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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

The Calusa: Linguistic and Cultural Origins and Relationships. By Julian Granberry. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011. Illustrations, references, index. Pp. xviii, 82. \$30 paper.)

Julian Granberry's *The Calusa* is a provocative call for renewed holistic investigation of South Florida's indigenous peoples. In this short book, he admonishes his colleagues for ignoring the linguistic information about the Calusa in favor of historical and archaeological data. The first half of his main thesis links the language of southwest Florida's Calusa with that of northeastern Louisiana's Tunica. While this argument is based on a small number of Calusa words—sixty-nine total and only twelve with contemporary Spanish translations—the results are more convincing than previous analyses that tried to link Calusa with Choctaw or Creek. More speculative, however, is the second half of his main thesis, which ties the Calusa with a Tunica-speaking population at the Poverty Point archaeological site through trade in the "Weeden Island Corridor" (50), or his additional hypotheses concerning the presence of other Louisiana languages in Florida, including Chitimacha and Natchez.

Granberry pulls from the literature of several disciplines, including linguistics, archaeology, and ethnohistory. For example, he acknowledges Buckingham Smith's attempt to tie the Calusa language to Choctaw in his *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (1854), although, he omits other efforts to link Calusa with Creek, including work by D. G. Brinton, Albert Samuel Gatschet, and John R. Swanton. For his informa-

tion about the Calusa, the related pre-contact Caloosahatchee culture, and the adjacent Weeden Island cultures, he relies on relevant scholars, including John H. Hann, Christopher T. Hays, William H. Marquardt, Jerald T. Milanich, Rebecca Saunders, Randolph Widmer, and John E. Worth. Granberry's Calusa linguistic information comes from several primary sources, including the *Memoir* and other documents of the aforementioned Escalante Fontaneda (ca. 1575), a letter from Fr. Feliciano López (1697), and a report by Fr. Joseph Xavier de Alaña (1743). Additionally, Granberry draws on the research of Mary R. Haas as his linguistic foundation for Tunica, especially her "A Grammatical Sketch of Tunica" in *Linguistic Structures of Native America* (1946) and the *Tunica Dictionary* (1953).

The book can be broken into several parts. The preface and chapter one includes introductory remarks and the author's critical comments on the fractured state of anthropology. Granberry's cure is a return to holistic investigation encompassing all available linguistic, archaeological, cultural, and historical data, in this case about the Calusa. Though not breaking new ground on the subjects, the second part of the book provides an overview of the Calusa culture and historic Calusa-European contacts between 1500-1700. The crux of the book's argument comes in the third part: five chapters covering the linguistic data, comparative analysis between the Calusa and the Tunica languages, and speculative discussion of the migration and trade routes from Louisiana to Florida through the Weeden Island cultures. Much of the analysis in this section will be familiar to readers of Granberry's 1995 paper on the Calusa language in *The Florida Anthropologist*. The book ends with a brief conclusion summing up Granberry's major points.

Contending that South Florida archaeologists and ethnohistorians have ignored Calusa linguistic data, Granberry offers up the "analytical techniques of modern synchronic and diachronic linguistics" (21) to compare the Calusa language to other Native American languages "phonologically, morphologically, and semologically" (22). Although Granberry's linguistic analysis is quite technical, most readers should be able to follow the underlying concept. Succinctly, he claims that the twelve contemporarily translated Calusa words do not match the corresponding words in other Florida languages, such as Timucua or Apalachee. Instead, Granberry argues for "Tunica-Calusa parallels [*that*] are without exception specific, detailed, and uniform" (26). He tests this hy-

pothesis by using Tunica to translate some of the untranslated Calusa words. He does this for four words, yielding logical translations, though additional examples using this technique would have strengthened his argument. Granberry does not suggest that this Tunica-Calusa language extended from southwest Florida to Louisiana; rather, he argues that the Calusa were "the descendants of the last migration of Tunica-speaking peoples" (69). To further this connection, he offers additional evidence for the Louisiana origin of some of the languages in Florida. For example, his limited discussion on the presence of the Chitimacha language on Florida's west coast and the same language as the possible origin of the language of the east coast's Ais is intriguing, and these ideas suggest possible avenues for future research.

Although the Tunica-Calusa linguistic similarities are well argued and moderately convincing, some of Granberry's facts and interpretations are problematic. For example, he seems unsure where to locate the Tequesta geographically or linguistically. In his use of Jonathan Dickinson's *Journal* (1985), he appears to conflate the geographical position of the Tequesta with the Jeaga and Ais. Also, while Granberry cautions that the Tequesta might not have had the same language as the Calusa, he uses *sipi* as one of the twelve translated Calusa words, while William C. Sturtevant has suggested it might be a Tequesta word; see Sturtevant's chapter in *Native Languages of the Southeastern United States* (2005). Perhaps the most speculative element is Granberry's interpretation that links the Calusa to the Poverty Point archaeological site through a connecting "Weeden Island Corridor" (50). He does note evidence of trade, the possibility that the population at Poverty Point might have spoken Tunica, and some interesting similarities between the Calusa and other Southeastern Indians, including the concept of a tripartite universe. Yet these notions are not fully developed or well-supported. Granberry is well aware, however, that many components of his argument are speculative. He acknowledges that the "fit" between these cultures is "a hypothesis that should be investigated" (60), and while many of the explanations are speculative, the connections between the Tunica and Calusa languages are impossible to ignore. Hopefully this book will provoke more scholarship that is holistic in its approach to the investigation of the Indians of South Florida.

Peter Ferdinando

Florida International University

Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in 19th Century Florida. By Larry Eugene Rivers. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 264. \$55 cloth.)

Toward the end of the Civil War, Florida slave Sarah Bryant entered her mistress's house and discovered the women inside in tears. Bryant asked her mistress why they were crying and was told that they feared the men in their lives would perish in combat and that they would never see them again. "Sarah then asked her if she [the mistress] remembered when she was first brought to Tampa [and] she would cry for her mother and they would spank her. And for her not to cry as it would not do her any good" (156).

