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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

The Migration of Peoples from the Caribbean to the Bahamas. By Keith L. Tinker. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography, index Pp. x, 168. \$69.95 cloth.)

In the introduction to this book, Keith Tinker states, in an attempt to establish the novelty of his approach and focus: Generally, scholarship has neglected the role of West Indian migration to the Bahamas. In fact, few scholars have deemed it important to include the Bahamas in their research of West Indian history (1). Tinker observes, One result of the limited scholarship is that today few people are aware that the Bahamas has a history of migration.... In making this case for an examination of West Indian migration to the Bahamas, Tinker chooses to ignore a generation of scholarship since the 1980s on which his work so clearly depends.

Tinker's dependence on my own work, for example, is evident early in the book as he seeks to explain the earlier scholarly neglect of the Bahamas by historians of the Caribbean. His references to the comments by William Wyly and Sir Alan Burns on the perceived uniqueness of the Bahamian experience closely echo my own observations in the introduction to *The Bahamas in Slavery and Freedom*, published in 1991. That book includes five chapters dealing with aspects of migration, including two which examine specifically West Indian migration to the Bahamas. My introduction also explicitly states an intention to integrate the Bahamian experience into the broader British Caribbean historical narrative. Without direct references to earlier (and often) extensive work on the topic of his study in a literature review, among

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them Dawn Marshall's pioneering work on Haitian migration, Tinker misrepresents the state of scholarship on the Bahamas.

Although Tinker cannot claim to be exploring unknown territory, he makes a significant contribution to Bahamian historiography on migration by extending the discussion on patterns of West Indian migration to the Bahamas. This clearly-written study is based on careful research into official records, especially those of the Colonial Secretary's Office, which generally provide greater detail on local conditions than the governors' despatches, and on extensive oral histories. The effect of this reliance on oral histories is to amplify our knowledge of those areas of immigrant experience that are rarely covered by official records and, through family histories, to give a face to those often anonymous people who migrated.

The book is organized thematically into eight chapters, six of which deal specifically with the movement of West Indians to the Bahamas. The first two chapters give an overview of the post-emancipation migration between the colonies, to the Americas in general, and to the metropolitan centers, as well as to the Bahamas. In chapter two, which examines migration to the Bahamas from the pre-Columbian era to 1888, one senses a reluctance to refer to the research findings on all of the phases discussed since the 1980s. Thus, Tinker discusses the Loyalists without direct reference to Gail Saunders's work and the Liberated Africans without citing Rosanne Adderley's 2006 monograph. As a result, he produces a perfunctory discussion without the insights those scholars provide.

Beginning with chapter three, Tinker shifts his focus to three of the main groups of West Indian migrants to the Bahamas—the Barbadians, the Jamaicans, and the Haitians—analyzing their impact on the politics and economy of the host society. By dividing chapters on the British Caribbean into separate discussions of Barbadians and Jamaicans, Tinker obscures the participation of migrants from other colonies in the Eastern Caribbean. There is also a measure of overlap between the two chapters since the migration of both groups was prompted by similar conditions and members of both groups found employment in the same sector of the Bahamian economy. Despite the importance of this early period of unrestricted migration, Tinker does not provide firm figures or even estimates for the numbers who entered the colony.

The main (and considerable) strength of Tinker's discussion of Barbadian and Jamaican migrants is his balanced and skillful charting of their entry into Bahamian society at different periods and

the changing responses of the receiving society to them. He emphasizes, for example, the positive contributions of both groups to the Bahamian polity. According to Tinker, Barbadians made their mark, *inter alia*, in politics, medicine, and secondary education, whereas Jamaicans contributed to the ultimate reshaping of politics and society in the Bahamas (58). The responses of Bahamians to both groups, he argues, also differed. The Barbadian experience in the Bahamas, he notes, exemplified an unassuming modesty (58). Bahamians came, however, to dislike the assertiveness of the typical Jamaican they encounter (169). Although Tinker explains this antipathy to Jamaicans by Bahamian ignorance of the Jamaican psyche and history, it is perhaps best understood by a practiced deference shared by Barbadians and Bahamians in societies.

The remaining chapters examine the two constants of West Indian migration to the Bahamas. The first of these is Haitian migration, which Tinker traces from the refugees of the Haitian Revolution to 1977. This detailed discussion allows him to trace the changes in Bahamian responses over time, demonstrating how language and ethnic and socio-economic differences consigned them, more recently, to underclass status. The chapter on the migrants from the Turks and Caicos Islands, by contrast, shows the ease of integration into Bahamian society of a group with long-established social, economic, and administrative ties. The final chapter discusses the institutionalization of a policy of Bahamas for the Bahamians which, since Independence in 1973, has remained the nation's entrenched policy toward West Indian migrants.

It is my hope that Tinker's valuable study will serve as a corrective to the lingering mythic narratives which reflect a popular understanding of Bahamian history. These myths include a belief in the homogeneity of the Afro-Bahamian population and the idea that they were never migrants themselves.

Howard Johnson

University of Delaware

William Bartram and the Ghost Plantations of British East Florida. By Daniel L. Schafer. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. Acknowledgements, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 144. \$24.95 cloth.)

The British Period in Florida has long been overshadowed by the state's Spanish Colonial past. The significance and impact of

the two British decades in Florida's history (1763-1783) rarely serve as the focus of scholarly work. Without question, Daniel Schafer has made the greatest contribution to this chapter in Florida history as a result of frequent expeditions into the archives of British East Florida. In *William Bartram and the Ghost Plantations of British East Florida*, Schafer frames his examination of British land grant policies through the observations, both published and unpublished, of William Bartram to build a more complete picture of settlement along the St. Johns River.

