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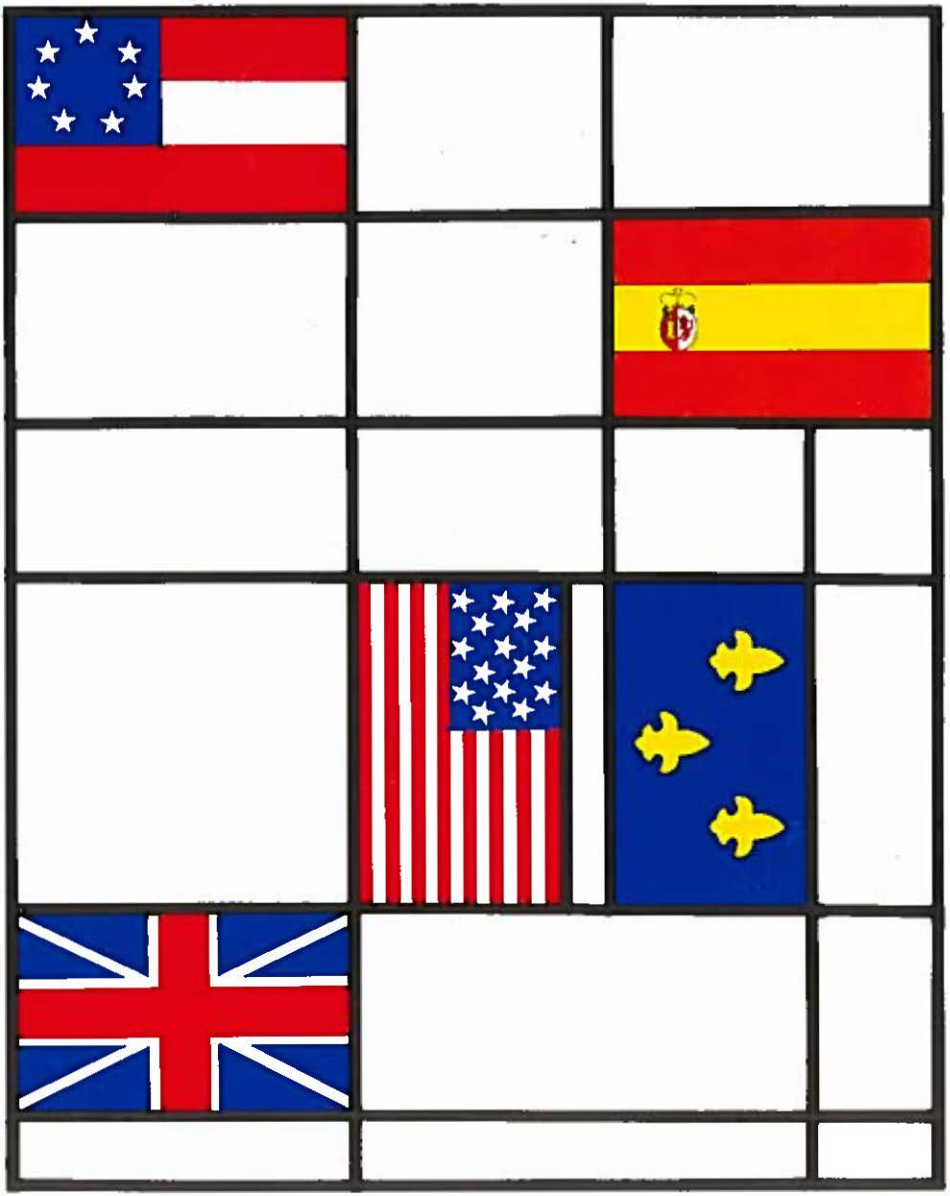

GC Gulf Coast
HR Historical Review

Vol. 13 Fall 1997 No. 1

Cover design by
Marilyn Thomason

From the Editor . . .

Welcome to our All-Book-Review issue compiled by Dr. Jim McSwain, the journal's book review editor. While we are doing this to try to eliminate a backlog of reviews, is also serves to highlight how much good work is now being published on our region. Professor McSwain has done an outstanding job introducing and organizing the issue, so without further needless introduction, here it is. The books are presented in rough chronological order, by subject. At the end of the issue there is an alphabetical listing by author.

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Ink and Paper, Not Pixels: or Why I Like the Printed Word

James B. McSwain

The modern academic study of history relies heavily upon printed documents to substantiate interpretations, test theories, and expand the scope of our knowledge of the past. Since the late nineteenth-century adoption of the German graduate school model, many American universities have defined their mission to include research and writing.[1] Accordingly, faculty members in history have established many professional journals to serve as outlets for the results of research and investigation of the past.[2] The number of journals has multiplied as the discipline has expanded the scope of its attention from politics, war, and diplomacy to economics, social structures, labor, religion, race, and gender. Some have also adopted explicitly theoretical perspectives such as quantitative, Marxist, or feminist methodologies. The expansion in numbers comes in part from the fact that the journals are part of the "scholarly record." They are a means of staying abreast of investigations, while serving as professionally certified sources of information.[3] This growth trend has accelerated since World War II as a handful of graduate faculties have grown to hundreds of doctoral-level programs in history.[4] They in turn have given birth to a flood of scholars armed with a Ph.D. and a determination to earn professional respect and advancement through publication.

The academic publishing industry has also grown whether the vehicle is a commercial house or a university press.[5] University presses have in the past competed with one another to build lists of high quality historical monographs either in a few chosen fields or across the spectrum of historical investigation.[6] Throngs of hungry-to-publish historians have been ready to satisfy these press aspirations, while the number of presses seeking material in turn kept the ranks of published scholars plentiful. As long as economic forces and labor-saving technology drove down the absolute costs of publishing, this relationship produced an enormous number of moderately-selling but much discussed monographs, journals, and research tools.

However, the 1980s have seen a troubling galaxy of demons arise to upset the status quo. Costs of printing materials, labor, and postage have risen, and there has been a two-decade escalation of the subscription costs of scientific journals.[7] Also, long-term declines in university library budgets have produced a crisis in academic publishing.[8] These developments more

than offset the savings brought about by computer-controlled setup and printing, or electronic transmission and storage of information.[9] The fundamental problem at work here is that in the 1990s there has not been enough money to disseminate the results of the vast amount of research, especially in the sciences, that academics are producing.[10]

Today, many university presses continue to receive large numbers of scholarly manuscripts and proposals for reference works. Some also manage occasionally to produce best-selling fiction that appeals to "a broad cross section" of book buyers.[11] Nonetheless, sales of academic monographs have fallen.[12] Many presses have responded by abandoning or radically reducing monograph publishing, a traditional university-press task that has often been the young scholar's only means to challenge accepted wisdom or to propose an innovation. They now turn out cookbooks and travel guides of regional interest, classroom paperbacks, and other ephemera.[13] In the midst of confusion and uncertainty about public support for research libraries, technological futurists have argued that crisis or not, it makes no difference.[14] The end of paper-printed materials is at hand.[15] They argue that electronically published journals or monographs can make texts available almost immediately.[16]

These claims appear unanswerable, since the methods the critics propose avoid postal costs and lower production expenses. They also fit nicely into the growing cybernetic culture which the next generation is currently being conditioned to use, value, and promote.[17] Unfortunately, the truth is quite different. Electronically published journals will inevitably require user-based fees for "subscription, connect time, and page charges."[18] This raises profoundly serious issues for scholars at poorly financed institutions, not to mention the large body of knowledgeable lay readers and historical investigators often dependent upon the resources of small public libraries. Electronic publishing could produce a small elite whose well-financed universities and institutes can pay these costs. Far below in recognition and access to information will be a vast army of disadvantaged ex-scholars and history enthusiasts. Most will not be able to afford the price of admission to the raw materials of research or the opportunity to scan the electronically published record.

It may seem anachronistic, then, that the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* would publish an entire issue devoted to book reviews when both the paper media on which the journal and the books reviewed are produced, and our methods of reviewing, are being seriously challenged. However, we offer this issue of book reviews without apology to technical or cultural critics. First, the general rise in the number of academic publications mentioned above has

meant a growth in the number of important works about the Gulf South, which is the domain of our journal. Second, when the journal was started, it was the explicit intention of the editors to reach people who rarely read scholarly journals, but were interested in the region's history, as well as traditional academic historians, archivists, and humanistic scholars. Third, the printed page possesses an aesthetic quality and a permanence that constitutes a stable example of craftsmanship and artistic accomplishment. This cannot be duplicated on the screen of a computer monitor, a device even in portable form that is not easily carried to work in a briefcase, or read on the bus on the way home.[19]

Fourth, many works deserve attention in our journal, though not specifically about the Gulf South, because they deal with grand themes, cultural values, and movements common to the South as a region. Finally, our journal can review about sixty books in a two-year period. This is because our fall issue every other year contains outstanding papers presented at the Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conferences. That issue has no book reviews. Consequently, the editors found themselves with a large cache of valuable and interesting reviews of important books and monographs that needed prompt publication. We decided that our best solution was to devote an entire issue to book reviews. If our readers enjoy this arrangement and find it helpful, we may try it again in the future.

Devoting an entire issue of a journal to book reviews also raises the question of what constitutes a worthwhile critique of a book.[20] A good book review summarizes the contents, while preserving the voice and purpose of the author. It places the work in the context of related historical material, and makes clear what the reviewer thinks about the book in terms of its stated purpose, evidence advanced, skillful use of sources, clarity of language, and the intended audience.[21] Finally, the reviewer assesses whether or not the work expands what the reading public may know about a particular subject or era.[22] Few academics grant book reviewers the same level of professional recognition that they accord authors of articles or monographs.[23] However, several observers have noted that historians repeatedly look to book reviews as a major source of citations and new material in research.[24] Non-academics, often with little free time and heavy work and family obligations, also gain a great deal. Book reviews written in concise and plain language, featuring clear descriptions and fair criticisms, give lay readers a rapid survey of important and interesting works about the Gulf South which otherwise might have escaped their attention.

Thus, reviewing books requires strong writing skills, including sensitivity to errors in logic, supporting criticism with specific examples, avoiding

outlandish language, and having a strong rationale for one's critical perspective as well as excellent organization.[25] Reviewing also demands knowledge of a specific historical period or subject, and a good grasp of the basic research and interpretative sources. It is also quite important that reviewers complete an assignment promptly, follow editorial guidelines, and be willing to accept proposed changes in a submitted review.[26] While the *Gulf Coast Historical Review* prizes these qualities in reviewers and seeks out likely candidates, the journal also provides novice writers, young scholars, fledgling Ph.D.'s, and the informed layperson the opportunity to develop these skills, and to see their work published.[27] As reviewers they learn how the network of scholarly communication–research, publication, dissemination–works for historians while becoming a participant in it.[28]

If the academic publishing world faces a crisis, it is due in large part to market forces beyond the reach of our community of readers, writers, and editors. The *Gulf Coast Historical Review* will continue with your support to be produced on high quality paper with illustrative material, appropriate type size, and image sharpness that indicates quality production and careful oversight. And it will be available at a reasonable price for both institutions and individuals. The astronomical and utterly unjustified subscription costs of scientific journals produced in Europe by one or two for-profit publishers, owned by financial buccaneers, threatens to destroy the library budgets of universities and government agencies. The answer may be for American academics to step forward and to imitate our example of prudent management, responsible editing, awareness of subscription costs, and cultivation of community support. They should start, produce, and maintain academic journals whose purpose, like the *Gulf Coast Historical Review*, will be to advance knowledge for all readers and to sustain the general well-being of society.[29]

Notes

[1]Wayne A. Wiegand, "Research Libraries, the Ideology of Reading, and Scholarly Communication, 1876-1900," in *Libraries and Scholarly Communication in the United States: The Historical Dimension*, ed. Phyllis Dain and John Y. Cole, Beta Phi Mu Monograph, No. 2 (Westport, CT, 1990), 79-81.

[2]Charles B. Osburn, "The Place of the Journal in the Scholarly Communications System," *Library Resources & Technical Services* 28 (Oct/Dec. 1984): 317-318, 320-321.

[3]Eldred Smith, *The Librarian, the Scholar, and the Future of the Research Library*, Contributions in Librarianship and Information Science, no. 66 (Westport, CT, 1990), 23.

[4]Irving Louis Horowitz, "Toward a History of Social Science Publishing in the United States," *Publishing Research Quarterly* 7 (Summer 1991): 63-66.

[5]According to Albert N. Greco, "Mergers and Acquisitions in Publishing, 1984-1988: Some Public Policy Issues," *Book Research Quarterly* 5 (Fall 1989): 27, the United States publications market by the late 1980s supported 15,000 magazines and produced 52,000 new titles per year. According to Table 1, p. 26, university press sales of books went up from 98.4 million in 1984 to 129 million in 1988. The decline in sales, then, is a feature of the 1990s.

[6]Robin Denniston, "The Academic Publisher," *Scholarly Publishing* 10 (July 1979): 298-300.