Larry Eugene Rivers has a good eye for a telling story. In crafting a book on runaways and resistance, it would be far too easy to become tangled in data and lose sight of the human dimension. Rivers, the author of the admired *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (2009), never forgets the importance of agency and fills this fascinating study with similar accounts. Yet he does not slight statistics either, as the volume includes seven tables that illuminate stories such as Sarah's. The first reveals why her story was typical. In 1830, only nine years after Florida's cession to the United States, the territory was home to but 15,501 slaves. By 1860, that number had exploded to 61,745, a 298.2 percent increase. Of the 179 runaways Rivers was able to chart in this forty year period, a majority of 62 returned to Georgia in search of family. Only 4 tried to make it to a distant free state, but the second highest number, 33, fled to Bermuda or into the Caribbean islands. Earlier studies of southern runaways indicated that most slaves fled one location in the South for another, but Rivers reminds us that, as Florida was geographically unique, African Americans "gained exposure to what could be described as an Atlantic worldview" (64).

Yet, more masters were concerned with their slaves "lurking" in nearby swamps than they were with permanent flight. Especially in Middle Florida, most bondpersons had little chance to see much of the world beyond their masters' property, and so flight tended to be localized and temporary. Within estates, women feigned illness and played on the paternalistic self-image of the planter class. One unnamed Leon County bondwoman hobbled about her master's house on crutches, performing only light domestic work. That pose lasted only until federal soldiers reached the estate, at which point she threw down the crutches and briskly walked off into freedom. Women also

comprised a higher percentage of runaways than in other states. In the years after 1821, 23 percent of runaways were women, which was nearly double the rate of bondwomen in Virginia and North Carolina. Only Louisiana had a higher percentage of female runaways, suggesting a desire to return to lost family members in Georgia as well as a depressing commentary on the brutality in frontier Florida.

As was the case in other parts of the South, extreme acts of brutality proved to be the final straw in provoking acts of flight. The 1850s proved to be the cruelest decade, and a majority of runaway ads indicated scars from floggings and beatings. Enslaved Floridians ran away at nearly twice the rate of bondpersons in Virginia and North Carolina, leading Rivers to conclude that masters building their plantation empires resorted to inhumane methods more commonly than did whites living in what were already slave societies.

Florida masters, Rivers remarks, flattered themselves as indulgent men. But just how deeply that paternalistic ethos ran, and whether slaves ever bought into the notion, remains much debated by modern scholars. The sale of black men and women and the forced division of slave families, for many historians, is the strongest evidence that paternalism was but a defensive pose on the part of slaveholding whites. Rivers demonstrates that migrations and sales destroyed over 75 percent of slave families in Middle Florida in the two decades after 1821. As the black population rose in the region, slave families achieved some stability, though Rivers suggests that was because wise masters regarded sound families as crucial to plantation peace and prosperity, and not because they valued black families for their own sakes. Although Rivers is never explicit on this point, his use of the term "masquerading paternalists" (93) hints that he sides with those scholars who suspect that black southerners only pretended to accept paternalism so that they might manipulate the system to their advantage.

The most revelatory section of the volume pertains to the Second Seminole War. Although usually folded into accounts of Native American removal, Rivers convincingly argues that due to the large number of African Americans residing with the Seminoles, the conflict should be understood as a slave rebellion. Congressman Joshua Giddings and General Thomas Jesup, Rivers notes, certainly saw it as such; the latter assured Joel Poinsett—a veteran of the court that had tried Vesey's followers—that this was "a negro, not an Indian war" (131). Roughly 750 to 1000 runaways had found safety with the Seminoles, and some had resided on their lands

long enough to produce mixed-race children. In the process, Rivers compares this struggle with other acts of widespread rebelliousness. Unlike Gabriel's men, he observes, the black Seminoles did not seek the complete overthrow of slavery, and unlike Vesey's supporters, they did not plan to flee American shores. Instead, they fought to safeguard "individual and family freedom" and to protect their "homelands from white encroachment" (131).

Rivers' prose is clear yet passionate and wonderfully free of jargon. His research, both primary and secondary, is impressive, and his many comparisons with other sections of the Old South make this book indispensable for those who wish to understand the larger patterns of flight, resistance, and rebellion in the antebellum decades.

Douglas R. Egerton

Le Moyne College

The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in His African Homeland. By Kevin G. Lowther. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xxi, 336. \$39.95 cloth.)

Slavery, in its many forms, works to minimize the particularities of the identities and life-stories of the enslaved. Historiography, in its reliance on written documents, tends to replicate the power structures of the past by privileging the stories of the individuals and groups who feature prominently in the archive. Therefore, those historians who wish to recover the stories of the oppressed must "struggle within and against the constraints and silences of the archive," as Saidiya Hartman observes in *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (2007, 11). Kevin G. Lowther tackled such challenges when he set out to write a biography of an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century West African man, John Kizell. His success is a testament to pertinacity, creativity, and extensive research.

Born in the Sierra Leone region of West Africa around 1760, Kizell was seized in a raid on his uncle's village and accused of witchcraft at the age of thirteen, an accusation that served as one of many tactics that slave traders employed to justify their nefarious practices. Transported to Charleston, South Carolina, on the eve of the American Revolution, Kizell grew up as a slave "in the sec-

ond largest urban black community in the world" (5). When the British seized control of Charleston in 1780, Kizell answered the British call for slaves to defect from their masters and find freedom behind British lines. He fought in the British army and, at the war's end, was evacuated to Nova Scotia along with three thousand other black loyalist soldiers. The hardships and disappointments of farming very poor lots of land and combating racism in Nova Scotia pushed Kizell to join nearly 1200 black Nova Scotians who were persuaded by the budding Colonization movement to return to Africa and create a free town in Sierra Leone.

Because the extant evidence about the first half of Kizell's life probably could fit into one paragraph, the first half of Lowther's biography is primarily a description of the times in Charleston, the Revolution, and Nova Scotia. Other historians have already covered much of this information in compelling works such as H. Amani Whitfield's *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North America, 1815-1860* (2006). Lowther tends to compensate for the paucity of information about Kizell by introducing an excessive number of people and events that Kizell *might* have encountered. The biography comes into its own, however, in the second half, when Kizell becomes a significant player in Sierra Leone's transatlantic politics and an impassioned foe of the slave trade. Here he "begins to appear regularly in the colony's public record" (136), and Lowther mines the record to create an unforgettable portrait of freed African Americans struggling for survival despite injustice, hardship, and hostility on all fronts. Their multiple displacements forged new identities, leaving them nowhere to feel completely at home in the world.

