

2012

Book Reviews

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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (2012) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 91: No. 3, Article 8.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol91/iss3/8>

Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

Forts of Florida: A Guidebook. By Robert Carlisle and Loretta Carlisle. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. Chronology, glossary, index, maps, illustrations. Pp. 240. \$19.95 paper)

Over the years, I have visited Florida on many occasions and, during some of those trips, visited the old Spanish fortress at St. Augustine, Fort Barrancas, Fort Pickens, the Naval Air Museum in the Pensacola area, and the Air Armament Museum near Eglin Air Force Base. Over time, I have gathered some understanding of the military history of Florida. I knew that Britain had established the colony of Georgia in 1733 as a bulwark against Spanish raids from St. Augustine and that the US Army had fought the Seminoles in several wars in the 1820s and the 1830s. I also knew that the US Army had constructed several brick and masonry forts at several key locations along the Florida coast before the Civil War. However, I did not know the complete breadth of Florida's military history until I read this book, which documents that history from its early French and Spanish colonial beginnings to the present, well beyond the places that I have visited.

The authors, Rodney Carlisle and Loretta Carlisle, have put together a comprehensive, easily read, well-illustrated, and useful guide to twenty-three of Florida's military historical sites. Dr. Carlisle is a professor emeritus at Rutgers University where he taught history from 1966 to 2002 and served as the chair of the history department. He is a founding member of History Associates and the author, coauthor, and editor of more than thirty books on a variety of topics. Ms. Loretta Carlisle, who

took the photographs for this book, is a professional photographer whose images have been published in a wide range of book series. The two together have created an outstanding guide to the forts, military outposts, and other historical facilities related to Florida's military history.

Forts of Florida begins with an introduction in which Dr. Carlisle provides a very good summary of the military history of Florida. This introduction ends with a listing of the military historical sites described in the book by historical period. The rest of the book is divided into four parts based on geographical sections of the state. Each part consists of chapters in which the author provides information about the forts and outposts found in each geographical section. The synopsis for each site begins with the information a tourist would need to find and visit the site. The rest of the site summary is a history of the site, the role it had in the history of Florida, and the current status (as of the publication date of the book) of the site.

This book has much to offer to most groups of readers. It was obviously written with the tourist in mind, as the author states in the introduction. Each chapter begins with detailed instructions about the "logistics" of visiting the twenty-three historical sites mentioned in the book: location, driving directions, hours of operation, fees, phone number, and/or web site. However, such specific information will change as economic conditions change, which some people in the near future may possibly take as a drawback to the book, as often happens with any guidebook.

The book would also appeal to readers interested in a very good but balanced (not too general or not too detailed) military history of Florida, specifically the history involving land forces. Between the introduction and the details in the chapter summaries of the forts and military outposts, it becomes very evident that the military history of Florida is very extensive and had a significant impact on the history of the state, the South, and, to some degree, the country. Given the guidebook's focus on army installations, it is surprising that the authors did not mention several current military installations, such as the various US Air Force and US Navy installations in the state, though the book does provide excellent sections on the Air Armament Museum and the Naval Air Museum. Several current installations, such as Eglin Air Force Base and Naval Air Station Pensacola, have also had substantial impact on the military history of the state, region, and country.

An outstanding plus for the guide is the excellent photographs and other historical images found in the book. It has numerous current photographs of each site as well as images of historic prints, drawings, and maps taken from a variety of documentary sources. The numerous illustrations not only serve to break up the monotony of continuous text but also provide the means for the reader to visualize the historical context and physical attributes of each site.

Overall, *Forts of Florida* is well researched, using original and secondary sources, including appropriate web sites. It is an excellent guidebook to most of Florida's military forts and outposts for the tourist and a good source for a general military history of Florida for the casual reader or military history buff. It also provides a good starting point for someone who endeavors to obtain greater depth into specific aspects of Florida's military history.

Robert B. Kane

Air University

The Papers of Andrew Jackson, Volume 8, 1830. Edited by Daniel Feller, Laura-Eve Moss, and Thomas Coens. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011. Introduction, calendar, index. Pp. xxxvii, 896. \$80 cloth.)

In this most recent volume of *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, the editors have presented a fascinating body of documents illuminating the personality of the man and representing many significant events of Jackson's presidency. Covering the year 1830, Volume 8 finds Jackson, then entering the second calendar year of his presidency, engaged in correspondence advancing his political agenda as well as investigating and confronting his political and social enemies.

The editors of *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* have done an excellent job making the most of the limited space in a selected edition. For official communications by Jackson as president, the editors have provided a table outlining which communications have been previously printed in serial sets, and have focused instead on reproducing less readily available manuscript drafts relevant to Jackson's presidency. The current volume includes a draft of Jackson's May 6 message to the Senate that conveyed a treaty of the Choctaws' agreement pertaining to their removal

along with Jackson's proposed version of the treaty. Also of interest are draft versions of a message which accompanied Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road bill as well as un-submitted messages related to his pocket vetoes of the Louisville and Portland Canal and the Lighthouse bills, all of which flesh out his arguments on the authority of the federal government relative to internal improvements. Extensive drafts of Jackson's Second Annual Message to Congress also provide insights into his presidential priorities. The editors have selected correspondence carefully, reinforcing the centrality to Jackson's presidency of the removal of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek Indians as well as his antipathy to federally funded internal improvements and the Second Bank of the United States.

Jackson's letters from 1830 also illuminate his personality well, most notably his tendency to take offence and willingness to hold a grudge. As he attempted to rehabilitate the reputation of Margaret "Peggy" Eaton, the wife of Secretary of War John Henry Eaton, Jackson responded vehemently to her detractors, met with various cabinet members whose families were reluctant to socialize with the Eatons, and frequently hectoring his own family on the subject. Jackson engaged in a burst of increasingly emotional letters with his nephew and secretary, Andrew Jackson Donelson, regarding the willingness of Donelson's wife Emily, Jackson's White House hostess, to receive Mrs. Eaton socially. Jackson's campaign on Peggy Eaton's behalf showed a stubborn sense of loyalty, outrage at the disobedience of his family, and a determination to get his own way.

