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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

The Rogue Republic: How Would-Be Patriots Waged the Shortest Revolution in American History. By William C. Davis. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt, 2011. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xv, 295. \$28.00 cloth.)

The West Florida Republic existed for seventy-eight days in 1810 and 1811. Its subsequent incorporation into the United States represented a major geo-strategic victory for the Madison Administration. Local Anglo Americans in West Florida (now the eastern parishes of Louisiana) took it upon themselves to separate this remote and wild coastal region of the Gulf of Mexico from the waning Spanish Empire. The West Floridians helped solidify the grip of the United States on the Louisiana Territory and they provided an American beachhead for future expansion into the Caribbean and the Southwest. Less important but more famous, West Floridians left a symbol to posterity: the Bonnie Blue Flag. Civil War historian William C. Davis's additions to modern Civil War historiography no doubt led him to research the origins of a symbol so vocally claimed by the Confederacy. Although Davis asserts that the West Florida Republic's legacy held little impact for secessionists in the antebellum South, the American absorption of this former Spanish territory in 1811 allowed settlers to colonize in relative security. They brought their families and property. More ominously, they brought slaves, the quickest way to make money in the Old Southwest.

Reuben Kemper, the chief instigator of the revolt, is introduced as a tall, strong, bronzed Presbyterian flatboatman. Devout,

ambitious, and surprisingly well educated, Kemper fulfilled the Turnerian stereotype. Instead of pursuing the quiet existence of the ideal yeoman, Kemper headed south from Cincinnati into the last remaining vestiges of the Spanish Empire east of the Mississippi River. There he ran a store. Like many Americans, he placed himself under the protection of the Spanish Crown. Legal disputes among Anglo Americans set the stage for the creation of West Florida, but Davis notes that the disputes did not mean that Spanish authorities were unjust or harmful to commerce. A lively slave-economy existed in West Florida's pre-American days, and Spanish legal institutions often proved more just than their American successors. The Creole population in and around Baton Rouge, while perhaps not always enthusiastic about their metropolitan overlords in Madrid, remained loyal to the local Spanish governor. Incoming American settlers overstated the Spanish administration's inefficiency. More Anglo Americans like Reuben Kemper, interested in quick profiteering, settled in West Florida. The ostensible spark that ignited the rebellion came when Spanish justice failed to provide an adequate settlement between Reuben Kemper and John Smith, a Baptist minister from Virginia accused of non-payment for goods. But the real reason lay in the marginal ability of Americans like Kemper to force their will on the Spanish authorities.

Davis's analysis of the actual struggle between Spain and colonists in West Florida includes a mixture of diplomatic, military and economic history. For example, he argues that Louisiana Governor William Claiborne actively sought to keep West Florida's settlers from derailing the tentative peace between the United States and Spain. The diplomatic disagreements that existed proved to be little more than annoyances, such as the construction of roads through the other party's territory without permission. Presidents Jefferson and Madison kept a watchful eye on the situation in Louisiana and Florida, but neither sought a confrontation with Spain over the region. The revolution itself proved to be an overstated event. Spain continued to rule West Florida but settlers reconfigured the civil courts. The result was a court system that looked not surprisingly like that of the United States. Anglo Americans counted on the support of Creoles from Louisiana, Guadalupe, and San Domingue (Haiti). While not always enthusiastic about consorting with Americans, the Francophone Creoles viewed Britain as their main enemy. Spain's

alliance with Britain during the concurrent Napoleonic Wars thus ensured the cooperation of a significant portion of Florida's residents.

West Florida emerges as a vital part of the burgeoning plantation South in the work. The West Floridians' political conversations, both official and unofficial, revolved around the normal issues pertaining to Anglo settlement in the region. Slavery, commercial freedom, all enormously influential in the social and economic life of the Gulf Coast, worked their way into the debates these would-be patriots engaged in. Slavery, as always, seemed more benign than it actually was. Although not yet a part of the southern plantation belt, West Florida was definitely and unapologetically a slave-driven economy. In one of the more prominent locales addressed by Davis, Bayou Sara, over half of the population labored in human bondage. Davis's work echoes the historiography of scholars, such as Allan Nevins, John Hope Franklin, William Freehling, and Bertram Wyatt-Brown who saw the South in varying degrees as not a slave-owning extension of the United States but as a culture wholly different altogether.

A history of West Florida's momentary independence is welcome, and Davis delivers his history with his customary detail and commitment to rigorous scholarship. His notes run to eighty-six pages. *Rogue Republic* stands alone, but one finds a similar thread of creolization in his earlier histories of piracy and of the Confederacy. Davis's South, in the Jeffersonian Era and later during the antebellum period and the Civil War, truly became a plantation aristocracy that resembled Europe in more ways than one. Scholars such as Frank Owsley Jr. and Gene Smith argued that Jefferson's (and subsequently Madison's) expansionism in the Gulf formed part of a national, and not sectional, march across the North American continent. Yeomen served as the catalyst for Jefferson's continental vision. But West Florida, according to Davis, eventually transformed into the abode of stately plantations and great houses where planter millionaires resided in splendor. The increasing importance of the historiography of the Gulf lends further importance to Davis's work. Adam Rothman, Robert May and Matthew Pratt Guterl have offered compelling histories of the Gulf. Davis's account of West Florida is no exception.

Miles Smith

Texas Christian University

Osceola and the Great Seminole War: A Struggle for Justice and Freedom. By Thom Hatch. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. x, 336. \$27.99 cloth.)

The aura of sensationalism has followed Osceola ever since the young Maskóki warrior first came to the attention of Anglo-Americans in the 1830s. With the publication of this newest book, the evolution of sensationalism has now approached the two-century mark. As with the essence of all works of its kind, this latest violates the boundary between fact and fiction, with such a fluidity that the author seems neither to notice nor to regard the transition.

The author is accurate when he reports that Osceola's title (which he mistakes for a "name") and short but brilliant life and exploits deserve to be even better known than they are. He is sadly mistaken, however, in believing that playing fast and loose with facts will somehow make the warrior's short life and exploits greater than reality already has. Completely unfamiliar with southeastern American Indian history, and obviously attached to Andrew Jackson (37 per cent of his bibliographic entries are on his life, whether or not they relate to the Seminole Wars of Removal) and the U.S. expansionism of the early nineteenth century, the author has created a patchwork of accuracies and inaccuracies that cannot do other than confuse any serious reader.

His disproportionate interest in U.S. military history, as opposed to his lack of knowledge of southeastern American Indian cultural history leads him to accept all sources uncritically, such as the words of Coe (*not* an historian), Cohen (a gossip), and the Hartleys (blatant romanticists). The resulting errors that abound, both factual and interpretational, are far too numerous to cite instance by instance. Some are straightforward and obvious, e.g., "By the time of de Soto's landing on the islands of coastal Georgia..." (7), rather than at the Bay of Espiritu Santo, today's Tampa Bay. Others involve endnotes that are not accurate or interpretations enhanced hyperbolically. With all of these errors in fact and interpretation, the attitude of the author toward accuracy becomes all too apparent.

He relates the Muskogean language "most closely to the Choc-taw," rather than vice versa (7). Then, "The earliest Native language in Florida was Mikasuki" (29). Such a sad inaccuracy is yet another example of a failure to know the subject. The Native languages

spoken in what is now Florida were numerous and have been the subject of much responsible research, from Swanton to Hann to Milanich to Granberry and others and certainly were spoken for at least a thousand years, possibly, before Hitchiti (only later known as "Mikasuki") developed. With such an uninformed statement the author casually elides thousands of years of Native occupation across Florida and the lower Southeast.

He cites Osceola as having ordered a "nighttime assault" that the author calls "remarkable" (155) despite hundreds of years of Maskókî warfare tradition, and carelessly combines General Richard Keith Call and General Duncan Clinch as General "Duncan Call (177)." Later, a character named Otis Shiver becomes "Shriver" (239)—a simple mistake, but an obvious example of another failure to pay attention. He tells readers that from the moment when Osceola was "invited" to drink black drink at the Green Corn ceremony, he "preferred the new name that allowed him to sever ties with the Creek [*sic*] and establish himself as a member of the Seminole Tribe of Florida Territory" (45). There simply is no excuse for such a completely irrational statement. Even the author's bald statement that the capture of Osceola under a white flag of truce was the first such instance in the war (210-211) ignores General Jesup's use of exactly the same ploy to capture other Indians a mere month earlier. In the instance of the escape of some of the Indian prisoners from Fort Marion on November 29, 1837, the author completely invents a scenario that bears no relation to documented information at all (223-224).

Possibly the most egregious example of this unhistorical attitude, however, is its basic presentation of Osceola as having been the sole promulgator of the seven-year conflict known to history as the Second Seminole War (99, *et passim*)—a myth which I, after almost twenty years of research and writing and working with the descendants themselves, have fought hard to dispel. This untenable position perpetuates cultural arrogance by eliding the spirit and sacrifices of several thousand other southeastern Indians who were the passionate actors—*not* victims—in this greatest conflict of the first full half of the first full century of our nation's history. Many had far greater claims to a position of leadership than did Billy Powell/Asen yahola, regardless of the way in which white people chose to see him. Further, such an assertion alternately ignores and misrepresents the culture and social systems of the very people for whom it pretends to advance an apologia. Such an unrealistic

removal of the Indians from the path of white settlement and development has provided all non-Indian Americans who have come since with the very *tabula rasa* defense so vital to our own sociocentric national mythology.

