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## Book Reviews

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## Book Reviews

*Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor*

***Indian Slavery in Colonial America.*** Edited by Alan Gallay. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. Maps, list of contributors, index. Pp. 448. \$60 cloth.)

*Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, edited by Alan Gallay, focuses on Indian slavery during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in North America north of Mexico. This volume makes a compelling case that "Indian slavery was not peripheral in the history of Native America, but central to the story" (3). Slavery existed in North America prior to European contact, but it was the international slave trade orchestrated by European colonizers that led to the demise of entire groups of Indians and the depopulation of certain regions. Gallay argues persuasively that, "For many Indians, their engagement in slaving, or their victimization, was *the* critical moment in their history" (7).

European involvement in regional politics forced some Indian groups to face the choice of either becoming victims of slave raids or becoming the enslavers. Some, such as the Westos of the Southeast, were formidable slave traders catering to the English only later to be destroyed by Savannah Indians at the encouragement of English colonists. Joseph Hall discusses this situation in his essay "Anxious Alliances: Apalachicola Efforts to Survive the Slave Trade, 1638-1705." Slaving also facilitated the emergence of powerful Indian confederacies, including the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks.

For readers interested in the history of Florida and the surrounding region, this volume is particularly relevant because it

showcases some of the newest scholarship on Indian slavery and the Indian slave trade in the Southeast. The Southeast and Southwest receive more coverage because foundational works such as *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (2002) by Alan Gallay and *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002) by James F. Brooks have laid the groundwork for more focused studies of these regions. Alan Gallay contributes an essay about South Carolina and the slave trade, as well as a deftly written introduction that places Indian slavery in the broader context of slavery in early modern history and in the historiography of New World slavery. Other contributors that examine the Southeast include Joseph Hall, Jennifer Baszile, Denise I. Bossy, and Robbie Ethridge.

The essays in this volume highlight the varied nature of slavery—which Gallay associates with “a denial of freedom”—in native America (5). Slavery and other forms of unfreedom differed according to time and place, and no singular definition of slavery encompasses the way people experienced slavery. An enslaved woman in New France may have had a remarkably different experience of enslavement than a male slave who labored in South Carolina. In her essay, “Apalachee Testimony in Florida: A View of Slavery from the Spanish Archives,” Jennifer Baszile maintains that there were “competing practices of slavery” and multiple meanings of slavery in the region Spanish colonists called La Florida (187). Her research reveals that contemporaries used the term slavery selectively and that “consensus about the nature of slavery was elusive” (201).

Even with its varied nature, Indian slavery was different from the enslavement of Africans in that it generally served political purposes, and labor extraction was not usually its primary motive. Many Indians lived in what Gallay calls “non-slaving slaveholding societies” in which slavery “existed as a peripheral institution” and where the society did not seek out large numbers of slaves. Captors held the enslaved, who were often women and children, for the purposes of “degradation and revenge” (8). Gallay makes a distinction between non-slaving slaveholding societies and “slaving societies” in which captured people served the distinct purpose of “performing heavy labor.” Pursuing captives “was central to the culture and economy” of slaving societies. In her essay, “Indian Slavery in Southeastern Indian and British Societies, 1670-1730,” Denise Bossy argues, “native slavery was not a labor-based system. Native slaves worked, but often to support, rather than enrich, their masters” (213). Although the



various forms of unfreedom Indians experienced were horrendous in their own right, slavery was neither based primarily on labor extraction, as was the enslavement of Africans, nor was slavery a central element of these societies. Widespread European influence in North America, however, eventually prompted Indians to engage in slave raiding and warfare for the purposes of procuring large numbers of slaves to trade to European allies. It also meant that the nature of Indian enslavement on much of the continent evolved to encompass the European purpose of slavery—to extract labor. Alternately, Brett Rushforth's article "'A Little Flesh We Offer You': The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," reveals that Indian slavery could also transform European practices such as when French settlers slowly adapted to Indian customs of captive exchange in order to create and maintain alliances (366).

This volume is valuable to students and scholars who study North American Indians, New World slavery, European expansion and colonization, and the history of colonial North America more generally. *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* uncovers the complexity, variety, and ubiquity of Indian slavery in North America. It also reveals the work scholars need to do on this topic. Gallay notes, "With so much left to uncover on Indian slavery in early America, it is still too early to take full measure of its entire significance" (27). This relatively young field of historical inquiry will continue to benefit from detailed studies of individual societies and regions, much like the essays in this volume provide. Research that further elucidates the various meanings of "slavery" and "freedom" will also provide an enhanced understanding of how Indians understood these and related concepts. Gaining this insight will ultimately lead to a fuller and more complex picture of Indian societies and of colonial America.

Heidi Scott Giusto

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*America's Hundred Years' War: U.S. Expansion to the Gulf Coast and the Fate of the Seminole, 1763-1858.* Edited by William S. Belko. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. vii, 320. \$65.00 cloth.)