Volume 8 also includes Jackson's increasingly hostile correspondence with his vice president, John C. Calhoun, concerning Jackson's behavior during the Seminole War. Jackson confronted Calhoun with a copy of a letter written by William H. Crawford which claimed that, during service in 1818 as secretary of war, Calhoun called for Jackson's punishment for overstepping orders by entering and capturing Florida. Jackson, Calhoun, and Crawford argued in minute detail the circumstances that produced the 1818 instructions issued to Jackson and the intent behind them. Calhoun's lengthy explanation failed to placate Jackson, who thereafter likens him repeatedly to Brutus. As 1830 winds on, Jackson seemed more and more suspicious of the jealousies of Calhoun, Crawford, and Henry Clay, all of whom were accused by Jackson's friends of working against him. The differences between Jackson

and Calhoun seemed harder and harder to reconcile as 1830 progresses. In both the Eaton affair and his growing rift with Calhoun, Jackson received testimony and opinions from interested parties and sent copies of letters back and forth in a flurry. Here is a man who wanted to know who his enemies were, what they were up to, and was perfectly willing to confront them with evidence and demand an explanation.

Throughout the volume the editors concentrate on providing excellent transcripts of Jackson's letters, with minimal annotation intended primarily to enhance understanding. Editorial head notes associated with significant documents do an excellent job contextualizing letters and frequently point ahead to related documents later in the volume to provide an effective road map for readers. The editors could further help their audience by specifying in the source note of documents where else in the volume particular documents were enclosed. Jackson was so accustomed to confronting correspondents with written testimony that this could give a much broader sense of who the principals were in a given conversation, and it would be especially helpful for the majority of readers who will access this volume through the index rather than reading it chronologically. It would also be helpful if the index pointed explicitly to biographical identifications of correspondents where they occur either in document-level annotation or in the front matter. The editors have very helpfully included a chart outlining Jackson's extended family and a brief summary of principal figures in the volume. Unfortunately, neither of these aids is included in the index.

The Papers of Andrew Jackson uses a largely literal style of transcription that is both highly readable and maintains much of the original flavor of Jackson's correspondence. While authorial interlineations are silently inserted in the text of documents, the editors do restore and strike through text deleted by authors wherever possible to give a sense of some of the changes made during composition. In sum, the editors have created a definitive and lasting tool for accessing Jackson's written works. By selecting significant documents for publication, calendaring all known documents, and providing repository, microfilm, and published locations for Jackson's documents, they have created an invaluable resource for the study of Jackson and his era.

Ellen C. Hickman

Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series

The Man with the Branded Hand: The Life of Jonathan Walker, Abolitionist. By Alvin F. Oickle. (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, notes, index, Pp. xiv, 312. \$28 paper.)

Jonathan Walker was among those few celebrated abolitionist heroes, including Elijah Lovejoy, Charles Torrey, and Calvin Fairbank, who were public figures for a short time but are largely forgotten today. A humble man who lived by the Golden Rule and did not seek the fame that resulted from his hand being branded in Pensacola, Florida, for attempting to take slaves to freedom, Walker is the subject of a recent biography by journalist Alvin Oickle.

Oickle primarily uses Walker's autobiographical writings and period newspaper articles to create a compelling portrait. He traces the influences that shaped Walker's character and beliefs, and provides anecdotes that support this picture. The book opens appropriately at the scene of the branding, where the initials "SS" – short for "Slave Stealer" – were burned into the palm of his hand and for which Walker would thereafter be known. Oickle writes: "Some of the men who were in the courtroom in Florida that dark morning in November 1844 later claimed they heard the skin on Jonathan Walker's right hand sizzle when the United States marshal pressed the branding iron against the fleshy palm beneath the thumb. . . ." (1). The story then unfolds in flashback to Walker's beginnings in Cape Cod. A descendent of the Pilgrims and a Revolutionary War veteran, Walker was strongly influenced by evangelical Christianity and fit the mold of many New England abolitionists. Walker had been a seaman for six years and had sailed across the seas to places as distant as India by the time he first personally observed slavery. Brought up with principles of equality and liberty, he was instantly appalled upon seeing the practice first hand.

Walker led a restless life as a seaman and boat builder until his arrest. Five times he nearly met his death during his years on the high seas because of accidents or illness. The last occasion was on an expedition in 1835 during which he took his twelve-year old son to meet with the famed abolitionist Benjamin Lundy, who was attempting to form a colony in Mexico where fugitive slaves could live in freedom. This was during the war of independence between Texas and Mexico. After arriving in the region, they were attacked by bandits and forced to abandon ship and nearly drowned. They never met Lundy and eventually returned to Cape Cod.

The following year, Walker took his entire family to Pensacola, Florida, looking for job opportunities. They lived there for five years before moving back to Cape Cod. However, it was not the end of Walker's Florida adventures. Returning there in 1844 without his family, he was approached by the slaves who requested him to take them to freedom. A lengthy journey followed that led them down the west coast of Florida, only to be captured rounding the peninsula in the Florida Keys. After being released from jail about a year later, with the help of friends in the North, Walker became a celebrity on the abolitionist lecture circuit for a time. He finally ended his lecture career because of lack of funding to support his family. They soon moved west to Wisconsin in 1852. There he was active in progressive reform movements and contributed letters to *The Liberator*. Finally, in 1864, he moved to Michigan, where he and his wife lived out their lives.

Oickle uses the autobiographical sketches and personal commentaries of Walker to good effect. However, his limited knowledge of the abolitionist movement sometimes causes him to miss the significance of an event. For example, while he reports Walker's move to New Bedford and informs the reader of the community's openness to African Americans, he fails to mention that this Quaker seaport became a major Underground Railroad stronghold and also fails to explore how the move there in 1822 influenced Walker's development as an abolitionist and may have affected his decision to help the seven fugitive slaves that eventually led to his arrest, conviction, and branding.