Laid out in the introduction is the image of Bartram, an iconic environmentalist celebrated by romantic writers (Wordsworth, Emerson, Thoreau), juxtaposed against the documented reality of life along the St. Johns and his role in it. Schafer promises the reader that the discrepancy between what Bartram publishes in *Travels* (1791) and evidence from other primary and secondary documents of the time is puzzling and revealing (56). The body of the work takes the reader on three separate trips up and down the St. Johns River. The first trip provides the itinerary and inventory of what was observed during the 1764 expedition when William Bartram accompanied his father John Bartram, the royal botanist appointed by King George III. The second trip summarizes William Bartram's solo voyage in 1774, observations published almost twenty years later in *Travels*. On the critical third trip up and down the St. Johns River, Schafer fills in the gaps of William Bartram's *Travels* by providing a summary of his research based on British Period land grants, Bartram's own letters and Report to Dr. Fothergill (1774-75), and extrapolates a more authentic view of the St. Johns in 1774. Schafer posits that many of the descriptions in *Travels* contain observations made in the earlier 1764 expedition with his father, a period of Spanish evacuation and British inhabitation. As a case in point, Schafer tallies five settlements and three trading outposts documented by father and son. The expedition recounted in *Travels* takes place a decade later and ignores dozens of new settlements established along the river in conjunction with Grant's promotional efforts.

Throughout the unraveling of the discrepancy between published narrative and authentic observations, Schafer easily convinces the reader of Bartram's misleading presentation and touches on theories of motive. Here the matter becomes complex as Bartram's role as developer is antithetical to his celebrated reputation as a naturalist. Schafer draws from Thomas Slaughter's assertions in *The Natures of John and William Bartram* (1997) that William may be acting

to absolve his past failures and impact on the land, in essence an act to reverse his father's legacy of leaving blueprints for exploiting the [eighteenth-century] wilderness (77). Additionally, Schafer brings to light Bartram's own enterprise as a plantation owner in 1766 and considers the impact his failure rendered on his writings.

The significance of the ghost plantations exists beyond the contradictions of Bartram. In his conclusion Schafer returns to his primary research goal, an analysis of larger settlement patterns within British East Florida. During the two decades of British rule, the land grant system often led to absentee landowners and large tracts of undeveloped land. While the story of Bartram frames this story perfectly as it spans the British Period, the organization of Schafer's land grant thesis is less straightforward. As the book follows John and William Bartram chronologically up and down the river, so many stories surrounding the grants are summarized and topics abstracted. What is missing is a synthesis of the plantation culture up and down the St. Johns, which leads me to wonder if Schafer's work may have benefited from a more thematic approach.

To an anthropologist's delight, Schafer does a brilliant job of peopling the landscape with settlers, slaves, and servants. As an aside, the presence of Seminoles and other Native Americans along the St. Johns was beyond the scope of this work, but mentioned when appropriate and would make another interesting volume for readers fascinated with the St. Johns River. Of particular interest to archaeologists would be Bartram's observations on the condition of Mt. Royal in 1766 as compared to his second visit in 1774. It turns out credit is due to Governor Grant for the preservation of the significant site.

Schafer takes advantage of the focus on a time and place that Bartram provides to highlight the British Period's impact on Florida history. Avid readers of Bartram can add this to their shelf next to Bill Bellville's *River of Lakes* (2000) as a companion piece to *Travels*, whether they study the river from armchair or canoe. Scholars will find this work a welcome addition to their library not only as a significant inventory of place and family names during the British Period, but also a treatise on the failed land policies of the British leading up to the industrial transition from indigo to naval stores in the eighteenth century.

Sarah E. Miller

Florida Public Archaeology Network

The Mississippi Territory and the Southwest Frontier, 1795-1817. By Robert V. Haynes. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. viii, 440. \$50.00 cloth.)

In *The American West* (2000), noted western historians Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher wrote that all of America was once a frontier and “every region was once a West” (11). Clearly, this claim refers to a particular point of view—that of European-descended colonizers who marched steadily westward into the American interior. But it also reminds us that long before pioneers, settlers, speculators, and prospectors burst into the trans-Mississippi West seeking their destinies, other parts of the continent had already experienced foundational episodes of contest and collaboration. In *The Mississippi Territory and the Southwest Frontier, 1795-1817*, Robert V. Haynes lays bare this truth by detailing the creation and development of the Mississippi Territory in the Old Southwest, a region as marked by the phenomena of “westerling” as any other in North America, and yet peculiarly ignored by many historians interested in American frontiers.

In this new study of the southwest frontier, Haynes details the development of the Mississippi Territory from its creation following Pinckney’s Treaty (1795) with Spain to Mississippi’s admission into the union in 1817. As Haynes makes clear, the new territory and its inhabitants faced numerous challenges, including the continuing involvement of France, Spain, and Britain in the region, the determination of Native peoples to resist U.S. expansion, and intense political factionalism of every stripe. Land was the source of much of the conflict that characterized life in the Territory, but questions of legal jurisdiction, political allegiance, and personal honor also provoked violence and produced opportunities for the region’s inhabitants.

The first six chapters largely address diplomatic and administrative history, presenting in painstaking detail the messy transition from Spanish province to U.S. Territory. The focus in this section is on imperial intrigues and local political battles (increasingly along Federalist/Republican lines) as Haynes introduces the reader to a complex cast of characters. He asserts that many of the battles between administrators, elected officials, and citizens pivoted on bonds of kinship, noting, “Political alignments were more likely to be based on familial relationships than political ideologies or economic interests” (80). The next five chapters cover the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and its aftermath,

the Burr affair (1806), the trials and tribulations of Governor Robert Williams (1805-1809), and the splintering of Republican interests in the region. While the entire volume is written in a clear and engaging style, Haynes's treatment of these years is particularly elegant.

