on to defeat her Republican opponent handily in the fall election.

In the 1930s, first as a congresswoman and then as foreign minister to Denmark, Ruth supported Roosevelt’s New Deal, campaigning for the president in 1932 and 1936. Throughout her life, Ruth remained a close associate of Eleanor Roosevelt and was highly connected to women’s progressive networks. She had worked briefly at Hull House in the summer of 1903 while she was a college student at the University of Nebraska, and in the early 1920s she had become an integral part of women’s voluntary organizations in Miami, joining the Federation of Business and Professional Women, the League of Women Voters, the National Consumers’ League, the National Council for Child Welfare, the League of American Pen Women and the American Association of University Women and serving as president of Miami’s Women’s Club, the Parent Teachers’ Association, the Theater Guild, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Episcopal Church Guild, as well as regional director of the Y.W.C.A.

While Minister to Denmark, Ruth met and married her third husband, Captain Borge Rohde, a member of the Danish Royal Guard, a man eight years her junior. Again marriage impinged upon Ruth’s career, as she was compelled to relinquish her position in the Foreign Service so as not to raise concerns about her loyalty that might have jeopardized Roosevelt’s campaign for reelection. In the last phase of her political life, Ruth returned to the pacifism she had first advocated after World War I, writing a treatise, *Look Forward Warrior* (1942), in which she assessed the failure of the League of Nations and laid the groundwork for its successor. In 1949, Harry Truman nominated her as one of four

alternates to the four-member U.N. delegation and as part of this assignment, Ruth delivered hundreds of speeches on world health, children's welfare, and international refugees. In the early 1950s, Ruth helped establish the Institute for International Government, serving as its president until December 1953, when she retired from public life.

Despite the many insights contained in this well-researched and sensitively written biography, Owen remains an idealized figure. Vickers is able only to hint at the tensions that were evidently present in Ruth's adult relationship with her parents and the complicated feelings she had toward motherhood. Still, what emerges is an intriguing portrait of a woman who forged a successful life in public service despite widespread antagonism toward women in politics and the fact that she held elective office for only a few short years.

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Bowled Over: Big-Time College Football from the Sixties to the BCS Era.

By Michael Oriard. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, illustrations, tables, notes, index. Pp. xi, 352. \$30.00 cloth).

Michael Oriard's study of college football in the modern era offers a penetrating look at how the game emerged as the pre-eminent sport at major colleges and universities. The author's work moves beyond providing a simple historical framework of how desegregation, Title IX, and hefty television contracts changed the game from its early origins a century earlier, when university officials first recognized the opportunities that college football could provide their institutions, to its more preeminent form at the turn of the twenty-first century, when it emerged as a national experience for all sports fans. Rather, *Bowled Over* provides readers an insightful exploration of how the sport is no longer truly representative of student-athletes as it delves into the realm of professional athletics with unrealistic expectations for the athletes involved.

While some readers might be put off by Oriard's use of the first-person narrative in various sections of the book, the author's methodology is essential as he played football at perennial power, Notre Dame, and can provide firsthand accounts. Accordingly,

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Oriard's playing experience—which later led to a professional football career with the Kansas City Chiefs—allows him to provide a much-appreciated perspective into the world of college football during a turbulent time period marked with strife and angst throughout the nation's campuses. To be sure, the author does not completely mask his sympathies, which lie with the players and the integrity of the game he clearly loves. Yet scholars and fans of the sport would agree that Oriard is not off target with his analysis and criticism as the current system of college football requires modification and reform to restore integrity to the often criticized sport.

Oriard's study actually builds upon his previous works exploring the history and management of the sport. In fact, *Bowled Over* was originally meant to be a "companion" to his most recent work, *Brand NFL: Making and Selling America's Favorite Sport* (2007), as he had intended the two books as a single-volume (1). Recognizing the vast amount of material he had accumulated, the single-volume work became two. Yet *Bowled Over* can stand alone, and quite well at that.

In Part I of *Bowled Over*, Oriard explores the often volatile relationship that existed between college football in regards to race relations, desegregationists, and black protest at mid century. He argues that despite several key losses in the court of public opinion, black college football players actually won "greater personal freedom" for all athletes due to their efforts to fight for respect and equality during the 1960s (125). Even though many of the cases Oriard explores occur in the South, particularly, in the Southeast Conference (SEC), the problems of race afflicted the entire country, including the West Coast.