The title of this book proclaims its bold intention - *America's Hundred Years' War*, holding until the subtitle the mention of

Florida. Potential readers will immediately wonder what is this Hundred Years' War and why don't we know about it? Editor William S. Belko and the University Press of Florida are counting on readers succumbing to the mystery and opening the pages. Those who do will be richly rewarded with an assemblage of impeccable scholarship, both comprehensive and intricately detailed, weaving together the historical, political, economic, and cultural contexts that frame the interactions between the Florida Seminole Indians and U.S. expansionism between 1763 and 1858. Given that the central and most dramatic event of this period, the Second Seminole War of 1835-1842, barely rises to footnote status in standard presentations of U.S. history (Daniel Walker Howe's ten-page treatment of the First Seminole War with virtually nothing on the second conflict in his monumental *What Hath God Wrought* (2007) providing odd support for this contention), editor Belko and his authors have quite a challenge in elevating these Florida-based dynamics to national status. But they go at this challenge systematically, framing each case within the larger perspective of an emerging American power, unrelenting in exerting its strength in its encounters with Spanish, British, and Native American interests in the Florida Gulf Coast region.

One immediate challenge comes with the 1763 start date which begins the 20-year period of British rule in Florida. Pre-Revolutionary and well before the creation of the formal United States of America, this date makes overt American action hard to see. The challenge is deftly met in Susan Parker's essay which argues that indirect American pressure on a fragile, volatile international border, first British and then Spanish after 1783, inevitably locked the Seminoles in its grip. The vise becomes tighter in 1812 when the new U.S. and Great Britain are again at war, providing easy justification for armed offensives against British sympathizing Seminoles in Spanish Florida. James Cusick focuses on the ultimately unsuccessful diplomatic efforts on the part of the Seminole known as King Payne in the area now known as Paynes Prairie, just south of Gainesville, where Payne was to fall mortally wounded at the hands of invading Georgia militia. William Belko focuses on the international significance of these events, fighting the parochial bias that has plagued Florida history for many years, again bringing the Seminoles into a global sphere of relations. The intrigue and intricacies of the so-called First Seminole War, Andrew Jackson's invasion of Spanish Florida and subsequent destruction of Seminole



towns south to the Suwannee River, are described in chapters by Belko and David and Jeanne Heidler. In discussions of the Monroe administration and Jackson's duplicity, they cover politically familiar ground, but provide additional depth for understanding the border tensions that Jackson thought he could solve by attacking the Seminoles and their maroon allies.

The formal Indian Removal policies that follow the legal control of Florida by the U.S. in 1821 foreshadow the looming national rift about the legitimacy of slavery and a national moral commitment to human rights. The resulting seven-year Second Seminole War, erupting late in 1835 and exhausting itself in 1842, required a major military commitment and a governmental infrastructure paid for by Congress to support it, and brought the first-ever West Point trained officers to the wilds of Florida to enforce the removal policies through the barrel of a gun. The strategies and tactics of the two sides of this conflict are ably explicated by Joe Knetsch and Samuel Watson. Both are careful to usefully distinguish *strategy* vs. *tactics* before going on to critique the relative effectiveness of waging war by both sides. I am hugely sympathetic with Watson's call for research designed to improve our understanding of the Seminole side of the hostilities and can say that there has been slow but impressive progress on this front. Kevin Clark's 2000 M.A. thesis at the University of North Carolina titled *Hard Corps: Native American Resistance, Leadership, and Tactics in Florida, 1835-1838* is a solid step forward as is David Butler's 2001 thesis at the University of South Florida titled *An Archaeological Model of Seminole Combat Behavior*. Portions of my own research on this topic appear in a 2007 article in the journal *Historical Archaeology*. So Watson is not alone and should find an eager group of collaborators ready to craft the plan. His chapter is also distinctive within the volume in attempting to present a Seminole perspective on the strategy and tactics of war.

Matthew Clavin's chapter "It is a negro, not an Indian war," titled after a quote from the very frustrated General Thomas Jesup, reopens the controversy around the correct (historically and culturally) name for the Black Seminoles or maroons, mostly (but not all) escaped plantation slaves who found refuge among the Seminoles. Calling them Black Seminoles, as has become customary in the literature, implies that they are Seminoles who happen to be Black, a view not shared by the Seminoles themselves then or now, nor really supported by a close reading of documentary sources. The archaeological record of material culture brings ambiguity

rather than clarity to the picture, and shows considerable sharing of technology, dress, and the habits of daily life between Seminole and Black. Calling them maroons, on the other hand, implies free-ranging communities, somewhat adrift, and with far less formal and symbiotic connections to the Seminoles than they apparently had. Proper compensation to the Seminoles for the loss of these people as property in the Removal process was, after all, one of the major flashpoints igniting the Second Seminole War. The chapter by James Denham and Canter Brown and the last chapter by Brian Rucker continue the focus on a Florida torn by Indian wars and also further the book's theme by situating the impacts and contributing circumstances beyond her territorial borders.

This volume is largely historical in scope and approach and is successful in placing this relatively small-scale history on the national and international stage. The scholarship of Florida history desperately needs this approach, and William Belko's book serves this cause very well. Anthropologists and archaeologists will be less satisfied and still await a grander, integrated historical and anthropological synthesis. But when that does come, this book will be one of the primary ingredients.

Brent R. Weisman

*University of South Florida*

*Captured at Kings Mountain: The Journal of Uzal Johnson, A Loyalist Surgeon.* Edited by Wade S. Kolb III and Robert M. Weir. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. lii, 248. \$39.95 cloth.)

Loyalist accounts provide a different and valuable perspective on the American Revolution, yet they are often neglected by both academic and popular historians. This is frequently the result of inaccessibility; the vast majority of Loyalist material has never been published and is often available only on microfilm or in archives, with many of the latter located outside the United States.