In Chapters Twelve through Fifteen, Haynes addresses conflict between the Indian nations of the Old Southwest and the more recent settlers, the West Florida imbroglio, and the acquisition of Mobile, before discussing the Creek War (1813-1814). The importance of Indian affairs in the development of this region can hardly be overstated and Haynes has adroitly included considerable material on these issues. His emphasis is on the major incidents of conflict and he does not offer new understandings of the experiences of Native peoples on the southwestern frontier. Instead, he primarily synthesizes established scholarship, occasionally and unfortunately resorting to biased and out-dated characterizations of Indians as "hostile" and "unfriendly." On the other hand, the treatment of the filibusters in West Florida, including the Kemper brothers whom Haynes calls "essential border ruffians," is vibrant and compelling (245). This section provides a window on to the affair by detailing the diverse interests invested in the area that would become part of southern Louisiana and the Mississippi Territory. The final two chapters chart the coming of statehood and emphasize the increasingly hostile relationship between the eastern and western districts.

The primary objective of this book is to present a broad and comprehensive look at the Mississippi Territory that conveys the messy and provisional nature of its establishment and development. In this Haynes joins other Old Southwest historians like Thomas D. Clark and John D.W. Guice who took a similar approach in *The Old Southwest, 1795-1830: Frontiers in Conflict* (1996). The research on which *The Mississippi Territory* rests is extensive, drawing heavily on the letters, journals, and papers of territorial officials, federal agents, and local politicians and a variety of regional and national newspapers, as well as established scholarship on the period.

For all its length and detail, however, the book would have presented a fuller picture of the Mississippi Territory had the author paid more attention to the perspectives of blacks, women, and Indians. Although Haynes describes the importance of slavery to the commercial success of the region and discusses the demographic changes that accompanied increased immigration, he fails to address the lives of slaves

(or free blacks) in any meaningful way. This is a missed opportunity. For example, sections on early Natchez might have been enriched by a discussion of the vibrant and influential black society that flourished there for a time. Similarly, despite his useful analysis of the role of kinship and familial connections in territorial politics, Haynes makes little effort to address the history of women in the region except as links in a political network of fathers and spouses. Finally, despite important sections on treaties and uprisings, Native people are frequently presented not as active participants in the transformation of the territory, but primarily as being acted upon. Thus, when Haynes refers to "the inhabitants" of the Mississippi Territory, he is typically referring only to white, male inhabitants and often those of elite standing. Although the book never claims to present a cultural history of the Territory, overlooking or minimizing these perspectives unfortunately presents a rather narrow vision of the region.

Despite these shortcomings, this volume is an important and welcome addition to the limited literature on the region in this era. As Haynes makes clear, there is still much to be uncovered and understood about the Mississippi Territory and southwest frontier and students of the place and time would be well served by consulting this book. Although too long for undergraduate classroom use, the study will find a ready audience among southern history specialists, particularly those interested in the administrative and political history of the South's important West.

Angela Pulley Hudson

Texas A&M University

The Second Creek War: Interethnic Conflict and Collusion on a Collapsing Frontier. By John T. Ellisor. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. vi, 512. \$50 cloth.)

John T. Ellisor's compelling new book, *The Second Creek War*, invites a reconsideration of the traditional interpretations of the frontier South. In the wake of the War of 1812 and the Creek War of 1813-1814, resistance of all types plagued Andrew Jackson's Indian policies in the southeastern United States. As Ellisor argues, the tensions of implementing Indian removal—fueled by greedy land speculators and defiant natives—necessitated unusual military practices that produced unanticipated and, sometimes, violent results. The geographical and historical consequences were far-

reaching. Truly, the multifarious contests that Ellisor examines have traditionally served historians as examples of southeastern Indians' long history of failed resistance. This book not only offers readers a reinterpretation of the organized Native American opposition during the mid-1830s, but presses its audience to see native-white interaction as an important testing ground for white southerners as they rehearsed their own defensive states' rights arguments long before the 1850s secession movement. In ten chapters, Ellisor deftly explores the complicated web of relations engulfing the South's red, white, and black inhabitants. To do so, he connects Indian removal with the evolution of American racism and the full-scale exploitation of natives' land, labor, and diversity. His is an exploration of the tortured nature of the South's (and America's) past.

Years of in-depth research at state and national archives provided Ellisor a firm foundation on which to construct his careful and detailed investigation. With his findings, he describes the intricacies of race and economy from the vantage points of white settlers and Native American accommodationists as well as resisters. The collision of divergent native and white worldviews greatly affected their political and cultural interactions in the American South of the 1830s and 1840s. Generally, Ellisor seeks to rescue the Creek resistance in New Alabama (the east-central portion of the state) by delving into the complex worlds of Indian alliances and their resultant inter-native rivalries. Here, Ellisor makes his case by tracing the oppositional upper and lower Creek polities, including those of Opothle Yahola and Neah Micco. In observing how circumstance and contingency dictated natives' cooperation with Andrew Jackson's administration, Ellisor highlights Native Americans' historical agency while compelling readers to note the art of native diplomacy and the significance of individuals within history.

Much more than a simple ethnohistory of Creek dynamism in the face of defeat, Ellisor's work also points to the miscellany of Anglo-American views on Indian removal. As his research exemplifies, tension among white politicians was never far beneath the surface of the politics of removal. President Jackson's federal appointees (military men, land office supervisors, and Indian agents) frequently clashed with states' rights advocates and elected officials. Additionally, Alabama and Georgia citizens—from settlers to governors—competed to set the terms of jurisdiction over Indian

affairs. Indeed, this aspect of Ellisor's multi-layered analysis is one of the most insightful of his book (see Chapter 8).