Lowther, who moved to Sierra Leone as a Peace Corps teacher in 1963 and later helped to found Africare, a development and relief organization for which he worked until his retirement in 2007, is deeply knowledgeable about West African history, peoples, and landscapes. He observes that Kizell's "known work—a substantial body of letters and reports to British governors and others, confined largely to a single decade (1806-1815)—made him the leading black writer of his time *in Africa*" (16). It would have enhanced the biography if at least some of Kizell's works had been published in an appendix, but Lowther does quote aptly and effectively from Kizell's writing. Assaulted by what appears to have been an endless, heart-breaking stream of betrayal, corruption, violence, disease, and death, Kizell managed to persist as a successful farmer, merchant, and negotiator

until at least the mid-1830s. Standing up to both European and African slave traders, he remained devoted to the dream of the abolition of slavery and African peoples' return to Africa.

In the face of the enormous efforts by the institution of slavery to eradicate enslaved people's individuality, creativity, and autonomy, the persistent diversity and particularity of individual lives is remarkable. Despite devastating loss and tragedy, John Kizell negotiated geopolitical minefields and forged an extraordinary life. Lowther's biography rescues his story from obscurity, thus making a valuable contribution to the literature of transatlantic slavery and resistance.

Kari J. Winter

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The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic. By Barbara A. Gannon. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, tables, appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 282. \$39.95 cloth.)

This important and provocative volume makes three sets of valuable contributions to our understanding of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), and particularly the role of African American veterans in that powerful postwar organization.

First, and most central, Barbara Gannon has accomplished a prodigious amount of research, providing the reader with a vast array of previously untold information while challenging quite a few things that we thought we knew. In brief, Gannon has uncovered a startling number of all black GAR posts, as well as a long list of integrated—largely harmonious—posts scattered across much of the nation. Whereas previous scholars have generally portrayed the GAR as a predominantly segregated product of its time where black veterans were routinely excluded or treated as second-class citizens, Gannon tells a dramatically different story. Here we find a world of fundamental racial harmony, where whites and blacks coexisted peacefully and African American veterans routinely rose to significant elected positions. When the numbers allowed for it, veterans of the United States Colored Troops (USCT) commonly chose to form all black posts while remaining on good terms with their white comrades. Where there were fewer black veterans in a community, they joined integrated posts. True, Gannon acknowledges, there were celebrated cases in which white posts fought to

exclude black veterans. But when this happened, she argues, these individual posts or state organizations faced integrationist pressure from national GAR leaders. Moreover, the very celebrity and controversy surrounding these episodes demonstrates that they were the exception that proved the rule.

Beyond these crucial arguments about GAR membership and organization, Gannon offers a wealth of information about how the GAR posts operated and how they contended with the war's complex memory. Framing the Union soldier's memory of the war as the "Won Cause"—in contrast to the mythologized "Lost Cause" of the Confederacy—Gannon insists that both white and black posts never lost sight of the conflict as a war for emancipation and not merely for Union, even while the nation at large seemed to be embracing a reconciliationist's perspective that brought whites together at the expense of racial memory. Of course white GAR members, not entirely immune to the historic moment, proved more energetic in embracing their black comrades and celebrating the memory of emancipation than they were in joining their black brothers in political attacks on Jim Crow. In Gannon's view, the GAR was not quite an island of racial equality in a world of segregation and bigotry, but the veterans did repeatedly demonstrate a more progressive stance than the country as a whole.

Gannon's second large contribution, intrinsically related to the first, is about the process of doing history. The book is grounded upon the fundamental—and occasionally neglected—insight that researchers will not always find things unless they actually look for them. Thus, for instance, the official records of the GAR almost never spoke of "black" or "colored" posts. One must be a superb sleuth to identify these posts. But first, one must set out to find them. For Gannon, that meant poring over black newspapers to see which GAR posts they reported on, or following up on the obituaries of deceased members, which could be counted on to note if the fallen veteran had served in a USCT regiment. In short, by actively looking for both all black and integrated posts, Gannon found evidence that had been previously missed. In contrast, a research design that only considers race in the context of highly publicized racial clashes is likely to yield a very different sort of story. And the scholar who finds all black posts and fails to read the record carefully is liable to see them as evidence of segregation.

This then leads to a third contribution. Gannon is occasionally tough on previous historians for missing evidence, overstating seg-

regation, and generally letting their research agendas dictate their conclusions. She insists, for instance, that scholars have caricatured the GAR as an essentially cynical political lobbying group, intent on wringing excessive pensions from the federal government, while those same scholars have failed to pay sufficient attention to those same veterans as often broken men in need of medical attention and support. In a valuable discussion of the relationship between the GAR posts and the Women's Relief Corps (WRC), Gannon critiques historians for concentrating on the WRC's political activities while failing to consider their crucial charitable work. In considering postwar commemorations, she argues that historians have claimed African Americans were not present at the famed 50th anniversary celebrations at Gettysburg, while her research makes it clear that black veterans really were there although they were not entirely enthusiastic about all they saw there.

Throughout *The Won Cause*, Gannon adopts a refreshing—occasionally didactic—writing style, which includes periodic excursions into research strategies. For example, she contends that “The best evidence of how black posts kept their books is the records themselves” (43), and “Twenty-first century readers cannot imagine nineteenth-century poverty ...” (53). She sees a clear connection between the goal of coming to a full understanding of her subjects, and a broader goal of improving the public's comprehension of the contemporary veteran. Veterans of the Iraq war, she reminds us, suffer from amputations and traumatic brain injuries as did their Civil War predecessors, and today “veterans still sleep in the streets of American cities” (140). These sorts of observations are not reserved for a contemplative afterward, as many other historians might have chosen, but are instead embedded in the core of this rich and powerful text.

J. Matthew Gallman

University of Florida

Hidden Seminoles: Julian Dimock's Historic Florida Photographs. By Jerald T. Milanich and Nina Root. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 208. \$39.95 cloth.)