As a consequence, even beyond all of these cavils, ultimately this book is yet another victimology, misguidedly disguised as praise, and produced only three quarters of a century after reputable social scientists have ceased to view the interactions of American Indians and Europeans as such. Osceola is, per the title, fighting for justice and freedom. At the same time, and as but one small example, his execution of Charley Emathla is represented as "vicious" (98) and "cold blooded" (98). This is hardly the only instance of such moral ambiguity.

The author has included myself, John Mahon, and Frank Laufer in his Bibliography. He does not, however, seem to have read our books very closely or, at least, to have reached any understanding of the information except, of course, to borrow information liberally without attributions.

Osceola deserves fame—not merely notoriety, but he deserves reality above all. From the standpoint of readers who know nothing of southeastern history, American Indian or EuroAmerican, of any era, this may seem to be the exciting story that the author set out to write. From the standpoint of southeastern readers, however, more sophisticated and conversant with its antecedents, too many errors and too much hyperbole spoil the effect. If you are considering buying this book because you think it represents history, don't.

Patricia Riles Wickman

Hollywood, Florida

The Cana Sanctuary: History, Diplomacy, and Black Catholic Marriage in Antebellum St. Augustine, Florida. By Frank Marotti. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

Frank Marotti's book *The Cana Sanctuary: History, Diplomacy, and Black Catholic Marriage in Antebellum St. Augustine, Florida* enters the historiography of Florida, the South, and African Americans at a time when race has re-emerged as a hot-button topic in American society and politics. As its pages are being perused by scholars and others, seemingly plausible arguments continue to circulate

that much of African American history stands more for political correctness than for verifiable heritage. Within the historical profession, a less-strident but nonetheless equally unfortunate and invalid assertion persists. It is all right, its proponents accept, to ignore or virtually ignore African American history in writing that of Florida, the South, and the Nation because, whatever the history may have been, sufficient credible sources cannot be located upon which to base rigorous analysis and understanding.

In challenging these fallacious concepts head on, Marotti joins other distinguished students of Florida's African American experience who, during the past two decades, have presented outstanding scholarship grounded firmly in creative and dogged research. With apologies to those not named, I specifically would cite Jane Landers, Daniel Schafer, and Canter Brown in this regard. Each has pressed his or her inquiries far beyond the range previously accepted as the bounds of available source material. Marotti can be included in this group. In his case, he has scoured local and state sources for St. Augustine and St. Johns County with a fine toothed comb. Even more spectacularly, he has discovered in the National Archives a previously untapped trove of material pertinent to Florida's early nineteenth-century saga. Primarily, his research treasure consists of hundreds of rich claims adjudication files related to losses sustained during the Patriot War of 1812-1813, including those asserted by black *Floridanos*.

As the reader quickly will discern, the bulk of the book's 164 pages of narrative is given over to analysis of East Florida immediately prior to the Patriot War and to the personal and general impact of the war on the region's Spanish subjects, including free and enslaved blacks. Utilizing detailed information to a degree previously considered unobtainable, Marotti argues that East Florida in 1811 amounted to a highly lucrative economic engine fueled by logging, milling, agriculture, cattle, and slave smuggling (readers experienced in such materials may look doubtfully upon the enthusiastic reading of claims affidavits). The author then articulates the immense destructive force that the Patriots unleashed in the colony's northeastern section. So profound was the mayhem that its effects, good and bad as it turned out, endured for decades. What had appeared earlier to some as a failed, if brutal, takeover attempt backed by President James Madison's Machiavellian designs, seems in the pages of *The Cana Sanctuary* to have been more of an efficient marauding expedition aimed at wholesale larceny. Per-

haps some future historian will take a cue to determine the degree to which wealth enjoyed by settlers in territorial Florida and nearby Georgia directly resulted from slaves and other property pilfered by Patriots.

That a considerable portion of the narrative speaks directly to and of the experiences of whites poses no obstacle for the author, who avers that "one cannot separate slaves' histories from those of slaveholders" (8). Be that as it may, Marotti takes pains to address important issues of agency (i.e., diplomacy) growing out of the colonial experience of some black Floridians in the 1830s and 1840s. He delineates the numerous paths by which these individuals carved some protection or, at least, flexibility for themselves and loved ones in an increasingly rigid and racist society by building upon institutional connections and shared experiences across racial lines, including very much the bonds that emerged out of the immense trauma of the Patriot War. Readers will appreciate that, in connection with various aspects of the agency discussion, the book does not fail to address issues of gender as well as of race.

The title, *The Cana Sanctuary*, arises directly from the possibilities of agency inherent in the institution of marriage as nurtured in Spanish Florida and translated to some extent into the fabric of territorial and antebellum Florida. Spain recognized marriage between slaves, and the Roman Catholic Church institutionalized and ritualized it. As the years passed following cession to the United States, Roman Catholic (and some Episcopal) slaves found themselves able to resist and even undermine slavery's strictures by marrying in a formalized manner that stood in defiance of law. The numbers may have been small, Marotti posits, but the solid wall of chattel slavery and owners' property rights nonetheless stood breached for all to see.

Marotti's closing chapter examines an important Roman Catholic-related historical theme that, it could be argued, counters his assertions regarding the church's abetting of slave agency. Particularly, he endeavors to rehabilitate the reputation of Bishop Jean-Pierre Augustin Marcellin Verot, a prelate whose pro-Confederate preachings circulated throughout old Dixie. Verot, Marotti insists, stood out defiantly against sexual exploitation of slave women in his most-famous pro-Confederate pronouncement. This laudable stance fails in this reviewer's mind, though, to justify the bishop's ardent scriptural and historical justification of chattel slavery and embrace of concepts of black inferiority.

Make no mistake, however, that *The Cana Sanctuary* serves valuable purposes and is a welcome addition to historiography. It is provocative, and some of its arguments surely will prompt vigorous challenges. That is as it should be. The outcome of those debates notwithstanding, Marotti has opened wide new vistas for early nineteenth-century Florida research and pointed directly and unequivocally at how pathfinding research can be utilized as a springboard for creative insight and analysis. We must hope for more good work from the same source.

Larry Eugene Rivers

Fort Valley State University

The Union War. By Gary W. Gallagher. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, notes, illustrations, index. Pp. 256. \$27.95 cloth.)

In the Antietam National Cemetery, a tall granite soldier overlooks hundreds of Union graves, neatly packed into tight rows. At the base of the monument, an inscription reads, "Not for themselves but for their county." For decades, historians have been actively debating what prompted thousands of men to enlist, fight and die in unprecedented numbers during the American Civil War. Yet, as Gary Gallagher argues in his provocative new study, historians have "diminished the centrality of Union" within the Civil War by focusing too much on slavery and emancipation (4).

Gallagher skillfully blends original research with some strong criticism of recent Civil War scholars. In his first chapter that examines the Grand Review of Union soldiers in Washington, D.C. at the conclusion of the Civil War, he takes issue with scholars who chastise Union officials for the absence of black soldiers. He does not see racism or discrimination present, as historians such as Terry Jones, William Holberton, Donald Shaffer and Elizabeth Leonard have argued. Instead, Gallagher points out that many black soldiers, with significant time left on their enlistments, ended up in Texas still serving in the army during the review. The emphasis on race and racial exclusion has trumped explorations of the Grand Review at a moment when citizen-soldiers and civilians trumpeted the preservation of the Union.

Readers should not interpret Gallagher to mean that slavery had nothing to do with the war; he fervently sees slavery as the cause of

the Civil War. Rather, he contends that northerners who marched off to war with Union on their minds have disappeared in recent studies on the meaning of the Civil War. Instead, historians have interpreted the Union as it existed in 1861, an entity that “scarcely deserved to be defended at the cost of any bloodshed” (35). Moreover, scholars assume that the Civil War only means something to northerners once the Lincoln administration tied emancipation to Union. Gallagher fervently disagrees, and chastises Harry Stout, Orville Vernon Burton, Melinda Lawson and Michael Fellman, among others, for failing to recognize that men fought for an idea that seems so vague and clouded by modern sensibilities. Americans living in the 1860s did not think about their world entirely through the lens of race, as scholars have indicated, and thus, the cause of Union emerges as a more likely contender for the motivating factor behind the enlistment of over a million men before the appearance of conscription. Lincoln routinely argued about the cause of Union, even as his political party, the Republicans, re-branded themselves the Union Party in time for the 1864 presidential election.