Further, Ellisor's notion of a collapsing frontier is one that will intrigue historians of American borderlands. Although he echoes a traditional interpretation of the frontier as a geographical place or zone existing between natives and imperial interlopers, Ellisor's research has broader implications than he suggests. While the physical space between southeastern Indians and Anglo-American settlers disappeared, geography alone cannot explain the intimate connections the frontier permitted. The experiences at Columbus, Georgia reflect such vibrancy. Often, Ellisor's analysis frames the frontier as a static, geographic space, one that seems to naturally vanish as mustered troops pursued natives from Alabama to Georgia to Florida in the hopes of eventually removing them to the West. But what of the mythic qualities of the frontier that no doubt motivated white Americans to participate in the politics of removal at national, state, and local levels? As Ellisor's epilogue demonstrates, he has contemplated Indian removal's impact on white southerners' consciousness and racial configurings (i.e. countless white southerners with full-blooded, Indian great-grandmothers), but more attention to the frontier as a concept that continues to influence Americans' collective identity would only enrich this ground-breaking study. Still, Ellisor's work is impressive in its weaving together of southern, American, and World history by connecting the Second Creek War with larger patterns of colonialism and the global spread of capitalism. It will undoubtedly be useful for Early American historians of all stripes and researchers seeking to understand the complexities of race, politics, and power within an evolving, antebellum South.

With lucid prose and convincing arguments, Ellisor recovers the difficulties that troubled both Creeks and White Americans only twenty years prior to the American Civil War. This powerful book presents a revision of the politics of Indian removal and asks readers to re-envision the South as a place of deeply-rooted conflict and complex political interactions. *The Second Creek War's* substantive contribution to the evolving field of southern Native American history joins those of Claudio Saunt, Robbie Ethridge, Andrew Frank, and Cynthia Cumfer, among others. Like theirs, Ellisor's work deserves high praise.

Thomas Chase Hagood

University of Georgia

Freeing Charles: The Struggle to Free a Slave on the Eve of the Civil War. By Scott Christianson. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010. Acknowledgements, appendix, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 240, \$24.95 paper.)

Charles Nalle was no Frederick Douglass. He could not leave for posterity a written account of his escape from slavery because he was a life-long illiterate. A mix of motives—author Scott Christianson suggests everything from survivor's guilt to the trauma of his capture and subsequent rescue—prevented him from even passing on to his children what he had endured. In piecing together Nalle's story from a wide range of primary sources, Christianson has finally allowed Charles Nalle to speak.

Nalle was born around 1821, the son of a slave-owner and a slave. He grew up on his father's farm in Culpeper County, Virginia, before being inherited by his white half-brother, Blucher Hansbrough. Despite the tie of blood, Charles Nalle was never allowed to forget that he was property. In 1847, a cash-strapped Blucher put him on the auction block. As luck would have it, Charles's reserve price was not met, but he feared it would only be a matter of time before he and his wife, Kitty, a slave on a neighboring plantation, were forced to bid farewell to one another, most likely forever.

Ironically, what separated Charles and Kitty was not his sale but her emancipation. In his will, Kitty's master liberated her and her sister, Jenny, along with their children. However, Virginia law required all newly-freed slaves to leave the state under penalty of re-enslavement. Kitty and Jenny complied, but they moved only as far as the District of Columbia. Charles and Jim Banks, Jenny's spouse and, like Charles, a Hansbrough slave, devised a plan, possibly with help from a local white abolitionist. It was reported back to the Hansbroughs that Kitty was deathly ill, and Charles and Jim got leave from Blucher Hansbrough to travel to Washington for a few weeks. Relatives of the Hansbroughs in the capital were supposed to watch over the two men, but somehow Charles and Jim managed to slip away and head north.

William Still, the indefatigable agent of the local Vigilance Committee, interviewed Charles Nalle and Jim Banks when they turned up in Philadelphia and asked for help. Always on the lookout for spies and imposters, Still asked some pretty searching questions (and Christianson delves into what Nalle's answers revealed about his enslavement), but once Still satisfied himself that the two were indeed runaways, he sent them to a place of refuge in

Albany. From there Charles went to Sand Lake, New York, where he boarded with a white family, the Crosbys. Minot Crosby was an old acquaintance, and Christianson hints, an ally. He had taught school in Culpeper County before reports of his antislavery sympathies forced him out. Meanwhile, back in Washington, Kitty had been thrown in jail, where she languished until a white friend intervened, after which she and the children moved to Pennsylvania to wait while the hunt for Charles died down.

In Sand Lake, Charles Nalle's status as a fugitive became known to a less-than-successful attorney, who sensed a chance to make money and wrote to Blucher Hansbrough. Before Hansbrough could act, Nalle relocated to Troy, where he landed a job as a coachman with a prominent white family who were well aware of his situation and obviously sympathized.

On April 27, 1860, Charles Nalle was on the box of his employer's coach when the slave-catchers struck. As luck would have it, Harriet Tubman was in Troy that day, and she quickly gathered a crowd to wrest Nalle from his captors. What ensued was a confused crowd action, with anti-slavery forces, led by Tubman, trying to drag Nalle to safety, while the slave-catchers rallied more than a few townspeople to help them enforce the law. Nalle was rescued and then retaken. Only when the slave-catchers feared for their own lives did they surrender their captive, literally pitching him, bruised and bloodied, into the midst of their opponents. Under Tubman's direction, Nalle was spirited away and hidden until his friends could raise the cash to buy him from Hasbrough.

With her husband now a free man, Kitty moved to Troy with their children. The Nalles remained in the city through the Civil War. In 1865 they settled in Washington, D.C. and a decade later Charles Nalle died, all but forgotten outside his immediate circle.