[7]Robert V. Schnucker, "Heading It Off at the Pass," *Editing History* 7 (Spring 1991): 6.

[8]Robert E. Baensch, "Consolidation in Publishing and Allied Industries," *Book Research Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1988-89): 6, 12; John M. Budd, "Humanities Journals Ten Years Later: Practices in 1989," *Scholarly Publishing* 22 (July 1991): 215, points out that in the 80s many journals depended upon "library subscriptions for their continued existence." The 90s are no different.

[9]Helen MacLam, "Books and Beyond: The University Press Enterprise," *Choice* 33 (May 1996): 1421.

[10]Jamie Cameron, "The Changing Scene in Journal Publishing," *Publishers Weekly* 240 (May 1993): 23.

[11]Clay Reynolds, "Where Are the Reviews of University-Press Books?" *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 40 (October 1993): B3.

[12]Lisa Freeman, "The University Press in the Electronic Future," in *Scholarly Publishing: The Electronic Frontier*, ed. Robin P. Peek and Gregory B. Newby (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 105-106.

[13]Sanford G. Thatcher, "The Crisis in Scholarly Communication," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 41 (March 1995): B1-B2. J. Kendrick Noble, Jr., "Mergers and Acquisitions of Professional and Scholarly Publishers: A Contrarian View," *Book Research Quarterly* 5 (Fall 1989): 50, advised scholarly publishers to stick with their traditionally small and new product lines.

[14]A term found in Smith, *The Librarian, the Scholar, and the Future of the Research Library*, 59.

[15]Andrew M. Odlyzko, "Tragic Loss or Good Riddance? The Impending Demise of Traditional Scholarly Journals," in *Scholarly Publishing: The Electronic Frontier*, 91-101.

[16]Stevan Harnad, "What Scholars Want and Need from Electronic Journals," in *Scholarly Journals at the Crossroads: A Subversive Proposal for Electronic Publishing*, eds. Ann Shumelda Okerson and James J. O'Donnell (Washington, D.C., 1995), 90-91; and his article, "Implementing Peer Review on the Net: Scientific Quality Control in Scholarly Electronic Journals," in *Scholarly Publishing: The Electronic Frontier*, 148-49. Nell, the young heroine in Neal Stephenson, *The Diamond Age or, A Young Lady's Illustrated Primer* (Bantam Doubleday Dell, 1995), carries about an interactive or "ractive" (44) "Illustrated Primer" which can change the narrative and increase the complexity of stories in response to user interests (76, 341-45). This is a classic example of post-modern subversion of a microprocessor-based intelligence.

[17]Paula Parisi, "The Teacher Who Designs Videogames," *Wired* 5 (January 1997): 98, 100, 102-103, cites Susan Schilling who prescribes game-type software as the educational tools of the future.

[18]Ira H. Fuchs, "Networked Information Is Not Free," in *Scholarly Publishing: The Electronic Frontier*, 172-73.

[19]Sven Birkerts, "The Fate of the Book," *Antioch Review* 54 (Summer 1996): 263, 270.

[20]Christopher L. Tomlins, "Print and Electronic Book Reviewing Can Peacefully Co-Exist," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 42 (9 August 1996): A40.

[21]P. J. Klemp, "Reviewing Academic Books: Some Ideas for Beginners," *Scholarly Publishing* 12 (January 1981): 136-37.

[22]Robert Blackey, "Words to the Whys: Crafting Critical Book Reviews," *The History Teacher* 27 (February 1994): 159-66, provides a lengthy list of critical questions a reviewer might address.

[23]James O. Hoge and James L. W. West III, "Academic Book Reviewing: Some Problems and Suggestions," *Scholarly Publishing* 11 (October 1979): 35-36, 41.

[24]Anne E. Bridges, "Scholarly Reviews of U. S. History Books," *Book Research Quarterly* 5 (Fall 1989): 66-67.

[25]R. S. Wolper, "'A grass-blade': on Academic Reviewing," *Scholarly Publishing* 10 (July 1979): 327; "On Academic Reviewing: Ten Common Errors," *Scholarly Publishing* 16 (April 1985): 270, 272, 274.

[26]Reynolds, "Where Are the Reviews of University-Press Books?" *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 40 (October 1993): B3.

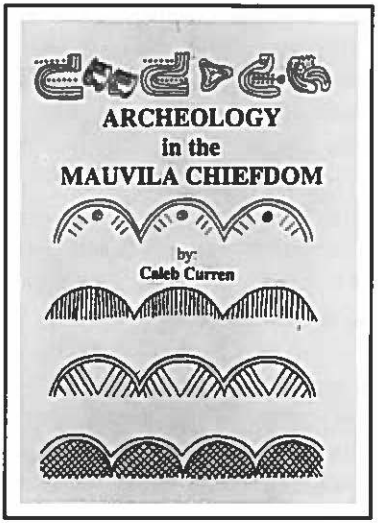
[27]T. F. Riggar and R. E. Matkin, "Breaking into Academic Print," *Scholarly Publishing* 22 (October 1990): 18.

[28]Bruce D. Macphail, "Book Reviews and the Scholarly Publisher," *Scholarly Publishing* 12 (October 1980): 63; Patricia E. Sabosik, "Scholarly Reviewing and the Role of *Choice* in the Postpublication Review Process," *Book Research Quarterly* 4 (Summer 1988): 10, 14.

[29]As J. Kendrick Noble, Jr. pointed out in "The Media Megamerger Wave of the 1980s: What Happened?," *Publishing Research Quarterly* 7 (Summer 1991): 6, information, as opposed to mere data, is a product of human intelligence and has a value related to its uniqueness "in informing, entertaining, instructing, and otherwise adding to the information already possessed by its consumers."

Jim McSwain is a professor in the history department at Tuskegee University and *Gulf Coast Historical Review* Book Review Editor.

Book Reviews



Caleb Curren. *Archaeology in the Mauvila Chiefdom: Native and Spanish Contacts During the Soto and Luna Expeditions.* Mobile: The Mauvila Project of the Mobile Historic Development Commission, 1992, pp. 309. $21.00. Available from the MHDC, P.O. Box 1827, Mobile, AL 36633.

The study of the route of Hernando de Soto through the southeastern United States is one of the battle grounds of current scholarly debate. The foundation of the recent debates can be traced to the report of John Swanton in 1939 marking the four hundreth anniversary of the Soto expedition. Fifty years later, Charles Hudson has emerged with a new route that diverges significantly from that of Swanton. Although supported by many archaeologists working in the Southeast, there are portions of his proposed route that many find controversial. The disagreements over the route of the Spaniards, especially through Alabama, can be characterized as lively, perhaps even acrimonious. This book focuses on one of the most controversial places along the route: the Mauvila chiefdom.

The Archaeology of the Mauvila Chiefdom is essentially the final report of the decade-long research project undertaken by Curren and his colleagues. "The goals of this include determining the routes of the Soto and Luna expeditions and locating the organized native settlements known as chiefdoms noted in the Spanish writings." Specifically, the project sought to locate the protohistoric chiefdoms of Pafallaya and Mauvila by correlating the documentary evidence with the results of archaeological surveys along the Black Warrior, Alabama, and Tombigbee Rivers.

Those who read this book expecting to see some of the fireworks that have characterized the study of the Soto route in Alabama will be disappointed. Hudson's hypothesized route puts Soto farther north, but curiously, Curren only mentions in passing that "there are numerous hypotheses concerning the locations of the routes taken by the Spanish and locations of native settlements encountered in Alabama, Georgia, and

Mississippi." He could have made a much better case for his hypothesis by making a point-by-point comparison with the other hypothesized routes.

The book begins with a brief introduction describing the history of the prior archaeological research and identifies gaps in the data. Curren then outlines the hypotheses guiding the project and discusses his survey methodology. The next chapter, "Site Descriptions," is just that. Forty-one sites that were either discovered or revisited during the project are described to various degrees. Some sites are merely noted and briefly interpreted, while others are described in excruciating detail. Included with these site descriptions are excavations and artifact photographs, artifact drawings and site plan, and profile maps. Curren elected to place the artifact tables associated with the described sites in a separate chapter.

The presentation of the raw data is followed by a discussion section where Curren summarizes these data, reiterates his hypothesis and evaluates the results of the testing program. He freely admits that he is unable to provide the precise locations of the towns of Mauvila and Nanpacana (although he presents several likely candidates), but feels that he has delineated the various territories of the chiefdoms encountered by the expeditions of Hernando de Soto and Tristan de Luna. He concludes with the familiar call for further research.

One gets the idea that Curren knows what he is looking for, but there is no clear statement of what needs to be found in order for his hypothesis to be true. I suspect that this occurs in part because the author is so immersed in his research that he has lost sight of the fact that not everyone has committed the Spanish narratives to memory or is completely familiar with the archaeological debates. The actual citation from the Spanish chronicles is necessary so the reader has a basis for judging the validity of Curren's conclusions.

Additionally, the poor production evidenced in the publication is troubling. While, undoubtedly produced on a shoestring, the book could have benefited greatly from a thorough copy editing. Type face and pitch changes from page to page, figures are not uniformly lettered or done in a consistent style. I was also left wondering why so many plan maps of sterile excavation units were included. The photographs are generally poorly reproduced. Worse yet, virtually all the artifact plates were shot without scales and the resolution of detail is usually poor. Some key artifacts (i.e., beads) were not pictured at all. As I tell my students who turn in hastily scrawled research papers, a bad first impression puts the reader off and forces the author to work harder to make his case, no matter how valid his argument.

The book's major failing is that since the author cannot decide whether the book is a site report or synthesis, it fails on both counts. There is much valuable data that tends to support the author's conclusions, but it is lost amongst reams of irrelevant data. The poor production of the volume is distracting and further weakens his argument. There is no doubt, however, that much good fieldwork has been done. A project of this magnitude and importance, consuming the efforts of the author and numerous colleagues for a decade, deserves a better presentation.

This book is not for the casual reader. Most will have difficulty maintaining their interest as they wade through pages of raw data and site descriptions. So, who should buy this book? The information contained in this volume is important to all those who are actively involved in research pertaining to the Contact Period in the southeastern United States. Any serious Soto scholar or archeologist working in southern Alabama should own this book.

Charles R. Ewen East Carolina University

Jerald T. Milanich. *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*. University Press of Florida, 1994, *xxi*, pp. 476. $49.95. ISBN 0-8130-1272-4

This book on the prehistoric archaeology of Florida by Jerald T. Milanich presents, in lucid prose and with excellent maps, artifact figures, and illustrations, the native history of the aboriginal inhabitants of this unique part of the southeastern United States. Milanich sets out to answer the questions: "Who were these native Florida Indians? How long were they here? How did they live?" These questions, and more, are answered with both an admirable clarity as well as a full-bodied presentation of the archaeological data and bibliographic citations.

After first discussing the history of archaeological research in Florida since the mid-1800s in Chapter 1–focusing on important individuals and institutions who conducted the research and their perspectives and

objectives–Milanich tackles in Part 1 of the book the early hunters, gatherers, and fishers (the Paleoindian and Archaic groups) who lived in what is now Florida between roughly twelve thousand years ago and 500 B.C. Certainly our knowledge of the archaeology of this period has expanded because of exciting underwater archaeological discoveries at the Page/Ladson site, as well as the extraordinary finds in peat deposits at the Windover Pond site, where a large Archaic period cemetery was used between seven and eight thousand years ago. Many of the burials at the site have preserved brains and human tissues whose study promises to contribute unique information on the genetic, medical, and biochemical nature of these aboriginal peoples.

Part 2 deals with the development after about 2000 B.C. of regional aboriginal cultures in Florida, such as Deptford, Swift Creek, Weeden Island, St. Johns, and Key Marco, focusing particularly on their subsistence, settlement, and social organizational character, the growth of ceremonialism, ideology, and the building of mounds, and lithic, ceramic, shell, wood, and bone technologies. The spatial distribution of these cultures across Florida is closely associated with the development of adaptations keyed to different regional natural environmental habitats, most notably between coastal and interior populations. For the archaeologist, another key characteristic of these cultures is that they manufactured ceramic vessels which "distinguish the temporal and geographical ranges of precolumbian cultures." The best known ceramics are the mortuary and prestige pottery produced by the Weeden Island peoples between A.D. 200-750 at sites such as McKeithen. Sites such as Mt. Royal, Fort Center, and Key Marco also illustrate the rich ceremony and ritual that embued the life of precolumbian coastal Floridians, as attested to by the large mounds, charnel houses, earthenworks and ditches, and wood carvings found at archaeological sites.

Finally, and for this reviewer the most interesting section of the book, Part 3 examines the latest precolumbian cultures of Florida, whose participants sometimes became agriculturalists after A.D. 800-1000. This includes most notably the vibrant Fort Walton culture in the panhandle of northwest Florida, along with the less complex Alachua and Suwannee Valley cultures of north and north-central Florida, while other cultures (Pensacola and Safety Harbor) retained foraging coastal economies. As Milanich points out, the political and economic diversity in these aboriginal cultures is a wonderful laboratory for archaeologists to study and to learn why cultures became agriculturalists or not, why chiefdoms developed, and what sorts of social, political, or economic influences a powerful chiefdom had on neighboring cultures.