Fortunately for those with an interest in gaining a broader view of the War for Independence, Wade S. Kolb III and Robert M. Weir have published an important Loyalist journal covering the Revolution in the South from March 5, 1780, to March 7, 1781. The author of the journal, Uzal Johnson, was a native of Newark, New Jersey, and worked there as a surgeon before the war. After a brief



period of service in the American army, Johnson switched allegiance to the British and accepted a commission as surgeon in the Loyalist New Jersey Volunteers. He began his journal after his unit arrived in the South to participate in the British campaign against Charleston, South Carolina. When his service ended in 1782, he returned to Newark, repaired his relationships with his neighbors, and resumed his surgical practice.

In addition to piecing together the available information on Johnson's life, the editors concisely summarize the southern campaign in the volume's introduction, providing the necessary context for Johnson's journal. They also address the issue of the similarities between the better known diary of Lieutenant Anthony Allaire and Johnson's journal. Since the two were friends and served together, it is not surprising that the journals share many similarities; however, some entries are virtually identical. Kolb and Weir conclude that in the latter cases, it was likely that Allaire copied Johnson's entries, and that Johnson's is the more original of the two sources.

Johnson's journal comprises only forty-three pages of the book, a shorter section than either the introduction or notes. Nevertheless, the journal contains accounts of a variety of topics. Coverage of military matters includes the New Jersey Volunteers' march from Georgia to Charleston, information on the siege operations, reports of battles that Johnson did not witness, such as the Waxhaws (May 29, 1780) and Camden (August 16, 1780), and the frustration of the Loyalist troops with duty in the South Carolina backcountry, as they marched alongside the loyal militia pursuing their elusive American foes through difficult terrain.

The most important military event Johnson recorded was the Battle of Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780. Johnson describes the battle and its harsh aftermath for the captured Loyalist regulars and militiamen, which included the hanging of nine prisoners on October 14, the shooting and hanging of others later, and Johnson's own beating at the hands of American Colonel Benjamin Cleveland for treating a wounded Loyalist. The brutality Johnson recounts is an aspect often overlooked in histories of the battle and the southern campaign.

Johnson does not confine his observations to military affairs. He also provides fairly detailed descriptions of towns such as Ninety Six, South Carolina, and Hillsborough, North Carolina. He discusses his attempts to continue his medical practice while a prisoner, which aroused the wrath of Continental Colonel John Gunby



even though Johnson's alleged malfeasance consisted of providing smallpox inoculations to North Carolinians at their own request. Included too are anecdotes and brief descriptions of individuals such as Henry Melcolm, an eighty-one-year-old Loyalist whose possessions had been plundered by the Americans and who walked over a hundred miles to seek help from Johnson's detachment. "What is more remarkable," Johnson noted, was that the old man "left a Child at Home only two Years old" (18).

The wealth of information Johnson recorded on a host of topics can be difficult to follow, as the journal is filled with the names of unfamiliar individuals, places, waterways, and military units. Fortunately, Kolb and Weir have gone to great lengths to remedy this problem. Johnson's journal is followed by ninety-five pages of notes, more than twice the length of the journal itself. The notes are listed by date to match Johnson's journal entries, and identify the people and places Johnson mentions, along with providing other relevant information. Thus, the reader is not left wondering to whom or what Johnson refers, and can form an idea of his location at any particular time with the aid of the book's maps. The notes transform a journal that can be confusing, even to specialists, into an account that is accessible to any reader. The editors deserve credit for the extensive research that was required to produce such thorough notes.

Kolb and Weir have not only published a valuable Loyalist document of the American Revolution, they have succeeded through their introduction and notes in contextualizing Johnson's journal and multiplying its value as a historical source. Readers interested in the War for Independence, particularly the southern campaign, and those wishing to learn more about the often overlooked Loyalist experience will find this volume of immense value.

Jim Piccuch

Kennesaw State University

*Contentious Liberties: American Abolitionists in Post-Emancipation Jamaica, 1834 – 1866.* By Gale L. Kenny. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. Xi, 212. \$44.95 cloth.)

In her aptly titled book, *Contentious Liberties*, Gale Kenny analyzes the efforts and unintended consequences of male and female

missionaries in Jamaica from the 1830s to the early 1870s. Her focus is on the men and women organized under the auspices of Oberlin College in Ohio, the first co-educational and interracial institution in the United States. The conflicts she addresses include competing views held by the missionaries and administration about abolition and emancipation and post-emancipation strategies and tactics. At the same time, she addresses the larger context of change in the U.S. and the British colony in reference to the meaning of freedom and rights in slave societies as they approached and accomplished the legal end of slavery.

Kenny divides the study into three parts that cover the background of Oberlin College and the development of ideologies and activities in the northeastern United States, the move toward abolition in Jamaica, the challenges faced by U. S. missionaries, and the transformations that occurred in Jamaica for both missionaries and former slaves as Jamaica became a Crown colony. Kenny's central theme is explaining levels of success and failure of missionaries in transforming emancipated slave communities into the equivalent of pious New England farm families. Drawing on missionaries' letters, pamphlets, addresses, and other published works of the period – as well as recognized scholars of Jamaican and early nineteenth century U. S. history – Kenny is able to explore the problems missionaries faced in attempting to persuade Jamaicans that outsiders should follow their prescription for economic and spiritual success.