In order to prove the centrality of Union, Gallagher incorporates a wide variety of sources, including published letters, patriotic envelopes, archival collections at the Huntington Library in California and a private collection of letters. He also places a great amount of weight on regimental histories, as their authoring at the immediate conclusion of the war presented the writers a chance to immediately reflect on the meaning of the war. Gallagher also highlights patriotic songs that lyrically utilized Union to rally the men around the bonnie blue flag. Yet, historians have found ample evidence that places weight on emancipation in the minds of Union soldiers. He admits that with such a bounty of soldier’s testimony about the war, any scholar can “marshal support for virtually any argument” (61). However, the ultimate outcome of the war, with slavery crushed and the nation restored, has skewed the historical thinking of several historians, like Chandra Manning, according to Gallagher. At the same time, our memory of the war has shifted, as is evident in both the bounty of recent books on slavery and in the movie *Glory* (1989). The emancipationist memory of the war has fervently cemented itself in our popular imagination, even to the point of diminishing Lincoln from savior of the Union to the Great Emancipator. Gallagher also uses a fascinating example of a question for modern students in a curriculum guide that asks, “Which aim would you support: ‘Union’ or ‘freedom’?” (88).

Many northerners wanted an end to the war, whether slavery went with it or not. In fact, had it not been for the ineptitude of George McClellan at Antietam in 1862, Robert E. Lee's Confederate force may have been crushed without any major action taken against the institution of slavery. Northerners simply wanted a successful conclusion to the war and if the destruction of slavery worked as a catalyst in that direction, so be it. The home front closely monitored the actions of their soldiers and viewed them as representatives of the entire nation, solidifying notions of nationalism. Thus, leaders like Ulysses S. Grant, maligned by some scholars in the modern era, rose to excessive levels of popularity because they won the war and secured "the viability of the American republic" (133). Union armies, while securing the nation, also served as beacons to draw slaves towards freedom. Gallagher reminds his readers about the geography of emancipation and how Union armies deserve more credit in securing the freedom of enslaved Americans.

Gallagher's study raised a few questions in my mind. Was Union paramount to soldiers who enlisted after the passage of the preliminary emancipation proclamation? Did the emergence of emancipation as a secondary war aim send any Union soldiers back home who refused to support it? Did Union drive men to re-enlist, amidst unparalleled hardship and bouts of military failure? A review this brief can never do justice to the complexities of historical argument presented in this tightly packed book, as every page seems to enlighten the reader with new insights and strong historiographic criticism. Gallagher may not convince every scholar of the paramount importance of Union, especially amongst a generation of scholars who have positioned emancipation before Union. But he has delivered an important historical benchmark that all future scholars of the Civil War must take seriously.

Brian Craig Miller

Emporia State University

The Jackson County War: Reconstruction and Resistance in Post-Civil War Florida. By Daniel R. Weinfeld. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012. Acknowledgements, illustrations, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 224. \$29.95 cloth.)

Florida has a long storied record of racially charged violence, especially against African Americans, that dates back to the period

of slavery. These atrocities include St. Augustine's 1964 desegregation attacks, Jacksonville's 1960 "Ax Handle Saturday" riots, Mims's 1951 Christmas day murders of Harry and Harriett Moore, Lake County's 1949 "Groveland Four," Marianna's 1934 Claude Neal lynching and riot, as well as the 1923 Rosewood and 1920 Ocoee massacres. Such bloodshed, which earned Florida the dubious distinction of having the most lynchings per-capita in the nation between 1882 and 1930, were successors to the malice experienced in Jackson County between 1869 and 1871. This three-year period of heightened racial tension is the focus of a new book by Daniel R. Weinfeld titled *The Jackson County War: Reconstruction and Resistance in Post-Civil War Florida*.

Weinfeld commences his interpretation of events with a thorough historiographic overview on the topic. In a succinctly written introduction, Weinfeld reminds readers that since 1888 various historians have attempted to research and understand exactly what happened in Jackson County that resulted in so many lives being lost during this brief period.

In the spring of 1869, Jackson County, a rural area in north Florida whose seat is Marianna—located sixty-five miles west of the state capitol, Tallahassee—experienced multiple racially and politically motivated killings. The violence continued, at times unimpeded, until 1871. All told there were dozens, if not hundreds, of lives lost. The total number of deaths ranged from no less than 74 to as high as 184, most of the victims being African American women, men, and children. There were also "some whites affiliated with the Republican Party and a few white conservatives" who were murdered (xii). Charles H. Pearce, an African American state senator, offered a haunting description of the frightening environment as the place "where Satan has his seat; he reigns in Jackson County" (xii).

Many whites throughout the South were disillusioned after the Civil War defeat and simply refused to accept the new political and social realities. In Jackson County, they firmly believed in having a "white man's government" and that "colored men had no rights that white men were bound to respect," thus becoming Regulators, members of the Ku Klux Klan or the Young Men's Democratic Club (67). Additionally, embittered whites were deeply offended at what they perceived as African Americans violating racial etiquette by being insolent, seeking suffrage and economic independence, and questioning labor contracts. Even though these sentiments were widespread throughout Florida, the extent of violent murders was

considerably less in other counties. What made Jackson County unique, Weinfeld explains, were primarily three factors. First, although the county was politically conservative before the Civil War, it did not wholeheartedly support secession and some within the county would have their loyalty to the Confederacy questioned during and after the War. Secondly, the leadership void created by the Civil War would be filled by younger merchants and lawyers who quickly dismissed the old planter elites' suggestions for moderation, patience, and nonviolence—replacing them with an uncompromising ultra-conservatism and violence. Lastly, the impact of the 1864 Battle of Marianna served as a psychological blow to an already war-weary populace. No other county in Florida experienced the same amount of civilian casualties, along with the mental and economic devastation of prisoners of war returning from northern union war camps. These factors contributed to deep-seated animosity and hatred that would result in a climate of fear for African Americans and Republicans in Jackson County.

Although *The Jackson County War* does meet its intended objectives, it could have benefitted from placing events in national and regional context. For example, the author should have discussed the impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1871, which was designed to protect southern Blacks from the abuses of terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, Weinfeld could have briefly mentioned the thousands of Blacks who were murdered in similar fashion between 1865 and 1868 in Memphis, Shreveport, and New Orleans.

While Jackson County whites attempted to ignore memories of the nearly three-year violent spree, unfortunately, as Weinfeld aptly states, “we have no record to tell whether Jackson County blacks were similarly able or willing to forget” (142). Therein lies the problem many historians face: how to give voice to the voiceless and invisible—who too often are oppressed groups such as women and African Americans. While Weinfeld has produced a comprehensive examination of this topic, it still leaves the reader wondering how African Americans, who comprised fifty percent of the population, remembered and fared during and after this devastation. Thus, there still remains work to be done on this subject. Admittedly, there are few resources available that capture the Black experience in this tragedy. However, it would have been helpful if the author had made better use of the sources on the subject that are available.

The book's index could have been more extensive. Nevertheless, *The Jackson County War* succeeds in its general purpose of renewing our interest in an important aspect of Florida's history, particularly within its Black-belt. Weinfeld does a fine job in detailing the many players in this saga by using primary data that included letters and papers unobserved by prior historians. Unfortunately, the terrible events in Jackson County ultimately drove-out moderate African Americans—including its most famous son, T. Thomas Fortune—and whites alike from the county, thus depriving the remaining citizens and local government of an opportunity to exercise democracy in all its diverse forms for many decades.

The Jackson County War is the latest and most comprehensive interpretation of events which occurred in Jackson County during the Reconstruction era. Weinfeld demonstrates the relevance of this history through his scholarship and writings, while reintroducing the Jackson County war to a new generation of students, lay and professional historians. Those interested in Florida politics, Reconstruction, race relations, racial violence, Southern history and the Civil War will enjoy this work.

Will Guzmán

Florida A&M University

The Door of Hope: Republican Presidents and the First Southern Strategy, 1877-1933. By Edward O. Frantz. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 246. \$69.95 cloth.)

Young undergraduates are often confused when their professors explain that the Republican Party was once the nation's liberal, progressive party with widespread support among African-American voters. This confusion is understandable. Indeed, the Republican Party of the twenty-first century has come unmoored from its founding legacy of racial egalitarianism and protective economic policies which defined the party at its creation in 1854 by anti-slavery Whigs and Free Soil Democrats. Critics at that time associated Republicans with radicalism and linked the new political coalition to unorthodox movements such as women's rights, racial equality, and socialism.

The transformation from the abolition party of the nineteenth century to the tea party of the twenty-first is often explained by focusing on the shifting political allegiances of white southerners

after the 1940s. Edward O. Frantz, however, takes a different view. He explains the shift not from the perspective of the Democratic white South, but from that of Republican presidents. In *The Door of Hope: Republican Presidents and the First Southern Strategy, 1877-1933*, Frantz uses the tours of Republican presidents after Reconstruction to show how the Party of Lincoln became the Party of Reagan.

The traditional narrative says that white southerners began leaving the Democratic Party—the party they had rigidly and almost unanimously supported for more than a century—after President Harry Truman integrated America's armed services. At first, socially conservative white southerners tried forming their own party, the "Dixiecrats," but this attempt failed to gain traction. After more than a decade of frustration and anger, southern white conservatives finally abandoned the Democrats when President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As many white southerners were fond of repeating at the time, "I didn't leave the Democratic Party. The party left me." Embraced by Richard Nixon, the solidly Democratic South was voting solidly Republican in national elections by the 1970s.