With the publication of *Hidden Seminoles*, authors Jerald T. Milanich (Curator Emeritus of the Florida Museum of Natural His-

tory, Gainesville, Florida) and Nina J. Root (Director Emeriti of the Research Library at the American Museum of Natural History, New York City) provide us with a superb collection of Julian Dimock's photographs depicting Mikasuki-speaking Seminoles in the Big Cypress from 1905 to 1910.

A.W. Dimock and son Julian Dimock's lives and activities on Wall Street provided quite a contrast to their excursions and adventures into pioneer South Florida's coastal waters and forays deep into the isolated Everglades and Big Cypress interior. Their environmental advocacy and animal collecting for zoos further involved them in South Florida. A.W. found a fertile field on which to write popular works of fact and fiction based on his South Florida experiences and Julian accompanied his father to chronicle their trips photographically.

Julian's images, which make up the body of this work, are mostly familiar to us in the field of Seminole Studies and have been utilized in our research for decades. They are wonderful in clarity and distinctively Dimock in signature. The lighting, attention to detail, and artistry of poses (some obviously too posed) give readers an insider look at individual Seminoles, their appearance and clothing, and transportation, along with some more intriguing aspects such as articles of natives and also commercial goods that they utilized in the early 20th century.

The Dimock photographic record deserves renewed attention and respect and the authors of *Hidden Seminoles* have our gratitude for assembling them. A. W. Dimock's narrative, on the other hand, is little more than the uninformed observations and imprudent conclusions of a culturally ignorant, but enthusiastic explorer, resulting in the omission of fundamentally vital information, much based on the bias of the period in which he lived. This brings me to the narrative aspect of *Hidden Seminoles*. Inexplicably, this book repeats all of those mistakes that the Dimocks made.

The authors of *Hidden Seminoles* admit their own inadequacies. In a virtual disclaimer they note: "Our goal for this book is simple: to relate an interesting story, one captured in the photographs of, and by, people who were there. We also hope to acquaint the public, scholars, and the Seminole and Miccosukee peoples themselves with the Dimock collection of Florida photographs and the potential it holds for historical, ethnological, archaeological, and genealogical research"(7). Unfortunately, this statement does not exonerate the authors from their responsibility, because they do

indeed offer comment! And it is therein that this book commits a disservice to its readers by repeating and entrenching the Dimocks' decades-old errors and misunderstandings. And, because of the authors' inexperience with Seminole culture, the commentary that they provide throughout is glaringly tentative, speculative, and incorrect, at times due to what has been omitted. For example, the term "patchwork appliqués" is incorrectly used for both a single braid and also the intricate cut and sewn two-or-three-ply "appliqué" patchwork (76). This mistake is inexcusable as these techniques have been well documented and analyzed by experts. It is particularly inexcusable when discussing the evolution of the Tribe's premier art form and source of cultural expression. Commenting on a photo of a Seminole man in a canoe, the authors' state the obvious, "He has a pole rather than a paddle" (79), but offer no further comment. An explanation of why the culturally unique, evolutionally significant "push pole" was used for the Seminoles' dugout canoes would have been appropriate.

Noting that Ruby Tiger Tail was wearing "silver pendants, the latter almost certainly made from silver coins," (104) the authors again reveal their unfamiliarity with their subjects and the literature. Contemporary with this time period, women's "bangles" were *always* made of coin silver. In calling attention to what Dimock irreverently called the "cook shack" (a literal translation by the Seminoles as "cooking chickee"), the authors failed to mention that this structure was the focal point of the camp and housed the culturally, as well as functionally, important "Seminole fire" that was so consistently lauded in the literature (108).

One of the book's greatest faults is the lack of clan identification, the basic foundation of Seminole culture itself. A clan, to which everyone born of a Seminole woman has as their birthright, is at the heart of Seminole camps and camp life. The exclusion of clan identification is a most significant shortcoming of *Hidden Seminoles*, as a Seminole or Miccosukee Tribal Citizen, old or young, cannot pick up this book and be expected to relate to the photographs; by absenting clan identity *there is no meaningful insight into heritage*.

It is ironic too, that in this book the Seminole woman...matriarchal head of the clan, family, and camp, recedes even farther into obscurity. In *Hidden Seminoles*, as in the Dimocks' own works, the women remain UNNAMED. They are referred to only as the "widow of so-and-so or the wife (squaw) of so-and-so (30)." Clan status and the identification of the women depicted in *Hidden Semi-*

noles could have been initiated with a simple "Ready Reference" contact to either the private Seminole/Miccosukee Photographic Archive or the Seminole Tribe's (who aided in the sponsorship of this book) Ah-Tha-Thi-Ki Museum.

And in yet another deficiency of the narrative, there was no information on Seminole settlement patterns, another important cultural tradition that was unknown to the Dimocks, who apparently saw the Big Cypress Seminoles in a total microcosm. Were these people a culturally pristine group of individuals because they lived in a more isolated area (26)? No! What the Dimocks didn't realize was that the "Big Cypress" Seminoles were also the "Miami and Ft. Lauderdale" Seminoles! These people had practiced dual residency for generations, with permanent seasonal settlements in the Big Cypress and on the Atlantic Coast. On the coast they took advantage of fantastic economic boons from "wrecking" (also unmentioned by Dimocks and authors), gleaning the spoils of wrecked ships along the coast. Foodstuffs were another significant draw, especially bears on the beaches and coontie starch plants in the high pinelands. Indeed, these advantages were so constant and so compelling that this settlement pattern was a tradition in place before the Second Seminole War (1835-1842)!

In closing, *Hidden Seminoles* could have provided a very much needed continuum of historical narrative and photographic documentation that bridged the gap between the Seminoles who relied on the hunting economy to the Seminoles who embraced the new tourism/exhibition/crafts economy in the city. The "Hidden Seminoles" were certainly "hidden" no more after the very women depicted in *Hidden Seminoles* gave their permission for their families to begin their involvement in the tourist attraction economy a mere *five years* after Julian took his last photograph of a Seminole! Holding prominent positions in the attractions were men whose names readers will recognize from the text: Willie Willie, Charlie Willie, Jack Tiger Tail, Charlie Cypress, and George Osceola, who worked in their wives' attraction camps in Miami and Silver Springs. The new employment with its attendant crafts production held economic prominence for many Seminole and Miccosukee families until the gaming economy of the latter 20th century.