Fort Walton, a Mississippian chiefdom society ancestral to the Apalachee, shared broad similarities in material culture, subsistence economies, and iconographic symbolism with aboriginal groups in the coastal plain of southeastern Alabama and southwestern Georgia, as well as with others in the interior southeastern United States (see John F. Scarry, "The Appalachee Chiefdom" in *The Forgotten Centuries* [1994]). The excavations at the multiple mound site of Lake Jackson make clear that the Fort Walton culture was a Mississippian chiefdom with powerful chiefs and priests. Their burials were accompanied by "objects and symbols reflecting their elite position in society." Also of particular interest in Part 3 is the archaeological evidence from Safety Harbor sites around Tampa Bay on the central Gulf Coast. Recent excavations at Tatham Mound are especially revealing about the aboriginal use and contents of charnel houses and burial mounds after about A.D. 1200 in Florida.

I highly recommend this book on the precolumbian archaeology of the state of Florida to all those interested in the archaeology of native Americans in the southeastern United States. I wish there were similar texts available on the prehistory of all the surrounding states. One hopes that Milanich's planned book on the native peoples of Florida after the arrival of Europeans will soon be forthcoming, so that the rest of the story of aboriginal Floridians can be told by this master story-teller.

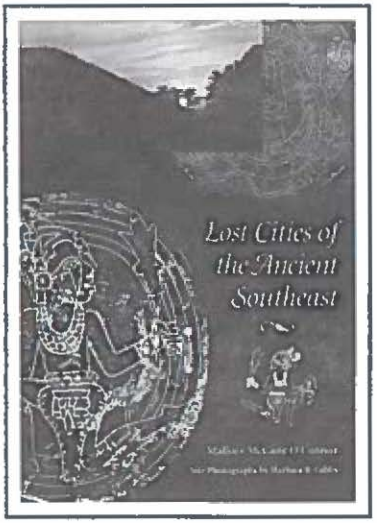
Timothy K. Perttula Texas Historical Commission, Austin, Texas

Mallory McCane O'Connor. *Lost Cities of the Ancient Southeast*. Photographs by Barbara B. Gibbs. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1995, pp. 176. $49.95. ISBN 0-8130-1350-X

Combining art history, anthropology, archaeology, and architecture, Mallory McCane O'Connor takes the reader on a pictorial and textual journey through prehistoric time and space to the Mississippi period (1000 B.C.-A.D. 1540) mound center of the Southeast. The journey begins in pre-Mississippian times at the Archaic period (7800 B.C.-1000 B.C.) site of Poverty Point in Mississippi and the sites of the Woodland period (1000 B.C.-A.D. 900) Adena-Hopewell complex. Beginning here, O'Connor delves into the architecture and iconography of these pre-Mississippian mound complexes and brings to the surface the precursors of Mississippian architecture and art.

The next stop is the early Mississippian city of Cahokia. O'Connor devotes, deservedly, a whole chapter to Cahokia, which was the most

spectacular prehistoric city in North America outside Mexico. From Cahokia, O'Connor leads the reader to the western fringe of Mississippian culture and the Spiro site in Arkansas, where she examines the warrior-motif and the social order of Mississippian chiefdoms. The reader is then directed to Tennessee to explore the ceremonial centers of the Chucalissa and Shilo sites and the nature of the politico-religious iconography and its implications for the ceremony and ritual commanded by the Mississippian priestly elite.



From Tennessee, O'Connor visits the sites of Winterville and Emerald in Mississippi, Drawing on seventeenth-century historical accounts of the Natchez and Timucuan chiefdom, O'Connor gives vivid descriptions of the ritual and ceremony that may have occurred at centers such as these. Moving eastward and a few hundred years back in time, O'Connor turns to the extensive work done at the Moundville site in Alabama to delineate the nature of power in a Mississippian chiefdom and the characteristic rise and fall of a chiefdom as reflected in the architecture, iconography, and economy of Moundville.

O'Connor then takes a closer look at the priestly elite by examining the ancestor cult as evidenced at the Etowah site in Georgia. The reader travels farther east to the Ocmulgee site in Macon, Georgia, and reviews what archeologists believe to have been an intrusion of Mississippian people into the area. Finally, O'Connor takes the reader to the eastern fringes of Mississippian period chiefdoms to the Town Creek site in North Carolina before turning south to the anomalous Mississippian societies of Florida.

O'Connor's site descriptions, aided by the photos of Barbara Gibbs, are wonderful. Here, O'Connor demonstrates a good knowledge of the archaeological data and leaves the reader with a sense of discovery and participation by giving brief histories of the archaeological investigations at some sites. *Lost Cities* is superbly illustrated. O'Connor liberally uses black and white and color photos and artifacts, excellent site maps from William N. Morgan's *Prehistoric Architecture in the Eastern United States* (1980), and present-day photos of the sites by Gibbs. Gibb's site and landscape photos and O'Connor's well-written text are such that the reader turns the page

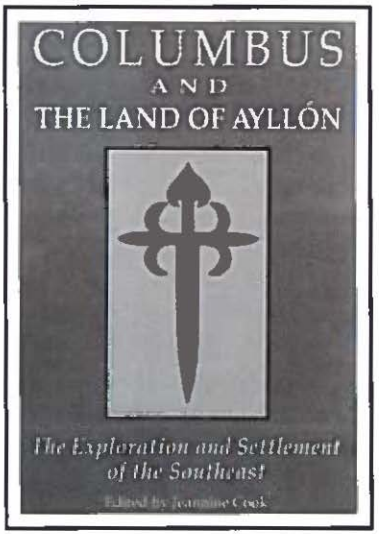
feeling that he or she has not only been at these sites, but also has, somehow, participated in their discovery.

As the reader tours these lost cities, O'Connor details the architecture and the art objects recovered from them. She interprets the religious iconography and architecture of the Mississippian period as symbols of these prehistoric peoples' social order and belief system and, thereby, as guides to how they may have thought about the world. For the most part, O'Connor stays within the confines of accepted archaeological and anthropological theories. For example, the falcon-impersonator motif was probably a mythical warrior figure and, with a plethora of other war symbols, reflects a preoccupation with war.

However, O'Connor is obviously uncomfortable with depictions of Mississippian people as violent and sometimes brutal, both of which are clearly represented in the iconography and in the palisaded towns. Regarding the severed-head motif on the Ramey tablet from Cahokia, O'Connor admits that they may represent war trophies but prefers the interpretation that the heads symbolize the honored dead. Archaeologists have interpreted the palisades around some Mississippian cities as indicative of a need for protection and fortresses, and hence, warfare. O'Connor, although acknowledging Mississippian warfare, suggests that the palisades may have been symbolic constructions separating the sacred ceremonial center from the profane world. To buttress some of her interpretations, she uses sources from Western philosophy, art history, and historic plains Indians' oral histories, as well as stereotypical ideas about Native American's relationship to the natural world. This is risky scholarship, and archaeologists have long realized that the nature of archaeological data can only give a small inkling into how people thought.

O'Connor omits many of the contemporary questions being asked about Mississippian chiefdoms; her most recent archaeological reference in 1989. Since 1989, however, archaeologists have begun to unravel the social and ecological complexities of the Mississippian period and to give a composite view of the whole of the Mississippian political and social order. *Lost Cities* suffers from this omission because one never gets an idea of how a chiefdom functioned nor its relationship to other contemporary chiefdoms. An exciting, new context for the mound centers is missing. *Lost Cities*, then, is not a new and cutting-edge treatment of the Mississippian period, but it is an excellent and informative introductory work on the subject, which is what, I believe, O'Connor intended all along.

Robbie Ethridge University of Georgia



Jeannine Cook, ed. *Columbus and the Land of Ayllón: The Exploration and Settlement of the Southeast.* Darien: Lower Altahama Historical Society, 1992, pp. 145. $8.50 plus $2.50 handling. ISBN 0-9632876-0-5

Just a few days before the anniversary date of the Columbian Quincentennary, a multidisciplinary gathering of scholars convened in Darien, Georgia, to discuss the elements and ramifications of "the first European settlement on the shores of North America since the time of the Vikings." In this collection of essays, six of the participants offer their research and assessments of the importance of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón's inchoate colony and of subsequent settlements and incursions in the region.

Lasting a mere six weeks, this initial outpost, called San Miguel de Gualdape, was probably situated on the coastal isle of Sapelo Island, seaward of today's Darien. Despite its short life, San Miguel de Gualdape should be the "proper beginning" of United States history, for as Paul Hoffman contends the settlement exhibited "typically 'American'" ideas and social relationships. Ayllón and his party saw the land and its people not as they were, but as they might become–ideally to be transformed to conform to European designs for settlement and land use. Iberian flora would proliferate, and the Native American inhabitants would be peacefully subordinated to the Spanish state. Further, dissonant social relationships that remain unresolved today first manifested themselves in 1526 along these beaches. African slavery arrived and with it troubled social interaction. The members of Ayllón's enterprise displayed the ambiguities that have characterized European-Native American relationships throughout United States history. Thus, Ayllón's colony was "not a separate thing" from United States history, but rather was the premier of persistent themes in the history of North America.

Eugene Lyon casts his eyes to Spanish America for comparisons to the early settlements of the Southeast. Some fifty years after the ill-fated Ayllón enterprise, friars associated with Pedro Menéndez's enterprise at Santa Elena (Parris Island) evangelized along the Carolina and Georgia coasts. There relations with the Native Americans "mirrored responses to similar

encounters...since the time of Christopher Columbus." Lyon explores the interactions between Spaniards, both lay and clergy, and the Indians–exchanges which he describes as interpersonal as well as the intercultural. He finds that the Spanish Europeans in Guale displayed the same "duality" in their attitudes as they did throughout the rest of the Indies. Whereas law and contract mandated good treatment of the natives of the region, actual practice often fell far short of that goal. The settlement at Santa Elena early evidenced the tensions and conflicts between civil and religious authorities, another theme that played throughout Spanish America for years to come.

Thus, Lyon and Hoffman have placed the early settlement of the Southeast within the context of both North American and Latin American history. Hoffman describes a venture that is the first to exhibit certain North American traits. Lyon portrays an endeavor that is the legatee of practices that evolved during the earlier Spanish penetrations of Central and South America.

Christianization of the Native American population was an integral part of Ayllón's project like almost every other Spanish colonial incursion. Three missionaries accompanied Ayllón's party. David Hurst Thomas asserts that the missions "were viewed as an extension of idealized Iberian design." He outlines the evolution of relations between the mission system and its Indian populace and contends that the native groups strove to maintain their political autonomy in the face of "continual ecclesiastical meddling" (by the Spanish clerics). The natives also suffered biological stresses brought about by disease, altered living patterns, and nutritional problems resulting from dietary changes and food shortages.

African Americans were subjected to these stresses as well. Ayllón's expedition "brought the first known contingent of African slaves to the present-day United States." Beginning with their introduction in the Guale area, Jane Landers traces the role of blacks in the early colonization of the Southeast. She argues that the difficulty of the documentary sources and a lack of interest on the part of earlier scholars previously impeded the examination of African-American participation. Landers outlines Spanish cultural and legal practices which provided more flexibility and mobility for blacks than did contemporary Anglo tenets.

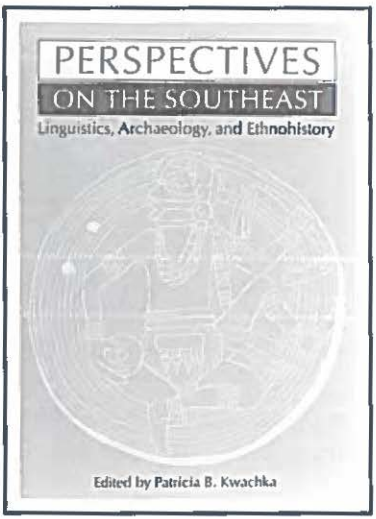
Although Ayllón's enterprise had been well supplied with people and material needs, its short duration and scavenging of the abandoned settlement site by natives has made the archaeological traces scarce. Marvin Smith discusses the kinds of material remains that could identify the San Miguel location, but then counterbalances his optimism with numerous alternative

occupations or activities that would have left the same kind of artifacts. He addresses the vagaries of faunal remains, construction styles and materials, weaponry, tools, and trade items.

Not just the transitory character of the settlement site makes it difficult to locate. Cartographic discrepancies and disagreement have also contributed to the confusion since the very days of the colony. Louis De Vorsey, Jr. presents the worldview of geography that prevailed in the age Ayllón and the data and the motives that influenced the decisions of the explorers and their sovereigns. Like Smith, De Vorsey's essay aims to assist in the location and positive identification of the site of San Miguel de Gualdape.