This failure, in part due to Oickle's lack of historical context, results in superficial and sometimes inaccurate commentary on people and events during the antebellum period. This is evident in his use of sources, like the biography written by Henrietta Buckmaster. Though Buckmaster is Harriet Tubman's first important biographer, knowledge not only of Tubman but also the Underground Railroad has advanced far beyond her work. This lack of historical background also led to inaccurate statements. For example, based on Walker's report of lectures in central New York, Oickle writes that Abby Kelley Foster was the source of abolitionist sentiment there as a result of lectures she made in the early 1840s. In actuality, the New York State Anti-Slavery Society had formed in central New York in 1835, and as early as 1837, the state boasted 274 local and regional antislavery societies, many of them in central New York. Another minor misrepresentation is the author's characterization of Lewis

Tappan as a reader of Garrison at a time when Tappan was a leader of a competing abolitionist wing that published its own antislavery publication, *The Emancipator*. The author also fails to understand Walker's satirical reference to a tavern as the James K. Polk Tavern, which was a dig at Polk's proslavery policies, as temperance was closely associated with antislavery. Oickle commits a bigger faux pas when he says of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, "that no longer could a fugitive find sanctuary and legal freedom in states that had made slavery illegal" (212). The earlier Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 already had accomplished that, but it was too weak and easy to circumvent, leading to the second, more forceful law.

All historians make errors, but Oickle's greatest fault is neglecting to provide documentation. This will be missed by scholars and researchers. Nevertheless, the merits of this biography outweigh its shortcomings. Through the words of the subject and the accounts of the day, Oickle presents a credible portrait of a saintly, righteous man, whose deeds should not be forgotten and who should serve as an inspiration for those who believe in freedom, justice, and equality.

Tom Calarco

Altamonte Springs, Florida

By the Noble Daring of Her Sons: The Florida Brigade of the Army of Tennessee. By Jonathan C. Sheppard. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012. Maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiii, 368. \$49.95 cloth.)

At the beginning of the American Civil War, Florida politics deeply divided the state's population. Jonathan Sheppard argues in *By the Noble Daring of Her Sons* that the military service of the six Florida regiments that became the Florida Brigade in the Confederate Army of Tennessee helped to heal these political divisions and unite the state like never before. Starting in 1861, Sheppard traces the history of these Florida regiments both before and after they became a part of the Florida Brigade. Utilizing a wealth of primary materials, Sheppard deftly weaves a narrative that intimately shows the connection between the Florida home front and the men in the ranks.

As an introduction, the author follows the narrative of the early settlement of Florida, emphasizing the Southern nature of

the state as settlers streamed in from South Carolina and Georgia. Relating the story of secession and emphasizing slavery as the cause of disunion in the state, Sheppard then seamlessly follows disunion with war as the Florida regiments began to form in the early months of the war. After illustrating the usual rituals of company and regiment formation, Sheppard follows the First Florida Battalion to the Battle of Shiloh and then returns the narrative to Florida to cover the raising of the rest of the other regiments that eventually became a part of the brigade. Eschewing traditional battle narratives, the author instead focuses on a bottom-up approach, relating the feelings and thoughts of the Floridians through their letters and diaries.

In the middle of his narrative, Sheppard devotes a chapter of the book to exploring the motivations of Floridians for fighting in the Civil War. He demonstrates that even though less than two percent of Floridians owned slaves, slavery and defending their society based on the "bedrock" of slavery dominated the minds of Floridians as they went off to war. He makes a convincing argument that slaveholders often led as officers, mirroring the social structure of antebellum Florida.

After Shiloh, more Florida regiments reached the front and participated in the western campaigns in 1862 and 1863, fighting at the Battles of Perryville, Stones River and Chickamauga. At Perryville, the 1st and 3rd Florida regiments distinguished themselves and they were joined at Stones River by the 4th Florida Infantry and eventually the 6th and 7th Florida Regiments by the time of Chickamauga. Sheppard does a good job of chronicling the revivals in the camps of the Florida regiments in the spring of 1863. After Chickamauga, all of the Florida regiments, the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 7th Infantry Regiments and the 1st Florida Dismounted Cavalry, came together for the first time under Colonel Jesse J. Finley. Finley and his brigade fought together for the first time at the Battles for Chattanooga on November 25, 1863, where they acquitted themselves well.

During the Atlanta Campaign, Finley's Brigade fought in the division of Brigadier General William Bate. After the wounding of Finley at Resaca, Colonel Robert Bullock took command of the unit and led them well as they fought in the Battle of Atlanta. In August 1864, Bullock received a wound that temporarily put Colonel Lafayette Kenan in command of the brigade until both Finley, who had returned, and Kenan fell wounded in the Battle of Jones-

boro. After Jonesboro, Finley never again commanded the Florida Brigade most associated with his name.

Following the Atlanta Campaign the Florida Brigade fought in the Tennessee Campaign of 1864, both the bloodletting at Franklin and the twin Confederate disaster at Nashville. At the Battle of Nashville, Federal troops overwhelmed the Floridians as they held the key position atop Shy's Hill on December 16, precipitating the ignominious rout of Hood's army. Finally, what was left of these Florida regiments surrendered at Greensboro, North Carolina, in April 1865.

Throughout the course of the book, Sheppard addresses the thoughts and feelings of the men in the ranks, their unit politics and their reactions to consolidation in 1863. He does a good job of relating their experiences to the home front, at least early in the war, though he often neglects larger topics like desertion and Confederate nationalism. The reader is often left wondering how these Floridians fit into the larger themes of the war. Furthermore, the final chapter is somewhat choppy, as Sheppard provides very brief biographical notes on the fate of the more prominent men of the brigade but fails to put these experiences into a more coherent narrative. That said, *By the Noble Daring of Her Sons* is a worthy contribution to the literature of the Civil War in the Western Theater. With so many top-down studies of the generals and their strategies, the historiography of the Western Theater desperately needs more bottom-up unit studies that emphasize the experiences of the common soldiers to complete our picture of the Confederate Army of Tennessee.

John R. Lundberg

Collin College

The Confederate and Neo-Confederate Reader: The "Great Truth" about the "Lost Cause." Edited by James W. Loewen and Edward H. Sebesta. (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xiii, 394. \$55 cloth, \$25 paper.)