I had looked forward to receiving my copy of *Hidden Seminoles*. It should have been a "must have" book for anyone interested in the Seminoles and Miccosukees and their culture, a book that should have revealed the Seminoles to the interested reading audi-

ence while providing a good foundation reference for the scholar. More importantly, Julian Dimock's photographic legacy should have been a legacy for the Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes, with this book taking its place as a most significant new contribution to the field. But, unfortunately, *Hidden Seminoles* will leave readers in many ways as ignorant about the Seminoles as the Dimocks were ... over a hundred years ago.

Patsy West

Seminole/Miccosukee Photographic Archive

The U. S. Coast Guard's War on Human Smuggling. By Dennis I. Noble. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. Pp., 320. \$29.95 cloth.)

The United States Coast Guard is the only armed force charged with law enforcement. Created by Congress in 1790 as the Revenue Cutter Service, its initial primary responsibility was to enforce customs regulations. Gradually through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its mission evolved to encompass additional duties. In 1915 President Woodrow Wilson signed into law an act creating the United States Coast Guard by combining the Revenue Cutter Service and the Lifesaving Service. On the eve of World War Two, Congress added supervision of light houses to the Coast Guard, and since that time the organization has attained other responsibilities including a variety of inspectional and enforcement tasks. Noble's well-crafted book examines the Coast Guard's recent, ongoing, and difficult role in the "War on Human Smuggling."

As Noble points out, "From 1794 to 1980, the known numbers of undocumented migrants trying to reach the United States via the sea remained relatively small so policing the traffic of undocumented migrants was never a primary mission of the service" (2-3). This situation, however, altered dramatically as a result of upheavals in Cuba and Haiti. In the spring of 1980 Fidel Castro opened the port of Mariel, thus beginning the Mariel Boatlift. By early summer of that year, thousands of Cubans were landing in southern Florida. The government in Washington was caught completely unprepared. Operating without clear directives, the Coast Guard did all it could to assist nearly 125,000 people in the space of less than six months. The combination of Castro's cynicism in allowing his

own people to risk their lives crossing to Florida and the American government's vacillating and feckless policies placed the service in an unenviable position. Through personal interviews with those involved, ashore and afloat, Noble paints a vivid and emotional picture of desperate refugees imperiled at sea, and the young (mostly) men and women of the Coast Guard struggling to assist them.

While the Cuban plight is pitiful, no Caribbean country has a longer history of poverty and oppression than the troubled island nation of Haiti. Political oppression, civil wars, and natural disasters have worked misery on the Haitian people. Increasing political instability in Haiti during the 1980s, virtually continuing to the present, sent thousands of Haitians towards the United States. Boarding local sailing craft called *yolas*, Haitians set out on the treacherous 750 mile crossing towards Florida. Packed tight, in one case 215 people on a 45 foot vessel, these migrants faced incredible odds. Untold numbers were lost at sea while others intercepted by the Coast Guard were, in most cases, returned home. U.S. policy and public opinion in regard to Haitian refugees differed remarkably from that directed towards fleeing Cubans. Notwithstanding politics and policy in Washington, the Coast Guard again performed admirably. In a particularly poignant moment, the captain of the *Dallas* described the scene when he received orders to return a boatload of Haitians to their country. "The crew was very upset. A junior officer came [to me] in tears, asking did they have to take them back... I took out my ID card and held it up to her and said 'Until I am given an unlawful order, I serve at the pleasure of the President. We have been given an order and we will carry it out' " (84).

Although on a lesser scale, the Coast Guard has also confronted the challenge of undocumented Chinese migrants. Here, however, the problem is slightly different. Whereas most of the Cubans and Haitians attempt entry into the United States on their own or with the help of relatives, undocumented Chinese are the victims of vicious "snakeheads," criminals who recruit and smuggle migrants into America, extorting horrendous fees in the process. Most often slipping their victims into shipping containers where air, food and sanitation were scarce, on occasion they were even bold enough to actually pack an entire vessel with their human cargo. While the Pacific Coast was their usual destination, the East Coast has also seen activity, most famously in 1993 when the *Golden Venture* ran aground on a beach near New York City carrying nearly 300 undocumented Chinese, men, women and children.

As a retired chief petty officer, Noble brings to this topic a special expertise, but personal experience alone does not account for this fine piece of work. Noble has taken on the skills of an historian and through personal interviews, careful research and skilled writing he has crafted an important story, one that continues to unfold around us. It is a credit to the men and women serving in the Coast Guard that they are able to perform their duties at the highest standards of professionalism while never losing sight of the humanitarian disaster confronting them.

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Images of America: Lost Orlando. By Stephanie Gaub Antequino and Tana Porter on behalf of the Historical Society of Central Florida. (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012. Acknowledgements, photographs. Pp. 128, \$21.99, paper.)

Orlando, Florida's largest inland city, may be the least known of our nation's well-known locales. Tourists from Timbuktu to Toronto associate "Orlando" with Walt Disney World, but they never see the actual city. To them, Orlando means the sprawl of hotels, outlet malls, and restaurants that cater to conventioners and Mouseketeers. Even residents often assume that Orlando had no history "B.D."—Before Disney.

The city, in fact, boasts a long history (by Florida standards), some of which can be confirmed by bricks and mortar. But, as this appropriately titled volume makes clear, Orlandoans' continual push for "progress" created a constant cycle of building, tearing down, and rebuilding again, especially in the city's historic downtown—a pattern that removed much physical evidence of how the city grew from its nineteenth-century roots.

If much of the historical Orlando has been lost, we do have some fascinating photographs of its shape and form, many of which are presented in this volume.

Lost Orlando comes to readers bearing the boundaries required by its publisher. It is part of Arcadia Publishing's "Images of America" series—actually a sub-series that presents photos of vanished architecture. (Other volumes include "Lost Dallas," "Lost Galveston," "Lost Hartford," and so on). By definition, the focus is on what's gone rather than what survives.

Such a book must take the shape of the publisher's format, which embodies both Arcadia's strengths and the limitations of its books. Beginning in 1993, this Charleston-based publisher has succeeded in publishing short-run compilations of archival photos by using the same format for all its books. Advances in digital scanning and restoration of photos have helped, too.