In some cases, such as the issue of acquiring land, Jamaican and missionary objectives coincided; what differed were the means and ultimate motives of the land-seekers. Oberlin missionaries hoped to instill in Jamaicans self-sufficiency, reduced dependence on wage labor, and love of manual labor. They also hoped to reinforce a patriarchal family structure and ethos that, they assumed, would reduce or eliminate what they viewed as "licentious" behavior plaguing society. Jamaicans, on the other hand, also saw land ownership as intrinsic to freedom and subsistence, but approached the issue of acquiring land and/or participating in wage labor from the perspective of opportunity and past experience. Moreover, they hoped to reduce external interference in their expression of religious and cultural practices, much to the dismay of the missionary workers.

The U. S. experiences and predilections of the missionaries shaped goals and discourse about how best to "civilize" Jamaicans, who were viewed as disadvantaged not only because of slavery, but



also because of their British colonizers' attitudes and systems. Missionaries wanted to acculturate ex-slaves to a godly, productive life of freedom that was nevertheless limited by dictates regarding appropriate behavior. Part of that appropriate behavior, of course, was to reject elements of African-based beliefs that had become synchronized with European-based religions. Male founders' views of gender roles also reflected prevailing (as well as changing) attitudes about the roles of men and women in the institutions of home, school, and church. While the Oberlin missionaries never held the same views of slavery and African-origin people as southern slaveholders, their more subtly-expressed racism – indeed perhaps the missionary project itself – limited their achievements. Like others involved in emancipation projects, they did not ask Jamaicans what *they* wanted or needed; instead, they forged ahead with projects and agendas that could not be implemented as yet in the U.S., projects that were guided by their perceptions of superiority and by paternalism and that could be tested in another English-speaking country.

As other studies of evangelism have demonstrated, the advocates of and participants in these “civilizing missions” were often frustrated in their efforts. Understandably, in the process of attempting to implant foreign values and systems, the missionaries' efforts to accommodate to and/or alter local customs fostered questions about their own values, methods, and ideologies. One example Kenny provides of these tensions is the case of a married male missionary and a single female missionary who joined him in his rejection of established dogma and advocacy of a more “spiritual” journey. The case not only provided insights about how patriarchy affected the mission hierarchy's interpretation of and response to events, but also reinforced fears about missionaries “going native.” Ultimately, the free sex, wife-swapping scandal adversely affected missionary dominance in decision-making and no doubt contributed to Jamaican skepticism about missionaries' persistent criticisms of their sexual behavior.

*Contentious Liberties* fits into the scholarship on Atlantic and transnational studies, offering perspectives on the interaction between abolitionist and post-emancipation efforts in the U.S. and Caribbean. It also fits into scholarship about the Second Great Awakening and women's history. U.S. and Caribbean historians, particularly scholars of the nineteenth century missionary movement and gender history, will find this well-written book valuable,

but the style of writing also makes it accessible for the general reader. After the combination of Civil War in the U.S. and the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica changed the two regions' priorities and offered new solutions to old problems, the U.S. missionaries from Oberlin returned home to address the needs of post-emancipation societies. For those interested in the history and present popularity of U.S. missionaries in the Western Hemisphere before and since, this book is essential.

Susan J. Fernandez

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***A Small but Spartan Band: The Florida Brigade in Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.*** By Zack C. Waters and James Edmonds. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 199. \$29.95 cloth.)

*A Small but Spartan Band* is an outstanding brigade history of the Florida units that served with the Confederate Armies in Virginia beginning with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Florida infantry which joined in September 1861. Another Florida brigade was created upon the arrival of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> regiments in August 1862. After battle and disease withered those units to less than 300 men, reinforcements in the form of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Florida battalions joined the brigade at the end of May 1864. The 6<sup>th</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup>, and 4<sup>th</sup> battalions were subsequently re-designated as the 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Florida infantry regiments, respectively. All seven units fought together in a single brigade during the final 10 months of the war.

Previous scholarship on the Florida brigade, or Florida soldiers in the Civil War in general, is sparse. Waters and Edmonds write that "fewer than ten titles still comprise the entire published library dealing with the Florida regiments that served in the Confederacy's major armies" (2). They include several Master's theses, two first-hand accounts by veterans, and recent monographs on the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Florida regiments, but nothing on the three units who served three to four years in Virginia and nothing on the brigade as a whole. Waters and Edmonds' *A Small but Spartan Band* does indeed "fill a void" in the scholarship (1).

The book is limited by source material but not by any shortage of research. For a brigade that might have counted 4,000-5,000



soldiers, the authors located twenty-seven manuscript collections and twenty-four contemporary newspapers with relevant information. Forward author Robert K. Krick, himself a respected Civil War researcher, noted the Floridians left "an archival vacuum" (xi). In response to this challenge, the authors used other primary materials to complete the narrative of the Florida soldiers' experience when the extant material from Floridians fell short. Comparisons with notable scholarship on the demographics of Civil War soldiers are included throughout the book to give readers an understanding of the similarities and differences of the Florida brigade in respect to their Confederate comrades.

Readers will find the portrayal of Florida soldiers' wartime experiences to be a strength of Waters and Edmonds' work. Not content to describe the war through the eyes of commanders who wrote official reports alone, the authors follow officers and enlisted men. Readers meet men such as Private David R. Geer, who had an outspoken hatred of Yankees, and Lt. Francis P. Fleming, a prolific writer and postwar governor, in addition to brigade leaders such as General Edward Perry and Colonel David Lang. In addition to statistics concerning the ages, origins, and occupations of the soldiers, the authors include great material about the soldiering experience and pastimes. Floridians who considered 40 degrees Fahrenheit a frigid temperature and struggled through the Virginia winters found relief by initiating brigade size snowball fights. Other accounts provide soldiers' opinions on the hardships of burial detail and crossing old battlefields that had become impromptu cemeteries. Floridians also offered opinions on the construction of rifle pits and soldiers learning to trace the trajectory of shells fired from a Union howitzer during the Battle of Petersburg. Combined, these anecdotes tell us not only what the soldiers did, but they also tell us—as much as possible—how the men felt about their experiences.

