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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

Daniel Murphree, Book Review Editor

New Worlds of Violence: Cultures and Conquests in the Early American Southeast. By Matthew Jennings. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, illustrations, index. Pp. xxxiv, 263. \$50 cloth.)

As recently as the 1990s, the early colonial period in southeastern North America—south of the Chesapeake, that is—was something of a historiographical black hole. Since 2000, however, there has been a dramatic increase in scholarship on the region's "forgotten centuries" (1500-1700), as Charles Hudson and Carmen Tesser once called them. The outpouring has included books like Alan Gallay's *Indian Slave Trade* (2002), Steven Hahn's *Invention of the Creek Nation* (2004), James Carson's *Creating an Atlantic World* (2007), William Ramsey's *Yamasee War* (2008), Christina Snyder's *Slavery in Indian Country* (2010), and Robbie Ethridge's *From Chicaza to Chickasaw* (2010). The latest addition to this scholarship is Matthew Jennings' book on cultures of violence in the early southeast, which nicely complements Joseph Hall's study of diplomacy and exchange, *Zamumo's Gifts* (2009), and which shows how public violence can tell us as much about a culture as more peaceful pursuits.

Jennings begins his thought-provoking work with an overview of the Mississippian culture that dominated the southeast between 900 and 1450 CE. While noting considerable diversity among the various Mississippian chiefdoms, he finds several common elements in their culture of war. These included the use of weapons and warfare as symbols of masculinity, the belief that war was a

means of restoring orderly relations between This World and the Upper World, and leaders' use of violence to chastise wayward clients. Public violence thus reinforced the culture's gender norms, religious values, and political hierarchies.

There were notable similarities between the Mississippians' military culture and that of the Spanish who invaded the south-east in the 1500s. Like Mississippian Indians, Spaniards fought to uphold male honor and to defend their polity and spiritual values—or, as they would put it, to serve Crown and Church. Unlike contemporary Indians, however, Spain used violence not to maintain tributary relationships with client communities, but to subjugate, plunder, and exploit ethnic outsiders. Their repertoire of violence thus included tactics alien to Native Americans, like all-out assaults on enemy towns and the use of *ad terrorem* techniques (like mutilation) to strike fear into subject peoples.

As other historians of the region have noted, the English adventurers who began colonizing the southeast a few decades after the Spanish entradas shared many of their Spanish rivals' goals and means. The officers of the Virginia Company, in particular, were partial to terror tactics like De Soto's, and their goal was to get rich, either by exploiting slave labor or through plunder (of Spanish treasure ships, in their case). The English ideology of conquest differed from the Spaniards', however, insofar as they viewed their subjugation of the Indians as a rescue mission—rescuing them from alleged Spanish tyranny. The Englishmen who settled in Carolina colony in the late seventeenth century also differed from the Spanish in their willingness to recruit Indians as military allies, albeit for the purpose of capturing and enslaving other Native peoples.

European diseases and the English trade in slaves and firearms dramatically transformed southeastern Native American violence. Heavy population losses and the erosion of chiefs' authority by European trade caused a leveling of Indians' social hierarchies, and resulted in the decentralization of military decision-making. A multitude of war captains and clan matrons now assumed responsibility for sending young men to war, which made it harder for chiefs to control their people, and easier for English slave traders to "reorient" Indian violence (136) toward their own ends. Indian tactics, however, remained under Native control, and warriors and their leaders, viewing force protection as a high priority, emphasized quick blows or "coups" against enemies, rather than protracted campaigns (95). Moreover, by the eighteenth century the south-

east's surviving Indian nations had come to realize they could use collective violence, in cooperation with other Indian communities, to recover their political autonomy. The Yamasees attempted this, unsuccessfully, during the Yamasee War, and the Creek Indians did so with much greater success after that war ended.

New Worlds of Violence is a clearly-written and thoughtful book, which makes able use of the available source material to craft a provocative but persuasive argument: that violence was not the result of a breakdown in social order, but rather one of the bonds that knit a society together. In discussing Native American torture, for example, Jennings succinctly analyzes the social functions that torture served for Indians: it expiated the grief and anger of clan matrons, it allowed captured warriors one last chance to prove their bravery, and it ceremonially announced the end of a war. Englishmen viewed this practice as barbaric, but they too had violent practices—the destruction of Native villages, the mutilation and beating of Indian and African slaves, and the beheading of rebels—that maintained their own exploitative social order.

Apropos of African slaves, Jennings has little new to say, which is not surprising given the chronological limits of his book—the region's African population was quite small before the mid-eighteenth century. He summarizes the research of John Thornton and Mark Smith, who observed that African slaves were often war captives who brought a culture of militarily organized violence to the southeast. He notes that some African slaves, like the Bambara in Louisiana, recognized they could not violently resist European exploitation without Native American help. What Jennings does not do, however, is observe that other ethnic groups in the region had come to the same conclusion: they needed the help of African slaves if they were going to resist Europeans. During the Natchez War (1729-31), Natchez leaders sought to mobilize African slaves in Louisiana against the French, as James Barnett reported in *The Natchez Indians* (2007). Meanwhile, Spanish officials in Florida offered freedom to runaway slaves from South Carolina if they agreed to help defend Florida against their former masters. These alliances may lie outside of Jennings' chronological ambit, but they do remind us that violence remained a powerful incentive for inter-ethnic cooperation in the southeast after the "forgotten centuries" ended.

David A. Nichols

Indiana State University

Southern Character: Essays in Honor of Bertram Wyatt-Brown. Edited by Lisa T. Frank and Daniel Kilbride. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Notes, select bibliography, list of contributors, index. Pp. xvi, 368. \$74. 95 cloth.)

Students of Bertram Wyatt-Brown, long-time professor of southern history at the University of Florida, have honored their mentor with a fine *festschrift* published by the University Press of Florida. After an informative, brief biography of Wyatt-Brown by Charles Joyner, the essays in the book explore many of the topics that interested Wyatt-Brown: honor, politics, religious minorities in the South, and race and gender. Although the chapters are relatively brief, the pieces are grounded in primary source research and reflect the latest scholarship of southern history.