Frantz expands this narrative by demonstrating that the Republican Party had a southern strategy well before Richard Nixon. Indeed, as Frantz reminds us, there were more than a few white Republican voters in the post-Civil War South, and Republican leaders wanted to keep them. For example, James A. Garfield took nearly 46 percent of the popular votes in Florida in 1880. By examining "the influence Republican presidential tours of the South had on the shape of the Republican Party" before 1933, Frantz concludes that the party transformed itself from a sectional party concerned with racial justice into a national party "more concerned about sectional peace and prosperity" (2, 13).

Sectional reconciliation was key to this first southern strategy, and Frantz demonstrates that it was a policy vigorously pursued by Republican presidents from the end of Reconstruction. Republican presidents from Hayes to Hoover minimized the party's legacy of liberation and largely ignored African-Americans before abandoning them to Jim Crow and racial apartheid. These presidents rarely spoke to black organizations, and when they did, the press often ignored them. Blacks were cast aside and the conservative white South was appeased in the Republican effort to attract a wider, national base. Any danger that African-Americans might bolt the GOP for the Democrats had passed by 1900. Republican

appeasement had allowed the South to disenfranchise black voters and the "door of hope" had been shut.

Frantz also shows how these presidential tours of the South softened the "bloody shirt" tactics of earlier elections and by 1896, that "old shibboleth" was no longer a standard part of the "Republican war chest" (12). While historians have long noted the successful part that the sectional reconciliation theme played in healing the nation's wounds after the Civil War, Frantz shows how Republican presidents consciously tapped into and invoked it, while also stressing the fraternal bond shared by war veterans of both sides. Indeed, by focusing on regional similarities, rather than regional differences between whites, the Republicans hoped to achieve their goal of attracting more white southern voters.

This is an innovative approach and one that is firmly grounded in the historical sources and in the earlier analysis of Michael Perman's works which have explored the changing status of race relations in the South between 1877 and 1933. There are two large gaps in this study, however: the periods from 1881 to 1889 and 1913 to 1928. Frantz admits to "grudgingly" skipping over these periods by neglecting the Republican presidencies of James Garfield, Chester Arthur, Warren Harding, and Calvin Coolidge (4). He views these periods as years of transition and excludes them from his study "for the sake of consistency, analytic utility, and scope" (4). It is true that these were periods of Democratic presidencies, but Frantz's study would have been more compelling had some attempt been made to review these so-called gap periods. The work could also use an epilogue.

Despite these minor shortcomings, the book remains informative, interesting, and highly readable. Its high price, unfortunately, will likely limit its readership market to libraries and academics.

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The Roots of Modern Conservatism: Dewey, Taft, and the Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party. By Michael Bowen. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 272. \$45 cloth.)

This book examines a very difficult time for the Republican Party. After the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency in 1932, a GOP candidate did not occupy the White House for the

next 20 years. During this long interim, the party sought an identity that might advance its chances for re-capturing the Oval Office.

This intense search featured two major contenders vying for the GOP mantle. One faction identified Republicans as trustees of the established social and economic order that predated the New Deal. The Old Guard railed against the great expanse of government under FDR, the extensive regulatory intervention of administrators in the affairs of business, a steady move toward socialism, and the unquestioned military presence in far flung parts of the world. The leader of this conservative wing of the party was Senator Robert Taft of Ohio.

Not unexpectedly, given the trouncing of the GOP and the repudiation of many of these conservative policies in the 1932 and 1936 elections, many Republican leaders were unhappy with this ideological approach. Led by New York Governor Thomas Dewey, the push to embed the party in a progressive, liberal ideology—one that accepted many of the basic tenets of the New Deal—was proffered.

Each perspective was well tested in presidential elections. Dewey's successive losses in the 1940s were viewed by Taft and his acolytes as prime examples of voters rejecting the "me-too-ism" of the liberal approach, while Goldwater's walloping in 1964 surely demonstrated what happens when a candidate runs as "a choice, not an echo." Eisenhower's victories in the 1950s clearly showed that a moderate approach, led by a popular leader, was the optimal pathway for the GOP to follow to the White House.

Michael Bowen's book is a detailed, interesting, even intriguing, investigation of the twists and turns of trying to resuscitate the downtrodden Republican Party by either the conservative Taft or the liberal Dewey remedy. Through careful analysis of archival material, news and magazine accounts, and the writings of other scholars, Bowen tells a lively and largely well written story about ideas, politics, egos, and both good and bad decisions.

Recounted are some long forgotten facts about the Republican Party and, indeed, about political parties in general. For instance, for readers who might think that coupling Republican with liberal is an oxymoron, the coverage of the GOP liberal wing, which not so long ago led the party, might be a strange revelation—almost archeological in nature.

Likewise, this book bespeaks to a time when party organizations mattered in the recruitment, selection, and campaigns of presidential candidates and in the actual running of government. Sure party

machinations were everywhere, but Bowen, in covering these often cloak and dagger, ordinarily behind the scenes, gyrations, paints a picture featuring (usually) honorable people fashioning ideas, platforms, and programs aimed at attracting the vote of a majority of the electorate. In other words, it is a portrait of parties that operate as vital cogs in a representative democracy linking voters to political leaders and their policies. This is in sharp contrast to the current state of electoral politics where parties take a back seat to candidate-centered organizations, primaries, and the open channel through which a constant flow of money moves to office seekers from well-healed individuals and organizations, hardly reflective of a wider public.

Two shortcomings are apparent in this work. For one, the role of ideology in elections is overstated. To be sure, party leaders are ideologically disposed. However, opinion data—especially that collected under the auspices of the American National Election Studies—find that only a small segment of the American public thinks ideologically in any meaningful way. To contend, as Bowen does in his conclusion, that Goldwater's ascent in 1964 was fueled by GOP leaders attempting to catch up to an ideologically driven Republican electorate, is simply not empirically supportable.

Moreover, it is difficult to discern what exactly Bowen means by "modern conservatism." To even imply that today's conservatism is rooted in the conservatism covered in this book is an enormous stretch. The conservatism of Taft and Goldwater was largely crafted through careful and rigorous intellectual design. It was mostly (McCarthyism being the notable exception) a highly principled argument about the proper role of government especially in social and economic affairs. Current conservatism—a large umbrella shared by a hodgepodge of war-mongers, racists, authoritarians, homophobes, xenophobes, doomsayers, government-haters, and plain frightened people, among others—is a far cry from the lucid writings of Buckley, Kirk, and the like.

James W. Lamare

Washington, D.C.

Everglades Patrol. By Tom Shirley. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. Acknowledgements, sources, photographs, maps, index. Pp. xvii, 288. \$29.95 cloth.)

Although it has been a national park since 1947, to most of America the Everglades is unknown and unknowable, a mysterious

marsh at the bottom of the continent. If they think of it at all, it is when an enormous python or a politician gets a picture taken there.

But for Tom Shirley, the Everglades was a favorite childhood playground and a second office for the 30 years he was employed by the state of Florida. He knows the Everglades, or rather, as he points out in this engaging new memoir, he knew it, back before the hand of man altered it beyond recognition.

Shirley grew up on the edge of the River of Grass, playing among the sawgrass and catching snakes and alligators for fun. Then, from 1955 to 1985, he served as a game warden working for the agency then known as the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission. He was like a cop on a beat, except instead of patrolling in a squad car he was aboard an airboat, and instead of nabbing purse-snatchers, he was after poachers. He became so well known that in 1958 *Argosy* magazine dubbed him "Boss of the Big Swamp."

Shirley's book is packed with memories of armed confrontations, long stakeouts, tough-talking characters and frantic pursuits. Underlying it all is a keen sense of melancholy about what has been lost.

Shirley recounts his adventures in a conversational style that sometimes jumps from subject to subject. He is not a polished writer. At times the book reads as if he were paid by the exclamation point. Because this is a work more of memory than research, Shirley also gets some details wrong – mangling the story about Seminole Chief James Billie's trial for killing a panther, for instance, and misspelling the name of Harmon Shields, a secretary of the state Department of Natural Resources who went to prison for taking kickbacks. He also misstates the reason why Alligator Alley has been fenced off, suggesting it is a standard state practice that has thwarted hunter access to the Everglades. In fact it is supposed to protect wildlife such as panthers from being flattened by traffic.

Still, by telling his stories in such a natural way, a reader begins to feel as if he or she is listening to Shirley spinning yarns while hunkered down at a sputtering camp fire. Some parts of the book paint a vivid portrait of what the Everglades could be like in those pre-drainage days. He describes stakeouts where he would watch in fascination as barn owls would flock to the tree where he was hiding and hoot at him. He explains how easily he could catch the biggest gator, and why he finally gave up the practice. He talks of spotting a mass migration of eels swimming across an inundated road, and recalls a childhood trip across the Tamiami Trail when

"the sky lit up with fireflies—I mean just millions of them! Every place you looked, the sky just flickered like it was on fire" (11).