This volume presents a recapitulation and synthesis of the authors' research previously published in journals, monographs, or formidable tomes for specialists. This book introduces the general reader to the main points of the latest scholarship on early colonization in the Southeast.

Susan R. Parker — Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board



Patricia B. Kwachka, ed. *Perspectives on the Southeast: Linguistics, Archaeology, and Ethnohistory.* Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, no. 27. University of Georgia Press, 1994, *x*, pp. 166. Cloth, $30.00. ISBN 0-8203-1592-3 / Paper, $20.00. ISBN 0-8203-1593-1

This important volume is the result of a 1992 Southern Anthropological Society keynote symposium. It brings together history and many subfields of anthropology to treat the common theme of the Southeast at the time of Columbus.

The first three papers discuss linguistic evidence. T. Dale Nicklas describes linguistic provinces of the Southeast that he believes may correlate with archaeological traditions. He identifies a Lower Mississippi Valley area, a Coastal Extension of the Lower Valley, a Northern Tier, a Northwest Corner, and a Muskogean area. Among his arguments is the belief that the Proto-Muskogean homeland may have been in the middle Mississippi region. He also finds linguistic traits which connect the Southeast with Mesoamerica,

"as archaeological traits do." Most archaeologists would deny any archaeological connections between Mesoamerica and the Southeast.

Emanuel Drechsel proposes that the Mobilian trade jargon of the colonial period can be traced back in time to the prehistoric period. While others argue that Mobilian jargon came about as trade in European goods increased, Drechsel hypothesizes that it was a prehistoric means of communication between Mississippian societies that engaged in long distance trade and had a shared belief system.

The ethnic identity of Arkansas' prehistoric peoples is the subject of Michael Hoffman's essay. Relying heavily on early European accounts and archaeological evidence, Hoffman argues that much of eastern Arkansas was occupied by Tunica, while the Quapaw were in reality late-comers in the seventeenth century. Geoffrey Kimball argues that the Koasati tribe can be linked with the archaeological Dallas culture of eastern Tennessee. Using early historic sources, he shows that the Koasati were once located in Tennessee. He then compares Koasati vocabulary with archaeological traits of the Dallas culture. Here his argument is less strong, as many of the Dallas traits he wishes to tie to the Koasati language are virtually pan-southeastern. Using pottery, archaeologist Ken Carleton seeks to discover the prehistoric homeland(s) of the Choctaw people. He notes that few prehistoric sites are found in the area the Choctaw inhabited in historic times. His analysis supports Patricia Galloway's thesis that the Choctaw were an amalgam of diverse peoples who moved into central Mississippi. Carleton argues that groups from the Pearl River area moved east to form the western division of the Choctaw, while eastern and southern divisions of the tribes may have come from the Mobile delta region.

Historian John Hann reviews nomenclature of Florida native political positions as recorded in early Spanish sources to understand native categories of leadership. He lists terms used for chiefs, seconds-in-command, and other leadership positions. Based on the terms, he suggests that we can trace movements of people. For example, archaeologists believe that the presence of Lamar (essentially Georgia) pottery types on Spanish mission sites in Florida signals the migration of people. Hann suggests that the absence of the northern term for leader, "mico," in the south, indicates that there was no great influx of people. In his fascinating essay about "Myth and Social History in the early Southeast," Greg Keyes stresses that we cannot use mythology recorded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to interpret the prehistoric past, especially the iconography of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. He stresses that cultures change, even in such realms as mythology and religion.

Theda Perdue argues that Sequoyah's invention of the Cherokee syllabary and its speedy adoption was not a manifestation of the Cherokees' increasing acculturation, but rather a nativistic movement. She suggests that the acceptance of the syllabary by much of the Cherokee population reflected their view that the writing of their language was a powerful spiritual revitalization. The syllabary allowed distantly separated Cherokee to maintain contact through letters. They were thus able to "maintain the sense of community so important in traditional society." Other Cherokee used the syllabary as a way to preserve traditional religious knowledge. John Moore argues that archaeologists should have more contact with ethnologists. He accuses archaeologists of misusing ethnographic data in their interpretations of the prehistoric period, but he also argues that ethnologists must be cognizant of the types of data that archaeologists need. He provides a set of guidelines for more appropriate uses of ethnographic analogy. Using ethnographic data from modern Creeks and Seminoles in Oklahoma, he shows how Lamar archaeological remains might be interpreted.

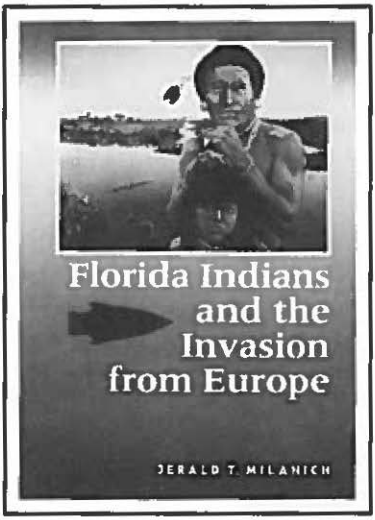
The overall theme of the volume is one of cooperation between the subfields of anthropology, and other disciplines such as history. The volume serves as a successful showcase of the benefits of such cooperation.

Marvin T. Smith Valdosta State University

Jerald T Milanich. *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994, pp. 290. $29.95. ISBN 0-8130-1360-7

Another year witnesses another fine book from Jerald Milanich. This decade has seen several excellent works on Florida archaeology by Milanich and others, and according to sources at the University Press of Florida, there's more on the way. The publication of *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*, 1994 was the first volume of the long-awaited revisions of *Florida Archaeology* (Academic Press, 1980). I had expected this second volume by Milanich to cover the historical archaeology of Florida where his previous book had dealt with the prehistoric archaeology. In this I was somewhat disappointed as it only covers aspects of the historic period. However, one cannot criticize an author for not writing the book you wanted to read, rather only about what the author intended to write.

In this work, Milanich uses recently uncovered archaeological data and historical documents to write the story of the Indian groups that encountered



the Spanish, French, and British invaders during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. He wants to portray the lives of the native peoples before and after contact to illustrate the impact of colonialism on these groups. A secondary purpose for this book is to bring to the lay reader "a sense of history and place, to correlate modern towns and places with past events and people" since this aspect of Florida's history is not well covered in the schools.

The book begins with a discussion of the types of evidence used by historians and archaeologists to investigate the past. This chapter also serves to acquaint the reader with the author's perspective on the past and how he feels it articulates the present. Following this brief, but important, introduction Milanich recaps the prehistory of Florida in a lucid synopsis of his previous book. This sets the stage for the bulk of the text, which is divided into three sections: Indigenous People, The Invasion, and The Aftermath.

The first part, Indigenous People, lays the groundwork for the meeting of the two worlds by describing the Florida Indians just prior to contact. Milanich divides the state into three geographically and culturally similar regions: southern, central, and northern. This logical organization, coupled with Milanich's readable prose and well-drafted figures clarifies this little known and confusing period of Florida history.

The second section, The Invasion, chronicles early attempts to explore and to exploit peninsular Florida. This is territory that Milanich has well trod elsewhere (e.g., with Charles Hudson, *Hernando de Soto and the Indians of Florida* [1993]), and so his coverage of the early sixteenth century is abbreviated. He discusses in some detail the Spanish conflict with the French and the founding of St. Augustine, primarily from a historical rather than an archaeological perspective.

The final section, The Aftermath, examines the Franciscan mission system established in north Florida as part of the Spanish colonial effort. Again the text primarily relies on the historical documents (especially through the work of John Hann and John Worth), although missions mentioned in the documents are tied to known archaeological sites when possible. Milanich also uses the archaeological surveys conducted by Ken Johnson and others

to resolve the apparent incongruities in the location of some of the Timucuan missions raised by the documentary record.

The book ends with a discussion of the ultimate fate of the Florida Indians following the collapse of the mission system. The original inhabitants of Florida are all but extinguished as a result of European diseases, aggression, and slave raiders from the north. The current Indian population (36,000) are actually descendants of native groups from Alabama and Georgia that filled the demographic void.

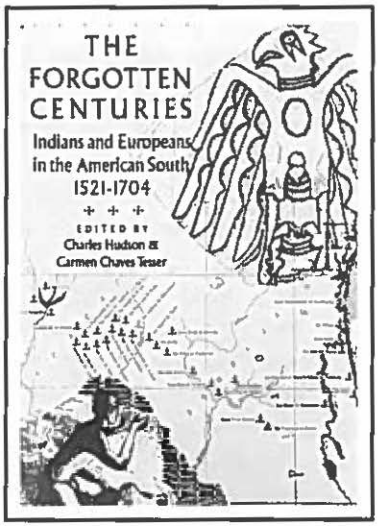
As usual, Milanich has done a fine job of taking turgid historical tomes and jargon-laden archaeological reports and turning them into an informative and readable book. It is a fine line to walk between popular fluff and dry, textbook reading, but this book succeeds admirably. The interweaving of historical and documentary evidence is seamless to the extent that one has to check the endnotes to determine from which source the information is coming. The emphasis on the historic Indian perspective is in keeping with the current trend away from the previous European focus.

I do have a few criticisms, but these can be attributed as much to my biases as to any real weakness in Milanich's book. I had hoped to see a greater emphasis on archaeology. Archaeological sites are tied to locations mentioned in the historical record but not discussed in detail. This may be due to the recent Florida Press publication of McEwan's *Spanish Missions of La Florida* (1994) where these investigations are discussed in detail. Curiously, the mission that Milanich does spend some time discussing is the controversial San Martín mission at Fig Springs. Yet no mention is made of the disagreements over the archaeological interpretation of the church configuration.

I would have liked to have seen a greater discussion of some of the pioneering work of the early Florida archaeologists: Charles Fairbanks, Hale Smith, John Goggin, and others. However, their contributions are referenced and, again, that was not the focus of this particular book. I still feel there is a need for a book discussing all of the historical archaeology of Florida. But who knows? It may be next year's Milanich opus.

Charles R. Ewen East Carolina University

Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds. *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 1994, pp. 472. Cloth, $50.00. ISBN 0-8203-1473-0 / Paper, $25.00. ISBN 0-8203-1654-7



The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the American Southeast have been forgotten periods of the region's history. As the editors of this fine collection observe, only a few incidents and individuals have found a place in the public's general historical knowledge of the area. This lack of knowledge is even more extensive regarding the Native Americans of the region. Only recently have historians and anthropologists tried to redress the lack of attention. This book goes a long way towards achieving the goal for much of the Southeast.

The seventeen strong essays are based on presentations at a University of Georgia institute for college teachers entitled "Spanish Explorers and Indian Chiefdoms: The Southeastern United States in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Diverse aspects of southeastern Indian history and contact with Europeans are explored. Unfortunately, despite the book's title, all southeastern Indians do not receive equal attention, though this may partially be attributed to the evidence available. Analysis is more complete for groups that experienced extensive contact with the Spanish in Florida and thus highlights the Native Americans who would become the Creek and Apalachee Indians. One article each focuses on the Choctaw and Powhatan Indians, and other essays are intended as general works. However, some important southeastern groups, such as the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Catawbas, appear only fleetingly. Granted the historical evidence is not abundant for some of these Indians, nonetheless their story should be included in the history of the early Southeast.

Even so, these essays are a fine beginning in restoring attention to these forgotten years. Several themes and concerns, reflecting recent research, emerge in the articles. Considerable attention is devoted to the vital task of establishing precise locations for early groups and connections between historic Indian peoples and archeological sites and cultures. To accomplish this it is important to know the exact routes of European explorers and

which native peoples they visited, so their ethnohistorical evidence can be utilized. In this context, Paul E. Hoffman and Charles Hudson focus on the explorations of Hernando de Soto, Lucas Vazques de Ayllón, and Panfilo de Narvaez. They offer the latest discussion on the expeditions' routes and theories on which native groups the exploration parties encountered. John Worth examines some lesser known Spanish military expeditions into the interior in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Articles on the interior chiefdoms by Mark Williams, Chester B. DePratter, David J. Hally, Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Patricia Galloway deal with the fate of specific chiefdoms and the question of population movements after the disruptions caused by Spanish contact. Of course, chief among these disruptions was the devastating effect of European diseases, which is reviewed by Marvin T. Smith. He sees significant population loss leading to dispersal, political decentralization, loss of craft specialization, and a less hierarchical society.

Another theme is structural change. Articles by John Scary, John F. Hann, and Jerald T. Milanich focus on the Indians of Florida, especially the Apalachees. Interestingly, the Apalachees apparently were more culturally resistant in some ways than other groups, even though their acceptance of Christianity put them on a path to becoming Christianized peasant workers. Scarry argues that this cultural strength resulted from their productive environment and compact settlement in non-riverine areas, which allowed chiefs to maintain better control. The Apalachees also were less critically affected by disease and were destroyed only by the English/Creek slave raids of 1702-8. Randolph Widmer closely examines the structure of southeastern chiefdoms, which were based on household production, matrilineal clans, social ranking and powerful paramount chiefs. The temple mound cult functions as a key integrating institution, as it cut across kinship ties.