Three of the essays use honor as an interpretative key. Christopher Olsen expands Wyatt-Brown's treatment of honor to explain masculinity in the Old South. He interprets "antiparty attitudes and behavior...violence ... and language" as three areas in which "the politics of masculinity and honor" resided (46). By focusing on the ways in which honor and masculinity intertwined, especially in the language of sectionalism, Olsen offers fresh insight into the politics of the antebellum South. Daniel Stowell writes on Abraham Lincoln's changing sense of honor. As a young man, Lincoln had been involved in an affair of honor. But as his legal and political career expanded, he lost touch with the southern interpretation of honor, causing him to misunderstand the South during the secession crisis. Ironically, Stowell concludes, John Wilkes Booth murdered Lincoln partially out of a sense of southern honor. Lisa Tendrich Frank, in a perceptive article, notes that the decline in Confederate morale during Sherman's march can be appreciated through the treatment of women by the Union army. By invading women's spaces in the home, Union soldiers proved that Confederate men could not protect their wives and daughters, dealing a major blow to their honor.

Four of the essays consider political themes, relying on an intellectual history approach. Benjamin Houston and John J. Langdale III treat twentieth-century southern conservative intellectuals, Donald Davidson and M.E. Bradford, respectively, and demonstrate the ways in which practical political concerns intruded upon their scholarship. Daniel Kilbride, in a short piece on southern reactions to the Revolutions of 1848, finds that northern and southern responses to the European crisis differed very little. He showed that concerns about

democracy, social order, and religion predominated. Other American intellectuals made critiques along racial lines. Kilbride found that "Southerners' commitment to racial slavery did not make them more prone to favor explanations drawing support from scientific racism" (99). Chris Beckmann, Steven Noll, and David Tregeder contribute a piece on the Cross Florida Barge Canal, an Army Corps of Engineers project approved in the 1960s but cancelled by President Nixon in the early 1970s. The authors found that a nascent environmentalist movement combined with concerns over government spending torpedoed the canal project. The failed project reflects, the authors contend, the crumbling of New Deal liberalism and the "liberal consensus" it embodied (180, 187). The chapter documents well the changing politics of the post-World War II South.

Several fascinating essays consider southern history from the perspectives of religious minorities in the region, a topic Wyatt-Brown has researched. Jeffrey Anderson contributes an essay on different portrayals of Voodoo. A. Glenn Crothers demonstrates how Virginia Quakers struggled to address the slavery issue as open discussion of the peculiar institution became more difficult in the late antebellum period. He details how Quakers appealed to southern icons such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson for antislavery views. Some Virginia Quakers also supported "voluntary colonization as a means of ending slavery" (62). Randall Stephens considers Wesleyan Abolitionists in the South in the 1840s and 1850s. Perfectionist doctrines preached by the Wesleys did not find many adherents in the antebellum South, and many southerners viewed Wesleys not only as dangerous abolitionists, but as preaching a religious doctrine incompatible with southern honor. Andrew Moore considers the relationship between southern Catholics and southern Baptists in the post-Civil Rights South as both groups worked out strategies to respond to the movement for abortion rights. He sees Catholic participation in the civil rights protests as evidence of Catholic embrace of "American democracy" (215). Many southern Catholics opposed abortion and were joined in their protests by southern Protestants, who were often uncomfortable collaborating with Catholics. Moore notes that the situation had been made possible by the civil rights movement and its language of the "beloved community" and individual rights (204-206). Each author could expand his essay by further demonstrating the ways in which these religious minorities in the South adopted or shunned southern identities.

Finally, three essays deal primarily with southern constructions of race. Christopher Morris examined the career of South Carolina Regulator Gideon Gibson, a man of mixed racial heritage. Morris demonstrates how Gibson's move to Mississippi allowed him to construct a different racial identity for his family. Like honor, then, racial identity often depended on the judgment of the community. Stephanie Cole furthers this point in her consideration of white women in Jim Crow era Texas who married Chinese men. Cole demonstrates that responses to such unions were often mixed and escaped widespread condemnation despite the prevalence of anti-Chinese attitudes in other parts of the country. Andrew Frank examines the ways in which Southeastern Indians used nation and tribe, rather than race, as means to identify tribal members. Frank's piece deals ably with a complex topic.

The essays in *Southern Character* provide a fitting tribute to Bertram Wyatt-Brown and suggest further paths of study. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (1982), Wyatt-Brown's most important contribution to the historiography of the American South, again reveals itself as a useful tool for understanding the varied historical experiences of southerners.

Adam Tate

Clayton State University

Sold Down the River: Slavery in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia. By Anthony G. Carey. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, index. Pp. x, 280. \$29.95 cloth.)

Scholarly discourse and analysis on the nature of antebellum slavery attempts to reconstruct the delicate dichotomies of race, class, and power in the decades leading up to the American Civil War. However, in route to accessing these intricate relationships, scholars often view the Cotton South as one singular entity. Anthony G. Carey highlights the diversity within the Deep South cotton plantation network in his study *Sold Down the River: Slavery in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia*. Carey's extensive research on the counties in the Lower Chattahoochee River Valley serves as a case study for traditional arguments of chattel slavery as his findings provide evidence for these major claims and illustrate the exceptionalism of slavery in this particular region. Most signifi-

cantly, Carey argues, by looking at its origins, slavery in the Valley was not static and became the market-oriented, racially-based system through the culmination of several factors.

While Carey does not intend to challenge or revise current arguments on slavery in the Cotton South, his research serves as a lens for evaluating the validity and extent to which the factors of labor, resistance, and paternalism were visible within the Chattahoochee Valley. Through synthesizing the historiography of chattel slavery with plantation inventories, church and court records, and agricultural journals of the Valley, Carey concludes that three major aspects worked in tandem to build the plantation network recognized by scholars of antebellum slavery. First, Carey argues that the transportation and sale of slaves on the Chattahoochee River allowed the area to rapidly develop and produce cotton after the Creek Removal and the influx of planters from the Upper South. Secondly, Carey reveals that both whites and blacks shared spaces of worship and were able to make sense of their world by tailoring Evangelical Protestantism messages to benefit their own autonomy. In addition, Carey maintains the notion that what bound non-slaveholders in the Valley to the institution of slavery was the strict racial limitations that slaveholders brought with them and perpetuated through the political economy that developed in the late antebellum era.