In addition to his descriptions of the plants and animals no longer as abundant as they used to be, Shirley delineates with great skill another breed that is seldom encountered nowadays: the hard-drinking, hard-living Gladesman. There are other books about Gladesmen—Loren "Totch" Brown's memoir *Totch: A Life in the Everglades* (1993) being but one example—but Shirley's stands alone for his unique perspective as a man trying to enforce some very unpopular laws on an unwilling populace. It also offers a broader range of observations, because his patrols took him from Palm Beach County down to Monroe and over into Collier County as well, and into the skies as well as across the water.

By far the most intriguing character in the book is a tough old bird named Sigsby "Sig" Walker. Walker was a former game warden who originally recommended Shirley for his job at the game commission in 1955, yet later became his most formidable opponent, a kingpin of illegal poaching and moonshining.

The irony around their rivalry grows even thicker when you learn that Walker served as a stand-in for star Ron Hayes during filming of the 1961-1962 television show *The Everglades*. The show featured Hayes as a South Florida lawman who, like Shirley, patrolled the wet wilderness in an airboat. Because of his Hollywood connection, the folksy Walker had plenty of South Florida fans who took his side against the real game warden who pursued him.

The way Shirley tells it, the two men were the best of frenemies. Once, on patrol, Shirley discovered Walker's moonshine still and shot it up with his .44 Magnum, leaving a pattern of bullet holes in the shape of a "T" so Walker would know who had messed with his business. Walker wrote up formal complaints about Shirley's tactics and threatened to file suit for \$2.5 million. Later, though, when Shirley's airboat suffered a crack-up that left him stranded far from civilization and desperate for shelter, Shirley found it at Walker's own secluded camp. Walker later led a contingent of fellow Gladesmen into the swamp to repair Shirley's boat for him.

Over the years, Shirley says that whenever he laid a trap for Walker, hoping to catch him with a haul of poached gator hides, the ex-warden would somehow slip through his fingers. Shirley writes that he figured out that Walker had informants inside the game commission tipping him off and he had to fire several officers. However, he provides no further details about the conniving

by his colleagues, leaving the reader wondering just how far Walker's payoffs and bribery might have spread.

Soon, though, Walker is supplanted as Shirley's chief enemy by an even more powerful one, the Central and South Florida Flood Control District. Shirley spares no details in showing how engineers who lacked his first-hand experience with the Glades ruined it by not only altering its flow but also holding so much water back that it drowned the wildlife. His description of deer that drowned in the man-made flood or, worse, survived only long enough to be torn apart by bobcats and other predators is heart-rending. Less detailed in Shirley's telling of the story, however, is the reasoning behind the agency's actions: holding the water back to prevent flooding in new suburban developments that had crept too close to the River of Grass. Shirley continued battling the engineers who wanted to hold the water too high even when it brought him in conflict with his own agency, which preferred to go along with the politically powerful interests pushing flood control over saving the deer herds.

Eventually his disillusionment with his agency leads to him retiring and becoming an advocate for saving the Everglades—but saving it for the hunters and anglers to use, not just for those gawking tourists who still think this is a pristine wilderness, and not an artificially managed, heavily engineered simulation of a marsh.

Craig Pittman

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Seeing Through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography.

By Martin A. Berger. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xii, 264. \$27.50 paper.)

Scholars of the modern Civil Rights Movement (1952-1968) have argued that images of officers clubbing un-armed black victims during "Bloody Sunday," the mutilated corpse of Emmitt Till, and a host of other similar visuals, served as the catalyst that ended the nation's segregation laws. Historian Martin A. Berger's *Seeing Through Race* provides a different interpretation of these images and the role they played in ending the Jim Crow era. Berger provides the reader with a very complex argument. The white press, he explains, through their precise selection of photos

that depicted black southerners as victims and not change agents, were able to dictate the type of civil rights African Americans received. Thus, the author argues that those "rights" were minimal compared to what the black community truly desired—human rights.

This four chapter work reevaluates the images of the modern Civil Rights Movement while reinforcing his thesis. Chapter one, "The Formulas of Documentary Photography," challenges the historical analysis of civil rights tactics. Berger reveals in this chapter that photos produced by the liberal white media of "Bloody Sunday," and the Birmingham movement, were printed to promote the victimization of black southerners. For example, the northern white press chose to photograph the Civil Rights Movement in a manner that depicted southern blacks as docile and passive. Although historians have argued that leaders of the movement capitalized on images of white violence against "docile" black victims, Berger explains that these leaders did not perceive themselves, or their movement as passive. Instead, these African American leaders wanted to show the violent reality of black life in the South.

Chapter two, "White Shame, White Empathy," examines the effects of civil rights images from both a psychological and historical perspective. Berger delves into the minds of northern whites in this chapter. The author explains that images of black women and children being beaten by white police officers, or sprayed by high powered hoses, pulled at the heart strings of most northern whites. This occurred not because they were empathetic towards black victims, but because they were ashamed by the brutality of their southern white brothers. After viewing such vivid images in the mainstream press, northern white liberals, the author argues, were pressured into giving black southerners civil rights.

Chapter three, "Perfect Victims and Imperfect Tactics," strengthened Berger's central argument that the mainstream media attempted to limit black agency during the Civil Rights Movement. The author detailed the role that black children played during the movement and the criticism that Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil right leaders received for this tactic. The white media, as well as their readers/viewers, argued that these children were unknowingly used as pawns by adults to gain access to public and private facilities. Again, this was an attempt to remove agency from the black community by insinuating that the youth movement was not

a natural uprising. Nonetheless, as the author reveals through his research, the children of the movement were well aware of their role in civil rights demonstrations.

The final chapter, "The Lost Images of Civil Rights," explores the visual absence of black agency during the movement. The best example that the author provides is the coverage of Emmitt Till's murder in 1955. Berger reveals that both the mainstream and black press covered the story of Till's kidnapping, murder, and trial. But the black press was the only media outlet that published images of the fourteen-year-old's mutilated corpse. The author dispels the myth that white Americans sympathized with the black community after the death of Till due to the horrific pictures of his body. According to Berger's research, mainstream America was shielded from those images until the 1987 airing of the civil rights television documentary *Eyes on the Prize*. One might argue that photos of Till's corpse should have been used by the white press as it revealed the docility of black southerners.

Martin Berger's study of civil rights photography forces one to consider the role of the mainstream media during that era. Throughout his four-chapter work, the author thoroughly revealed contradictions in the images that the white press captured versus the black press. Although Berger's argument that the mainstream press had an agenda to photograph black southerners as victims and not change agents is valid, his theory that African Americans would have gained human rights if the white media had captured black agency during the movement is not as convincing. Carol Anderson's, *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1956* (2003), and Patricia Sullivan's *Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (2009), both argue that the shift from human rights to civil rights occurred prior to the 1950s. Once the United States of America (USA) agreed to join the United Nations (UN), the hope of African Americans obtaining human rights was dashed, according to Anderson. The true shift in the Civil Rights Movement was due to an agreement between Eleanor Roosevelt and southern senators who signed the treaty to join the UN. The USA agreed to help govern human rights abroad only if the UN agreed not to probe into American affairs.

Despite flaws in Berger's argument, his well-written study provides readers with a greater understanding of the role that the media played during the Civil Rights Movement. The author's

analysis of key images of the movement forces readers to reevaluate these photos. After reading this manuscript, one will have to reconsider the use of images in historical research. As Martin A. Berger has thoroughly explained in *Seeing Through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography*, many times photos used in scholarly research lead to a misrepresentation of the event(s) in consideration. Therefore, I recommend this text for individuals who have interest in historical or journalistic research as it provides a greater understanding of historic images.

Reginald Ellis

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Painting Dixie Red: When, Where, Why, and How the South Became Republican. Edited by Glenn Feldman. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, index. Pp.432. \$74.95 cloth.)

In the twelve presidential elections preceding passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Republicans won a majority of states in the South zero times. In the twelve presidential elections since, the Republicans have carried a majority of Southern states ten times. With this dramatic change in fortune have come thousands of state-level Republican victories, shutting out the Democrats well down the ballot. For University of Alabama at Birmingham history professor Glenn Feldman, this trend is not just a function of the same political ebb and flow that has seen New York and Michigan become markedly more Democratic since 1964. It is instead a thing of apocalyptic dimensions suggesting the end of all light and the beginning of a dark era of ignorance and unreason.

In separate introductory and concluding essays framing a remarkable series of insightful essays from other scholars exploring the economic, cultural and religious origins of Republican Southern dominance, Feldman would seem to be more at home at a spirited Occupy Movement rally as he excoriates the recent Bush era as an “unsteady teetering on the edge of a precipice above a long drop into the abyss of an actual kind of American pseudo-fascism—replete with the possible mutation of our great democratic experiment into something utterly unrecognizable” (315).