Waters and Edmonds write clear battle descriptions with detailed accounts of the Florida brigade's action. Readers are given a narrative on the movements of each army, providing context to the specific action in which the Florida soldiers engaged. Maps are provided to give a visual depiction of where and against whom the Floridians fought. Unfortunately, the book does not include any maps detailing campaign movements or the full scope of any major battle. The authors provide good detail on army movements at the Battle of the Wilderness and throughout the Overland Campaign that an experienced reader can follow. However, this level of detail

can be confusing to those reading about the battle for the first time as well as those who prefer to have big-picture maps accompany the text. Strangely, the text labels on two of the maps are upside down. This is probably a publishing error, but readers will likely wish to find good battle maps to follow along when reading this book.

Although the battle descriptions are informative, the analysis of controversial situations is inconsistent. Like any unit, the Florida brigade found itself in situations where others made claims about their performance that insinuated or charged dishonor. Waters and Edmonds devote a full chapter to such a scenario concerning Gettysburg, where a nearby brigade commander accused the Floridians of fleeing the field. Yet the authors fail to give a detailed assessment of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Florida at the Sunken Road (Antietam) or the 8<sup>th</sup> Florida in the town (Fredericksburg), when portions of the unit were accused of failing to perform their duty. It would be beneficial to read Waters and Edmonds' conclusions about those events similar to the detailed assessment they wrote about the Gettysburg controversy.

*A Small but Spartan Band* is an excellent work and a strong addition to any Civil War library. It is a must read for scholars of Civil War soldiers and regimental or brigade histories. The writing style is both pleasant and sophisticated in a way that will reach audiences who want to read about the experiences of soldiers and audiences concerned with the latest contributions to scholarship. It will make for an excellent addition to collegiate history courses on Florida or the Civil War. With additional maps provided by an instructor, it is easily accessible to high school students who will hopefully find the stories of the men interesting as well.

Daniel James Flook

*University of Florida*

*Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1865-1960.* By Rebecca Sharpless. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxix, 304. \$35.00 cloth).

Although many scholars have successfully debunked the mythology surrounding the fictional creation of the tireless, faithful, and endearingly sassy southern "Mammy" figure, there have been fewer attempts to try to uncover the real experiences of the domestic work-



ers who inspired the legend. In *Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens: Domestic Workers in the South, 1865-1960*, Rebecca Sharpless points out that African-Americans were not only the "iconic" southern cooks but the "actual" cooks as well, and she seeks to capture the felt experience of the women who served in that capacity (2). In researching the topic, Sharpless had to contend with source material that reinforced the trope of the Mammy, ranging from advertisements, to cookbooks, to the sentimental reminiscences of white southerners. But she uses these sources, which stem more from that white imagination than from historical reality, with sophistication and extreme caution. Sharpless successfully endeavors to tell the story of African-American cooks using their "own words and ideas" (xvii). In so doing, she reveals that black domestic workers too had to contend with the fantastical ideals about Mammy, and thus, sometimes had difficulty pleasing employers who expected their employees to be as two dimensional as Aunt Jemima, rather than fully human. White employers maintained racial stereotypes that stated that all black women were natural cooks, that they were physically stronger than white women and could not be physically exhausted, and that the focus of their lives was and should be cheerfully serving white people. The truth that Sharpless reveals is infinitely more complicated.

*Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens* begins with an examination of how black women gained cooking skills. Some learned from their mothers, others learned through trial by fire in their first domestic jobs, some were taught by the white women who employed them, and a few received home economics training at institutions such as Tuskegee. Although some women had an affinity for cooking and found ways to use the kitchen as a creative outlet, most entered the profession because it was one of the few jobs available to black women whose families desperately needed a female wage earner. Despite the ambivalence or outright dislike some cooks felt for their profession, Sharpless demonstrates that black women had an enormous influence on the creation of southern cuisine. The black cook was, in fact, so ubiquitous that a number of white southern women never learned how to cook, making them completely dependent upon African-American know-how in the kitchen. Particularly skillful African-Americans could use their skills to their advantage by commanding higher wages or increased job security.

However, even the most adept cook had to contend with stark inequalities in the power dynamics between them and their white employers. "Poorly paid, subject to being fired on a moment's no-

tice, with brutally long working hours, few cooks were in a position to exert their will in a white home" (167). Using testimony from both cooks and their employers, Sharpless creates a detailed portrait of the working relationships inside the typical white kitchen. Black women faced constant constraints on their behavior from employers who could dock their wages for slight infractions, force them to work overtime for no additional pay, and humiliate them by treating them as social inferiors. Black women also had to contend with the ever-present threat of sexual abuse and harassment from white men who often considered sexual favors to be part of the cook's job description. In one of the most poignant chapters in the book, "Mama Leaps off the Pancake Box: Cooks and Their Families," Sharpless describes the toll that working long hours in white households took on the children of African-American cooks who had to do without their mother's attention for long hours each day.