If readers, including this one, would love to see these rare photos sprawled across a coffee-table-sized volume, where we could revel in their details, we must also be grateful to have them available at all, at an affordable price.

One more note about Arcadia: Its "Images" books vary considerably according to the quality of the photo collection presented and the depth of knowledge of the authors. In the case of *Lost Orlando*, the pictures and captions are top-notch.

What's remarkable about these photos is not how few but how many the book presents, especially of early Orlando, a city with a population of only 85 in 1875. That number mushroomed to 2,000 by 1886, during Orlando's first, railroad-driven boom.

Of six chapters, organized chronologically, the first three focus on the city before the 1920s, the decade when Orlando experienced the immense boom that produced many of its older schools and homes.

From the Historical Society of Central Florida's collection at the Orange County Regional History Center, Antequino (the museum's photo archivist), and Porter (recently retired as its research librarian), have culled seldom-seen images of a frontier crossroads and its transformation into an urban center.

Readers with an interest in Orlando's past may have seen, for example, one of the images of the 1875 wooden courthouse in this volume (14). But this reader, at least, has never seen the other picture on the page: an early 1890s image of the courthouse being moved to a new life as part of the Tremont Hotel (also vanished).

This is the courthouse that played such a crucial role in Central Florida's history. When cattle baron Jacob Summerlin offered \$10,000 to pay for it, he stymied Henry Sanford's bid to move the county seat to his river town of Sanford.

The image of the wooden courthouse in transit shows it shoe-horned next to the turreted Rogers Building, then a social club for English settlers and an Orlando treasure that does survive. In the photograph, bystanders gaze at the camera near a horse and wagon. It is the kind of image that makes the past come alive in ways that often elude written description.

In this book's format, the authors had two opportunities to supplement the pictures with words: a three-page introduction and substantial captions for the photos, which are mostly presented two to a page. Antequino and Porter have served readers well in both. Porter's introduction deftly summarizes Orlando's build-and-rebuild saga, and the information-packed captions display the authors' considerable research, aided by volunteer Clayton Phillips.

In *Lost Orlando*, the authors have delved deeply into property records, maps, and other sources and have told us much about the lost buildings depicted and their locations.

Folks interested in Orlando's early history, for example, may have seen references or even a picture of the Summerlin Hotel, owned by the same Jacob whose influence proved so great in Orlando's early years. But here the authors make clear its location near Lake Eola.

The prevalence of such hotels among the images in *Lost Orlando* offers evidence that, long before Walt dreamed of his famous world, Orlandoans looked to seasonal visitors for a good chunk of their incomes. And though much of the architecture that shaped the early city is indeed lost, much remains, particularly in the city's Historic Preservation districts and National Register Historic Districts that, like this book, reveal a rich history "B.D."

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Orlando, Florida

The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture Volume 19: Violence. Edited by Amy Louise Wood. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xviii, 320. \$24.95 paper.)

The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture is a joint venture of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture of the University of Mississippi and the University of North Carolina Press. Its present form is a revision of the original encyclopedia published in 1989 as a single volume cultural examination of the region. The original version was highly praised, and rightfully so, as an invaluable source for comprehending the complicated history of the South. The latest version of the reference work continues and expands this legacy in its own right by combining the latest in southern history scholarship while making the information accessible to the general reader.

The *New Encyclopedia* is divided into twenty four separate volumes based on the major thematic parts of the first encyclopedia, such as "Art and Architecture," "Media," and "Law and Politics."

The volume under review here, 19, deals with violence and is edited by Amy Louise Wood. In her brief but informative introductory essay, Wood provides an insightful outline of the historiography on violence in the South and makes the argument that violence "was at the core of a southern social order based on stark class and especially racial hierarchies, the maintenance of which depended upon force and aggression" (3). The second part of the volume is forty four thematic articles which provide perceptive overviews of manifestations of violence from arson to militarism to vigilantism. For the most part the articles are quality work, but vary in length from five pages to five paragraphs. Many historians will be glad to see the inclusion of Native Americans in the encyclopedia. The article by Theda Perdue and Christina Snyder on violence perpetrated against Indians sketches the periods of white-Indian contact from the expedition of Hernando De Soto to the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and how different forms of brutality in these eras affected Native Americans. The third part of the volume consists of fifty-eight shorter topical and biographical entries that provide basic information on a range of topics from the Battle of the Alamo to the assassination of Huey Long. Located at the end of each article and entry is a short bibliography. The articles are connected methodologically by an analysis of the different manifestations of violence beyond just physical attacks on individuals. Some articles, such as those on church burnings and arson, explore the psychological ramifications violence had on its victims, while the article on suicide discusses how race, class, and gender interacted to create multiple meanings of suicide in the region.

As with any reference work, especially with one that possesses an ambitious purpose such as examining violence, some readers may disagree about the inclusion or exclusion of particular topics and entries. Readers will be glad to see the incorporation of the latest historical scholarship over the last twenty years with new articles on black armed resistance, lynching, and antiabortion violence, just to name a few. Individuals interested in Florida history will find references to the state in numerous entries, and a new entry solely dedicated to the 1923 attack on the mostly black town of Rosewood. Some readers, however, may be disappointed that culturally and politically significant events from the upper South such as the

Black Patch Wars, which helped to weaken the monopolistic grip of the American Tobacco Company in western Kentucky and Tennessee, and the murder of Governor William Goebel of Kentucky, the only U.S. governor to ever be assassinated while in office, are only briefly mentioned in the entries on "Memory" and "Political Violence," respectively.

Of course violence was not an experience particular to the South, but some types of violence were more prevalent in the region and possessed distinguishing features. In this case, the articles and entries primarily focus on interracial violence that has punctuated the history and culture of the South. Whites committed beatings, lynchings, and other acts of political and social violence against blacks that served as communal rituals, solidified Confederate identity and shaped ideas of masculinity. The articles pertaining to violence committed against Native Americans and Mexican Americans illustrate that white supremacy was not built only on white on black violence. Violence against blacks, Indians, and immigrants sustained white supremacy in the South until the nonviolent protests of the civil rights movement exposed this brutal foundation of American society to the world.