Feldman charges that Republican success in the South, beginning with the failed presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater,

who declined to vote for the 1964 Civil Rights Act because he said it violated the Constitution, has played to what he characterizes as the "racial, supremely emotional, plutocratic, anti-federal, anti-'foreigner,' anti-tax, anti-social service, romantically martial, blindly patriotic and illiberal" predilections of the South (319). Ultimately, Feldman blames Southerners themselves for the success of the Republicans, arguing that the South has "ever been the region of the country most ready to substitute emotion for reason, conformity for caution, fantasy for reality, insecurity for rationality, and unquestioning 'patriotic' and martial obedience for critical thought" (341-342).

A welcome relief from these polemics comes with the essays forming the core of *Painting Dixie Red*, in particular the scholarship of University of West Georgia history professor Daniel Williams and Minnesota State University political science professor Frederick Slocum, who explore the historical allegiance of Southern evangelicals to the GOP, demonstrating that for many fundamentalists what goes on at church on Sunday morning is more important than what's being said on the television political talk shows airing at the same time. University of Virginia law student J. Eric Purdue combs through the Louisiana Tech University archives of former Congressman Joe Waggoner to provide a valuable early example of the effective use of Republican anti-Washington arguments in Louisiana's Fourth District special election of 1961. University of Arkansas history professor John Kirk chronicles an almost forgotten chapter in the story of early Southern Republicanism: the historic election of moderate Republican Winthrop Rockefeller as Governor of Arkansas in 1966—an election that may have, ironically, provided a racial roadmap for the likes of Democrat Bill Clinton in the 1970s.

In two compelling essays refuting Feldman's assertion that Southerners embraced Republican dogma for largely bigoted reasons, Tim Boyd, a Montgomery Bell Academy history teacher, and College of Charleston Library archivist John White present evidence that modern Republicanism in the South was just as likely to be animated by demographic patterns, particularly suburban growth, than hatred of African-Americans. Boyd, exploring the fate of Fulton County, Georgia's "Operation Breakthrough," a 1960s effort to convert reliably Democratic voters into reliably Republican voters, could just as well be talking about electoral patterns in Ohio or Arizona when he notes: "The suburban part

of the state that had been the base of the party in the 1950s had, by the 1990s, provided the GOP with the necessary platform to dominate the state's politics in the early twenty-first century" (94). White notes that South Carolinians initially expressed support at the presidential level for a Republican with the 1952 campaign of Dwight Eisenhower, a candidate who was arguably more opaque on civil rights than his Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson, who placated Southerners with a minimal commitment to desegregation and the naming of the Alabama segregationist Senator John Sparkman as his running mate. White adds that not until the 1960s, when white South Carolinians perceived that "national Republicans were more amenable to token desegregation," did Republicans begin to enjoy any real hope of political success (151). White recounts the meeting between Richard Nixon and South Carolina Republican Senator Strom Thurmond, a meeting that has subsequently become a thing of sinister legend. Nixon promised to go slow on desegregation in return for Thurmond's crucial support at the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami Beach. In the November election, Nixon provided the template for future Republican presidential nominees, winning a plurality of the South's electoral votes, in no doubt due partly to Thurmond's influence. South Carolina, which had actually first fallen to the GOP in 1964 with Goldwater, has since voted Republican in every national election but one (Jimmy Carter's counter-trend win in 1976), while Republicans today hold virtually every important state office.

The same pattern has emerged throughout the rest of the South, even in Florida which has voted Republican at the presidential level eight times since 1964, compared to only five for the Democrats. The Governor's chair in the Sunshine state has been in Republican hands since 1998, while Republican Marco Rubio won a landslide election to the US Senate in 2010, holding onto a seat that has alternated between the two parties since 1968.

But as the many essayists in *Painting Dixie Red* document, things can change in politics. As late as 1976, Texas was solidly Democratic while California leaned Republican. If such historic patterns can be turned upside down in the span of two generations, who can truly say whether Florida and the rest of the South will be red, blue or mauve twenty years from now?

Garry Boulard

Gainesville, Florida

Pathways to the Presidency: A Guide to the Lives, Homes, and Museums of the U. S. Presidents. By Gerald Gutek and Patricia Gutek. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 360. \$49.95 cloth.)

In an age when most travelers turn to internet searches for information about sites of interest, this book is a reminder of the convenience and interest of having such information compiled in one place: a hard-copy guidebook. Gerald and Patricia Gutek have compiled an extensive and detailed guide to over one hundred publically accessible sites that gives insight into the private lives of former Presidents. They begin each chapter with a substantial, yet concise, biography of a former president. These sketches and their rich descriptions of properties, monuments, houses, and interior furnishings provide interesting material for armchair readers, introductory information for the researcher, and travel inspiration for history buffs and families. For the traveler, the authors augment their prose with practical information, such as addresses, admission fees, and facility descriptions. Website links direct readers to revised or additional visitation information.

Pathways to the Presidency is, perhaps, a bit of a misnomer. The volume covers retirement homes, gravesites, and presidential libraries as well as birthplaces, childhood homes, and family retreats. Most readers will be familiar with a number of popular American landmarks: Mount Vernon, Monticello, Sagamore Hill, and the recently constructed presidential libraries of twentieth-century presidents. But the authors point readers to a number of lesser-known sites as well: the Hoover-Minthorn site in Newburg, Oregon, where the orphaned Herbert Hoover moved to live with his aunt and uncle; the Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza in Dallas, Texas, built at the place where Lee Harvey Oswald positioned himself to assassinate John F. Kennedy; Theodore Roosevelt's Maltese Cross Cabin where he lived as a rancher in western North Dakota; and the Millard Fillmore Museum in East Aurora, New York, the former home of a president most frequently noted for being forgettable. Many readers may learn that some of these sites are only a day-trip away.

One of the greatest strengths of this book is that the authors have written complete histories for the properties that they cover. Readers learn not only about William Henry Harrison's time at the new federal-era brick mansion Grouseland on the Indiana frontier but also that the house later served as a barn and then narrowly

escaped demolition by the Vincennes Water Company in 1909. On the other hand, when Calvin Coolidge was growing up in Plymouth Notch, Vermont, he spent much of his youth ensconced in a federal-era house filled with five generations of family history. These narratives remind readers that these houses have a history beyond the years that the presidents lived in them and that interest in these spots has waxed and waned over the years. Local residents often adapted the places to new uses or saw no need to keep former residences intact to honor the memory of the men who once had lived there. These stories of neglect and preservation prompt readers to wonder about the birthplaces and homes that are not included in the volume. Some presidents, after all, come up short in the Guteks' tally of public memorials. Readers wishing to learn about Zachary Taylor will note that only his gravesite in Louisville, Kentucky, stands open to visitors. What stories would unfold if the authors had examined the former homes of "Old Rough and Ready?" Are they preserved as private residences or did other generations of Americans let the homes of an uncelebrated president rot into oblivion?

These questions bring attention to one component lacking in the Guteks' compilation: an introduction. The authors might have taken the opportunity provided by an introduction to point to a few presidential homes no longer standing in order to remind readers of the failures as well as the successes of preservation efforts. They also might have explained their rubric for choosing sites for inclusion in their volume. Why discuss the neoclassical temple that shelters an uprooted cabin, possibly the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, but not the monument and reconstructed cabins on the birth site of James Knox Polk, all on public land owned by the state of North Carolina? A brief editorial note about the selection process and a list of all sites included—not just depicted—in the volume would have provided a welcome explanatory framework.

The authors also could have made introductory remarks to prompt readers to contemplate the link between leaders and their homes that seems so compelling to us in the twenty-first century. What exactly do visitors hope to learn and what particular curiosities do they hope to fulfill when they make trips to the former home of a historical figure or the birthplace of a recent politician? This interest is not, of course, a new phenomenon. Americans have been drawn to the homes of politicians, dead and alive, since the founding of the nation. Guidebooks for such tours are not

new either. One only has to pick up a copy of George P. Putnam's *Homes of American Statesmen*, first published in 1854, to see that the Guteks' book is only the most recent book in a genre with a history of its own. A nod to this long-standing cultural fascination with the private spaces of public figures might have made readers pause to interrogate the origins of their own interest in birthplaces, homes, and graves before indulging it.

Even without an introduction, the Guteks have compiled a remarkably informative and concise book that will appeal to pleasure readers, researchers, and travelers alike. Anyone looking to set out on his own version of an *Assassination Vacation*—or at least to read his way along an imagined journey—will want to pick up a copy of *Pathways to the Presidency*.

Whitney A. Martinko

University of Virginia

Miami: Mistress of the Americas. By Jan Nijman. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. Maps, figures, notes, index. Pp. ix, 272. \$22.50 paper.)

In this study, urban geographer Jan Nijman has added substantially to the history and historiography of twentieth-century Miami. If a bit weak and episodic on the city's first half century, the book brings the full battery of globalization theory to Miami in the years after 1960. Nijman adds new perspectives and surprising insights to the ways in which metro Miami finally became "The Gateway to Latin America"—a city characterized by, even dominated by, its economic and cultural connectivity to the Caribbean and South America.