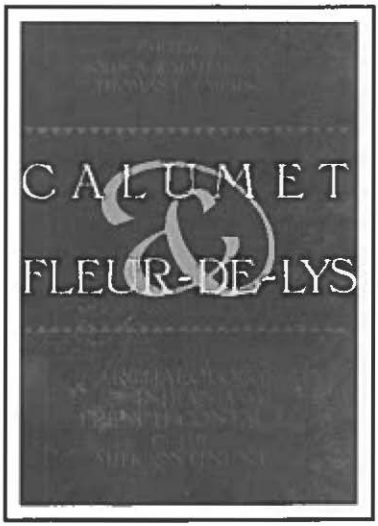
Attention is also devoted to the rise and dissolution of southeastern chiefdoms. Only in the case of the Powhatans of Virginia, examined by Helen C. Rountree and E. Randolph Turner, are we able to observe directly the formation of a chiefdom, as the Powhatan Chiefdom developed just briefly before contact. For the Southeast as a whole, Joel W. Martin reviews the damaging effect of the English trade in slaves and skins on the Indians and their societies.

Overall these articles are consistently high quality reviews of the present knowledge of a large part of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Southeast. Some of the findings have been presented elsewhere, but new discoveries and refinements on previous theories are offered. The numerous maps, illustrations, and charts are very helpful. It is an unfortunate illustration

of one of the problems in the study of the early Southeast that of the seventeen distinguished authors involved in this book only four are historians. While cooperation between historians and anthropologists, and use of each other's evidence, has clearly increased, anthropologists and, especially, archeologists are still carrying the heaviest load. In the final analysis, this book should be of considerable value to anyone interested in southeastern Indians or the history of the early Southeast, though other Native Americans of the region remain to be integrated into the picture.

Richard Durschlag Duke University

John A. Walthall and Thomas A. Emerson, eds. *Calumet & Fleur-de-Lys: Archaeology of Indian and French Contact in the Midcontinent.* Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992, pp. 307. $45.00. ISBN 1-56098-158-X



Examinations of French and Native interaction in the lower Mississippi Valley are plentiful. From Le Page du Pratz to Daniel Usner, scholars have eagerly examined the indigenous and immigrant cultures of Louisiana during the French colonial era. Yet, these studies rarely focus on the archaeology of the region, which makes the present book all the more welcome. *Calumet & Fleur-de-Lys* represents approximately half the papers originally presented at the 1988 Conference on French Colonial Archaeology in the Illinois Country and examines archaeological evidence of native and French interaction in Louisiana. A companion work concentrates on colonial sites in the Illinois country (Walthall, ed., *French Colonial Archaeology: The Illinois Country and the Western Great Lakes* [1991]. The first three articles in *Calumet* deal with interaction in Lower Louisiana the second three focus on the Illinois country, and the final four examine the western Great Lakes. All the articles in the book are examples of fine scholarship and worthy of examination in their own right but, for a journal which focuses on the Gulf Coast, the first three articles are the most relevant.

Ian Brown's article, "Certain Aspects of French-Indian Interaction in Lower Louisiane," is a good introduction for the articles that follow. He gives a general overview of the conditions on the Gallic frontier in such diverse areas as politics, subsistence, and trade. Drawing upon archaeological and ethnohistoric sources, he maintains there was actually much more cultural interaction than scholars of the Southeast have thought. This was a dynamic interaction in which tribes and colonials had a clear idea of what the other wanted and used those desires to further their own goals. In this scenario, both sides were affected in both positive and negative ways. Brown maintains that most studies of contact between natives and Europeans stress conflict, but people on the Gulf Coast interacted on an everyday basis in a relatively peaceful manner for purposes of survival.

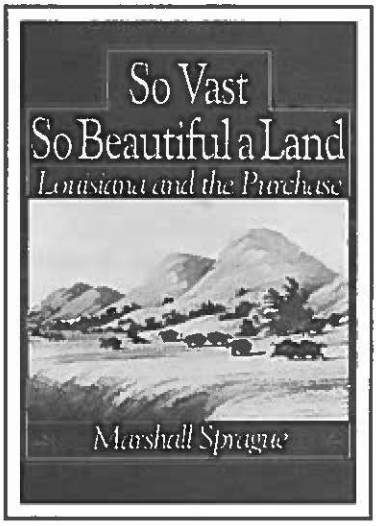
"French Colonial Trade in the Upper Creek Country" deals with the deerskin trade, an issue currently being examined in-depth by several historians. Gregory Waselkov's article provides a nice complement to works which focus on broad cultural themes, such as Kathryn Braund's *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815.* This article is a concise, pithy examination of the trade goods which the French exchanged with natives for that most valued of southeastern products, deerskins, in the years between 1715 and 1761. The goods are placed in a framework of their impact on indigenous communities and, just as important, the decisive role trade goods played in colonial politics. This was particularly relevant in the power play with the English, as tribes were always driven more by economic motivation than allegiance to distant European powers. [Valuable contribution to Gulf Coast studies though the articles, one is tempted to say, its most valuable feature is the meticulous glossary of Louisiana French trade terminology.]

Dan Morse's "The Seventeenth-Century Michigamea Village Location in Arkansas" examines trade in only the most tangential way. He theorizes the Michigamea moved to Arkansas from Lake Michigan within the space of a generation, presumably due to their role as middlemen between the French and Indians in Iowa, Missouri, and Arkansas. The actual focus of the article is an account of the attempt to locate several villages the tribe established when they relocated. The searchers used historical, ethnohistorical, and archaeological methods and eventually met with success at the Grigsby site; all the material would point to this as the village, though Morse is the first to admit that it is often difficult to locate a site and, once found, extremely difficult to identify with certainty. The article is an interesting examination both of the methods the modern archaeologist uses in searching for a native site and the theory involved in such a search.

The book is valuable for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that it focuses on an area which often receives scant attention. Much has been made of the archaeology of Anglo- and Iberian-Native-American interaction, but France has not received the same study, despite the fact that its North American territory once covered more than twice the lands of Spain and England combined. *Calumet and Fleur-de-Lys* is a step to correct this, as well as an indicator of how much there is still to be done, particularly on the Gulf Coast. The articles are mines of technical information, but also give insights into the mental workings of some of the best archaeologists today. The collection is a valuable addition to the body of information on archaeology, French-Native-American interaction in general and the Gulf Coast area in particular.

J. Daniel d'Oney — Arizona State University

Marshall Sprague. *So Vast, so Beautiful a Land: Louisiana and the Purchase.* Athens, Ohio: Swallow/Ohio University Press, 1991, *xix*, pp. 396. Cloth, $39.95. ISBN 0-8040-0944-9 / Paper, $19.95. ISBN 0-8040-0943-0



Marshall Sprague was born in Ohio, a graduate of Princeton, and a newspaper reporter in China and France before becoming a feature writer for the *New York Times*. Poor health sent him to Colorado in 1941, where in the next thirty-five years he wrote a half-dozen books about Colorado, the Rocky Mountains, and the American West–including *So Vast, so Beautiful a Land: Louisiana and the Purchase.*

This book is a reprint of the 1974 edition published by Little, Brown and Company. Except for a few changes on the title page and the verso, there are few indications that this is a reprint. There is no new introduction nor updated bibliography. A library cataloguer could note a change in size from 24 to 23 centimeters. Book collectors might notice that this is printed on acid free paper of a lighter beige color than the original, making the text brighter and the illustrations clearer.

So Vast, so Beautiful a Land is divided into two major sections. Part One "The Discovery" contains nine chapters dealing with the history of the Mississippi Valley to 1803. Part Two "The Purchase" contains ten chapters describing the Louisiana Purchase. Sprague's book is a narrative, chronological in organization. He mentions that this is the "story of how the vast drainage area of the Mississippi River came to be discovered by Europeans and then absorbed by the United States."

This volume might be labeled a "good read." It is a popular account, intended for a general reading audience. This is "drums and trumpet history" full of pageantry and drama. Some of the chapter titles are: "Phantom River," "The Mist Rises – a Little," "The Paths of Glory," "Chaos in Paradise," "Noble Swindler," "The Frustrations of Bienville," and "Approach to the Rockies." The book deals with the dream of La Salle, explorations, intrigue in royal courts, imperial scheme and diplomacy, frustrations of French officials in New France and Louisiana, John Law and Mississippi real estates, wars, and the Louisiana Purchase.

The geographical location from which Marshall Sprague viewed this history is New Orleans. In the chapter "France Loses an Empire" he wrote a few paragraphs about the capture of Quebec but only as background to a concentration on the problems of the French governor at New Orleans. Sprague shifts continually between European politics and developments in Louisiana. A critic might describe it as Euro-centric, but *So Vast, so Beautiful a Land* would be a useful assigned reading for a U.S. history survey class. It could also be used for a class in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, or Florida history.

Sprague's narrative resembles the writing of Francis Parkman or Bernard De Voto. In style it is not like contemporary, academic history. This is not quantitative, statistical, computer data-base research. Sprague's style is delightful to read. The book contains ten maps and thirty-seven illustrations. The illustrations are works of art, especially portraits of the major actors in the drama. Among the portraits are Hyacinthe Rigaud's portrait of Louis XIV; Charles Willson Peale's portrait of James Wilkinson; Goya's portrait of Manuel de Godoy; John Singleton's portrait of John Quincey Adams; and Rembrandt Peale's portraits of Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe.

Sprague's book has thirty-nine pages of notes which are explanatory text, asides, and parenthetical comments. At the end of the book are eleven pages of sources, listed by chapter. Sprague seems to have depended mostly upon published sources.

A critic might contend that this book is politically incorrect. No Native-American "voices" are heard in this narrative–nothing is written from

their perspective. No female "voices" are heard–women are noted only as mistresses of Kings or as females shipped to New Orleans to become brides. No black "voices" are heard–but only passing references to slaves, for example, outnumbering Europeans in New Orleans by three to one. The emphasis of *So Vast, so Beautiful a Land* is Euro-centric, male, elite, political, military, and diplomatic.

This was intended to be a popular account–which has value. This was not an attempt at academic social history. It would be unfair to blame him for not achieving a goal that he did not set out to achieve. He was not writing a social history of victims. He should be evaluated for how well he accomplished the task he set for himself.

Sprague was not insensitive to the consequences for Native Americans. In his conclusion he noted:

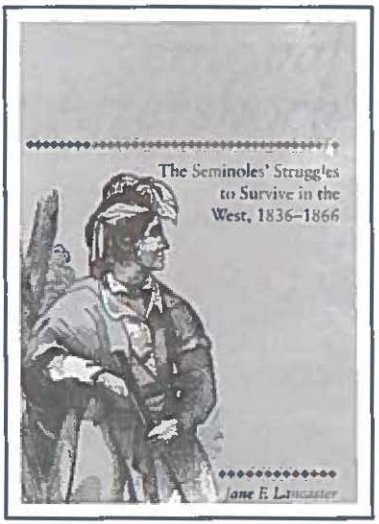
> With the passage of time, the Louisiana Purchase emerges as a happening that has as much to do with forming the national character and creating the United States of today as the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution. The brightness and wonder of it has a dark side–the tragedy that came to the original inhabitants, the Indians, caught in the flood of settlers from the east whose aspirations were beyond administrative control. The newcomers crossed the Mississippi by the millions, driving the natives before them until no room remained for them to carry on the kind of civilization that they had spent centuries developing. The new Americans did not mean to be deliberately cruel and unjust. Their habits of mind had evolved from the repressive governments and economic systems of Europe, where the fruits of the earth could be won by ruthless acquisitiveness and driving ambition at the expense of those less aggressively animated.

Leslie Gene Hunter Texas A&M University-Kingsville

Jane F. Lancaster. *Removal Aftershock: The Seminoles' Struggles to Survive in the West, 1836-1866.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994, pp. 225. $29.95. ISBN 0-87049-846-0

Frank Laumer. *Dade's Last Command.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995, pp. 285. $29.95. ISBN 0-8130-1324-0

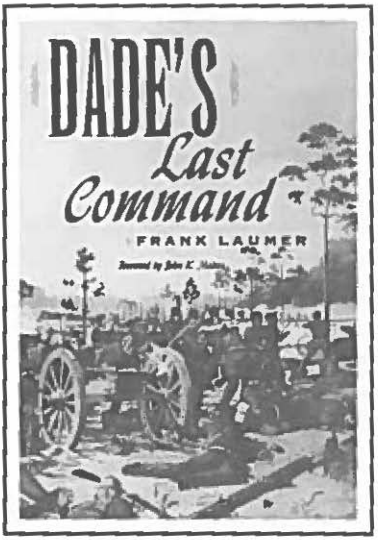
The middle thirty years of the nineteenth century were remarkably hard ones for the Seminole Indians. These were the years of the Second and



Third Seminole Wars, which were prolonged conflicts with U.S. troops in Florida, and the Seminole version of the Trail of Tears, in which the bulk of the tribe was forced to relocate to the western territories. With the fabric of their social and cultural life unwoven, their lands taken, and their various bands relocated and divided, the Seminoles of the 1860s little resembled their parents of the 1830s. One might even say that the period between 1835 and 1866 saw a massive redefinition of the term "Seminole" itself–what it meant to its various members and how it came to be regarded by an expanding republic.