Despite these obstacles, black cooks found ways to resist their oppression. They could—and according to oral testimony sometimes did—contaminate the food of particularly cruel employers. They could deliberately ruin meals, mistreat kitchen appliances, maintain a sullen attitude, skip work, or use their most potent weapon of all—they could quit. Sharpless demonstrates that African-American cooks, despite their economic vulnerability, used this final weapon with surprising frequency. Floridian Idella Parker quit her job working for Marjorie Rawlings three times before finally leaving for good. Each time she extracted concessions from her employer as part of the terms of her returning to work. Interestingly, Sharpless argues that black women could also resist their oppression by dissembling. Many took pride in putting on performances in white households that satisfied their employers while keeping the reality of their interior lives private. Many white female employers were invested in the idea that their servants genuinely cared about them and expected them to perform what Sharpless calls "emotional labor" by listening to their troubles along with cooking their meals (158). Although instances of real affection occasionally developed, Sharpless demonstrates that white ideas about the affection of their cooks were often illusory.

*Cooking in Other Women's Kitchens* is well written, painstakingly researched, and carefully situated in the scholarly literature about foodways, the history of domestic servants, and African-American, Southern, and Women's histories. It is detailed enough to be of interest to scholars who have not given the figure of the African-American cook the kind of historical scrutiny she deserves and



accessible enough to be of interest to general readers and of use in the undergraduate classroom. It is a rich and much needed addition to the literature about African-American life in the South in the years between Emancipation and the advent of the classical phase of the civil rights movement.

Jennifer Jensen Wallach

*University of North Texas*

*The South and America since World War II.* By James C. Cobb. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xvii, 318. \$24.95 cloth.)

When one surveys the historians of the South of the past two generations who have had a big influence on the field—for example, men named Woodward, Franklin, Tindall—it is impossible to find one who has James C. Cobb's mastery of so many angles of southern history. Here Cobb gives us a comprehensive history of the South since World War II, one that surpasses in clarity and interpretive reach the good such offering in 1996 by the late Numan Bartley, Cobb's mentor. This excellent book is brought to us by perhaps the South's most thoughtful living interpreter of southern history and culture and the most astute student of twentieth-century southern economic history. No other working historian combines Cobb's deep understanding of economic change in the South since World War II with the hard-nosed realism about race and sensitivity to regional culture. This work moves smoothly from southern politics to race relations, then to economic change, and inevitably to southern culture—including its manifestations in music of various styles, literature, NASCAR, and many more. The author of the best work on economic boosterism in the modern South, the best study of a distinctive southern region—*The Most Southern Place on Earth* (1994) about the Mississippi Delta—and the best recent analysis of southern identity, *Away Down South* (2005), Cobb keeps on keeping on to the great benefit of those who still want to think about the meaning of the southern existence in America. And if the books are not enough, one can find out what he really thinks by reading his blog, Cobbloviato, which is always entertaining, informative, and opinionated about the things that really matter, football and barbeque.

Synthetic interpretations are often dismissed, occasionally maligned (because it is so easy to criticize the book the author *did not*

write), but most often ignored. Synthetic studies can be sterile with only flat generalities, but that will not be said of the present work. Every time you see Cobb, his hair is a little whiter, but he still has good hearing. His ear for the colorful, telling quote enlivens every page. It is worth the read just to be exposed to his vast knowledge of the best and worst expressions of southern thought. The book reflects broad reading over a long career (the white hair is thinning some too), a lot of note-taking, and a great deal of remembering what has been said about the South. Readers benefit greatly from those talents.

Cobb is absorbed with the question of how the South relates to the rest of country—and the way the way the rest of country relates to it. He constantly grapples with the regional identity and how it is a part of—and apart from—the American national identity. He is suitably outraged at liberals who blame southerners for all that is wrong with America—too many reactionaries, too many guns, too many cigarettes. Without defending any of these excesses—the old boy would not still be here if he partook of them—Cobb makes a vigorous counter-argument about how the alleged wrongs of the South are indeed essentially *American*. Since the 1970s when John Egerton described “the Southernization of America,” Cobb writes, “a host of liberal commentators soon seized on it . . . as a literal *explanation* in which an altogether mystifying contagion of southern white values became almost singularly responsible for the nation’s pronounced tilt to the right during the last quarter of the twentieth century” (298). For Cobb, the explanation of what has happened in the U.S. and the South is far more interesting and politically and culturally paradoxical than that. Setting the record straight on the chicken-and-egg conundrum of modern American conservatism is only one of many issues addressed to the readers’ benefit in this smart and lively book.

Robert J. Norrell

*University of Tennessee*

*Sitting In and Speaking Out: Student Movements in the American South, 1960-1970.* By Jeffrey A. Turner. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 380. \$69.95 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

The decade from 1960 to 1970 has long been understood as a transformational period in American higher education. As the era began, American universities—and southern universities in



particular—were typically characterized by a powerful adherence to tradition. They were, by and large, calm and stable places. In the South, Greek culture dominated many campuses. Faculty members and administrators were usually regarded as benevolent, almost parental figures who helped guide students into adulthood. The daily lives of students were circumscribed by established rules and custom. Questioning authority was not encouraged, expected or rewarded. Campus politics tended to focus on minor issues and operated within very narrow bounds. By 1970, this state of affairs had changed utterly. As Jeffrey A. Turner makes clear in this fine book, the rise of student activism profoundly changed both the schools that were home to the students and regional politics. The old notions of college administrators as quasi-parental authorities became perceived as hopelessly patronizing, and on virtually every campus students had seized at least some degree of institutional power. By the end of the decade, campus politics were no longer dominated by narrow matters of social life, but had expanded to include not only substantive issues of curriculum and student freedoms but also, and most intensely, issues of national domestic and foreign policy.