Nijman marches quickly through the early history of the Miami region, the native Tequesta tribe's impact, the Spanish and British colonial periods, and the American period of the nineteenth century, which are covered in a few pages. The author reprises the standard stories of Julia Tuttle, Henry Flagler, Carl Fisher, George Merrick, Glenn Curtis, and other builders and promoters of Miami in the early twentieth century. Nijman rounds out the first two chapters with brief discussions of the real estate boom and bust of the 1920s, race and ethnicity, organized crime, and hotel building on Miami Beach in the 1930s and the 1950s. A lot has been left out of this early urban history. In his hurry to get to Miami the global

city, for example, Nijman completely overlooked the very real significance of World War II in the making of a new Miami.

For Nijman, Miami's "extreme makeover" began with the Cuban Revolution of 1959 and the subsequent exile migration to Miami of Cuba's capitalist class—the businessmen and professionals. Some brought money, but most brought human capital, especially business skills, entrepreneurial energy, and international connections. Cuban bankers, real estate developers, and businessmen created an enclave economy in Little Havana; by the 1970s they had also established significant financial and trade links throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. The rise of international trade coincided with several other forces shaping the new Miami. Traditional American tourism was declining as other venues such as Disney World beckoned. Domestic in-migration to Miami tailed off as new immigrant populations poured into Greater Miami—Haitians, Nicaraguans, Jamaicans, Latinos from many countries, all of whom had their own entrepreneurs and international ties. In the 1970s and 1980s, the international drug trade pumped capital into the local economy, especially banking and real estate development. New business and political elites challenged the power of Miami's established decision-makers. Nijman credits Maurice Ferre, Miami's first Latino mayor, for promoting the city's business and cultural connections with the nations to the South. The Ferre family businesses in Puerto Rico provided an early model for the internationalization of Miami's emerging global economy. In the late 1970s, after the federal Edge Act authorized foreign banks in the United States, the Florida state legislature permitted the chartering of such banking; Miami quickly became a leading center of Edge Act banking, greatly facilitating international trade and commerce. Local governments in metro Miami bought into these new growth strategies, setting the stage for the rise of Miami as a "modern world city" in the 1990s and beyond.

In an important chapter, Nijman discusses the key elements that characterized the globalization of Miami and other world cities. These included free markets, international migration, transnational ethnic groups, the telecommunications revolution, expanding air travel, and "the free flow of capital and trade across political boundaries" (95). The rise of global Miami had much to do with its centrality in the Western Hemisphere and the widespread use of the Spanish language. Globalization also stemmed from Miami's international cultural attributes, its huge airport connections, and

the "trans-cultural entrepreneurial classes" that clustered in the metro area. This section of the book is the most innovative, helping to explain Miami's sudden rise to global city status. Nijman is also fully aware that the very forces that brought globalization to Miami also fostered transience, inequality, poverty, and a weakly developed civic and political culture. This was the new Miami, but globalization was beneficial only for some.

Nijman is excellent on explaining how and why Miami developed as it did in the years after 1960. It is less useful for the earlier period. Nevertheless, this book will take its place alongside other important studies of the "new" Miami by Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, by Maria Crisina Garcia and by Melanie Shell-Weiss.

Raymond A. Mohl

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Links: My Family in American History. By William A. Link. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. Illustrations, notes. Pp. xv, 240. \$32.00 cloth.)

Thanks to inexpensive long distance telephone calls, letter writing has become something of a lost art in the twenty-first century. Such was not the case in the last century, much to the benefit of historians today. Arthur S. Link (1920-1997), the author of a five-volume biography of President Woodrow Wilson as well as the editor of sixty-nine volumes of Wilson's papers, was an especially prodigious letter writer who diligently saved his correspondence dating back to his early childhood, despite his wife's efforts to eliminate clutter. This correspondence constitutes the basis of *Links: My Family in American History*. The author and younger son of Arthur Link, William A. Link, is the Richard J. Milbauer Professor of History at the University of Florida. He has written five earlier books including most recently *Jesse Helms and the Rise of Modern Conservatism* (2008).

Arthur Link was born in Virginia but moved with his family to North Carolina when he was three. Although his adult years were spent almost entirely in the North, he remained emotionally attached to the South his entire life and chose to return to the Tar Heel State after his retirement in 1992. However, he differed from other Southerners in being an early proponent of civil rights, although he never played an active role in the civil rights movement.

Biographers are often accused of worshipping their subjects, an accusation leveled by Arthur Link against another Wilson biographer, Ray Stannard Baker. Ironically, Link was himself often accused of the same bias, which is understandable because he liked to compare Wilson with St. Paul and Jesus as one of the most admirable figures in history.

The charge of hero worship cannot be made against Arthur Link's son. Indeed, William Link is astonishingly candid in pointing out his father's character flaws. In social groups Arthur Link demanded the spotlight. As an undergraduate at the University of North Carolina he was "awkward socially." "He loved to correct his peers on points of fact" (13). He and his wife Margaret "considered the southern industrial working class to be ignorant, superstitious, and backward" (26). His reluctance to join the military during the Second World War "contrasted sharply with what we had been told as children" (39). Link was a workaholic; when faced with a conflict between his work and his love of his family, work usually won out. For example, he left Evanston, Illinois, which his family loved, to accept a more prestigious job at Princeton. Arthur's death in 1997 was hastened by smoking and alcoholism. Worst of all, he would "launch a tirade" against a graduate student who held an opinion of Wilson which contradicted his own. Students learned that they had to "toe the line" regarding Wilson (175). The author's objectivity extends even to his older brother, James, who "tyrannized his younger siblings" (179) before finally receiving medical treatment for his mental illness.

By no means are all of William Link's observations about his father negative. Arthur Link was deeply influenced by the intellectual freedom he encountered at the University of North Carolina between 1937 and 1941. He was "unqualified in his opposition to bigotry" (104) and favored the equality of women in public places. He went out of his way to befriend blacks and was especially close to the black historian John Hope Franklin at a time when most white academics would have nothing to do socially with a black person, even a colleague. The senior Link also had an inexhaustible capacity for work, spending every day at his office from 8:30 in the morning until 6:00 pm, or often later in the evening.

The subtitle, *My Family in American History*, suggests the inclusion of a broad context. Indeed, there are some interesting observations about the social and academic atmosphere experienced by his parents. Arthur and Margaret were heavily influenced

by the Great Depression which made them cautious about spending money their entire lives. Margaret, like other women of her generation, gave up her own teaching career in order to raise her family even though doing so made her lonely. She never worked full-time outside the home again. When Arthur first joined the Princeton faculty in 1945 it had a quota for Jewish students dating back to the 1920s. The History Department did not hire its first female until 1969, and had a rigid caste system based on academic ranks. When Professor Link rejoined the Princeton faculty in 1960, following eleven years at Northwestern, the History Department was filled with "prima donnas" who considered American history specialists as second best, and presidential, political history as old fashioned.

The younger Link does an admirable job of tracing his father's career from his undergraduate days in the late 1930s to his retirement in 1992. However, the book is narrowly focused, leaving a number of pertinent questions unanswered. How did the Great Depression influence his parents beyond making them frugal? What, if anything, aroused Arthur Link's interest in history before his arrival as an undergraduate at the University of North Carolina? What theses did Link advance in his biographies of Wilson and how were his arguments received by reviewers? The author mentions his father's love of travel, but says nothing about where he vacationed apart from a month his family spent in a Bavarian pension in 1959. The reader is given only brief glimpses of how American colleges and universities were affected by the Depression and the Second World War, and nothing at all about the impact of veterans on college campuses during the early postwar years. Nor do we hear about student protests during the Viet Nam war.

Link: My Family in American History is an interesting albeit rather grim portrait of a hard-working historian who was almost fanatically devoted to his calling. It is enhanced by the inclusion of eighteen pages of family photos and nineteen pages of endnotes. However, the book's usefulness to historians is seriously limited by the absence of a bibliography and index.

Bruce F. Pauley

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Book Notes

Doug Alderson, *The Great Florida Seminole Trail: Complete Guide to Seminole Indian Historic and Cultural Sites*. (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 2013); \$14.95.

Doug Alderson's *The Great Florida Seminole Trail: Complete Guide to Seminole Indian Historic and Cultural Sites* is part chronology and part guidebook of significant sites in the history of the Seminole people. The book aims to help a general audience understand and appreciate the role of Seminoles in the overall history of Florida. Alderson details the history of the tribe in Florida beginning with the Apalachee, just outside of Tallahassee in the late 1600s, and addresses the migration of the Seminoles through the illustration of major events in Florida history, providing ample discussion on William Bartram and Cowkeeper in modern day Payne's Prairie, Dade's Massacre at the Dade Historical Battlefield State Park, and Seminole Chieftan Coacoochee (Wildcat) and his escape from Castillo de San Marco in St. Augustine. While most of the sites assessed are those of military significance, the work does feature modern sites, including the Big Cypress Swamp and the Seminole and Miccosukee casinos. Part guidebook, Alderson provides directions and access information for each site, as well as information on current historic preservation efforts and events in the area. The work serves as general history, but provides the reader with a detailed bibliography as well as well-rendered maps and images.