Fascinating though *Freeing Charles* is there are points in the narrative when we lose sight of Charles Nalle. One can make an argument for the need to supply historical context, but occasionally Christianson's contextualizing leads to Nalle's complete disappearance. There is also a tendency towards repetition. For example, Christianson tells his reader multiple times who Harriet Tubman was instead of letting one discussion of her remarkable career suffice. One of the puzzles Christianson does not try to unravel is why Kitty Nalle did not open up to her freeborn son, John, who only discovered his father's story decades later, or why his older siblings kept silent. Minor quibbles aside, though, *Freeing Charles* is

a poignant reminder that the enslaved were not free the moment they crossed the Mason-Dixon Line, and that those who considered them property could be relentless in their pursuit.

Julie Winch

University of Massachusetts Boston

The Fourth Ghost: White Southern Writers and European Fascism, 1930-1950. By Robert Brinkmeyer, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 456, \$49.95 cloth.)

Writing in *Killers of the Dream* (1949), Lillian Smith claims that the American South is haunted by three racial ghosts: black women who have had relationships with white men, children of mixed race, and the mammy who reared white children. Robert A. Brinkmeyer, Jr. adds a fourth ghost, the undercurrent of European fascism in southern fiction in the 1930s and 1940s. Fascism, with its totalitarianism and violence, he maintains, resonated with southern writers. The idea that writers in the American South reacted to global conditions contradicts the standard notion of the South as isolationist and insular. In his latest book, Brinkmeyer makes the case for a global South which reacted to Europe and its wars.

Brinkmeyer's scope is ambitious; he discusses twelve southern writers of the period, including the Agrarians, Wilbur J. Cash, William Alexander Percy, Lillian Smith, Thomas Wolfe, William Faulkner, Katherine Anne Porter, Carson McCullers, Robert Penn Warren, and Lillian Hellman. Brinkmeyer uses the lives and letters of these authors, as well as their fiction, to explore their views on fascism. He charts the many connections among these writers with Germany and Italy. Almost all of the writers he discusses, other than Faulkner and McCullers, had traveled in European countries prior to World War II. These writers were quick to recognize that the racist elements of fascism were parallel to southern racism. They were repelled by the mob violence of Nazi Germany. They, as much as any Americans, nonetheless had mixed reactions to Fascism. For the United States to take the moral high ground over Nazism, for example, was difficult when its own region shared beliefs and actions, such as discrimination and lynching.

Some of these writers attempted to refute allegations of the similarities between the South and Nazi German. Brinkmeyer ana-

lyzes the work of the Agrarians and William Alexander Percy in this context. Others such as Wilbur J. Cash and Lillian Smith used fascism to provide severe criticisms of the South. Those writers who had traveled to Germany in the 1930s were influenced by these travels, not only philosophically, but also in creating characters and situations in their fiction. He discusses, for example, McCuller's creation of several German characters in her fiction. Brinkmeyer's analysis of the work of these writers in a global context is important since often these writers have been read as reacting to the concerns of the South alone. In doing so, he opens up new avenues of inquiry regarding these classic authors. For example, his discussion of William Faulkner's fiction, which features the American hero and the American Dream in the context of war, is insightful. Brinkmeyer reads widely and comprehensively to situate these authors in a global discourse regarding totalitarianism, the dawning of World War II, and human rights.

Some of the best sections of the book occur when Brinkmeyer discusses briefly some writers other than these twelve. He analyzes works by Richard Wright, Zora Neale Hurston, and William Styron; these writers clearly were writing about the South with reference to Europe. Styron, of course, in *Sophie's Choice* (1979), took on the parallels with Nazi Germany directly. Brinkmeyer would have benefited by including these writers fully.

Brinkmeyer's thesis, overall, is somewhat narrowly constructed. To be sure, several of these writers observed European Fascism and were thus able to perceive the American South in a new way. That said, however, Brinkmeyer may be putting the cart before the horse. Racism, discrimination, and violence in the American South predated the rise of Nazism by many decades, indeed, centuries. This group of writers may have been interested in fascism because as Southerners they had lived in a society with similar principles, and they recognized the distortion of such beliefs. Moreover, the fact that a southern writer might feature violence or social control in their works does not mean that they recognized these ideas because of European fascism. Ideas can be parallel, not causal. At times, Brinkmeyer constricts some of these writers into the vise of this thesis. He could have easily broadened it to state that these authors reacted not only to fascism but to World War II in its many complex causes and consequences. Since in reality his book is larger than his thesis, scholars and readers of war literature, as well as southern literature, will find it interesting.

Brinkmeyer writes lucidly with an eye to the history of the period. He makes the case well that this group of writers did have ties to Europe, did react to fascism and to war, and did use this material in their fiction. This is an important topic, one which is long overdue for a thoughtful analysis.

Kathryn Lee Seidel

University of Central Florida

Red Pepper and Gorgeous George: Claude Pepper's Epic Defeat in the 1950 Democratic Primary. By James C. Clark. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xvi, 208. \$29.95 cloth).

Coming on the heels of World War II and, more importantly, the outbreak of the Cold War, the 1950 Democratic Primary, which served as a de facto election to fill one of Florida's seats in the United States Senate, was a watershed moment, not only in Florida politics, but also in the history of the nation. This election threatened to change the political landscape in the state and succeeded in helping to transform the nature of political elections in the nation. Claude Pepper, two term United States Senator, fervent supporter of the New Deal, and staunch opponent of President Harry S. Truman and his aggressive anti-Soviet foreign policy, was summarily denigrated and defeated by George Smathers in a campaign and election that focused largely on personal attacks and the fear of the Red Menace, communism, intruding into the daily lives of Americans. Author James C. Clark deftly crafts the story of the 1950 election in his latest work, *Red Pepper and Gorgeous George: Claude Pepper's Epic Defeat in the 1950 Democratic Primary*. His book shows how Smathers, with the backing of the White House, was able to paint Pepper, a popular Senator, as an enemy of the people of Florida, as well as a possible threat to the United States during the Cold War.