Arguably, Carey's most notable contribution to the ongoing discussion on the peculiar institution is his opening chapter on how the introduction of slavery to the Valley altered the delicate balance of power between native and white populations. Carey grounds slavery's roots in the Creek Nation before the arrival of whites, but notes that the Creeks' practice of slavery was vastly different from the large-scale chattel slavery that would eventually dominate the Valley. Similar to Edward Baptist's methodology in *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the War* (2002), Carey eloquently depicts the expansion of slavery that attracted white settlers to the Georgia and Alabama cotton-frontier, which created a power struggle over these valuable lands. Carey emphasizes slavery's centrality in fracturing the Creek Nation between the members who adopted the racially-based slavery of the whites and those who opposed the practice. Thus, Carey demonstrates how white control over race, territory, and the political-economy dictated the major transition from localized clan-based slavery to the commodification, influx, and large-scale enslavement of thousands of African-Americans.

In addition, Carey's examples of resistance, labor, punishment, and family life contribute to the ongoing effort to reconstruct the slave experience. Most notably, Carey's analysis on religion demonstrates "many commonalities between the divine and daily life which enabled blacks and whites to pray together for different things" (143). Carey moves beyond constructed racial dichotomies by emphasizing the ways blacks and whites relied on one another by constantly navigating spaces of labor, home, and worship. Carey's contributions on slave experiences in hiring-out, participation in free labor economy, and kinship networks demonstrate alternative means of agency outside the customary realm of labor and resistance. Therefore, Carey successfully evaluates the extent to which the traditional framework of southern hegemony and paternalism existed in the Valley through his primary source use on the ground-level.

While Carey notes his intentions to reconstruct the narrative of slavery in the Valley without revising current scholarship, there were areas where he missed an opportunity to make an impact within the broader scholarly discourse. In the broadest sense, Carey initially gives the allusion that his study will depict the exceptionalism of the region and provide a sense of the diversity of slavery within the monolithic Cotton South. However, rather than showing the exceptionalism of the Valley, Carey demonstrates that several socio-cultural, political, and racial aspects of slavery fall precisely in line with previous scholarship on the Deep South. Rather than applying new sources to old questions, perhaps Carey could have let the sources speak for themselves in an attempt to develop new approaches to understanding the plantation. In addition, while Carey synthesizes the expansion of slavery with the Creeks, he ignores the role of cotton production in the motives of white settlers. While Carey mentions the importance of cotton in his second chapter, it would have been much more effective to interweave cotton's technological impact on the market, westward expansion, and the interstate slave trade as simultaneous incentives for Creek Removal.

While Carey's narrative has the potential to make trailblazing contributions to the field, his goal of providing a local history of slavery's changes as an institution, and voice to those whose experiences have yet to be fully restored, is successful. Carey's application of untapped resources to a vast theoretical discussion contributes significant conclusions in the unending quest to understand the peculiar institution.

Lauren K. Thompson

Florida State University

I Fear I Shall Never Leave This Island: Life in a Civil War Prison. By David R. Bush. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgement, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 224. \$34.95 cloth.)

There is a large, and growing, body of work on Civil War prisoner of war (POW) camps, but David Bush in *I Fear I Shall Never Leave This Island* reveals a new dimension never depicted before. The body of Civil War POW literature generally discusses the mass encampments intended for enlisted men, centering on the suffering generated by overcrowding, poor logistics, and ineffective POW exchange policies on both sides. Bush, however, provides an excellent account of a class divide in the POW community by concentrating his study on the Federal facility at Johnson's Island in Lake Erie, near Sandusky, Ohio. Unlike typical POW camps, Johnson's Island housed solely Confederate officers. The Union created a separate POW site for officers only to deny captured Confederate prisoners leadership and thus make them more controllable. The Union Army also believed a separate officer-only camp might provide an opportunity to extract intelligence from the captive Confederates.

Bush's study of Johnson's Island centers on the letters of prisoners held there, primarily the correspondence of Captain Wesley Makely to his wife, Kate, after his capture by the Union at the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863. By that time, Johnson's Island was at near capacity, and Makely's experience was one of a prisoner at an established and reasonably well-run camp, unlike the experience of many other POWs. Makely maintained a considerable correspondence with Kate over the following months until his release in April 1865. The letters provide a great deal of information about life at Johnson's Island and an excellent comparison to the more rigorous life in other POW camps. For instance, although rations were sometimes reduced, the officers at Johnson's Island suffered fewer of the logistic problems that plagued other POW camps and resulted in significant numbers of deaths. Also, unlike average camps, the officers at Johnson's Island did not have to live exposed to the elements, although Makely and other officers complained about the severity of the Ohio winters. Other challenges included dealing with the endless tedium and boredom, a problem Makely partially overcame by fashioning makeshift jewelry for his wife, which he was able to mail to her. The only hope of relief was a prisoner exchange (which happened with less and less frequency

as the war progressed), escape (which was virtually impossible from the island, although a number of officers tried), or rescue. The latter option occurred only once, in September 1864, when an ill-planned attempt by the Confederacy to free the prisoners via a raid from Canada ended in spectacular failure.

There is a wonderful human element in the letters in this book, especially the letters between the Makelys. Wesley wrote emotional letters to his wife, which was especially difficult in light of the expectation that Union authorities would examine the letters before forwarding them. Kate, in return, tried to write reassuring letters, aware that expressing any hardship on her part would cause only undue heartache on a husband unable to assist her to any great degree. The Makelys had a young daughter, but her correspondence to her father was limited to only a single letter. The Makelys' correspondence provides insight into the thoughts of wartime participants, as the couple shares their thoughts on topics ranging from politics to their postwar future. The jewelry Makely produced for his wife, revealed in numerous photographs in the book, also provides an additional sense of connection to two people separated by war.

As a study of the Civil War POW experience, *I Fear I Shall Never Leave This Island* is not a typical case, since the study of officers is too exclusionary. However, Bush's study of Johnson's Island is useful because of its unique setting and the insight provided by the correspondence generated by its inhabitants. His annotations are appropriate and do not distract the reader from the main discussion of the book. Although Bush sometimes guesses at the intent and meaning of some of the letters, his conclusions are reasonable and based upon realistic deduction instead of conjecture. Overall, this book is an insightful look at a singular setting and experience in the Civil War. Bush's look into the lives of prisoners at Johnson's Island should find a welcome place in the ranks of Civil War POW literature.