The rationale behind this volume is simple but compelling—even as Americans navigate through the Civil War's sesquicentennial, our understanding of the conflict remains strangely imprecise and elusive. The incoherent nature of Civil

War memory among Americans today reveals itself most clearly when considering the straightforward question of why the war happened. Common responses include a myriad of answers ranging from slavery to states' rights, from Lincoln's election to tariffs. Ignorance is never charming, but the authors believe that our ignorance about the Civil War is especially dismaying. Over the past 150 years Americans have largely accepted the Lost Cause interpretation of the war—the post-war effort by white Southerners to redefine and remember the conflict as a war about rights rather than race. Loewen and Sebesta admit that they are “frustrated” with the American public’s “basic misconceptions” about the Civil War, and this reader is intended to expose the distortions that exist in our memories of the war (3). To counter the influence of the Lost Cause, the authors propose a “Great Truth” – that the history of the Civil War, from its origins to its commemorations, hinged on the southern desire to perpetuate white superiority, at first by defending the institution of slavery, and then, even in defeat, by upholding the principle of white supremacy.

To prove the validity of the “Great Truth,” Loewen and Sebesta choose to confront the Lost Cause mythology directly. This reader is an extensive collection of primary source documents that range from the Constitutional Convention in 1787 to Confederate heritage propaganda from the past decade. The juxtaposition of these sources powerfully shows that for over 200 years white Southerners supported (and then mourned the loss of) slavery while shielding racism with the seemingly benign façade of protecting states' rights. The most effective section of the book deals with the secession crisis. The authors include the 11 Confederate states' declarations of secession. All of them, with the exception of North Carolina (the last to secede), explicitly announce that the defense of slavery requires secession (111-166). And while Loewen and Sebesta are mostly content to let these documents speak for themselves, there are valuable insights to be gleaned from their introductory comments to each source. One particularly revealing section covers the transformation of the phrase “waving the bloody shirt” from its original context of white Democratic violence against Republican sympathizers during Reconstruction to the more familiar (and Lost Cause-influenced) contemporary use of the phrase to mean the persistent rehashing of the Civil War by Republican politicians on the campaign trail (306-307). The cumulative impact of these sources demon-

strates that the Lost Cause pattern of obfuscation and distortion was (and is) an attractive way to understand the Civil War, but also that the Lost Cause memory does not match the historical reality of the conflict.

Although Loewen and Sebesta succeed here in dispelling much of the Lost Cause mythology, the volume's effectiveness is undermined by several problems. One concern involves the pacing of the book; the antebellum and Civil War eras are well-represented here, but the briefer post-war sections feel more impressionistic than definitive. Perhaps, in fairness to the authors, this results from the larger time-span and greater variety of source material to choose from. There are also some curious sequencing choices made when the editors occasionally abandon their chronological approach to organizing the material, for example, including a discussion of a 1998 statue of Nathan Bedford Forrest in their chapter on Reconstruction (247). Also, at times potentially illuminating passages from documents are edited out, no doubt due to space constraints (40-54). But the most serious drawback to this volume is that at roughly 400 pages, this book, while convincing, will also be awkward for its intended audience to use. Loewen and Sebesta know that these documents are already familiar to most professional Civil War historians, and so their focus here in creating this collection is to provide a convenient resource that educates teachers, presumably at the high school level (7-11). Teachers tend to read books that they can assign, however. Despite the clear value of this work, relying on it to teach the Civil War era, given its exclusive focus on the white South's defense of slavery and white supremacy, will yield an incomplete understanding of the war that minimizes both white northern attitudes and the black emancipationist tradition. And these perspectives are just as central to an educated grasp on the Civil War's significance. In short, the book is too short to satisfy professional historians who will want even more documents at their fingertips and too long to be used effectively in the classroom at the high school or even undergraduate level. But the authors should be congratulated for challenging the enduring Lost Cause memory of the Civil War and any reader drawn to the conflict by the sesquicentennial will find much of interest to ponder.

Benjamin G. Cloyd

Jackson, Mississippi

Florida in the Spanish-American War. By Joe Knetsch and Nick Wynne. (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2011. Acknowledgments, bibliographical note, illustrations. Pp. 174. \$21.99 paper.)

Joe Knetsch and Nick Wynne undertake an ambitious examination of the state and the nation in the late nineteenth century, culminating in a study of Florida's role as the staging ground for the United States military intervention into the Cuban War of Independence in 1898. Their study's fourteen chapters do not contribute to a single argument; instead, readers receive snapshots of topics ranging from the downturn of Florida's economy, national newspaper coverage of Spain's disastrous re-concentration policy, and daily life in US Army camps. The book's clear thematic structure helps overcome the absence of an index, but problems of organization do stymie the investigation of some subjects. For example, a discussion of the rising violence that white Floridians directed at African Americans is fastened onto the chapter entitled "Cubans, Florida, and Cuba Libre." Similarly, the absence of footnotes or a bibliography obscures any understanding of where Knetsch and Wynne contribute fresh insights. English-language newspapers and other published works stand out as the primary sources that receive direct scrutiny. Although the book is richly adorned with period photographs and maps, most are only loosely associated with the text. The final two-page chapter tells us that the War of 1898 had a profound and lasting impact on the Sunshine State, but readers are left to determine that influence themselves.

Students of Florida history may be frustrated by the authors' principal interest in military history. The book offers a thorough explication of the origins of the modern US Navy and the state of military preparedness in 1898. Unfortunately, this focus shines an analytical spotlight on national decision makers, frequently relegating Floridians to the shadows. Knetsch and Wynne do offer intriguing glimpses of city and state politics that warrant further investigation. Articles in the *Tampa Morning Tribune* support the authors' account of urban boosters campaigning actively to make Tampa the army's port of embarkation for the invasion of Cuba. The ensuing competition with Mobile and New Orleans can be situated comfortably in the state's long history of courting outside developers, sometimes to the detriment of local populations. Too often, though, the authors present Florida as a stage where notable Americans performed, leaving locals unnamed and their lives un-

explored. Knetsch and Wynne incorrectly posit a significant role for Clara Barton in procuring Red Cross nurses for army hospitals in Florida, and the attention paid to this famous figure leads the authors to neglect the women who animate historian Nancy Hewitt's impressive study of female activism in Tampa. Similarly, the passing mention of dockworkers' protests in Tampa and attacks on black civilians by soldiers in Miami intrigued me, and I was left wondering to what degree the book's topical breadth (or perhaps the publisher's page limitations) hindered Knetsch and Wynne from providing a more in-depth examination of local and state history.