Tackling a project of this magnitude, which deals with issues that still garner strong emotions today, is not an easy task. Clark, though, is up to challenge. He is able to paint a perfect picture of the campaign and primary by adding just enough back-story on each candidate, without falling into the trap of including too much superfluous information. In this regard, Clark's work does not feel like biographies of Smathers and Pepper. As mentioned,

he has biographical information, and does delve into the past, but he does so to help him craft his story and make his point, as well as to reconstruct the complex personalities, ambitions, and goals of the two candidates.

Because this is a complicated story, Clark had to be careful in order to provide a balanced and impartial look at the campaign and election, while still being critical of the mistakes and accomplishments of both candidates. In spite of Smathers' sometimes questionable tactics, Clark is able to describe how the University of Florida alum succeeded in recognizing that the playing field had changed by 1950, and that the political landscape in Florida, and the nation, was profoundly different with the onset of the Cold War.

In his work, Clark notes that Smathers' campaign was much more sophisticated than Pepper's, another example of how Smathers was able to adapt to changes and eventually win the primary. Pepper, who Clark shows had adapted in some of his earlier political ventures, was slow to recognize the changes around him in 1950. Pepper, according to Clark, did not fully understand the public opinion in 1950, and, thus, Smathers was able to use Pepper's seemingly soft stance on communism and towards the Soviet Union against him. Clark also points out that once he got the ball rolling, Smathers kept on the offensive, not only labeling his opponent, Red Pepper, but also falsely claiming that he favored integration. Pepper never adequately refuted these charges, and eventually lost the primary. What makes Clark's work stand out from other works on this subject is the fact that he is able to tear down and refute myths that have surrounded this story for decades, such as Smathers taking his cue from Senator Joe McCarthy, or his cleverly worded denouncement of Pepper's sister, where he supposedly referred to her as a thespian. Here, in *Red Pepper and Gorgeous George*, we finally get a well-researched and complete history of one of the most famous campaigns and elections in Florida's history.

Clark exhausted numerous wide-ranging sources to help compile this work on Florida's 1950 Democratic Primary. The sources ranged from manuscripts, papers and published accounts to national and state records and documents as well as interviews of key players, including those of George Smathers from the 1980s and 1990s.

Overall, Clark's work was successful in providing both the casual reader and political scholar with a valuable tool which helps to shed light on a pivotal campaign in both the history of the state

and nation. Clark's work is important because it illustrates the similarities between political campaigns at the beginning of the Cold War as well as those in the present day, by showing how fear interjected into a campaign can prove to be a divisive and decisive issue.

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Treasures of the Panhandle: A Journey through West Florida. By Brian R. Rucker. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. vii, 215. \$29.95 cloth.)

In their Foreword to Brian Rucker's *Treasures of the Panhandle: A Journey Through West Florida*, editors Raymond Arsenault and Gary Mormino refer to that part of Florida as both often overlooked and under-appreciated. In this, they are absolutely correct, but how one looks at the Panhandle often depends upon one's background.

It is true that to most of the rest of Florida, that long, relatively narrow piece that stretches along the northern Gulf of Mexico hardly qualifies as a part of the same state as Miami Beach or the Keys. Conversely, to some tourists from much of the rest of the South—particularly Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia—the Panhandle is the only part of Florida they know. When someone from Birmingham or Atlanta said they were going to Florida, that invariably meant Panama City Beach or one of the other summer resorts along the Gulf. Such locales as Silver Springs or Cypress Gardens could never have existed, for all the experience these folks had with them.

So, indeed, Rucker has ventured into territory where few other historians have gone—and that can be taken literally, as well as figuratively. He defines the Panhandle as the twelve counties that lie west of the Apalachicola River, from Escambia on the far western edge to Liberty and Franklin on the east. This proves to be a most convenient way to divide the topic into chapters, with each of the counties receiving its own separate discussion. As one might expect, these chapters vary greatly in length. When covering an area of major importance in history or pop culture, such as the counties of Santa Rosa, Okaloosa or Bay, there is much more to be said than for some of the smaller, more rural counties where time seems to have stopped several decades ago. However, despite the challenges,

Rucker plows his way through the sand dunes and the palmetto swamps to dig out the most significant, and often forgotten, details about each.

For example, any seasoned Florida tourist worth his or her salt water taffy knows about Fort Walton Beach's Gulfarium or Panama City Beach's Goofy Golf. Rucker gives these classic 1950s attractions their due, but since they have been covered in great detail in other books, he delights in introducing the reader to more obscure details. Did you ever think that Possum Day, with its festive Possum Parade and crowning of the Possum King and Queen, was something invented by the writers on *The Beverly Hillbillies*? Well, okay, maybe it was...but the town of Wausau, in Washington County, took the idea to heart in the early 1980s and made it into an annual celebration. That is the sort of thing you will not likely find among the brochures at the welcome centers.

Tourists may also be likely to miss such treasures as the many state parks scattered throughout the Panhandle, often the remaining pieces of what were once huge antebellum plantations. Eden Gardens, Ponce de Leon Springs, Falling Waters and their brethren present a side of Florida quite distinct from the tourism department's image of orange trees and athletic, young, beach beauties. Those who are familiar with such imagery have probably never uttered the words Florida and caves in the same sentence, but Florida Caverns State Park near Marianna has been burying tourists underground, and then bringing them out alive, since the late 1930s.