Steven J. Ramold

Eastern Michigan University

The Materiality of Freedom: Archaeologies of Postemancipation Life. Edited by Jodi A. Barnes. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, index. Pp. xii, 256. \$49.95 cloth.)

The Materiality of Freedom is a collection of fifteen essays by anthropologists and archeologists who are interested in how ar-

cheological evidence can be used to better understand the black American experience since emancipation. The authors of these essays contribute to a growing interest in and understanding of the archeology of the African diaspora. While some of the essays are very brief, all of them offer interesting vignettes about post-emancipation life through descriptions of the archeological sites and the artifacts they investigate. The Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls in Chicago, Cole House in a once thriving black neighborhood in Dallas, the Boston Saloon frequented by black miners in Virginia City, Nevada, and Clifton Plantation in the Bahamas are just a few of the sites the essays discuss.

The essays feature fascinating stories but more importantly, they challenge a long-held paradigm of the field of archeology, which has tended to dismiss post-emancipation historical sites as too recent and too limited in their artifacts to justify the time and expense of excavation. This professional neglect has, as a result, contributed to a "silencing" of the black experience. By bringing traditional methods of anthropology and archeology together with historical analysis and critical race theory, the essays in this interesting little book offer insights into how institutionalized racism has worked to eradicate the physical environments of the black experience in American history. The essays also suggest that destroyed, abandoned, and mostly forgotten sites can offer opportunities for research, commemoration of the past, and community healing.

The book features a new generation of scholars who have engaged decedent communities and other community stakeholders in a collaborative effort to make excavation and research of black, post-emancipation sites viable. By garnering community support, raising funds, and heightening public awareness, the essays argue that these collaborative efforts and interdisciplinary studies deepen historical meaning of sites previously ignored. Black Americans who have lived in the vicinity of neighborhoods under archeological investigation have played a crucial role in the collaborative new efforts of archeological inquiry.

Alexandria's Contraband and Freedman's Cemetery in Virginia is a case in point. Some 1,800 men, women, and children were buried in the cemetery from 1864 to 1869, when the site was abandoned with the closing of the Freedman's Bureau. In the 1940s, most of the site was razed to make way for commercial development. Unofficially, however, some members of the Alexandria community felt obligated to provide some maintenance of the site

during the years following its closing. In recent years, Friends of the Freedmen's Cemetery has taken up a more official role in commemoration of the site. This group of private citizens struggled for many years to protect the site; their collaboration with archeologists who have recently excavated the site was "central to the reclamation and memorial process" (36). Because of this collaboration, the potential for historical understanding of the site is greater than the separate histories of the freed people buried there or of their descendants who maintained the cemetery long after it lapsed into disuse. Recognition of the historical layers memorializing the cemetery enhances the historical memory of the freedmen themselves, and will contribute to a richer experience for future visitors of the site.

The Materiality of Freedom advocates collaboration with community stakeholders, but it also stresses the value of interdisciplinary studies. Most of the essays within the volume offer specific examples of how history, anthropology, archeology, and African American studies can produce meanings that are greater than the sum of their parts. The authors make no overt attempt to direct their collaboration arguments from their own field to historians; but taken together, the essays suggest that at least in the area of public history, collaboration may offer some unique opportunities and insights. The essays also suggest, although not overtly, that historians of the black experience in America should consider the potential of archeological and anthropological evidence in their own investigations. The physical spaces and artifacts of the human experience not only offer material evidence of daily life, but also provide a window into the past that does not appear in any written historical record.

Collections with a large number of essays are rarely even in quality or completely cohesive, but *The Materiality of Freedom* succeeds on both counts. The essays are well written and engaging, and each of them offers archeological evidence that historians of African American history will find interesting and useful. However, since historians are trained to resist modern perceptions in their own research and writing, some might balk at the activist approach of the contributing scholars of this volume. Yet, it is hard to deny that most historians could benefit from a healthy dose of interdisciplinary study, and at least a few might appreciate a reason to make their historical inquiries more directly relevant to a wider, public audience.

Stacy Pratt McDermott

Papers of Abraham Lincoln

Conserving Southern Longleaf: Herbert Stoddard and the Rise of Ecological Land Management. By Albert G. Way. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xx, 320. \$24.95 paper.)

In 2005, environmental historian Mart Stewart posed an intriguing counterfactual: what if John Muir had been an agrarian? In other words, what if Muir had mounted his defense of nature from the South? American environmentalism might have as its signature scenery not an untouched wilderness but a working agricultural landscape. Human labor and the aesthetic appreciation of nature—landscapes of work and landscapes of leisure—might not seem so diametrically opposed (Mart Stewart, *Environment and History*, 2005).

As Albert Way's *Conserving Southern Longleaf* reveals, Stewart's counterfactual has a factual basis: while John Muir never had more than a passing acquaintance with the South, early twentieth-century conservation *did* have a strong agrarian cast, and one of its foremost practitioners was based in the South. Way recovers a story that challenges received wisdom about the early twentieth-century South *and* about the conservation movement.

As the traditional narrative goes, environmentalism was a latecomer to the South. While John Muir was battling for the preservation of picturesque public lands, southerners were selling off millions of acres to private (usually northern) investors. While some praised the beauty of the nation's western treasures, others excoriated the ruinous gullies of southern agriculture.

So the story goes. But Way argues convincingly that Herbert Stoddard's effort to understand and conserve the southern longleaf pine forest represents an important counterpoint to this narrative of waste and despoliation. Now endangered, the longleaf biome once covered some 90 million acres between Virginia and Texas. Longleaf depends on fire: it creates the mineral soil in which longleaf seeds germinate and, by clearing out competing trees and shrubs, allows young trees to flourish. Because of fire, an established longleaf forest is remarkably open, as much grassland as it is woodland. The understory plants that thrive in these savannahs also depend on fire for their renewal, and they in turn provide critical nutrition to a range of wildlife, including the bobwhite quail.