Ultimately, it is neither the state nor the nation but the geography of the Caribbean that receives the least attention from the authors' interpretive framework. As Louis A. Pérez Jr. has demonstrated, the coastline of late-nineteenth-century Florida did not denote the boundary between the United States and Cuba; instead, much of the state marked contested borderlands, and Cubans continued to claim Florida as an extension of the island. Although Knetsch and Wynne acknowledge the creation of the Cuban Revolutionary Party in Tampa, their attention to Florida's emerging place in US strategic planning ignores the fact that the urban landscapes of Key West and Tampa were as much battlegrounds of the Cuban revolutionary struggle as any place on the island where Antonio Maceo led insurgents in 1895. In other words, the removal of "Cuban" from what historians now typically call the "Spanish-Cuban-American War" is less an issue of semantics than it is a geographical privileging, one that underestimates the central significance of Florida in the events that reshaped the Caribbean in the 1890s, of which the US blockade and invasion constituted only one part. In a similar vein, historians Mariola Espinosa and Rebecca Scott have shown that chronic yellow fever outbreaks and the constant movement of peoples in multiple directions did more than the territorial claims of nations and empires to define the region's geography, and these phenomena also anchored the US gulf south firmly in the Caribbean. Knetsch and Wynne recount Florida Senator Wilkerson Call's statements to Congress that disease and migration went hand in hand, necessitating an end to Spanish colonial authority and the establishment of a new international public health regime. I would have liked to see the authors engage Espinosa's argument that public health actually weighed heavily in the decision making that led to the US declaration of war and the

institution of American imperial control over the island. Instead, the authors generally eschew engagement with current scholarship on the United States and the Caribbean in favor of studies in US military history. Historians will still find much of value in the disparate details and vivid anecdotes that Knetsch and Wynne pack into this slim volume, and it offers myriad starting points for a continuing conversation on the significance of Florida in the War of Cuban Independence and the War of 1898.

Charles McGraw

University of Tampa

Devil in the Grove: Thurgood Marshall, the Groveland Boys, and the Dawn of a New America. By Gilbert King. (New York: Harper, 2012. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, illustrations, index. Pp. x, 416. \$26.99 cloth)

For years, I've had this quotation from John Edgerton's *Speak Now Against the Day* (1994) hanging above my desk: "In a manner of speaking, there are essentially three kinds of history: what actually happened, what we are told happened, and what we finally come to believe happened." I was reminded of those lines many times while reading Gilbert King's *Devil in the Grove*, which focuses on Thurgood Marshall's involvement in the Groveland rape case, one of the more controversial episodes in Florida's civil rights history. King, a journalist, is a skilled wordsmith but sometimes struggles with the pacing of the Groveland narrative and tends to oversimplify a very complex story.

The book fits in the genre of creative non-fiction and is intended for a general audience, although King includes extensive notes. Florida historians will find few new details about the Groveland case, which was thoroughly documented in this journal 26 years ago ("Groveland: Florida's Little Scottsboro," by Steven Lawson, David Colburn, and Darryl Paulson, *FHQ*, July 1986). Still, King argues that Groveland was the "most deadly and dramatic case" (32) in Marshall's career and fundamentally shaped Marshall's "perception of himself as a crusader for civil rights" (4).

King's most significant research coup was gaining access to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's Groveland papers at the Library of Congress. He also obtained some "unredacted" FBI files on Groveland.

The villain of the book is Sheriff Willis McCall of Lake County, undoubtedly the most notorious lawman in Florida history, who served from 1944 until 1972 when Governor Reubin Askew suspended him after the sheriff was indicted for allegedly kicking a black inmate to death. McCall was acquitted of the murder charges, but lost the ensuing election.

What reminded me of John Edgerton's quote about "three kinds of history" was King's use of two popular, yet annoying, techniques in contemporary non-fiction: (1) attributing words, thoughts, and feelings to historical figures in dramatized scenes; and (2) making claims of "historical fact" based on a single source or opinion without acknowledging contradictory sources or opinions.

King even fictionalizes the precipitating event in the Groveland saga: on Friday evening, July 15, 1949, Willie and Norma Padgett, a young married couple temporarily separated, went together to a square dance near Groveland. In King's rendering: "[Norma] pushed the wedding ring back on her finger; tossed a compact, powder, and perfume into her purse; and sauntered outside....Willie's eyes went right to Norma's bare legs as she slid her thin body across the tattered seat" (33). Of course, King has no idea if any of that happened.

He also fictionalizes a scene in which Harry T. Moore supposedly attended a Miami meeting, in December 1951, where Thurgood Marshall spoke about the Groveland case: "Moore parked his sedan not far from Mount Zion Baptist Church. He relished the energy in the early evening air as he walked toward the [building]" (269). Ironically, while King often cites my biography of Moore (*Before His Time*, 1999), I wrote that Moore was noticeable by his *absence* in Miami.

It is one level of poetic license to invent thoughts and feelings for historical figures in *actual* events, but it is quite another when the person was not even there.

More troubling is King's tendency to elevate a single source—whether a newspaper article, subject interview, or book—to the level of unquestioned truth. But newspapers are often wrong. Subjects' memories are sometimes flawed or contradicted. And one incorrect citation can set off a daisy-chain of repetition until it becomes "accepted fact."

Too often, King issues sweeping certitudes with none of the standard qualifiers: "allegedly," "reportedly," or "according to." This is particularly suspect with the Groveland case because, even

today, no one knows what really happened that July night in 1949 on an isolated country road between Groveland and Okahumpka.

The Padgetts claimed that on their way home, around 2:00 a.m., their car stalled and four African-American men stopped to help. An altercation ensued, the men attacked Willie, kidnapped Norma, and then drove her down a dirt road, where all four raped her.

After that, all hell broke loose in Groveland.

Three black men—Sammy Shepherd, Walter Irvin, and Charles Greenlee—were arrested, and a fourth, Ernest Thomas, fled Lake County (he was later killed by a posse). A lynch mob descended on the county jail, but Sheriff McCall had already moved the three prisoners to Raiford State Prison. For the next few nights, hundreds of carloads of white men, including many Ku Klux Klansmen, caravanned through Groveland's black neighborhoods, shooting and burning several homes and one café. Groveland's black residents fled to Orlando, and Governor Fuller Warren called out the National Guard to restore order.