Violence, as examined in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, provides a prism for southern culture and history to be viewed holistically and singularly. With well written and insightful entries, this volume adeptly navigates various forms of violence to illustrate the unique and complex culture of the American South. Collectively, the essays complement each other and serve as a useful resource for both obtaining the basic facts and historiographies of topics. This volume will make a fine addition to any university's collection of works on southern history.

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Key West on the Edge: Inventing the Conch Republic. By Robert Kerstein. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. Acknowledgements, appendix, notes, bibliography, illustrations, map, index. Pp. vii, 368. \$32.95 cloth.)

Robert Kerstein has produced a well-researched and very readable analysis of the role mass tourism plays in Key West, Florida. Kerstein, a professor of government at the University of Tampa,

offers detailed discussions of the ongoing debates over tourism's impact on the island community and clear explanations of the complex interplay between local politicians and tourism boosters. His book emphasizes contemporary Key West, as the first five chapters sum up the island's history from 1821 to 1970, and the final eight chapters examine events since 1970 in greater detail. *Key West on the Edge* can be seen as two books in one, and while both halves offer clear writing based on solid research, the majority of new information and insights are found in the thematic chapters on the modern era.

Kerstein's overview of Key West's first 150 years provides background information to set up the more in-depth chapters that follow. The early chapters offer a condensed synthesis of the island's history before the emergence of mass tourism. Kerstein, a political scientist, seems more interested in analyzing how the past explains the present, and less interested in demonstrating that nineteenth-century and twentieth-century Key West were very different worlds. Thus, the early chapters discuss the completion of transportation infrastructure such as Flagler's railroad in 1912 and the Overseas Highway in 1938 because they would shape tourism. In contrast, wrecking, sponge fishing, and turtle fishing are covered very quickly, and slavery and emancipation are barely mentioned. Paying more attention to the unique maritime economy and culture that existed before mass tourism would have allowed for deeper insights into the changes created by the collapse of this way of life and the rise of a tourist economy.

The heart of the book lies in the analysis of contemporary Key West. A series of thematic chapters explore ongoing issues such as "The Politics of Tourism and Development," "Shelter for the Labor Force?" and "The Gay Community and the Transformation of Key West." These chapters provide in-depth explorations of issues such as the use of tourist tax revenues to advertise for more tourists and the gentrification of once-affordable neighborhoods. Kerstein offers a wealth of information about the interactions between Key West's City Commission, its colorful mayors, the Chamber of Commerce, varied tourism booster organizations, and grassroots groups that questioned tourism's constant growth. He provides valuable summaries of battles over the image of Duval Street and Mallory Square, the rising number of cruise ships, the increasing presence of wealthy seasonal residents, and the shortage of affordable housing. Kerstein is to be commended for his clear explanations of the

changes in local real estate policies and real estate markets, and for his detailed analysis of the important roles played by gay men and lesbians in shaping modern Key West.

These thematic chapters and a short conclusion bring the story up to 2011, leaving the reader with the question of whether mass tourism, cruise ships, the real estate boom, and the lack of affordable housing have made it impossible for a community of artists and eccentrics to continue. These are real challenges, but the message that Key West faces ruin right now should be examined. Ernest Hemingway first declared that tourism had destroyed the island's charm in the 1930s, and writers in every decade since then have argued that they knew the golden era of Key West, but now it is ending. The book's title, *Key West on the Edge*, carries this sense of crisis, and suggests that the core message is about Key West today, rather than about the island's past (The subtitle, *Inventing the Conch Republic*, is problematic for a different reason—a 2009 article published in this journal and cited by Kerstein used the exact same title). Kerstein explores the island's current controversies in depth, but could do more to examine important continuities across the twentieth century.

Kerstein sets up a chronological divide in Key West's history with the 1970s as the pivot point, based on his view that Key West did not truly become a tourist town until the late 1970s and early 1980s. To support this chronology, he highlights the first Fantasy Fest celebration in 1979, the creation of the Tourist Development Council funded by a tax on tourists in 1981, and the mock secession of the Conch Republic from the United States in 1982. These were major events, but the late 1950s and the 1960s also saw important tourism milestones, such as the creation of the Conch Train tours, the Old Island Restoration Foundation, the Key West Art Center, the Hemingway House, the lighthouse museum, and the Pier House Hotel. Some might question giving events since 1970 so much weight when tourism became a central part of Key West life in the 1930s, and continued to play a major role during the Cold War years. It would be particularly valuable to expand the brief discussion of the federal government's efforts to convert the destitute island to tourism during the Great Depression. Deeper analysis of Julius Stone, FERA, New Deal policies, and efforts to discuss non-local players such as the cruise ship industry would enrich the book.

Key West on the Edge is a clearly written analysis of the challenges that modern Key West faces due to its reliance on tourism. More

efforts could be made to establish a deeper historical context, and to compare Key West with other tourist destinations that package their history, as this broader frame would create opportunities to explore the changing nature of American tourism across the twentieth century. But *Key West on the Edge* succeeds in telling a richly detailed local story about the tensions between mass tourism and the island community's culture. Kerstein's in-depth examinations of the interplay between public officials, tourism boosters, and critics of mass tourism reveal the complex ways that Key West's residents have fought to shape the island community.

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Realizing Tomorrow: The Path to Private Spaceflight. By Chris Dubbs and Emeline Paat-Dahlstrom. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 299. \$34.95 cloth.)

Should spaceflight in the United States be dominated by government organizations and controlled by the priorities of national policy or should it be a commercial activity undertaken by private firms engaged in profit making? That is an important question and most assuredly one worthy of exploration. I had hoped this book would treat this theme; but instead it is history written for advocacy about the virtues of private spaceflight versus the ineffectiveness of government programs. Chris Dubbs and Emeline Paat-Dahlstrom have presented here a rosy, once-over-lightly history of commercial space activities from the earliest days of the space age to the present. Those satisfied with such a work will be rewarded by *Realizing Tomorrow: The Path to Private Spaceflight*.