Which is where the Red Hills come into the story. In the late nineteenth century, wealthy northern travelers fleeing hay fever and neurasthenia came in droves to these fertile uplands be-

tween Thomasville, Georgia and Tallahassee, Florida. They sought refuge in the pine-infused air, long drives through park-like longleaf forests, and stylish quail hunts. By the early 1900s, as tourists increasingly bypassed the Red Hills for Henry Flagler's coastal resorts, northern industrialists began piecing Red Hills plantations into vast hunting preserves. Together they turned the Red Hills into what amounted to an immense quail plantation, a private sanctuary for some of America's richest men.

As this preserve landscape coalesced in the 1920s, however, the landowners anxiously sought out the aid of the U.S. Bureau of Biological Survey to determine what ailed the quail, which seemed to be harder and harder to find. The Bureau sent Herbert Stoddard, who made up for his lack of formal education (he did not finish high school) with fastidious attention to detail as a taxidermist and ornithologist, to investigate. The scholarly work that emerged from Stoddard's investigation, *The Bobwhite Quail: Its Habitats, Preservation, and Increase* (1931) became a landmark text in the emerging field of wildlife management, in part because of Stoddard's close ties to Aldo Leopold.

The heart of Way's story is a careful reconstruction of Stoddard's coming to know the bobwhite quail, the longleaf landscape, and the people of the Red Hills through fieldwork. Stoddard's insistence on working from the ground up — in acquiring an intimate, working knowledge of the environment *and* the culture — is perhaps best illustrated in his defense of burning as a land management technique. Stoddard's study revealed that when northern landowners kept their tenants from setting fires, the forests rapidly became too thick to support quail. The bobwhite quail, like the longleaf pine, needed regular burning to thrive. Stoddard maintained this argument in the face of significant criticism from both lumbermen and the Forest Service, for whom fire suppression had acquired the status of unquestioned orthodoxy.

It is telling that Stoddard mounted this counterintuitive defense of tenant agriculture and traditional woodburning from private lands. Stoddard worked unhindered by the "red tape" of Forest Service or National Park bureaucracy. At the same time, the lack of a government platform limited his influence. His brand of conservation science was beholden to the support of exceedingly wealthy landowners and to the unequal social structure of the South.

So not only does Way connect conservation to southern history, he also writes the South into conservation history. Not unlike

Stoddard himself, Way recaptures the centrality of physical labor in human-environment interactions. The beautiful natural landscape Stoddard sought to conserve *could not exist* without human management, especially controlled burning. Stoddard discovered that longleaf woodlands interspersed with plowed ground and old field — the “plowed, chopped, grazed, ditched, and burned environment” of tenantry — was an ideal landscape not only for quail populations but also the biodiversity of the southern coastal plain (164). Stoddard’s work bridged the gap between scientific expertise and local, applied knowledge.

One might say the same of Way’s work: it embraces scientific theory, public policy, and the “contingencies of place” (15). After the first chapter, however, the people of the Red Hills recede from view, and Stoddard’s collaboration with Aldo Leopold and other wildlife management pioneers take center stage. Sources may be scarce — tracking tenant farmers is notoriously difficult — but one wonders how a more sustained look at the human society of the Red Hills would have fleshed out the story.

This small complaint aside, Way has crafted a superb example of what southern environmental history has to offer to the study of the South and environmental movements alike. John Muir may not have been an agrarian, but Herbert Stoddard’s work in the southern woodlands suggests that agrarian conservation science was, in its quiet way, just as important.

Tom Okie

University of Georgia

Thirteen Loops: Race, Violence, and the Last Lynching in America. By B. J. Hollars. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, bibliography, index, Pp. ix, 237. \$24.95. cloth.)

Lynching has long been a focus for historians of race relations in the United States, most notably Robert Zangrando’s seminal *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching* (1980). It was a topic, however, that was given prominence by early civil rights activists such as NAACP executive secretary Walter White, who wrote *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (1926). It also was assessed as early as 1892 by Ida B. Wells, who showed that mob crimes against African Americans were based on economic and gender assumptions

by the dominant white society and imposed upon blacks as a form of social control during racial apartheid after the end of slavery. Hollars' book continues this examination of lynching as a measurement of U.S. race relations in the twentieth century by taking three acts of violence in Alabama as comparative reference points, and attempts to assess American responses to the so-called 'last lynching' in 1981.

The three cases that Hollars uses are the lynching of Vaudine Maddox in 1933 in Tuscaloosa (which sets the historical background), the shooting of a white police officer (Gene Ballard) in 1979 in Birmingham, and the murder of Michael Donald in 1981 in Mobile. The book generally focuses on the two latter cases and attempts to weave a human story about two Americans, one white and one black, and how their violent deaths reflect changing race relations. Ballard's murderer, an African American, had a mistrial in 1981, which directly provoked members of the Ku Klux Klan in Mobile to seek a revenge killing of a random black person, leading to Donald's murder. The thirteen loops of the title refer to the coils around a hangman's knot, thus the book is divided into thirteen chapters. This generally conveys the perception that this is a popular history tome aimed at a general audience rather than the academic community and there are aspects of the book that will annoy professional historians.

Firstly, there are no footnotes or clear references so that anyone wishing to follow certain leads is left frustrated. There are short bibliographic details for each 'loop' at the end of the book, but these are not helpful if a student wished to study issues further. A case in point is the statement that in 1933 "women's groups" petitioned the governor of Alabama about violence in the state and that this had an effect on men's groups (37). The book does not state whether these groups were black or white; if they were white groups, then this certainly requires greater clarity.

Secondly, the style of writing is often curious. At times, the phrasing is remarkably obtuse and does not lend itself to clarity. Michael Donald is said to have an "unconfirmed" girlfriend (73), and there is speculation of his sexual orientation, but it is unclear what points are being made or whether they are at all relevant. At one point, the author takes a truism and creates a bizarre and inexplicable metaphor: "history makes it too easy to search for clues in the aftermath, reading yesterday's newspapers in search of the tea leaves of tomorrow" (185). I do not know what this means. The

book is well meaning but scattered with trite and irritating phrases. When one of the killers of Michael Donald is executed by the state of Alabama, Hollars blandly states that "His hatred died with him" (194).