But that was just the beginning.

For the next three years, the Groveland case roiled Lake County. Thankfully, there is more clarity about these later events, which King recounts skillfully: the three defendants were brutally beaten by McCall's deputies, the crime scene investigation was terribly botched, plaster imprints of tire tracks and footprints were likely faked, the doctor who examined Norma Padgett found "no spermatozoa" and concluded "I don't know" if she had been raped, the September 1949 trial was a Hollywood caricature of southern justice which led to the convictions and death sentences of Irvin and Shepherd being overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. A new trial was scheduled and Thurgood Marshall flew to Florida to lead the defense. And then, almost unbelievably, Willis McCall shot Irvin and Shepherd on their way to a hearing, killing Shepherd and critically wounding Irvin. McCall claimed that the handcuffed prisoners had attacked him, trying to escape. But Irvin claimed that McCall had simply yanked them out of the car and started firing.

It is that first night, however, when the Padgetts' car stalled on that country road, that eludes King's grasp. As Lawson, Colburn and Paulson wrote in 1986, "What happened after that remains a mystery" (9). It still is. Although one would not know it from King's book.

There are at least five different versions of that event, in opposition to the "official" one reported by the Padgetts, McCall, and

most Florida newspapers. Some surfaced immediately in 1949 and were published by northern, liberal, or African-American papers, the NAACP, and the Workers' Defense League. But new versions have even appeared in the past decade. Irvin, Shepherd, and Greenlee swore—in affidavits for the NAACP, the FBI, and at trial—that they never stopped to help the Padgetts and were nowhere around. But the *Chicago Defender*, citing “unnamed sources” in Groveland’s black community, reported that the three defendants *had* stopped to help. In April 1950, St. Petersburg *Times* reporter Norman Bunin corroborated Irvin and Shepherd’s alibi that they were miles away, in nightclubs in Orlando and Eatonville. In 1985, attorney Franklin H. Williams, who defended them at their first trial, suggested that Irvin and Shepherd (plus Ernest Thomas) had, in fact, stopped to help the Padgetts and then continued home. (Franklin Williams Interview, February 11, 1985, UF Oral History Archives). In 1989, Thurgood Marshall told his authorized biographer that he was “convinced that while Irvin may have had sex with [Norma Padgett], he had not raped her” (Juan Williams, *Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary*, 1998, 155). Most startlingly, Walter Irvin’s sister, Henrietta, told researchers Robert H. Thompson and Gary Corsair in 2001 that Irvin and Shepherd not only had stopped to help the Padgetts, but Norma had offered them a drink of whiskey, which led to an altercation between Shepherd and Willie Padgett. Then, shockingly, Henrietta Irvin claimed that Norma had voluntarily left with Irvin and Shepherd in their car.

So what really happened? The only living person who knows is Norma Padgett, who has insisted, as recently as 2002, that she told the truth in 1949. Gilbert King tries to paint Irvin and Shepherd in the best light by selectively picking details from these alternative theories, while ignoring their contradictions.

Besides his excesses of certitude, King also makes some significant research errors. For instance, he asserts that Florida recorded more lynchings than any southern state (109). In truth, from 1900-1930, Florida did have the highest *per capita* rate of lynching, but fewer numerically than Mississippi and Georgia (David R. Colburn and Richard K. Sher, *Florida’s Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century*, 1980, 13).

He also describes Stetson Kennedy being at the scene in Lake County the night McCall shot Irvin and Shepherd (237), but Kennedy’s contemporaneous reporting in 1951 had him arriving several days later. King can be excused for this error, however, as Ken-

nedy's stories grew proportionally over the years. With Kennedy's recent passing, hopefully there will be a thoughtful reassessment of what he actually did.

Finally, describing the investigation of Harry T. Moore's murder, King claims that the FBI "named four likely [Klan] suspects" and indicted seven Klansmen for perjury "in regard to their whereabouts that Christmas night" (357). However, the only "four likely suspects" ever named were by Charlie Crist in 2006, three weeks before the Republican gubernatorial primary, when he claimed to have "resolved" the Moore murders. But the Crist investigation was roundly criticized by former FDLE investigators, editorial boards, and Moore experts (including me). And the seven perjury indictments had *nothing* to do with the Moore bombing, but were for lying about other violent acts.

Despite its failings, King's book may teach the historical importance of the Groveland case to a wider audience. Those failings are summarized best by another quotation, from Julian Barnes' novel *The Sense of an Ending* (2011): "History is that certainty produced at the point where the imperfections of memory meet the inadequacies of documentation."

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Wish You Were Here: Classic Florida Motel and Restaurant Advertising.

By Tim Hollis. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. 276. \$34.95 cloth.)

Wish You Were Here is a beautiful, oversized, coffee table-worthy text of twentieth-century Florida promotional materials for motels and restaurants. It is a compendium of visual and material ephemera for a general audience interested in nostalgia and the development of post-Second World War popular culture and roadside landscape. For the academic reader the study offers documentary evidence of advertising logic in popularizing Florida as a tourist destination. The title is the latest publication of the prolific travel writer and is the companion-text to *Selling the Sunshine State: A Celebration of Florida Tourism Advertising* that appeared in 2008.

The historic content in the book is based on Hollis's extensive private collection, accumulated by his family over a lifetime. His interest in collecting travel memorabilia began as a child when his

family took annual summer automobile vacations to Florida and other destinations in the 1960s. Hollis suggested that the volume is a celebration of classic Floridiana in the twentieth-century; and the artwork is stunning. The clichéd title references the ubiquitous postcard as the most common form of hospitality and leisure advertising in the collection. The introductory essay reprises the highlights of Florida tourism history: Henry M. Flagler hotels and railroads on the east coast, the democratization of automobile ownership and the emergence of “tin can tourists” in the 1920s, and the transition from roadside camping to cabins to motels and the rise of motel chains. Hollis noted that the first Holiday Inn in the state opened in 1957 and within ten years there were almost fifty.