Who knew there was any part of Florida, on or off the beaten path, that in any way resembles that other tourist hot spot, the Great Smoky Mountains? Rucker conducts us all on a tour of Torreya State Park, where mountain hiking is a major attraction. We also pay a visit to Apalachicola, that oyster capital that was one of the Panhandle's first resorts. Not neglecting some of the kookier hidden treasures, we are also presented with the Carrabelle telephone booth that gained fame as the World's Smallest Police Station, and the Veterans Memorial Park in Bristol, which treats a miniature train that once served at a defunct St. Augustine amusement park—unfortunately not identified by name—as the valuable relic of the past it truly is.

Each of these chapters is accompanied by a selection of black and white photos that illustrate the most important topics covered in each. There is also a 32-page section of stunning color images, reproduced one per page for maximum clarity. It is certain that

Rucker probably stayed up nights trying to determine just which photographs at his disposal warranted being singled out for this distinction, but his insomnia paid off, as few could argue with the final selections. The front cover image of part of the remaining section of brick road that once connected Pensacola with Tallahassee is compelling enough by itself to make one want to strike out on a journey along its overgrown path.

Whether one has ever lived in the Panhandle, or only visited as a tourist, Rucker's book is proof that there is always more to see than the colorful brochures would indicate. The places he describes are not stops for those whose only thought is to get to I-75 and into Orlando as quickly as possible to chum around with princesses and talking mice. This is a book for those who have plenty of time to meander Florida's less developed areas and are willing to be surprised.

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Swamplife: Peoples, Gators, and Mangroves Entangled in the Everglades.

By Laura A. Ogden. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiv, 200. \$22.50 paper.)

Numerous books have been written about the politics, economy, and environmental alteration of the Everglades. Adding to this inventory, Patsy West and Harry Kersey have spoken eloquently about post-statehood Indian life in the region, and a handful of autobiographical sketches of colorful Glades dwellers, including alligator hunter Glen Simmons's *Gladesmen* (1998), have appeared in print. Laura A. Ogden collaborated with Simmons on his memoir, and now she offers an original study of the white Glades-dwelling population, specifically alligator hunters. Charlton Tebeau touched on the backwoods dwellers in his 1968 *Man in the Everglades: 2000 Years of Human History in the Everglades National Park*. But Ogden's *Swamplife* is more focused and more intimate than Tebeau's sweeping narrative, which tries to capture every culture that ever interacted with the famous wetland. Although Tebeau had an enduring relationship with the Everglades and relied to some degree on friendships with locals, his pen could have been guided by a stony-eyed outsider. Ogden, an anthropologist and folklorist, approaches her subject from the inside

out, at times sinking her feet into muck and swatting mosquitoes alongside former gator hunters.

What interests Ogden is the relationships hunters forged with the landscape and how invading external forces changed those relationships. The landscape was engaged in its own temporal rhythms (32). Its creatures crawled, flew, swam, and slithered. Its waterways and water bodies shifted, disappeared, overwhelmed. Into this mix, or entanglement, as Ogden calls it (a term Darwin used in similar fashion), came the white hunter. She concentrates not so much on the human-to-human dynamic as on the nature-to-human dynamic, less so on the human impact on nature than on nature's impact on human life. "In this book," she writes, "I pay close attention to the ways the nonhuman world exerts its power over the hunter's landscape" (33).

Ogden describes in detail the techniques of alligator hunting, the most reliable means of income for Everglades dwellers during much of the twentieth century. She does so by exploring the refrains of earth, fire, and alligator flesh. Hunters had to become experts at traversing the multifaceted terrain—never a "static text"—establish their own hunting territories distinct from others in the community, and take dominion over that which belonged to the alligator (88). Hunters constantly used fire to clear brush to ease travel and to mark their territory. They used torches to hunt at night, to mesmerize and spot their prey (fire torches were eventually replaced by electric ones). The flesh, or hide, was the product hunters sought for the market. To acquire it, they had to learn the alligator's habits and instincts and how it behaved when it became prey, a role into which only humans forced it. Getting around in the Everglades was a challenge in itself, and alligators did not surrender easily to the lasso, rod, axe, or bullet. The latter, for example, ricocheted off the armored hide of the alligator if not placed in exactly the right spot.

Upon the encroachment of protective laws and protected places, the "hunter's landscape" evolved into a "landscape of subversion." These developments criminalized what she calls a "time-honored economic strategy" (35). Many of the early naturalists who hired Glades hunters as guides ultimately dismissed their residential knowledge of nature as simplistic and their way of life as gratuitously destructive. With the creation of Royal Palm State Park in 1916, and its offspring Everglades National Park in 1947, the gentrified landscape no longer allowed room for alligator hunt-

ers (*passim*). Not only naturalists, but club women, bureaucrats, and conservationists disdained their presence. The ambitions of the upper classes, buttressed by law and law enforcers, disrupted the politically powerless hunter's way of life.

Ogden's sympathy for the alligator hunter, for good or bad, is her own refrain. She comes very close to arguing that the economic strategy of Everglades hunters was sustainable, very different from the economic and ecological imprint of post-World War II development. But hunters did not utilize their commodity in an efficient manner, and they raided nests for eggs, crippling the ecosystem in its reproductive capacity (which Ogden does not discuss). For several decades, they seconded as plume hunters and reduced the wading-bird population to dangerously low levels. Ogden mentions the decimation of birds but does not identify the responsible parties (who also routed otter and mink populations). She maintains that "Very few alligator lives were saved by the criminalization of alligator hunting," though some readers will find the evidence she cites to be, at best, inconclusive (126). She shifts the blame to hunting restrictions, drainage, and shrinking wilderness when she notes that criminalization induced hunters to new levels of violence, putting wildlife wardens in peril not known since the days of plume hunting. Ogden's voice at times bears the nostalgic, libertarian longing of the subjects she interviewed, yearning for better days, when hunters freely took 100,000 alligators or more a year from the ecosystem for the small part of the hide that was converted into purses, belts, and shoes that indulged the vanity of affluent consumers.