On the positive side, the book does highlight the changing relationship of media response to crime in Alabama and there is a useful discussion on definitions of lynching. Hollars also alludes to issues of lynching having connections to broader hate crimes, such as homophobia-related violence, and to 'high-tech lynching' (6), which is ever more relevant in light of Republican presidential hopeful Herman Cain's media treatment in late 2011. The best section of the book is the description of Donald's mother successfully suing the Ku Klux Klan for \$7 million, and thus bankrupting the United Klans of America. However, the book never shows an adequate depth of historical analysis and is useful for the general reader only.

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The Gospel of the Working Class: Labor's Southern Prophets in New Deal America. By Erik S. Gellman and Jarod Roll. (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: The University of Illinois Press, 2011. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp xvi, 221. \$30.00 paper.)

Erik S. Gellman and Jarod Roll have produced an engaging and well-researched study of two important southern-based social and religious activists, Owen Whitfield and Claude Williams. In four, thought-provoking chapters, Gellman and Roll, former Northwestern University graduate school classmates, demonstrate that the African American Whitfield and the white Williams, both of whom were born poor in the 1890s, participated in numerous campaigns against racism and economic inequality during the 1930s and 40s. Indeed, *The Gospel of the Working Class* deepens our understanding of Civil Rights, Labor, Religious, and Southern history. By exploring these remarkable lives, Gellman and Roll have contributed to the scholarship associated with what historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall has termed "The long Civil Rights Movement."

Whitfield and Williams grew up on opposite sides of the Jim Crow-imposed divide, but both became perceptive and energetic organizers

committed to building a society based on racial equality and working class empowerment. Born in Mississippi, the African American Whitfield received no formal education but earned respect in southern Missouri, where he worked as a preacher, participated in Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, and later served as an activist in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU). Although he believed in "black independence," Whitfield soon found inspiration from the interracial unity practiced by the STFU and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the powerful umbrella union that began organizing black and white employees across industries in the mid-1930s. By the late 1930s, Whitfield earned a reputation for fighting home evictions, climaxing in the development of a massive, multiracial encampment of roughly 1500 homeless sharecroppers on the side of U.S. Highways 60 and 61 in early 1939. This high-profile occupation earned the attention of activists throughout the U.S., and landed Whitfield a meeting with President Franklin Roosevelt. Through pressure, Whitfield helped secure federal loans for the construction of public housing for displaced farmers.

The Western Tennessee-born and Vanderbilt-educated Williams grew up believing in white supremacy, but became a proponent of racial equality in his early adult years. In Roll and Gellman's words, he held that "the fight against racism was essential to the fight against economic exploitation" (74). He led a church in Paris, Arkansas, an impoverished coal mining town, where he preached to both blacks and whites while embracing what Gellman and Roll call "a growing conviction that the gospel of Christ should overturn southern orthodoxies of gender, race, and class" (44). Here he worked closely with labor activists, members of the Socialist Party, and radical educators from left-wing institutions like Commonwealth College and Highlander Folk School. Figures from these schools introduced Williams to the classical Marxist tradition, and he soon absorbed the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, figures whose ideas made sense in the context of the crippling financial crisis that impacted rural and urban workers throughout the South. He saw no contradiction with embracing Marxism while preaching the words of God. Williams's influence expanded greatly in the mid- to late 1930s; he led Commonwealth College and worked intimately with CIO union-builders. During World War II, he took his pro-union and racial equality messages to Detroit, which at the time was rocked by explosive racial conflicts in workplaces and on the streets.

The two organizers preached and struggled together in numerous campaigns. Most importantly, they collaborated in the People's Institute of Applied Religion (PIAR), an organization founded in 1940 that held workshops for activists who sought to understand, and ultimately challenge, the moral bankruptcy of the South's political economy. In numerous communities, including Charleston, Little Rock, and Memphis, Williams and Whitfield convinced labor and community activists, as Gellman and Roll explain, "that the CIO was not just a vehicle for getting better wage rates but also a moral cause that demanded the destruction of Jim Crow" (116).

Gellman and Roll do a fine job of demonstrating the difficulties and messiness of organizing. Indeed, activists like Williams and Whitfield faced the challenges of failure, government and business-backed repression, and the frustrations of coping with expressions of religious and secular sectarianism. Williams, for instance, was beaten by thugs in eastern Arkansas while assisting the STFU. And soon he was fired from the STFU leadership for supposedly seeking greater ties between the union and the American Communist Party. Williams and Whitfield also caught the attention of the communist-hunting Dies Committee. Moreover, the pace of change was often slow. Whitfield's eye-catching 1939 demonstration of homeless sharecroppers initially achieved only modest gains in the immediate aftermath of his meeting with Roosevelt. "Landless farmers," Gellman and Roll explain, "had gotten 'a Raw Deal'" (102). Finally, these left-leaning preachers had numerous enemies from within the faith-based community. The Arkansas-based leadership of the Presbyterian Church fired Williams for his involvement with union activists in 1934, and a decade later, he feuded with far-right Church leaders in Detroit. Indeed, Roll and Gellman highlight the clear tensions between right-wing preachers and those on the left, offering a useful corrective to historian Michael Kazin's demonstrably inaccurate claim that "the sharp division between the religious Left and Right emerged only after World War II" (Kazin, *In Search of Progressive America*, 142).

Undergraduates, graduate students, general readers, and today's social justice activists, especially those from the faith-based community, will profit from learning about the lives of these impressive figures. Hopefully, future historians will follow Gellman and Roll's lead by producing more studies that link the struggle against white supremacy to the fight for economic justice.

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The Challenge of Blackness: The Institute of the Black World and Political Activism in the 1970s. By Derrick E. White. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xix, 288. \$69.95 cloth.)

"Where do we go from here?" Martin Luther King posed the question before his assassination in 1968, when the civil rights movement had achieved liberal triumphs in the battle for racial justice. Yet the black freedom struggle was still engaging questions of economic inequality and cultural pride, while also fighting an emerging conservative backlash and weathering its own internal strains. In the 1970s, an Atlanta-based think tank called the Institute of the Black World (IBW) kept seeking answers to King's critical question. Derrick White's *The Challenge of Blackness* chronicles the rise and fall of the IBW during the "long seventies." White shows that the IBW, though a radical organization, developed a "synthetic Black analysis" that bridged the aspirations of many activists and politicians.