A brief interlude divides the work before Oriard explores the modern era of the game, which he calls "Living with a Contradiction." He argues that a majority of university administrators rejected the notion of student-athletes during the last three decades of the twentieth century in favor of "commercialism" and "professionalism" (128). The key element to this change proved to be the implementation of the one-year scholarship, which allowed coaches to rescind scholarships of players who left the team or failed to live up to expectations. Scholarship rules and other changes only galvanized university administrators into solidifying the farce that football is meant to serve the educational interests of the student-athletes and can co-exist in the world of higher educa-

tion. And while the author may be skeptical as to any changes which may occur, his conclusions are sound, as most fans and observers of the game would likely agree.

Bowled Over is a solid work that will certainly contribute to the dialogue of sports history and the management of college football. It is well-written, persuasively argued, and, above all, deeply insightful. While general readers may be enthused when reading Stewart Mandel's recent work, *Bowls, Polls, and Tattered Souls: Tackling the Chaos and Controversy That Reign over College Football* (2009), they can gain quite a bit more from Oriard's careful study which relies on primary historical research and the most recent financial and academic data that the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) can provide. And herein lays Oriard's greatest contribution, perhaps. His book can effectively contribute to two audiences: scholars and general readers. Even devout fans of the sport would have to agree with the author's analysis.

Alex Mendoza

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Seminole Voices: Reflections on Their Changing Society, 1970-2000. By Julian Pleasants and Harry Kersey, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 272. \$40.00 cloth.)

Julian M. Pleasants and Harry A. Kersey, Jr. both distinguished historians, have written an engaging volume which places the Florida Seminole people at the cusp of the twenty-first century. These two men bring countless years of research and work with the Florida Seminoles to this thin volume which is filled to the brim with content. As true scholars, they have combined significant data collected in the latter half of the twentieth century with up-to-date interviews with carefully chosen tribal members.

If one outcome emerged from the racket caused by the NAG-PRA legislation of 1990, it is more open and frank communications between scholars and tribal members. Most of us associate this legislation with museum applications, ownership of material culture or the interpretation, storage, and usage of those objects. But it also impacted the non-Native scholars working in the field, especially with their inclusion of Native voices and perspectives in

all aspects of research. NAGPRA has started to break down some very impenetrable barriers and foster an atmosphere of understanding different perspectives.

These barriers among the Florida Seminoles, of all the tribes with which I have had the privilege to work, remain significant. The history of each tribe in North America is unique, but the Seminoles rest upon the precious memory of being undefeated by the armies of the United States. They hold great value in traditional culture, social structures, belief systems and practices. The authors worked in close collaboration with Seminole tribal members, staff at the tribal museum—Ah Tha Thi Ki—and others in the community, especially when getting to the heart of present day practices, including tribal leadership. They shared their research questions with tribal leaders for review before conducting interviews.

Seminole Voices brings together data drawn from oral history interviews with tribal members conducted between 1969 and 1971, with additional interviews collected up until the 1990s. Included with the early interviews are also interviews with non-Seminoles who worked in association with the tribe. The original interviews were conducted primarily by Dr. Samuel Proctor and others, including Harry Kersey, one of the authors of this volume. Their project was part of an interviewing project to gather oral histories from Indians in the southeastern United States as part of the Proctor Oral History Program's efforts of the 1990s. In the preface, the authors describe these earlier research projects and introduce the methods by which they conducted interviews to follow-up on the information collected thirty years earlier. They also introduce the individuals whom they chose to interview, making it a very personal book.

The authors' goal in *Seminole Voices* is to assess the level of change that has taken place in the vital fiber of the Florida Seminoles. Individuals who were young at the time of the original Proctor interviews are now elected leaders and traditional elders. Pleasants and Kersey have also presented changes in Seminole communities from the point of view of tribal members. Excerpts from old and contemporary interviews, emic reflections on change in the tribe, enhance the text as they guide and support the conclusions made by the authors. These are the true Seminole voices.

The following topics, addressed in the early interviews, are explored again in this volume: tribal education, economic

changes, government, medicine and religion, preservation of culture and language, and housing and family values. The discussion of the erosion of traditional practices in the chapter about religion and magic recognizes the impact and role of Christianity and the English language. Both of these outside forces have expanded their influence in the years between the two sets of interviews. The authors also discuss how these two external forces have impacted the nature of leadership in the Seminole tribe. The reader is left with an impression that until relatively recently, the Seminole tribe, ensconced in the heart of a major tourist area, has been incredibly isolated from twentieth century influences.

Seminole Voices is a welcome source of new information on the Seminole tribe of Florida. The authors have combined the voices of the past with those of the present in order to tell aspects of the story of change within the tribe as perceived by tribal members. This book will be useful for history, anthropology, Native American studies, Florida history, and other courses. It informs the public and scholars of the excellent and effective uses of oral history interviews. Readers are introduced to a twenty-first century community which is still in the throes of change, and which is well aware of their role in making change serve their purposes.