Two new books develop our understanding of this period of Seminole history. Frank Laumer's is a detailed recounting of the battle which took place in late 1835 between the Seminoles, under the combined leadership of four of their most heralded chiefs, Halpatter Tustenuggee, Micanopy, Osceola, and Ote Emathla, and two United States Army Companies, under the nominal command of Francis Dade. The Seminoles' complete annihilation of Dade's troops brought forth a tough policy for their removal and, with the infusion of some forty thousand new troops, sealed their fate in Florida. Jane Lancaster studies the battle's aftermath–those years of enforced relocation and "aftershock." The books provide some sorely needed information about a crucial phase of U.S.-Native-American relations, about the ways in which the Seminoles' sense of themselves and their possibilities for survival abruptly changed, and about the means by which the relocated Seminoles tried to articulate a new and particularized tribal identity in the west.

Laumer's book is clearly the more focused. He is concerned with a six-day period in December 1835 and the notorious and ill-fated march of U.S. soldiers between Fort Brooke and Fort King in west-central Florida. For those readers familiar with his previous book on the subject, this one is less a tactical, blow-by-blow recounting of the march and battle and more a narrative about the personalities and biographical forces at work. And thus, while the book is choreographed around the now-familiar chronology of the march–each chapter corresponding to one of the six days–the narrative actually weaves back and forth between the daily events and several long, deliberate discussions of individual characters, motivations, and ambitions.



This kind of interweaving is clearly the book's strength, for the march and battle are understood as the intersecting points of different lives and different biographical momentums. And where one kind of military history is concerned with a microlevel re-creation of events (and certainly Laumer does his share of this), this book is much more interested in how these actions came about as a result of individual choices and distinct personalities.

Several new finds in the archives make possible Laumer's extended history. These include new materials on Ransom Clark, the only white survivor of the battle, who dragged himself sixty miles to safety and who later provided most of the known details for the events. William Basinger's newly discovered volume of personal reminiscences, and Henry Prince's lengthy diary, perhaps the most important new document from the Second Seminole War to be found in recent years. From these Laumer reconstructs the conditions of the march, the battle, and the subjective reactions on the part of Florida's early generation of soldiers.

But what ought to be the gristle for the book is, in Laumer's hands, poorly managed. The most obvious mishandling is the book's uncritical acceptance of its sources. It takes their various claims to be fact. So, when Ransom Clark describes the brutal mutilation of the white soldiers' bodies by former slaves, we ought to think twice about his motivations for placing such unusual emphasis (not to say vividness) on the activities and about the various terms by which he could conceive of a *usable* description. Laumer is worried that Clarke's enthusiasm was nurtured by a desire to "justify harsh retribution," but he goes on to describe the battleground with the same combination of gruesomeness and verve. The same can be said for his depiction of the army officers, Seminole chiefs, and their motivation. Despite access to so many new and potentially fruitful materials, we end up with entirely predictable caricatures of the various personalities. Dade, with his white plume hat, gold-leaf shoulder straps, and black leather boots "looked [and apparently acted] every inch a soldier." Ote Emathla, the chief whose previous faith in the 1823 treaty had given way to frustration, concluded that there "was no time left for talk...only time for killing."

These vignettes are hardly illuminating, and the book is often more useful for what it does not say than for what it does. Rather than provide an account of a larger historical momentum or even the U.S.-Seminole relations as can be intelligibly scrutinized through the lens of the march and battle, Laumer actually ends up reproducing the *attitudes* towards the Indians held by the government and military and construes them as historical fact. This is most apparent in the decided asymmetry of his sources. The characterizations of the individual officers are mostly gleaned from their own testimonies, from those of their supporters, or from writers who were hardly unbiased in their attitudes towards either the soldiers or the Seminoles. Ironically, the descriptions of the Seminoles are taken from many of the *same* sources. As a result, while the soldiers are particularized, the tribe is understood monolithically, and the factionalism and differences within the tribe (not the least of which were language-based divisions) are rarely highlighted or used to interpret the tense and shifting relations in Florida.

Like Laumer, Lancaster uncovers many useful materials in her efforts to reconstruct the relationship between the United States and the Seminoles. These include, most prominently, the annual reports from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, records from the U.S. House and Senate, and communications from the government-appointed Seminole agents and subagents. Lancaster has the decided advantage of recognizing the differences within the Seminoles and, throughout her thirty-year survey of the tribe's experience in the western territories, uses this to add nuance to her several characterizations. She distinguishes, for example, between pro-Union and pro-Confederate factions, between those Seminoles advocating (or at least tolerating) slavery and those with a much more ambivalent attitude towards blacks, and between the various and conflicting bands seeking relations with the Florida-based Seminoles, with the Mexican government, and with their hated neighbors, the Creeks.

But almost inexplicably, the differences within the tribe never seem to amount to much. Lancaster consistently homogenizes the relocation experience, in which the Seminoles strove "to maintain their tribal independence" and sought to retain a "tribal identity." And while her book traces several distinct phases of U.S.-Seminole relations, including the highly disruptive Civil War period, she returns to two over riding and apparently collective concerns: the Seminoles' consistent refusal to be absorbed into the Creeks (the original tribe from which the Florida Seminoles, in the eighteenth century, derived) and their demands for a separate territory. The "aftershock" which she describes is thus the result of the pressures associated with maintaining tribal

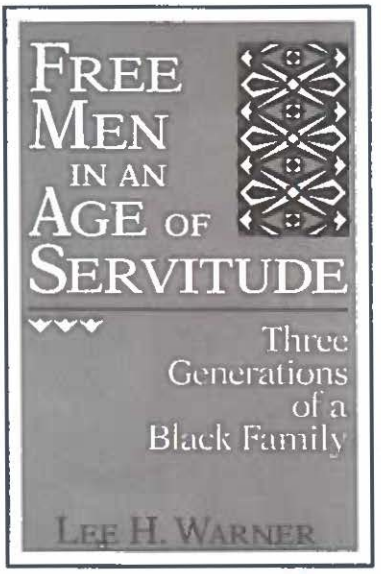
integrity in a new and disorienting place, where that integrity was most challenged.

This argument about "integrity" and "identity" is clearly the book's novel contribution. Most previous studies about the Five Civilized Nations tend to emphasize the experience of disorientation (especially in the new topography and weather), of conflict (between the Plains Indians and the relocated Indians), or of promises broken (by the U.S. government). Lancaster suggests that, at least for the Seminoles, who were dealing from a position of relative weakness, the operative experiences were compounded, perhaps even channeled, by the worry of being absorbed by the Creeks. It appears as the underlying subtext of several of her extended discussions. She often describes the issue of slavery, for example, in the context of Seminole-Creek relations. The Creeks, who advocate slavery, wished to absorb the Seminoles in order to gain control of the many blacks assembled among them, while the Seminoles strove to maintain separation.

But like Laumer, Lancaster frequently displays little feel for the origins of her sources–which is to say that she does not seem too concerned that they are all representations by the U.S. government and its officials. It is no surprise that Creek-Seminole relations are important because, in the official annual reports, the inter-tribal relations are a major topic. The book's chapters are even organized chronologically according to the American agents' tenure with the Seminoles, since they are the figures who "spoke" on the tribe's behalf. Once again, the United States experience with the Seminoles is mistaken for the Seminoles' own experience. In a telling omission, Lancaster does not consider other, competing factors in determining such a slippery thing as "tribal identity." For example, she mentions but does not discuss such key features as the language-based differences between the subtribes, the carry-over of cultural rituals, the possibility of maintaining the old matrilineal structures, the unifying experiences of the annual Green Corn festival, or other seasonal religious ceremonies–and how all of these might have persisted or been influenced by the relocation experience and how they might have contributed to the western Seminoles' new sense of themselves.

For Laumer and Lancaster, history seems not a question of competing representations but a neutral and apparently transparent arena of facts which, when properly consulted and accumulated, provide an accurate account of the Seminole past. But if we are ever to recover that history with any insight, we will require a much more self-critical model.

Anthony W. Lee University of Texas at Dallas



Lee H. Warner. *Free Men in an Age of Servitude: Three Generations of a Black Family.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1992, pp. 168. $22.00. ISBN 0-8131-1799-2

This brief but ambitious book reflects a reviving interest in local history in the United States and the need to review regional cultures in light of recent scholarship. The author's approach rewards the reader with an appreciation of the importance of family history by placing it in the context of sectional issues and national events. He has written a welcome contribution to this field and to African-American history.

Employing a judicious mixture of original sources, including oral history, newspapers, courthouse records, and tax and deed books, Warner treats an important issue that has received insufficient attention. Although no personal papers remain, the author traces the lives of three generations of the Proctor family in Florida from the 1780s to the 1880s. Warner finds much to praise in the initiative and energy displayed by an African-American grandfather, his son, and a grandson. Antonio Proctor, born a slave in Santo Domingo, emerged as a free landowner who gained recognition for his military capabilities. His son, George, worked as a carpenter and housebuilder and purchased his wife from slavery. The Panic of 1837 ruined him financially. George's son, John, served in the Florida legislature during Reconstruction. Warner observes that:

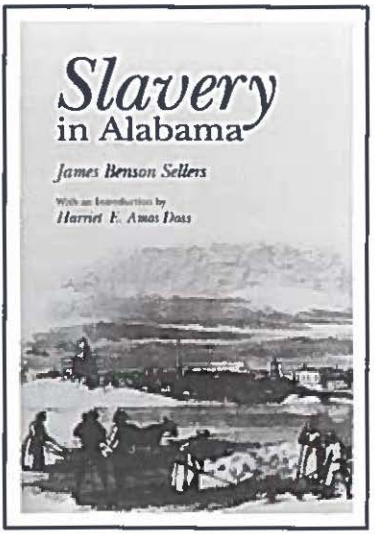
> The experiences of the three Proctor men reflected in a real way the history of black persons in American society. Toney, the soldier, had prospered in an age of equality following the American revolution. But the rise of the cotton kingdom and the tightening bonds of a slavery system justified on the grounds of black inferiority had doomed entrepreneur George. Politician John's career followed closely the course of Reconstruction, and he, too, was defeated by color. All the three Proctor men would have taken comfort that within twenty-one years of John's passing, the United States Supreme Court decisively brought to an end the governmental imprimatur that had controlled and negated their lives.

Warner's sympathies are evident in the stories he relates. Proctor family life is full of traditions, rituals, folklore, and politics, as each generation moved on to a higher plateau than the previous one. The author's well-researched biographical essay provides an account of the activities, beliefs, struggles, and commitment of an African-American family living in the Gulf Coast region. A similar but expanded approach can be found in Kathryn Grover's *Make a Way Somehow: African-American Life in a Northern Community, 1790-1965* (1994).

Despite obvious strengths, Warner's book contains shortcomings. Illustrations, if available, would have added immeasurably to the work. A genealogical chart would have made it easier to place family names properly. Although there is a good bibliography that lists primary and secondary sources, a bibliographical essay would be useful. Warner no doubt completed his research before the publication of *The American South: A History* (1990), by William J. Cooper, Jr. and Thomas E. Terrill, and prior to the appearance of William H. Nulty's *Confederate Florida* (1990). Yet, Warner neglected to cite some earlier overviews such as Dan Carter's *When the War Was Over* (1985) and Michael Perman's *Reunion Without Compromise* (1973) and *The Road to Redemption* (1984). Perman traces political developments across the South from Reconstruction to Redemption and their impact on the configuration of power in the New South. Surprisingly, Warner did not mention Theodore Wilson's *The Black Codes of the South* (1966) or John Boles's *Black Southerners* (1983), a good synthesis of recent scholarship. Because Warner carefully explained in the introduction to his book some difficulties in pursuing Florida genealogy, such as the absence of state archives until the mid-twentieth century and the challenge in finding Florida's newspapers of the time, he could have suggested that readers interested in pursuing family history in that state consult Diane C. Robie's *Searching in Florida: A Reference Guide to Public and Private Records* (1982).

These constructive criticisms are not meant to detract from the book's importance. Florida has often been neglected in Civil War historiography. Warner's book helps to fill this void. His account of an African-American family in Florida, with its successes and failures, is good reading for both historians and the general public and should especially fascinate and inform readers living in the Gulf Coast region. The author has done a remarkable job with this short study and has clearly demonstrated that he knows his subject well. The book will be a useful addition to African-American and southern collections in large public and academic libraries.