A large roster of scholar-activists helped shape the course of the IBW, including Lerone Bennett Jr., Joyce Ladner, and Sterling Stuckey. Three figures, however, loom large in White's book. Spelman College theologian Vincent Harding, a speechwriter for King who fused black nationalism with Christian doctrine, first started discussing plans for a black institute with Morehouse College scholar Stephen Henderson, whose research examined theories of a black aesthetic. William Strickland, by contrast, sprang from a base of urban grassroots politics, having previously run the Northern Student Movement and helped organize the 1967 Black Power Conference. Their distinct interests and experiences informed the IBW's mission of seeking practical intellectual and political methods for transforming black communities in the 1970s.

Upon its founding in 1969, the IBW particularly contributed to the rise and identity of Black Studies programs, which were springing up on campuses nationwide. While its members weighed in on debates through national publications, they also implemented a Black Studies Curriculum at the Atlanta University Center, strengthening a broader challenge to the accommodationist patterns among Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Through a communal intellectual process, the IBW insisted that HBCUs needed to attack assumptions of Western civilization, main-

tain an independent integrity, and speak to the practical concerns of African American communities.

The IBW soon began defining itself as an activist think tank. Through its publications, lectures, and consortium of scholars, it sought to be both radical and pragmatic. At first, Atlanta's new King Center provided funding and autonomy. However, the King Center, helmed by Coretta Scott King, crafted a public memory of Martin Luther King based on liberalism, nonviolence, and racial integration, and it objected to the IBW's more ambitious and controversial agenda. By 1971, the IBW had undergone reorganization. It remained independent, but it was smaller, with less consistent funding, and many of its associates needed to take university jobs, which diminished the possibilities for genuine collaborative scholarship.

Still, the early 1970s showcased both a surging energy among grassroots activists and the rise of black elected officials. The IBW joined the wider dialogue by drafting an agenda that sought progressive benchmarks such as national health insurance, a higher minimum wage, and more educational aid, while avoiding touchy topics such as reparations. Its work lent a starting point for the National Black Political Agenda that developed at the 1972 Gary Convention, even if that gathering revealed the growing disconnect between political aspirants and radical activists. IBW associates also advised Maynard Jackson during his triumphant run for Atlanta mayor in 1973, though Jackson could never enact a genuinely transformative program for his city's persistent racial ills.

Through the mid-1970s, the IBW formulated ideas through scholarly connections with radical intellectuals such as Walter Rodney and Grace Lee Boggs, and it disseminated ideas through a syndicated newspaper column and various publications. Its synthetic radical analysis sought to bridge the widening "race vs. class" gulf between Black Nationalists and Marxists. Yet the organization declined over the course of the decade. The office suffered a rash of break-ins, which its members attributed to federal government surveillance of radical organizations. As the nation's politics shifted rightward and the economy stalled, the IBW relied on foundations, donations, and personal sacrifices to survive; but after 1975, its key members rarely met to produce scholarship that searched for concrete political, economic, and cultural solutions to reorient the nation's priorities.

The Challenge of Blackness profiles an institute with a limited profile and impact, and the writing suffers from some repetition. Yet

the book displays a clear organization and effectively weaves together archival research, oral histories, and the IBW's own publications to situate it within the intellectual milieu of African American politics in the 1970s. "In general," writes White, "the IBW's history is a metaphor for the difficulties faced by the entire Black Freedom Struggle during the long seventies" (14). His study possesses an analytical rigor that adds to the emerging understanding of this critical decade of both racial change and stasis.

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The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture. Volume 18: Media. Edited by Allison Graham and Sharon Monteith. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. Illustrations, bibliography, index. Pp. xx, 464, \$26.95 paper.)

This supplemental volume to the groundbreaking original *Encyclopedia* casts a wide net – from 19th century newspapers to *Hee Haw* to blogs. The collection generally succeeds and it is a worthy acquisition for research libraries. It offers good browsing but it does have some flaws.

Broad essays on "Southern media cultures" set the tone for this compilation. The authors describe distinctly Southern images that eventually emerged as national trends. For example, Norman Studios in Jacksonville produced hundreds of silent films between 1900 and 1920; after that period, the entire industry shifted from Florida to California. In fact, Hollywood movies have retained a fascination with Southern landscapes, accents, and family ties in horror movies as well as in documentaries and dramas. Familiar representations of the South often perpetuated stereotypes and revealed deeper connotations. Comic strips, such as *Pogo* or Depression-era "hillbilly" comics, provided laughs but also exposed images of stubborn poverty. The lovable scofflaws on *The Dukes of Hazzard* and the sharp-tongued divas on *Designing Women* represented complex manifestations of gender roles. These and many other illustrations are placed in thoughtful context early in the volume.

The South fascinates because it is both traditional and unconventional. Ted Turner's CNN challenged the New York-based national television structure. Florida's own Stetson Kennedy bravely stood up to the Ku Klux Klan and published his essays in national

magazines. The challenge to tradition, in a region celebrated for its rigid social customs, establishes a major theme of this collection: the Civil Rights era.

Entire sections of these introductory essays, as well as many individual entries on themes such as photojournalism or film censorship, discuss the Movement. The focus on Civil Rights provides many creative interpretations but also overshadows other worthy topics. The Great Depression and the recent rise of Southern Conservatism deserve more attention. Even more mundane events such as natural disasters, advertising, or cooking shows could have broadened the scope of this volume. Entries on the media portrayal of Martin Luther King or segregation are valid, but what about the media portrayal of Bill Clinton or Huey Long?

Another shortcoming is a woeful lack of photos. At least one photo is needed for each item. A comprehensive piece on Southern magazines, for example, lists dozens of titles but few details. The names themselves do have value, and listing them together here lifts many titles from obscurity. Such valuable information might best be utilized if each entry had a photo and some additional information. With its dearth of stills from the many movies that are mentioned herein, scant screen shots of blogs, and no maps, the print version of this edition on "media" truly shows the shortcomings of paper itself.