The subsequent seven chapters correspond to the geographic areas the state tourism department delineated in 1966. The Miracle Strip, or more recently the Emerald Coast, identified the panhandle sites of Panama City Beach, Fort Walton Beach, and Pensacola. The Big Bend described the panhandle turned south on the Gulf and north to Tallahassee. Tourism in the state originated in the northeast corner, Florida’s Crown, at Jacksonville. The region extended to St. Augustine, Lake City and Gainesville. The Grove Coast included Daytona Beach inland to Ocala, Silver Springs, Clermont and the Citrus Tower, and Orlando. The Sun Coast on the Gulf is the largest region and included Tampa, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, Lake Wales, Cypress Gardens at Winter Haven, Bradenton, Haines City, the Singing Tower, and Bartow. The Tropiccoast counted Miami Beach, Ft. Lauderdale, and Ft. Pierce. Finally, the Everglades and Paradise Islands included Miami to Ft. Myers on the Gulf coast, and the coast south of Miami and the Florida Keys. Each of these chapters contains reproductions of material artifacts.

The images and representations that comprise the content of the book suggest several themes of national, Southern, and regional tourism, hospitality and leisure studies, automobility, and advertising historiography: local economic displacement and the tension between natives and neo-natives; tourism as a marker of middle-class status and American nationalism; the categories of the environment, pseudo-attractions, museums, gardens, and other cultural and heritage sites; and race and technology. But despite these historiographical intersections, Hollis did not provide an interpretive text to accompany the visual narrative. He neglected an opportunity to combine a popular edition with scholarship that could serve multiple audiences and uses. Nor did he pose critical

questions. His reliance on contrived humor was awkward through seven geographic areas. Nevertheless, his oeuvre engaging Florida promotional memorabilia is impressive.

The contribution of the Hollis text to an interdisciplinary scholarship is a visual record of the golden age of Florida motel and restaurant advertising. The ephemera preserve the memory of the expansion of the local hospitality industry after the Second World War along with the rise of motel chains. The memorabilia also measures the redefinition of the South in Florida advertising in the period following the Civil Rights Movement. Additional critical contributions of the text include opportunities to examine the content for considerations of tourists and gender; lists of lodging amenities; the interesting nomenclature of independent, locally-owned motels and restaurants and what they suggested; and markers of political and regional conservatism. Finally, *Wish You Were Here* is part of a long tradition of Florida travel writing. From George M. Barbour, Sidney Lanier, and Harriet Beecher Stowe to Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, Stetson Kennedy, and Zora Neale Hurston, from Ernest Hemingway to Ethel Byrum Kimball (*Kim's Guide to Florida*) to Hampton Dunn and Carl Hiaasen, the lush Florida landscape and therapeutic climate have inspired its visitors and residents.

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The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture. Volume 17: Education.

Edited by Clarence L. Mohr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, tables, bibliography, index. Pp. xxii, 400. \$24.95 paper).

The *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, published in 1989 by the Center for the Study of Southern Culture and the University of North Carolina Press, immediately became an important and respected reference work in the field of Southern cultural studies. In one 1,600-page volume edited by Charles Reagan Wilson and William R. Ferris, entries by many prominent scholars of the South were organized into broad sections on topics such as religion, history, and literature. A generation later, the Center for the Study of Southern Culture and the University of North Carolina Press are partnering again to update and significantly expand their

Encyclopedia. Under the direction once more of Charles Reagan Wilson, this *New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* is organized into twenty-four individual volumes, each of which expands on one of the topics of the original Encyclopedia, or contributes something new (*Volume 7: Foodways*, for example). These twenty-four volumes began publication in 2006 and a handful of volumes have been added each year.

In 2011, *Education* became the seventeenth volume in the series. Education is a key to understanding southern culture. From the South's individualistic approach to educating its youth before the Civil War to its schools and colleges serving as an epicenter of the Civil Rights movement, education is deeply significant in the South. This updated collection of essays and short entries is not only an excellent addition to the *New Encyclopedia* as a whole, but is a considerable improvement over the "Education" section of the original work. Clarence L. Mohr, Chair of the Department of History at the University of South Alabama, edits this individual volume; he also contributes a thirty-page introductory essay to the volume that provides an excellent context for the entries that follow. Mohr's introductory essay is so well-written, interesting, and wide-ranging in its scope that this volume is worth reading for his piece alone. Mohr's essay is then followed by twenty-five shorter essays by various scholars on broad thematic topics such as "Academic Freedom," "Military Schools," and "Religion and Education." Many of these topics appeared in the original work, but are expanded in the *New Encyclopedia*; for example, there is much more material on desegregation and busing in the new volume. The thematic entries are of high quality and up-to-date. While all of these entries are quite good, some would be more useful to students and scholars if they included more references in the bibliography which follows each entry. The entry on "Athletics and Education," for instance, is fascinating but, with only one work in the bibliography, those who are interested in the topic receive little direction for further research.

The thematic essays are followed by over one hundred brief entries devoted to southern educators, universities, and narrower topics such as "One-room Schools." It is in this section of *Education* that the greatest amount of new material has been added, with over fifty new entries. Some new entries, like "Homeschooling," reflect topics that are more prominent today than they were in 1989. It is remarkable that other new entries, such as the ones on the Scopes

trial and on Booker T. Washington, were not part of the original encyclopedia. Eight of the new entries cover important African-American educators like Washington, a welcome improvement to the earlier edition. One of these new entries covers John Chavis, a Revolutionary War veteran who was "the first African American to receive a college education in the South" (193). The entry on Chavis is also wanted because it adds more colonial-era material on education to the *New Encyclopedia*. More coverage of the colonial South would have provided the historical depth needed to evaluate later trends in southern education. It was disappointing, for instance, not to see material on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), which did much charitable work to educate both whites and blacks in the colonial South. Other colonial-era topics, like the Yates and Eaton free schools in colonial Virginia, are glossed over in Mohr's introduction, but are worthy of more attention. Of course, not every relevant topic can be included, and the new entries are all quite good.