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Out of the Muck: A History of the Broward Sheriff's Office, 1915-2000.

By William P. Cahill and Robert M. Jarvis. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010. Foreword, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxv, 339. \$40 cloth.)

Out of the Muck: A History of the Broward Sheriff's Office, 1915-2000 is the latest contribution to the small but growing field of institutional public safety history. Its authors, William P. Cahill and Robert M. Jarvis, argue that due to the county's isolated nature, a rugged frontier-like lawlessness persisted well into the twentieth century—complete with cattle rustling, shoot-outs, and vigilante justice. Because of this, Broward's early "redneck" sheriffs and their deputies, like their Wild West counterparts, were predominantly controversial figures who could and did crisscross the line between law enforcer and lawbreaker with relative ease. As such, these men frequently sullied the department's reputation and

helped to promote the organization's image as inept and corruptible—a common dilemma for many such agencies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between the Department's establishment in 1915 and its close in 2000, however, the organization succeeded in transforming itself into the nation's largest fully accredited sheriff's department.

The title, *Out of the Muck*, reinforces the book's thesis or contention and is drawn from two sources. First, a portion of Broward County land was formed from the "muck" of a massive dredging of the Everglades—a project promoted by the county's namesake, Governor Napoleon Broward. The second is in reference to the fact that during its early years, the sheriff's organization frequently found it necessary to dredge its reputation from the muck of various scandals.

Broward County's location on the southeast coast of Florida helps to explain some of the challenges its law enforcement officials faced. The attitudes of many of the county's white residents towards minorities created problems due to differences concerning religion and race. Geographically, miles of secluded coastline and close proximity to international waters required additional duties related to the policing of waterways as well as countryside. Lastly, an interest in beachfront property attracted unique and diverse industries that resulted in rapid population growth. This included the development of undesirable business enterprises related to gambling, prostitution, and organized crime. Over time, the County gained notoriety for, among other things, illicit activity including smuggling, becoming the home of infamous underworld figures like Al Capone, and attracting unruly college students seeking excitement over Spring Break.

The fact that the reputation of the sheriff's department suffered due to these circumstances is documented in *Out of the Muck*. Broward's first three sheriff administrations experienced brushes with the law in some form or another and faced charges ranging from *non-feasance* in office to murder. Ensuing decades produced accusations of graft, connections to organized crime, tacit approval of illegal activities, and participation in lynching.

By 1966, the Department began to attract a good deal of positive attention for advancements towards professionalization. This included an end to wage differentials according to race and a "golden era" from 1969 to 1985 (205). During this time, deputies began to receive police academy training, the county received a 9-1-1 emergency response system, and Broward hired its first female sheriff.

The preface and two beginning chapters of *Out of the Muck* provide a brief background of the development of the office of sheriff in the United States as well as the early histories of south Florida, Broward County, and the formation of the Broward Sheriff's Office. Subsequent chapters are divided by administrative eras with the final chapter focusing on the Broward County Jail. The authors have also provided an index and two appendices—one that contains service and biographical data for each sheriff and one listing the Broward County Sheriff's election results. This work also contains 200 photographs and a bibliography of over 300 documents, websites, newspapers, articles, theses, and books.

This volume is well researched and compliments existing work on the subject including *Florida Sheriffs: A History 1821-1945* (2001), by William Warren Rogers and James M. Denham. Some drawbacks of *Out of the Muck* include the fact that citations are vague at times. Additionally, the authors have relied heavily on local newspaper and media accounts to frame their chronology. This may be because the department's historical records are either not available for inspection or are no longer in existence. Most early law enforcement agencies made it a policy to systematically destroy records, a practice that leaves researchers dependent on unofficial materials that are both problematic and distorted in their presentation of facts. Media sources tend to limit the presentation of historical developments to only those incidents that are sensational, deemed noteworthy, or that fill time and space needs. These reports also traditionally neglect important details regarding the decision making process as well as the more mundane but essential aspects of peacekeeping. Lastly, this approach periodically buries the narrative in minutia. In the absence of official departmental records, some oral history interviews of former officers or civilian support personnel may have helped to broaden the scope and balance of this examination.

Today the Broward Sheriff's Office motto is, "Pride in Service with Integrity." As such, this narrative of the rise of the department to a high degree of professionalism will be of interest to a wide audience. Lay readers interested in local history, crime, or law enforcement will find that *Out of the Muck* makes for fascinating and informative reading. The serious researcher will value this volume as an important addition to their reference library.