In this extremely valuable work, Turner explores the rise and evolution of student activism on southern campuses during this crucial decade. To say that this book fills a gap is an understatement. Although recent work on student activism in places such as Austin, Texas, and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, has begun to complicate the picture, most scholarship on the student movement in the 1960s has focused on a relatively small number of schools, mostly on the East and West Coasts and in the Midwest. The South, which had fewer dramatic or violent confrontations between students and authorities, has largely been left out of accounts of the era or written off as too conservative and supportive of the military to have sustained real student political activism. And while there certainly has been a great deal of important work done on the civil rights activism of southern black students, these studies have tended not to explore the role of these black students as *students*—that is, they have been usually (and quite properly) concerned primarily with the history of the civil rights movement rather than the history of higher education.

Turner combines deep archival research at more than twenty schools with a solid grounding in the secondary literature of the history of the South, of higher education, and of the youth move-

ments of the 1960s. The archival work is especially impressive. Turner has dug into the records held within a broad spectrum of schools. He includes institutions of different profiles throughout the region. There are major private universities such as Duke, Emory and Tulane, major public universities such as Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina, and historically black colleges. He has also consulted the papers of national student groups such as the Congress On Racial Equality (CORE), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), as well as the manuscript collections of several prominent student activists. The result is a book of surprisingly wide scope that gives the reader a broad understanding of the interplay of national social and cultural forces with specific regional and local issues along with insightful descriptions of how things played out on specific campuses across the South.

Of particular note, this volume cogently explores the rise of organized political activity on the part of both black and white southern students and closely follows how they intertwine over the course of the decade. Turner locates the birth of significant student activism in the South in the struggle of black students and their white allies to desegregate the region's institutions of higher education. The non-violent direct action of the sit-in movement that swept through the South in the early 1960s is where students first truly defied the authority of their elders and become powerful, independent political actors—and on an issue of consummate social importance. But just as clear is the continuing and pervasive importance of race on southern campuses even after the institutions had capitulated on segregation. Students' political concerns grew to include both substantive matters of university governance and other regional and national issues.

Turner's wide-angle view is particularly helpful in the chapters that describe the new, and in many ways more complicated, issues that arose in the universities in the wake of racial desegregation. Campuses rapidly became broadly and openly politicized. Nearly anything and everything on and off campus became a potential locus of disputation. Students organized to influence things they cared about, ranging from *in loco parentis* rules, to women's liberation and demands for curricular changes, to ending the war in Vietnam. The relationship between black and white activism grew incredibly complex. Local variations in the overall regional pattern become striking as Turner explores the (only partially successful)



efforts by several national student organizations to build a regional student movement, the rise of the black power and student power movements during the middle and later parts of the decade, and finally, the central role of opposition to the war in Vietnam in defining student activism are all thoughtfully addressed.

Turner has taken on an enormous task in this work and has deftly handled the many tangled threads of this story. The picture that emerges of a decade of major changes on southern campuses will be surprising to many and will also help set the agenda for future work on the history of higher education in the South.

Melissa Kean

*Rice University*

***How Florida Happened: The Political Education of Buddy MacKay.*** By Buddy MacKay with Rick Edmonds. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, photos, index. Pp. xv, 208. \$32.00 cloth.)

Over the past decade, historians and journalists have published a number of studies on Florida's "Golden Age" of politics, the 1970s and early 1980s. Such studies have focused on political leaders, such as Reubin Askew or Bob Graham. Others have examined the era as a whole, focusing on the state's transition from rural-dominated conservative political establishment to a state led by World War II and Korean War veterans who were younger, progressive, and urban-centered. Buddy MacKay's political memoir, *How Florida Happened: The Political Education of Buddy MacKay*, is a most welcome addition to this growing library.

MacKay spent almost thirty years serving his state at various levels of government service. From the Florida Legislature to Lt. Governor to the U.S. House of Representatives, MacKay's political journey and education affords him the rare ability to not only provide the reader a glimpse of the machinations of state government from the inside, but also gives the reader a macro view of the growth and transformation of the state, and the many ironies it produced, as well as the challenges that now face the state. The thesis of MacKay's book is twofold. First, he asserts that the "Golden Age" of the 1970s was brought about by these new leaders in the public and private sectors who shared a common vision of transforming the state from its attachment to rural-dominated conservatism to

one that looked away from the past and to the future, with environmental concern, tax justice, fairness and ethics in government as priorities. Second, the Golden Age succumbed to a growth age in which the state followed a path of pursuing a course of construction and tourism paired with disregard for the environment that led to, if not encouraged, the establishment of "the naive and immature politics of today" (4).

The transformation began as ideological purity replaced the art of compromise and "bipartisan, nonideological problem solving" (236). Paired with the incredible drain on the state's natural resources from almost overwhelming growth, the state drifted to the right as a whole and came to rely politically on ideological purity and economically on tax revenue generated from construction and tourism; two funding sources that slowly drained the state of water, its most precious resource. MacKay's conclusion, that Florida, like California, is a "fairy tale" state awaiting a Prince to ride to its rescue, is biting as much as it is fair and accurate. Yet, MacKay remains optimistic that another generation of leaders reminiscent of Askew, Graham, and Chiles will emerge to right the state's list.