About fifty of the brief entries cover topics that originally appeared in the first edition of the encyclopedia. Many are updated and some completely rewritten. The entry on Richard M. Weaver, the controversial conservative critic, is an example of one that was rewritten by a new author (the original author, the also-controversial Melvin E. Bradford, is now the subject of a new entry). Unfortunately, some of the entries that should have been updated and revised were not. For instance, the entry "Kappa Alpha Order" is nearly identical to its 1989 counterpart. The new entry includes the same statistics as the entry from 1989, listing 114 undergraduate chapters and about 100,000 initiates. Certainly, those figures have changed in the intervening twenty years; indeed the North-American Interfraternity Conference reported in 2009 that Kappa Alpha had just celebrated its 150,000th initiate and had 124 active chapters. While many of the revised short entries are excellent, they are not all of uniform quality.

Those who study Florida history will find much to interest them. There is a brief entry devoted to the University of Florida, and another on William N. Sheats, the "Father of Florida's Public School System" (291). There are also fruitful references to Florida's educational history scattered throughout the thematic essays, especially the piece entitled "Urbanization and Education," which discusses the "Florida phenomenon" of urban college creation in the 1950s and 1960s (132).

Education is highly recommended to those with interests in southern education. It is a thoughtful, readable, useful work that will undoubtedly serve, as did its predecessor, to help shape twenty-first century thinking about the role of education in shaping southern culture.

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Enacting History. Edited by Scott Magelssen and Rhona Justice-Malloy. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations. Pp. vi, 221. \$24.95 paper.)

A few years ago I was wandering the Gettysburg National Military Park and noticed a lone re-enactor, dressed in an 1860s Federal blue uniform, sitting under a tree reading a book. Eventually, a passer-by asked him what he was doing, and he replied that he was reading Walt Whitman poetry about the Civil War. As a conversation began, more people gathered round, and the re-enactor explained – in first person, as if he was from the 1860s – that he had come to the battlefield not long after the war to pay his respects to fallen comrades and family.

First person enactment is a difficult type of history performance to create successfully, but this re-enactor did so with aplomb. He held a group of history tourists enthralled and explored topics not the usual terrain of battlefield re-enactments – family, death, memory, literature, post-war reconstruction, and politics, to name a few. This simple vignette showed me how intimacy and the visceral nature of performance could work as a way of generating historical context and understanding, rather than the usual fare of costumed theatrics and gunpowder fireworks displays that we come to associate with historical re-enactments.

The essays in *Enacting History* engage with this potential for the performance of history. They also engage with the problems and pitfalls of staging performed historical events. Editors Scott Magelssen and Rhona Justice-Malloy have brought together a variety of essays that cover the form, practices, sites and historical representation of the surprising number of history performances in the arenas of public commemorations, private recreations, historical theme parks, and theatre that deals with history.

Leigh Clemmons' essay on a series of commemorative battle re-enactments in Texas critiques the practices of battle re-enactors

and offers some important broader considerations for military re-enactments in general. Whilst Clemmons sees some engagement with history in these re-enactments, the dangers of such performances as reinforcements of certain preferred contemporary versions of origin and identity are paramount.

The subjects and places under discussion in the collected essays are diverse. Lindsay Adamson Livingston's essay on re-enactments of the history of the Mormon Church pays particular attention to the effects of the sites where history is performed. Amy M. Tyson takes a somewhat irreverent look at the use of authenticity as a workplace surveillance tool at Historic Fort Snelling in St. Paul, Minnesota. Here, the drive for authenticity in costumed interpreters' actions and speech often collides with the need for the niceties of the service industry of historical tourism. It also creates a hierarchy of knowledge of the "authentic" that can be deployed to discipline a workforce – as the oft-repeated re-enactors' phrase goes; "but they wouldn't have done it like that." Tyson also takes a critical look at another "re-enacterism" – the perceived and actual authority gained in the real world by those who dress up as military officers.

Richard L. Poole reflects on the issues of history as theatre in writing a play for the 2004 Lewis and Clark bicentennial celebrations in Sioux City, Iowa. Aili McGill analyses the introduction of museum theatre into the Conner Prairie outdoor history museum in Fishers, Indiana, where first person presentation held sway for many years.

Again in the realm of theatre that deals with history, Patricia Ybarra's thought-provoking essay on the play *Jesus Moonwalks* notes how the commemoration of particularly traumatic or contested historical events such as slavery needs more than just monuments. Often it needs performances that highlight the presentness that is always in the past.

Other essays on diverse topics include historical theatre at the Boston Science Museum, a medieval-themed episode of a television cooking show filmed at the Maryland Renaissance Festival, and Scott Magelssen's account of the immersive recreation for tourists of the *Caminata Nocturna*. This night-time simulation of an illegal crossing of the U.S.-Mexico border established in the tourist resort of Parque EcoAlberto in Hidalgo, north of Mexico City is an interesting example of a growing phenomenon of history attractions that immerse tourists as characters in historically based, fictive scenarios.

Overall, the essays in this collection form an excellent survey of history as it is performed across the United States (and in Magelsen's case, Mexico) and raise important questions for those who seek to "re-stage" the past. They interrogate whether this is indeed the object at hand in history performances.

Until relatively recently, historical re-enactments and the practices of amateur history enactors (or re-enactors as they call themselves) have seen little academic analysis. Cultural critics have tended to focus on the ways enactors have created both official and unsanctioned performance spaces for their contemporary social, and often political, needs. Much analysis has focused on the staging of history as a nostalgia for experiencing history, rather than learning it. However, scholars in performance studies and public history in particular have begun to interrogate historical re-enactments and performed histories in terms of what they might offer theorizing history, authenticity, and performance.

Enacting History appears at an important time. From 2011 to 2015, the 150th anniversary moments of the Civil War will be re-staged in many parks and historic sites across the United States. Such a thoughtful and insightful collection, as the editors suggest, should appeal to both theorists and practitioners of history performances. The range of sites and types of performances studied here will be most useful to anyone contemplating historical pageantry, theatre, commemorative performances, re-enactments, or any other of the vast array of costumed, historical performances that seem to proliferate around significant anniversary moments.

The performance of history is probably best served in the first instance by story selection – by interrogating the stock, standard tales that seem eminently performable and to work out whether these "perform" because of audience expectation or from contemporary political desires about the past. This is one of the most important elements shared by the essays in this collection and a lesson that still needs broader understanding if performances of history are to really engage with, rather than sanitize, the past.

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