Leonard Schlup Akron, Ohio



James Benson Sellers. *Slavery in Alabama*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1994, pp. 426. Reprint of 1950 edition with an introduction by Harriet E. Amos Doss. $22.95. ISBN 0-8173-0594-7

James Benson Sellers, who was born in Wilcox County, Alabama, in 1889, was influenced by his own experiences, by his family's five generations in the Alabama Black Belt, and in the course of his professional education by a number of historians. He studied under William E. Dodd at Chicago, was a student with Fletcher M. Green at Chapel Hill, and admired the work of Ulrich B. Phillips, who portrayed slavery and slave masters as mostly benevolent. It is no surprise then, coming from this generation with its ideas about race, that Sellers viewed slavery on balance as a benign institution with paternalistic relationships between masters and slaves. Despite dated assumptions about race, Sellers's account of slavery in Alabama is valuable. His research and detailed use of primary sources have discouraged anyone from presenting a new or broader interpretation of the "peculiar institution," and although long out of print, *Slavery in Alabama* remains the only monograph on how slavery operated in the state.

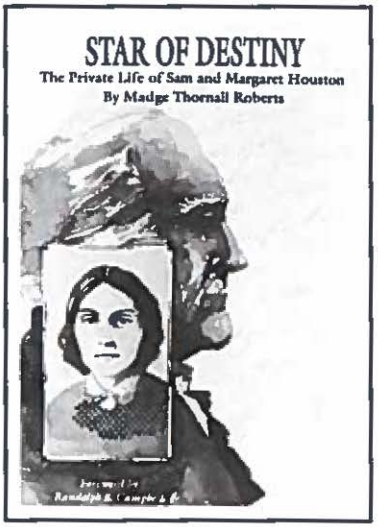
Sellers recognized that slavery was brought from the Atlantic seaboard south as a well-developed labor system, and therefore, he does not try to outline its evolution. Instead, he emphasizes the operation of the institution, its social, economic, and political features, as well as its legal aspects. Sellers portrays the planter, overseer, and slave as they interacted with each other. He is interested in the plantation as an agricultural unit and as a business enterprise and concerns himself with the relationships necessary to make human bondage succeed as a form of labor that makes a profit for the planter. He views the plantation somewhat like a manorial community. For the most part he sees slavery from the master's outlook, and only rarely does he make any observations from the perspective of the slave. He also fails to use sources generated by slaves, such as the WPA slave narratives, the contemporary testimony of ex-slaves, or B.A. Botkin's *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery.*

Sellers relied heavily upon county and state records, and he consulted a variety of primary sources–newspapers, private manuscripts, state and local records, and plantation account books and journals. However, these sources were drawn from county circuit and probate court records of sixteen counties–eight counties in the Black Belt, plus Tuscaloosa and Butler counties, three in the Tennessee Valley, Jefferson in the hill country, and Washington and Mobile counties in the Gulf coastal plain. Thus, Sellers's picture of slavery is drawn from the geographical areas where there were many slaves, where slavery was strongest and most economically important, and most of his documentation comes from the twenty-five-year period before 1860, a time when cotton prices were high and slave labor was needed to make fortunes in the cotton kingdom. Furthermore, the manuscripts and private documents he uses are primarily from planters who owned more than fifty slaves. These large planters were a small elite in Alabama, less than one-third of one percent of the white population. Including records from mountain, Wire Grass, and other hill country counties and from small slaveholders, might have merely supported the data he had collected, or could have presented Sellers with regional contrasts in the operation of slavery in Alabama. It is important to note that although Black Belt and Tennessee Valley planters dominated the state economically and were significant influences in the political process, in 1860 slave ownership was limited to less than 6.4 percent of the white population, but probably one-third of families included a slaveowner.

The introduction to the reprint, which rightly appears in the Library of Alabama Classics, is particularly valuable. Harriet E. Amos Doss balances Sellers's dated suppositions with a biographical sketch of Sellers and a discussion of recent interpretations that places his work within the context of current scholarship. Although historians were moving toward broader ways of explaining human bondage when Sellers published, the seminal revisionist interpretation of slavery appeared six years after Sellers's work. Kenneth M. Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956) looked at slavery more from the slave perspective, emphasized the cruelties of human bondage, and stressed the discontent of slaves. Doss points to other studies of southern slavery in general and articles on slavery in Alabama to illustrate both the strengths and weaknesses of Sellers's treatment. Despite its limitations, until a new book-length study appears that can match his scholarship, Sellers's *Slavery in Alabama* will remain essential to the study of antebellum Alabama.

Leah Rawls Atkins Auburn, Alabama

Madge Thornall Roberts. *Star of Destiny, The Private Life of Sam and Margaret Houston.* University of North Texas Press, 1993, pp. 432. $24.50. ISBN 0-929398-51-3



Margaret Moffette Lea and Sam Houston were married in Marion, Alabama, on May 9, 1840. News of their marriage spread across the frontier with mixed reactions. Barnard E. Bee wrote Ashbel Smith in June that he himself had "never met with an individual more totally disqualified for domestic happiness." Indeed, this was Houston's third marriage in addition to other relationships, soured or broken during his adult years, suggesting that the man destined for greatness on the Texas frontier had an unstable personality.

Perhaps the only individual convinced of the deeply-hidden spiritual possibilities within this larger-than-life frontier figure was Margaret Lea. She saw in Sam not only the "star of destiny" that others perceived, but also a man in need of commitment, love, and religious undergirding, a task to which she devoted her life.

Madge Thornall Roberts, great-great-granddaughter of Sam and Margaret Houston, has compiled a personal biography of that couple through their own eyes. *Star of Destiny* journeys along the marriage years through the personal letters, poems, and notes finally brought to light by several members of the Houston family.

Roberts has chosen a biographical outline of the Houstons' married years. Relying on Marquis James's *The Raven*, Llerena Friend's *Sam Houston, The Great Designer*, and M.K. Wisehart's *Sam Houston, American Giant*, she has provided a concise though unoriginal backdrop for the letters she includes. Of perhaps greater concern from a scholastic perspective is her inclusion of what she footnotes as "family stories" that occasionally introduce quasi-apocryphal information as fact. For example, Roberts opens her book with the story of Margaret Lea's encounter with Houston on the docks of New Orleans in 1836, a predestinarian delight but largely uncorroborated by any of Houston's, or Margaret Lea's, biographers. Madge Roberts also touches several of those personal anecdotes that have always managed to pique readers' curiosity about Sam and Margaret Lea, notably the reason for

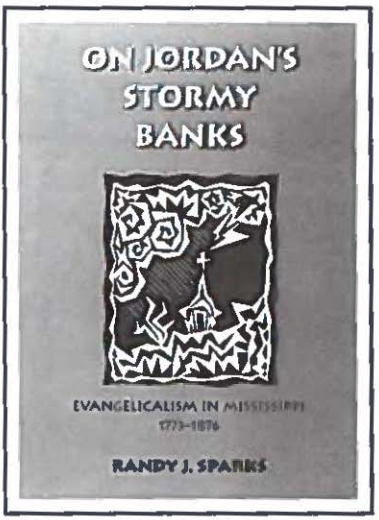
Sam and Eliza Allen's annulment in 1829, the disturbing assault case brought against Margaret Lea by Virginia Thorn, and a wonderful retelling of Sam's propensity to stage outrageous front yard "picnics" with his Native-American friends. Of considerably more importance to Roberts is the ongoing theme stated in a letter by Charles Elliot on the "taming of Sam Houston": "Finally, however, a new connection with a young and gentle woman, brought up in fear of God, conquered, by a glowing tongue...." The inexorable movement, at least from Margaret Lea's point of view, towards the conversion and baptism of her husband, drives the heart of this book to its penultimate moment of victory "in the chilly waters of Rocky Creek during a Texas blue norther." "Margaret," writes Roberts, "felt that she had succeeded in saving Houston's soul."

Excerpts from the Houstons' love letters are numerous and some of the letters are included in their entirety. Poems written by both peek inside their creative souls, although this side of Sam is not newly-discovered here. William Carey Crane, president of Baylor University, friend of Margaret Lea and reluctant biographer of General Houston, made use of the personal correspondence between the two, as did William Seale (*Sam Houston's Wife*) in a chapter entitled "Love Letters," and there is a limited selection in Williams and Barker, *Writings of Sam Houston*. (The latter even prints an 1831 love poem by Sam to an unidentified young woman.)

When Seale researched his biography of Margaret Lea in the 1960s, he relied to some degree on interviews with eight surviving Houston kin, including Sam Houston Hearne, Madge Roberts's uncle. Seale does not relate exactly what information may have been gleaned from these conversations, but the inclusion there of the letters that are found in *Star of Destiny* would have been much more appropriate, and would have saved Madge Roberts the considerable, though hardly wasted, time of compilation and transcription. Why these love letters, presumably known to be in existence somewhere by family members, were not shared then might lead one on a curious intra-family mystery tour. Or perhaps more to the point, Seale unfortunately interviewed the wrong Houston descendants!

Although much of her information is already known, Madge Roberts's dedicated contribution to the crowded shelves of Houston biographies, *Star of Destiny*, deserves its rightful place as an intimate primary source that adds to, but does not replace, the broader stories of Sam and Margaret Houston.

Paul Spellman Texas A&M, Kingsville



Randy J. Sparks. *On Jordan's Stormy Banks: Evangelicalism in Mississippi, 1773-1876.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994, *viii,* pp. 278. $45.00. ISBN 0-8203-1627-x

Randy Sparks's *On Jordan's Stormy Banks* offers a refreshing, well-written, and extensively researched interpretation of the evangelical experience in early Mississippi. Sparks understands evangelicalism as more than just a religious movement that provided its constituents with a system of religious belief, but also as a major cultural and social force in early Gulf Coast society.

Evangelicalism thus serves as an important vehicle for understanding social structure, politics, economics, the role of women, cultural norms, and most importantly race, in early Mississippi. Sparks traces evangelicalism in Mississippi from the early settlement of the Gulf Coast region through the Civil War and Reconstruction era. "Evangelicals," or those Protestants who upheld a commitment to the absolute authority of Scripture, the necessity of conversion and holy living, and a certain missionary zeal, deeply shaped Mississippi life in the years prior to the Civil War. The work moves beyond a mere denominational or "church" history of Mississippi religious life, focusing instead on the role evangelicalism played in the region's move from settlement to state to secession.

We learn from Sparks that evangelicalism in Mississippi began as a movement of small migrant farmers who employed their faith in a struggle for societal power with the more established planter elite of Mississippi's Natchez region. Through camp meetings, new churches, and a general attack on the wealth and civility of the planters, evangelicals were able to establish a certain cultural hegemony in the state. However, by the mid-1830s evangelicalism became institutionalized, losing its early religious zeal to the growing push for established denominations. The move from "sect" to "denomination" created a religious establishment in Mississippi that encouraged clerical education and wealth, as well as a more formal style of worship. This institutionalization of Mississippi evangelicalism also divided the movement between old evangelicals or "traditionalists," and newer denominational evangelicals which Sparks labels "modernists." Traditionalists'

emphasis on an egalitarian, informal, and uneducated church led them to affiliate with the Democratic Party and to oppose the economic advances associated with the Jacksonian market revolution. Modernists, with their emphasis on institutional religion, favored the Whigs politically and often championed these new economic changes.

The main feature of Sparks's interpretation centers around the varied approaches taken by white Mississippi evangelicals to questions of slavery and race. The egalitarian nature of early evangelicals encouraged bi-racial worship in many areas of Mississippi. Blacks were often extended the "right hand of fellowship" in white churches. However, as the nationwide debate over slavery reached a boiling point in the 1830s, Mississippi evangelicals were forced to take sides on this issue. While many evangelicals continued to oppose slavery, most championed a pro-slavery doctrine. By justifying slavery theologically, evangelicals eased their troubled consciences over the apparent contradictions between slaveholding and the liberating power of the gospel. Sparks argues convincingly that evangelicals, in championing pro-slavery arguments, abandoned not only their previous commitment to egalitarianism but also their commitment to the concepts of liberty and equality espoused in the American Revolution.

Sparks's study does not provide a great deal of new interpretation. With few exceptions, most of his conclusions for Mississippi specifically are reflective of broader evangelical influences throughout the South, and in some cases even throughout the North. For example, the idea that separate women's "spheres" served as a source of empowerment for evangelical women, appears to have been a general frontier-wide result of the Second Great Awakening. Sparks's treatment of these "spheres" in Mississippi is very similar to historian Mary Ryan's description of the same process occurring in Oneida, New York, in the early nineteenth century.

In general, Sparks's study reveals that Mississippi serves as a window to view the important issues that southern evangelicals were facing in the early nineteenth century. His well documented study should provide an excellent book for Gulf Coast history courses as well as for general introductions to southern history and religion.