Ogden can write a pithy sentence and reconstruct an event with superb story-telling skill, as she does in devoting separate chapters to the exploits of the infamous Ashley gang. The latter is an inspired method for highlighting the main points of her study. Some readers, therefore, may recoil from the academic jargon that at times weighs down this slim book. She also weakens her valuable insider position when she imposes social-scientific constructs, such as *rhizome* and *refrain*, on her subject community. That said, the reader has much to learn from Ogden. She expertly combines oral histories with traditional sources, primary and secondary, to bring a fresh perspective and a new understanding to the well-trod Everglades landscape.

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Salvaging the Real Florida: Lost and Found in the State of Dreams. By Bill Belleville. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, index. Pp. 240. \$24.95 cloth.)

Florida has a rich history of authors who write about the natural environment of the Sunshine State. From William Bartram in the 18th century, through Sidney Lanier and John Muir in the 19th, to Marjorie Stoneman Douglas and Archie Carr in the 20th, much of the great literature of Florida has revolved around the state itself. To that august list, one can make a 21st century addition—Bill Belleville. In *Salvaging the Real Florida*, Belleville provides a series of short snapshots of natural Florida, highlighting his personal and visceral attachment to the land and water of the state. For Belleville, natural Florida is not just the setting for human interaction, it is a real character in his story of the state's thread of life. And it is a character that is under attack throughout the book. When writing about the St. Johns River, Belleville asks the reader to "think of all the damage that has been done to this entire river over time, think of those who would simply manipulate it for their own gain without any concern for the 'shared commons'" (130). Though the book is filled with many such examples of Belleville's righteous anger at those who despoil Florida's beauty, what sets it apart is his continuing love for those special places that still remain. Belleville concludes by giving "a silent and grateful thanks that wild-almost mythic- places like this still exist in Florida at all" (130). Bill Belleville is a glass half full kind of guy.

This is not a traditional history book about Florida. There are no footnotes or endnotes, there are no historiographical digressions, there is no overriding historical thesis, there is not even an index. It is also not a guidebook to the wonderful natural places of Florida. It provides no directions to trails, no hours of operation for kayak rentals, no top ten lists of the "Best of Florida's Natural Attractions." Instead, Belleville takes the reader on a meandering journey through a wide ranging series of short visits to places special to him in Florida. They range from the Keys to the Ocklawaha River, from the Big Scrub of the Ocala National Forest to his farmhouse outside Sanford. All these vignettes have two things in common—they pay scrupulous attention to the details of the natural world and they are written with obvious affection for the landscape and those individuals who have worked to preserve and protect it. "I watched a small black racer snake move out of

the weeds and wild morning glories," he writes, "and slip into the pond, hunting ... Watching the racer, I noticed for the first time the way the sun illuminated the crosshatch of its scales. It reminded me of the pottery the Native Americans who lived along the St. Johns once made" (170). Creating these prose poems, Belleville has crafted a wonderful book about the fragile and exquisite beauty of his adopted state.

Belleville holds a special place for those writers whose work inspired his literary journeys throughout Florida. His chapter on scuba diving to the wreck of the steam tug *Commodore*, a ship sunk off the coast of Volusia County in early 1897 while running guns to Cuban revolutionaries, focuses on the writing of Stephen Crane. Crane's famous short story "The Open Boat" (1897) was based on his experiences aboard the *Commodore*. You can feel the bond between the two authors in their descriptions of Florida marine life. Here's Crane (as quoted by Belleville)—"There was a long, loud swishing astern of the boat, and a gleaming trail of phosphorescence, like blue flame, was furrowed on the black waters" (236). And here's Belleville—"A school of Atlantic spadefish—which look like angelfish on steroids- undulate at the top of the boiler, riding the metronomic current swells back and forth in the water column" (234). In a similar vein, he visits the Cross Creek house of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, whose writings reflected a love of both the Florida landscape and the hardy rural folks who lived there. In *The Yearling* (1938), Rawlings wrote of the beauty and wonder of Florida's springs. "A spring as clear as well water bubbled up from nowhere in the sand. It was as though the banks cupped green leafy hands to hold it" (quoted on 250). Belleville explains why Rawlings' work remains important to him and to all Floridians—"I think with great nostalgia of the stories Rawlings told, and of the life I have known as a man growing up in Florida, traipsing about in nature. And I have a great longing for it all, both for my own past as well as the one Marj saw and imagined...." (251).

Salvaging the Real Florida is an important book for students of Florida history, but more significantly, for Floridians in general. Belleville decries that "we've compromised the river's watershed with hard surfaces, and by doing so have kept rainfall from soaking into the ground- or from being absorbed by natural wetlands" (162). He warns us that the Florida we know and love is under attack by the relentless assault of suburban sprawl aided and abetted by unscrupulous and greedy public figures. Calling Florida "besieged"

(80) by “bush league” politicians in league with “growth-crazy cronies” (225), Belleville tells the reader they need to “live with nature without having to exploit or destroy it” (224). And he also tells them they have the chance to save Florida’s future by turning to the state’s past. In his most personal chapter, “My Favorite Florida Books” (222-225), Belleville lists and describes fourteen books that extoll the virtues of Florida’s unique and extraordinary ecosystems. These are books that belong on the bookshelf of not just every Florida historian, but every Floridian. The highest praise I can give this work of Bill Belleville is that it belongs on that shelf as well.

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