Perhaps the most attractive feature of this volume is that MacKay is not providing a dry, academic-oriented examination of Florida government. That has been done before. This is a passionate story told by a man who cares deeply about the future of his home. This is at once an exploration of one man's political journey and an open letter to his fellow Floridians that it is not too late to save the state from itself, to preserve dwindling water resources, and to forge a new consensus that will set Florida on a more progressive and less ideological course while fulfilling the promise of its "Golden Age."

Gordon E. Harvey

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***Fifteen Florida Cemeteries: Strange Tales Unearthed.*** By Lola Haskins. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Illustrations, appendices, index. Pp. x, 208. \$22.50 paper.)

Cemeteries, as abodes for the dead and travel destinations for the living (as mourners or tourists), are cultural institutions about which much has been written. Books about cemeteries and grave markers have been written regularly since the 1960s, when histori-



cal archaeologists James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen introduced gravestones as objects for serious scholarly study. Today, books about cemeteries and gravestone-related topics range from serious historical scholarship to state or regional tour guides, from fantastical accounts of haunted burial grounds to visual dictionaries of monument styles and gravestone symbolism. It is perhaps due to the diversity of publications on this subject that cemetery and gravestone researchers continue to struggle to be taken seriously by fellow historians. In *Fifteen Florida Cemeteries*, poet Lola Haskins appears to have drawn from all publication types to develop what is at once a fascinating and frustrating tour of Florida's history and its burying grounds.

Organized in five parts, one for each region of Florida, *Fifteen Florida Cemeteries* includes fifteen chapters, one for each cemetery Haskins visited. The division of the chapters into five parts is especially useful for those unfamiliar with Florida and its geography. They include Tallahassee and the Panhandle; North Central and Northeast Florida; Central and West Central Florida; and South Florida. Each chapter is broken into two parts; the first provides history on the area and Haskins' reflections on what she observed, and the second consists of a "spotlight" essay about someone or something that is buried at the cemetery. In her explorations, Haskins visited a variety of cemeteries, including those of early immigrant settlers, those for particular Christian denominations, nineteenth century "rural" garden cemeteries, a nature preserve that hosts green burials, modern memorial parks, a pet cemetery and a race horse cemetery.

Among the strengths of Haskins' work is her absorbing narrative style. A poet by vocation, Haskins displays her ability to engage in detailed storytelling and in so doing, brings life to these landscapes of the dead. Her accounts of conversations with cemetery workers or neighbors provide particularly colorful accounts of how many of the cemeteries were established and the relationship Floridians have with their dead.

There are many state or regional cemetery tour guide-style books currently in publication, ranging from Maine to California, and this book represents the first major offering to this end for Florida. For lay readers, Haskins provides a useful introduction to Florida's history from Spanish colonization to the present, providing background on settler communities, Florida's role during the Civil War, race-relations and segregation during the Jim Crow era,

as well as a number of natural disasters – most notably hurricanes – that struck the state during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Writing with great emotion for the people and animals buried within the cemeteries she visited, Haskins humanizes these cultural landscapes in a way that is often forgotten and this book may be effective at fostering an interest among non-researchers for the subject. For those interested in visiting the cemeteries highlighted in the book, Appendix I includes the names and addresses of all fifteen locations.

The strengths of this book for a non-professional audience aside, *Fifteen Florida Cemeteries* is a work neither of cemetery nor of historical scholarship. There is much history in this book, but as Haskins herself confesses in the Preface, she is not a professional historian. According to Haskins, “I wrote this book for love: because I love my state and its history and because I love stories” (viii). In lieu of a bibliography, Appendix II, entitled “Further Reading,” is her list of sources, but it is not clear if the list is a representative sample, or all of Haskins’ research materials. A further weakness is the complete absence of citations, either in the form of footnotes or endnotes. Haskins clearly did much research, but unfortunately, cites none of it. As she writes of the thoughts and emotions of people in her spotlight essays, one constantly wonders “how does she know that?”

Cemetery and gravestone specialists will be particularly frustrated with this book, for it is clear that Haskins did little to no research concerning the history and evolution of these cultural landscapes or the markers contained within. While she does offer particularly useful and interesting material on the history of the Woodmen of the World gravestones (23-24), and of the individual cemeteries she visited, there is little on how the different cemeteries are situated within the broader historical context of cemetery development. For example, in her chapter devoted to the Manasota Memorial Park in Bradenton, which is home to the remains of circus magnate John Ringling, Haskins comments that “the uniformity of the grave sites felt stifling” (180) and criticizes the “numbing sameness” found in so many similar modern cemeteries (184). While many would in all likelihood agree with these statements, such comments nevertheless betray a lack of understanding as to *how* places of burial developed in such a way to the point where uniformity and a lack of ostentation are now almost universally required.



The absence of historical context for cemetery evolution over time is harmless for a general audience, but Haskins' lack of research on the subject of cemeteries in general does result in her making, at times, troubling and potentially dangerous statements. For example, in the chapter devoted to Mount Horeb Cemetery in Pinetta, Haskins describes the community's decision to rehabilitate and clean up the neglected burying place, and notes with admiration how the citizens "even [got] down on their hands and knees to scrub the gravestones with bleach" (21). Gravestone conservators who read this book will understand the problem with this statement, knowing that one should never use bleach to clean a gravestone. A casual reader may get the wrong idea and start using bleach on their own local gravestones.

An entertaining tour of Florida's history and its places of burial, *Fifteen Florida Cemeteries* weaves together fascinating stories of deceased Floridians with their places of burial. General audiences, whether from Florida or not, will learn much, while researchers will have a useful starting point for further explorations.

Joy M. Giguere

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