Sarika Joshi

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Thomas Cook, *Orlando's Historic Haunts*. (Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 2013); \$10.95.

Thomas Cook's new work, *Orlando's Historic Haunts*, is the most recent in a series of works from Pineapple Press that explore

haunted Florida and the only entry that focuses on Orlando specifically. In this work Cook sets down some of the stories that inspired him to participate in founding Orlando's ghost tour industry (5). Throughout the work Cook attempts to give Orlando the same troubled and haunting pedigree that many southern cities claim, some to their great economic advantage.

The stories recounted in *Orlando's Historic Haunts* are more about history than haunting. While it is true that good ghost stories begin with a compelling lead-in that invests the reader in the life of the living and allows them to follow the character into their troubled afterlife, Cook's tales do not consistently bridge the gap. The stories of strange happenings and supernatural encounters are nearly all reported from the 1980s and 1990s and Cook's presentation does not make the type of certain analogy between story and haunting that causes the spine tingling reaction that many will look for. Most of the stories follow a predictable pattern, a tale of Orlando's troubled history, then a tale of a modern haunting in the same location, but little to suggest that the haunting is connected to the history or that a history of supernatural activity can be traced in this location. In some of the tales the haunting seems like an afterthought, and in one, it never happens.

The greater value in Cook's work is not in ghost stories but in tales of Orlando overall. Readers looking for the scandalous, terrible, and strange will find it in *Orlando's Historic Haunts*. Perhaps the greatest strength of the stories presented is the manner in which they are rooted in Orlando's built environment. Cook works diligently to illuminate Orlando's built past before a series of construction booms changed the built landscape of the city dramatically. It is this former Orlando that is the location of the majority of the stories presented which gives the reader a real sense for not only the city's changing landscape, but the many layers of history present in the area. Orlando is a city that many around the world claim familiarity with but Cook makes it clear that there are swaths of Orlando history that are distinctly unknown. Those who are looking for a greater understanding of the more troubling aspects of Orlando's past will find plenty to interest them in this work. Amateur ghost hunters may also enjoy visiting the sites that Cook has identified to see if they can bear witness to haunted Orlando.

Anne Lindsay

University of Central Florida

Rick Kilby, *Finding the Fountain of Youth: Ponce de Leon and Florida's Magical Waters*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013); \$14.95.

Rick Kilby's inaugural work on Florida history explores the role of healing waters in the state's development from pre-contact through the present. Kilby takes the Fountain of Youth attraction in St. Augustine as his initial point of inquiry in this work which then expands to consider how Floridians, visitors, and investors have been drawn to Florida by its connection to fantastic tales of health, youth, and vitality. Throughout the work, Kilby is meticulous in considering the many voices involved in the crafting and perpetuation of these ideas, from Native peoples to Florida boosters, from explorers to salesmen. The narrative presented has much to tell about the prevalence of the Ponce de Leon story, the mystique of the Fountain of Youth, and the overall place of Florida's springs in creating the state and shaping its history. The argument is well crafted and researched with a tone that has just the right blend of scholarly authority, skepticism, and humor.

In addition to being a good read and a compelling tale, *Finding the Fountain of Youth* is a rare gem in that it is also visually stunning. Kilby has compiled an impressive collection related to this topic that includes historic photographs, advertisements, travel brochures, postcards, maps, and signs. This compilation of sources causes the reader to reflect on the impact of Florida's founding myth on the overall development of the state. Far from a fantastic story to be told with a smile and a wink or passed on to children, Kilby's story explores the depth of the healing water ideology and its use as an economic multiplier. This impact can be seen in any community that claims a connection to healing waters from St. Augustine to St. Petersburg and in every region of the state.

The concluding sections of *Finding the Fountain of Youth* provide us with a cautionary tale about exploitation of the state's natural resources. Some of the most popular locations of Florida's healing waters such as White Springs or Kissengen Springs have been lost. In addition, many that remain are feeling the strain of environmental concerns and development. Water clarity is reduced, invasive plants alter ecosystems, and algae impact the overall quality of the environment. Florida's waters have done their job too well it seems, increasing development to the point of their own destruction.

Finding the Fountain of Youth is a vibrant contribution to the existing literature on sites of Florida tourism and their impact on the state's economy. It encourages our reflection on the natural attractions of the state and provides needed perspective related to the Fountain of Youth story. Kilby's work has a wide appeal and a light tone that make it a great addition to any Florida bookshelf, beach bag, or coffee table.

Anne Lindsay

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Tim Robinson, *A Tropical Frontier: Pioneers and Settlers of Southeast Florida, 1800-1890*. (Port Salerno, FL: Port Sun Publishing, 2005); \$105.95.

A Tropical Frontier: Pioneers and Settlers of Southeast Florida, 1800-1890 is a collection of biographies of Florida pioneers and settlers from the 19th century. Robinson's purpose in organizing these biographies is to "present the stories of the pioneers as best we know them," (v) and to offer the resulting compendium as a tool for researchers – to provide first-person perspective, present a sampling of sources that may lead to further research on a specific topic, and highlight discrepancies and fallacies in historical records. The book begins with an introduction to the material and a brief description of frontier life in Florida. Pioneer biographies, which are organized alphabetically by family name, follow this introduction and form the bulk of the book's content. Biographies vary in length from a name and a few lines containing basic personal details or perhaps an anecdote, to several pages that provide extensive biographical information, noteworthy events, and indications of character or personality. The final pages of the book are divided into seven appendices which provide greater context for the pioneers' stories: cross-references for land acquisitions and families; lists of Florida lighthouses; refuge stations; political posts; census reports; and a brief description of the evolution of the Florida counties which form the book's setting.

Allison Sellers

Washington State University

Tim Robinson, *A Tropical Frontier: Tales of Old Florida*. (Tim Robinson, 2011); \$25.00.

A Tropical Frontier: Tales of Old Florida is a work of historical fiction. It is based, in part, on Robinson's *A Tropical Frontier: Pioneers*

and Settlers of Southeast Florida, 1800-1890 and serves as a companion novel to that reference work. It is set in the nineteenth century and follows the lives of Florida sailors and settlers in Biscayne Bay, Indian River, Jupiter Inlet, the Lower East Coast, and New River and Hillsborough. Robinson notes that the main characters are inspired by actual Florida pioneers, and that several of the secondary characters are the "real, living, breathing people" (Author's Note) whose stories he collected for his 2005 compendium. Robinson also provides topographical and historical maps of Florida for the reader's reference, and offers a list of suggested reading.

Allison Sellers

Washington State University

Billy Townsend, *Age of Barbarity: The Forgotten Fight for the Soul of Florida* (Billy Townsend, 2012); \$25.00.

When we come to remember hot-points of racial violence in the early twentieth century, Florida is seldom one of the first names that top the list. Furthermore, with the exception of the massacre at Rosewood leaving at least eight people dead and most of the town burned and abandoned, few can recall specific examples of racial violence and Klan activity with the same consistency as the vast examples that come to mind in Mississippi or Alabama. This is precisely the issue addressed by Billy Townsend's, *Age of Barbarity: The Forgotten Fight for the Soul of Florida*. Longtime newspaper writer and native of Palatka dating back four generations, Townsend attempts to recount a seemingly forgotten battle in Florida's long civil rights movement by constructing his narrative around a large number of newspaper accounts and extensive local knowledge. The end result is an intriguing mixture of traditional narrative, allegory, mystery, and historical fiction sure to captivate a variety of readers interested in Florida's early civil rights movement. The real highlight of the work comes in Townsend's familiarity with and enthusiasm for the subject matter, captivantly written to depict the turbulent events in vibrant detail for the reader. What follows is a detailed account of racial inequality and violence both in Florida and throughout the nation during a volatile fifteen-year period spanning from 1915 to 1930. Townsend recreates a story of racial polarization, mob violence, and legal indifference that was unfortunately all too common in the early twentieth century. However, as Townsend depicts, the actions of a few led to a relatively surprising outcome for the residents of Palatka and Putnam County, which

checked Klan power and fought to establish equal protection for all its inhabitants. Townsend skillfully uses his narrative to illustrate that even in an "Age of Barbarity," some resemblance of humanity remained, and those who demonstrated it should not be forgotten.

Adam S. Rock

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Michael J. Trinklein, *Lost States: True Stories of Texlahoma, Transylavania, and Other States That Never Made It* (Philadelphia: Quirk Books, 2010), \$24.95.

A rather humorous portrayal of U.S. states that never were, *Lost States* provides 74 separate histories of proposed territories that for various "peculiar" reasons never managed to secure admittance into the union. For each prospective state analyzed, Trinklein offers a potpourri of personally rendered maps that "reflect the historic era in which the events took place," as he either "modified an existing map from the appropriate historical period" or "created an 'old' map from scratch." While presenting a collection of histories that would have otherwise fallen into historiographical oblivion, the author dips his feet into the fascinating pool of counterfactual history as he offers his own unique speculation on what would have happened if any of the statehood proposals did, in fact, achieve annexation.

Matt Darroch

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