The authors begin with a discussion of the cult-like activities of Gerard O'Neill and his plans for creating colonies in space. He insisted in the 1970s that the possibilities for human colonies in free space seemed limitless, as he calculated the technical issues of energy, land area, size and shape, atmosphere, gravitation, and sunlight necessary to sustain a colony in an artificial living space. Rather than live on the outside of a planet, settlers could live on the inside of gigantic cylinders or spheres of roughly one-half to a few miles in each dimension. These would hold a breathable atmosphere, all the ingredients necessary for sustaining crops and life,

and include rotating habitats to provide artificial gravity. While the human race might eventually build millions of these space colonies, each settlement would of necessity be an independent biosphere with trees and lakes and blue skies spotted with clouds. In these places all oxygen, water, waste, and other materials could be recycled endlessly. Animals and plants endangered on Earth would thrive on these cosmic arks; insect pests would be left behind. Solar power, directed into each colony by huge mirrors, would provide a constant source of nonpolluting energy. Enthusiasm for this possibility prompted many to embrace spaceflight as something everyone would eventually engage in, and lead humanity to settlements throughout the cosmos.

O'Neill was an iconoclast, but no more so than Robert Truax, the rocketeer who believed he could build a commercial rocket that would open the space frontier to everyone. Truax, a career Navy officer, had worked briefly with Robert Goddard during World War II on rocket technology and then went on to lead the American Rocket Society and pursue a succession of rocket development efforts. In 1966 he founded Truax Engineering and pursued design work on a sea launch concept, as well as other rockets over the years. He never got very far with these efforts, although he did build the rocket used by Evel Knievel in his attempted jump of the Snake River Canyon.

These are mere preludes to the bulk of *Realizing Tomorrow*, which focuses on the efforts beginning in the 1990s to advance private space activities. Unlike the stories of O'Neill and Truax, some of those later efforts have proven successful, if only modestly. There is a lot of *Sturm und Drang* about these efforts, but thus far the accomplishments have been modest. In the remainder of this book, authors Dubbs and Paat-Dahlstrom emphasize the rise of entrepreneurial rocket companies, space tourism organizations, the X-prize and the flight of SpaceShipOne in 2004, and possibilities for the future.

The tone throughout this book is hopeful, suggesting that there is a straight line path from early ideas to the success that they believe is on the verge of being realized. A handful of key events provide the skeleton on which to hang this optimism. The first is the enticing of Russia to support entrepreneurial space activities and selling seats on Soyuz spacecraft to space tourists. The first of these tourists was Dennis Tito, who gained fame in 2001 for flying to the International Space Station over the objection of NASA.

Since then there have been six additional paying space tourists, each contributing more than \$20 million toward their flights. At that price tag, the market for this form of tourism is limited.

A second hopeful event was the 2004 flight of SpaceShipOne which took the Ansari X-Prize as the first privately developed vehicle to fly into suborbital space twice within two weeks. This unleashed a wave of investment to build suborbital space tourism vehicles and Virgin Galactic Inc.'s SpaceShipTwo may fly in the near term, according to the authors. This passenger vehicle would be carried to high altitude by a carrier aircraft, and then launched for a quick ballistic flight above 100 kilometers (the "official" beginning of space). In the next few years there seems good reason to believe that sub-orbital space tourism will become a reality, according to Dubbs and Paat-Dahlstrom. What also seems clear, but is less well-explored in this book, is that space tourism for the foreseeable future will remain the province of wealthy thrill-seekers, essentially the same class as those who climb Mount Everest, rather than the masses who dominate the current \$600+ billion per year tourism industry. A tiny elite of multi-millionaires may continue to fly aboard Soyuz capsules to Earth's orbit, but the reality is that orbital space tourism is many decades away absent a major breakthrough in space access. Until that happens, we will be able to count the number of orbital space tourists on our fingers for years to come.

The authors also make much of SpaceX's efforts to develop new launch vehicles that will lower the cost of space access. This company, the creation of Elon Musk, according to the authors, challenges the normative approach to space transportation and may well open the space frontier to many more players. They also emphasize Robert Bigelow's efforts to develop inflatable orbital habitats, two of which has been launched and tested.

Realizing Tomorrow makes the case that the United States is on an inevitable path toward greater access to space and a blossoming of activities in Earth's orbit. Dubbs and Paat-Dahlstrom offer an overall Panglossian version of what has been taking place, that we live in the best of all possible worlds and that it is getting better all the time, forecasting a bright future for private human spaceflight. This development will increase opportunities for tourism, which takes up the bulk of their book, for research, or for other activities. There is little skepticism recorded in any of this, despite the fact that these efforts are being viewed with considerable skepticism by many in the space community. One may believe that this skepti-

cism is predicated on outmoded thinking and twentieth century norms and is therefore easily dismissed. But one may just as easily conclude that those skeptical are reflecting their knowledge of just how hard it is to build and operate these space technologies.

Moreover, skeptics will confide that they have seen so much of this before. In addition to O'Neill's stillborn colonies in space or Truax's new rockets, a succession of efforts in the 1990s also failed and has prompted caution in believing hyperbole. During that period, initiatives aimed at opening the space frontier to a much broader community included updated versions of existing rockets such as Lockheed Martin's Atlas, Orbital Sciences Corporation's Pegasus XL and Taurus rockets, and the Boeing Company's Delta 3. Those were successful redesigns but they did not open greater opportunities for larger numbers of people to engage in space activities. Private entrepreneurs also emerged: Kelly Space and Technology's Astroliner, Rotary Rocket Company's Roton, Kistler Aerospace Corporation's K-1, and Beal Aerospace's BA-2 rocket all vied to capture a share of the space access market. None proved successful and all folded.

This book provides a reasonable overview of its subject, but one far too optimistic for what has been accomplished thus far. In this sense it is less a work of history than a work of advocacy. It offers usable discussions about some of the key breakthroughs in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries made by a range of American entrepreneurs and engineers with a vision of spaceflight democratized beyond government programs and narrow elites. Even so, the overview offered here is a history of nascent triumphalism. It offers a narrowly linear process of space technology and policy development to the very great exclusion of any social or cultural factors that might be at play. There is little of the obscurity of choices or trial and error that might have enriched this story.

No doubt, *Realizing Tomorrow* will be satisfying to many within the space community. It is a massively complex, important topic, one that arguably marks the most significant transition for spaceflight in America in the last twenty years. But this book falls short as a scholarly analysis; the topic deserves more serious investigation.

Roger D. Launius

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