To their credit, the authors offer unique and creative viewpoints. And it is interesting to note that there seem to be as many talented scholars of the South in Manchester and London as there are in Memphis or in Mississippi. The internal variety of topics they discuss is incongruous at times. For example, a Native American newspaper that began in 1828 yields to the very next entry, on "Chick Flicks." The editors and contributors mostly discuss twentieth century material, with a strong helping of recent pop culture. As with any compendium of this type, readers will quarrel about what should or should not have been included. The music of Elvis Presley is not discussed here, although his movies are covered at length. The "Dixie Chicks Controversy," concerning the band's clash with President George W. Bush, is a debatable choice for inclusion. An early essay on Southern accents in the media falls flat. Nevertheless, the authors truly shine when they discuss the larger ramifications of popular Southern stereotypes. They offer consistently excellent discussions of movies such as *Deliverance* and *A Streetcar Named Desire*. They analyze numerous documentaries,

television shows, and unsung magazines such as *Living Blues*. These entries will send readers scrambling to find out more. Helpful bibliographies close out each introductory essay at the beginning of the book. Overall, these sometimes obscure topics are placed in a wide, thoughtful context.

As part of a valuable series, this entry on "media" maintains a very high standard of quality. Browsing through it will reward and, like a favorite episode of *Andy Griffith*, ultimately satisfy.

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Warriors Without Wars: Seminole Leadership in the Late Twentieth Century. By Patricia R. Wickman. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012. Acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 424. \$49.95 cloth.)

In 1957, the Seminoles of Florida, exercising their rights under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, adopted a constitution and bylaws and became a federally recognized tribe. Known as the Seminole Tribe of Florida, it featured an elected Tribal Council that provided general governance while a Board of Directors was to conduct business affairs. This hierarchical form of white man's governance bore no resemblance to traditional Southeastern Indian tribal leadership, which was predominantly consensual in nature. Nevertheless, it provided the Seminoles a vehicle by which to pursue their exercise of sovereignty. Historians have generally identified four eras in the development of tribal leadership. During its formative years (1957-71), the tribe was led by Christian Indians who had been instrumental in its founding. Lacking an independent source of funds, and with limited skills to pursue their development goals, these leaders remained under control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Conditions began to change rapidly under the chairmanship of Howard Tommie (1971-79). He took advantage of Great Society employment and training programs to develop a cadre of tribal members capable of exercising leadership in the future. More importantly, Tommie overcame legal challenges from state and local governments to establish the tribe's sovereign right to sell tax-free cigarettes on the reservations. The groundwork was laid for the impending Seminole renaissance. However, it would be during the extended tenure of the dynamic

James E. Billie (1979-2003) that the Seminole Tribe of Florida pushed the envelope of sovereignty beyond all previous boundaries, establishing a national precedent for operating high stakes bingo and other gaming on Indian reservations. In the process, the Seminoles became extremely wealthy people with attendant social and political ills that generally accompany sudden exposure to great wealth. The events of this tumultuous era and its aftermath are perceptively chronicled in Patricia R. Wickman's work *Warriors Without War*.

The author is a social scientist who has produced several notable books on the Seminoles. In 1992, she was hired by Chairman Billie to promote the tribe's cultural heritage and served as Director of its Anthropology and Genealogy Department; she took up residence on the Big Cypress Reservation, and for fifteen years lived and worked with the tribal members. However, Wickman was more than just another non-Indian employee; she became a friend and confidant of the chairman. This placed her at the epicenter of Seminole social and political life. Ironically, the great strength of Wickman's work—that it is based on an insider's perspective—can also be seen as a weakness. Anyone who has written a biography knows it is nearly impossible to provide an objective analysis of persons or events with which the author has been closely associated. Although she presents a balanced critique of Billie's strengths and flaws, both as an individual and a leader, the author never wavers in her admiration for his warrior ethos: "He never turned away from a fight. James Billie was the quintessential Warrior Without War" (79).

The book's title derives from Wickman's belief that modern Seminole leaders are fulfilling the warrior role that has been their tradition for centuries. She wrote: "From 1957 and the creation of the political entity, based upon the institution of a white-man's-style constitution and bylaws, the concomitant growth of a Euro-American-style bureaucratic infrastructure created brand new avenues to power and preferment for 'politicians' in the new 'Seminole Tribe of Florida'" (5). Furthermore, these modern warriors lead a tribe "... seeking not the *assumption* of sovereignty but its *reassertion* in the face of continuing and mounting attempts from the white man's government to suppress its exercise and force the assimilation of its citizens" (14-15).

The major force driving Seminoles in the exercise of their sovereign rights was James Billie. During his nearly six terms in of-

fice, the tribe enjoyed unparalleled prosperity based on proceeds from its gaming operations, and the people's standard of living improved dramatically. The aggressive chairman—Wickman calls him a “visionary”—led the tribe into a variety of enterprises to broaden its economic base; these included commercial agriculture, a cattle ranch and hotel in Nicaragua, and even a small aircraft manufacturing plant. Most of these ventures failed, but the gaming provided an ever increasing source of income. Near the end of his tenure, Billie, always a controversial figure and frequently under investigation by federal authorities, became embroiled in a number of court cases—but he was never convicted of any crime. The other members of the Tribal Council, chafing under the chairman's efforts to control their lavish spending, seized this opportunity to supplant him. He was suspended in May of 2001, and two years later, the Tribal Council, acting on specious constitutional grounds, removed Billie from office. Their action was irreversible; there was no process for appeal. Billie attempted to run for office in 2007 but was denied on a residency technicality. As Wickman summarized the situation: “The end of James Billie's reign was the beginning of a fourth generation in Seminole leadership. The Seminole people seem to have accepted Mitchell and David Cypress (the new chairman and his brother) and their style of leadership, much of which they learned from James Billie and the rest of which appears to center far more on money than on cultural preservation. This attitude may or may not support a future for the Seminole Indians as a distinct group” (338-39).

Wickman concluded her compelling narrative prematurely. Otherwise, she could have reported an incredible reversal of political fortune. In May of 2011, the Seminole Tribe of Florida returned James E. Billie to the position of chairman with a substantial majority of the vote. At the same time, all of his foes on the Tribal Council were defeated. Thus, a decade after he was ousted, not by the people but by alienated colleagues, Billie is again in position to exercise his unique style of leadership. It will be instructive to see if Wickman resumes the role of biographer for one of the most fascinating figures in modern Indian history.

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