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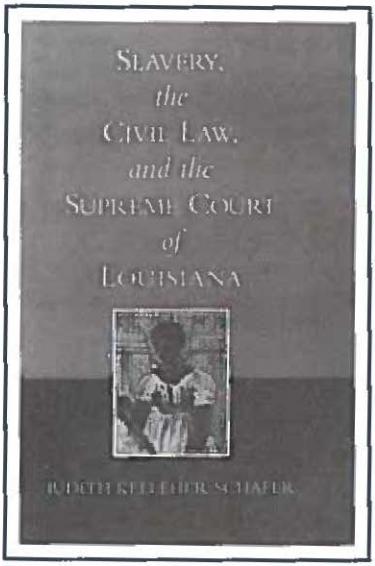


Judith Kelleher Schafer. *Slavery, the Civil Law, and the Supreme Court of Louisiana.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994, pp. 389. $35.00. ISBN 0-8071-1845-1

Judith Schafer's *Slavery, the Civil Law, and the Supreme Court of Louisiana* is an extraordinary achievement clearly deserving of its prestigious Simkins Prize. Thoroughly grounded in some twelve hundred richly detailed handwritten case records, the book spans the entire antebellum period. Separate chapters cover the Louisiana Supreme Court's handling of various aspects of slave law including property settlements, intervention in cases of cruelty to slaves, emancipation, and slave crime. A final chapter discusses cases pertaining to slavery during the Reconstruction era–primarily cases attempting to settle debts for slaves purchased on credit before the general emancipation. Although the book does not treat lower court cases, Schafer suggests that the Louisiana Supreme Court cases are more representative of slave law in general than one might expect, because the court had no right to refuse an appeal of more than three hundred dollars. As she moves through the material Schafer constantly asks two important questions: In what ways did Louisiana's civil law heritage from France–and later Spain–shape the state's slave law in comparison with the other states of the Deep South, and how did slave law in Louisiana change over time as a result of its recurring exposure to the Anglo-American common law heritage?

Slave law in Louisiana was unique. Whereas most American slaves were chattel, Louisiana slaves were considered real property or "immovables" indicating some kind of tie to the land. What that meant in real life, however, is unclear. Like their counterparts in other states, Louisiana slaves were sold, "mortgaged, hired, stolen, bartered, wagered, seized for debt...fought over" in inheritance cases, and moved from place to place. The Supreme Court "never made sense" of the inherent contradictions in the idea of human beings as real estate, Schafer acknowledges. So, it is perhaps inevitable that the issue should remain confusing.

In some respects the Louisiana high court was more attentive to the humanity of the slaves than the other southern states. Louisiana allowed

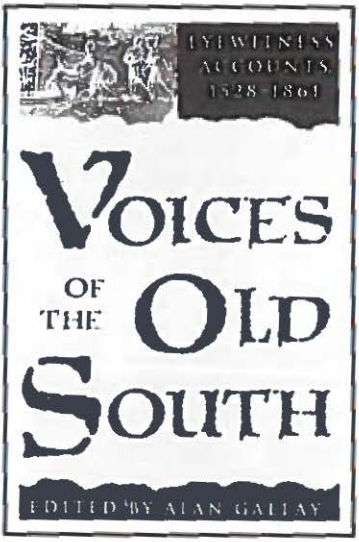
slaves to bring suits for freedom, and the court was generally in favor of setting them free, provided they could prove that they were entitled to their freedom. Similarly, the state supreme court continued to support the efforts of masters to emancipate their slaves long after other southern states had made emancipation almost impossible. The supreme court ignored the efforts of the state legislature to restrict emancipation until the state passed in 1857 a law forbidding any further emancipation. Thus, Louisiana followed the lead of the other southern states as the nation approached the Civil War, but slowly and in the case of the Supreme Court, reluctantly. Louisiana's liberality in cases where slaves sued for their freedom–after returning to Louisiana–on the basis of having lived in a free state or a foreign country that did not recognize slavery is surprising in light of the U.S. Supreme Court record. Again and again, Schafer demonstrates, the Louisiana court ruled in favor of liberty when slaves had entered free land. When the legislature in 1846 closed this avenue to freedom, the court refused to apply the law retroactively. Slaves who had sojourned in free territory before the law was passed continued to gain their freedom. When such cases involved a conflict of laws between slave states, however, the Louisiana court attended carefully to the more restrictive laws of sister slave states; blacks from other areas could not come to Louisiana and expect to gain their freedom in court.

While the Louisiana Supreme Court was more open to freedom suits than other slave states, it subjected slaves accused of crime to harsh forms of "justice." Louisiana's colonial civil law tradition was brutal compared to the English system; punishment was severe, forced confessions were allowed, and the burden of proof was on the accused to prove his innocence. The judge was considered a part of the prosecution team. The right of appeal in criminal cases was unknown. Louisiana did not allow appeal in criminal cases until 1845. Historians of slave law have discovered a surprising regard for procedural due process when slaves were tried for criminal offenses in other slave states, clearly an area where the common law tradition afforded greater protection. Slave courts in Louisiana were "designed to dispense with procedural niceties and render verdicts based on the opinion of the white community in which they functioned." The supreme court rarely reversed lower court verdicts in criminal cases; violations of procedure too flagrant to ignore in other states were not a matter of concern in Louisiana. Indeed, Schafer acknowledges, cases of whites convicted in Louisiana suffered the same lack of regard for procedure in the state supreme court.

Schafer's book is easily understood even for those unaccustomed to reading about law. She defines legal terms carefully so that there is no awkward shuffling to an appendix. Each chapter provides an introduction that

clearly marks out where she is headed. She then covers enough cases to demonstrate her analysis. Her discussion of individual cases is short and to the point, a necessity considering the enormous amount of ground she covers. For researchers who–like the reviewer–are hungry for more detail, she has generously provided a comprehensive listing of all her cases, many of which were never reported by docket number.

Lou Falkner Williams Kansas State University



Alan Gallay, ed. *Voices of the Old South: Eyewitness Accounts, 1528-1861.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994, *xxix*, pp. 404. $45.00. ISBN 0-8203-1566-4

Those who teach survey courses often look long and hard for books to assign to their students that contain first-hand accounts of life in the past. For those who teach courses in the Old South, this volume will be a welcome addition to the literature. Containing a wide range of eyewitness accounts of the South stretching from sixteenth-century exploration right up to the era of the Civil War, Alan Gallay's *Voices of the Old South* will give teachers and students a rich variety of accounts of the region.

In his introduction, Gallay, a professor of history at Western Washington University, argues, sensibly, for a broad inclusiveness in answering questions about who and what is the South. This explains the inclusion of selections from or about Amerindians and blacks, Spanish and French settlers, poor whites, women, and mountain folk, not all of whom are traditionally thought of as being part of the region's history. Gallay also cautions against seeing any one factor–race, soil, the plantation system, honor, or any other–as solely determinative of the South's culture. All of these factors and more, Gallay argues, combined to give the region its unique culture.

The selections Gallay includes reflect these ideas. The excerpts range broadly to include many different voices and perspectives, each showing a vital part of the South. Some of the pieces will be familiar to readers.

Contained here are selections from such classics as Landon Carter's *Diary*, Devereux Jarratt's *Life*, Philip Vickers Fithian's *Journal and Letters*, Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life*, Harriet Jacob's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, and George Fitzhugh's *Cannibals All*. While these are well known, they are conveniently gathered here in one location making their introduction into the classroom much easier. But just as interesting and useful are the various other excerpts by lesser-known authors whose writing shed light on the region's rich past.

Students of the Gulf Coast region will be particularly interested in several of the sections. The Talon family journeyed with LaSalle in 1685 in his search for the mouth of the Mississippi River on the disastrous trip which ended in LaSalle's murder by his own party and the Talon children being left with the Karankawa Indians of east Texas. Andre Penicaut, a master carpenter from French Louisiana, provides a narrative of life among Native American in Louisiana. Also of interest is the account of Rachel O'Connor who, twice widowed, managed her own plantation from 1820 to 1844 and, despite debt, disease, and incompetent help, managed to keep her plantation solvent.

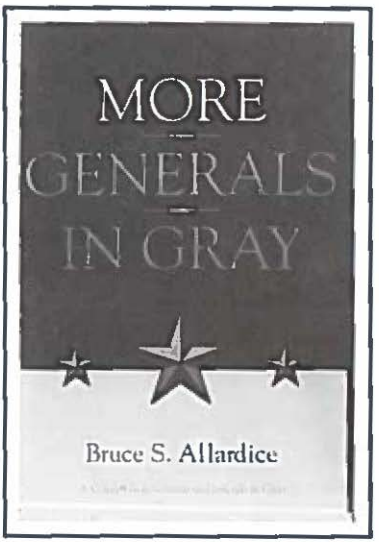
Gallay divides the book into ten sections, each with a brief introduction to provide background. He also includes a short introduction to each excerpt. These essays effectively place the excerpts in context, but Gallay lets the pieces speak for themselves and leaves the interpretation of each to the reader.

One of the other strong suits of this book is the balance among political, social, family, and religious history. The book is especially strong on the religious South, with an entire chapter devoted to the subject. There are letters written by traveling missionaries from 1730, comments from one family member to another discussing personal experiences with God, and selections from a sermon by Alexander Garden warning his parishioners of the shortcomings of George Whitefield and the dangers of unthinking revivalism and evangelicalism. An excerpt from the journal of the Methodist itinerant Lorenzo Dow, with stories of his experiences on his many pilgrimages through the South and the thousands of people he reached through revivals, is also very revealing.

Another section of great interest is the chapter devoted to foreign visitors to the South. While the works of Harriet Martineau and Frances Anne Kemble are well known, those of the other travelers provide unique perspectives on the region, its people, practices, manners, and customs.

In short, Gallay's *Voices of the Old South* is a well-done, useful, and effectively organized collection of eyewitness accounts of the Old South. Gallay nicely meets his goal of broadening the conception of what and who is the South. By showing the validity of expanding such definitions–and providing here a glimpse of what a broadened perspective may yield–Gallay has contributed a volume which will meet the needs of teachers and should provide new insights for all students of southern history.

Todd Estes University of Kentucky



Bruce S. Allardice. *More Generals in Gray*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, pp. 258. $29.95. ISBN 0-8071-1967-9

More Generals in Gray by Bruce Allardice takes Ezra Warner's 1959 publication *Generals in Gray* a step further by completing biographical sketches of 137 officers who served the Confederacy but were never formally recognized by the Confederate Congress or by President Davis with the rank of general. It is obvious that a great deal of research and effort went into the completion of this work. Allardice uses such primary sources as the *Official Records*, the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, the *Confederate Veteran*, the *Historical Register of the U.S. Army*, and the *Confederate Handbook*, as well as secondary sources, to establish that 137 individuals, previously ignored or not accounted for, held the responsibilities of a general.

Specifically, the author establishes that each of these men either commanded at least a brigade of troops or were appointed to the rank of general by some civil authority other than the Richmond government. A large number of these men held commissions from different state governments and commanded mostly state troops, local militia, and reserve guards. Whether or not each individual deserved the rank of general is debatable. What is clear is the fact that the activities of these men were critically important in understanding the complete story of the Civil War.

Allardice includes a brief account of each officer's prewar life and activities including birthplace, profession, and political affiliations at the start of hostilities. What follows then is a record of the individual's military and political involvements during the period of combat. Each biography concludes with the person's activities after 1865 (if he survived), the date of death, and the officer's final resting place. Most of the biographical sketches are accompanied by a photograph which, with the addition of civilian information, is a very nice touch in learning more about each officer. Of particular note is the tremendously diverse background of these secondary officers. The reader will also notice that, unlike many of the leading figures of the Confederacy, most of these men played key roles in the political and economic structure of the postwar South.

The volume provides two basic additions to the spectrum of information available to the reader about the Civil War. The first will interest those who study the campaigns that took place in the Gulf and Atlantic coast areas. The book provides detailed information about many of the men and the military actions that occurred in these geographic regions. Of particular interest to the reviewer was the information provided about the officers involved in the 1862 capture of New Orleans, the ill-fated Overland Campaign of late 1863, and the Red River Expedition of 1864.

The second strong point of the volume is the information about the civilian lives of these generals. Most were part of the growing middle class that shaped the political and economic thinking of the prewar period. The biographies make it clear that the majority of these officers did not command troops from the state in which they were born. Most were self-made men who had gone west to make their fortunes and held positions of power at the beginning of the war. Still others owed their commissions to prewar popularity and political influence. Fortunately, for many a Confederate soldier, those who showed little military ability were weeded out by the Davis administration. They often turned to politics, served as either members of the Confederate Congress or in state legislatures, and in several cases became leading critics of the Davis government and the Confederate war objectives.

I strongly recommend this work for anyone interested in the above-mentioned subjects. The book is well researched, nicely written, and very enjoyable to read. Hats off to Allardice for completing this valuable addition to the library of Civil War information!

Dale K. Phillips Jean Lafitte National Historical Park/Preserve
Lafayette, Louisiana

Robert E. May. *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994, *xviii*, pp. 465. $19.95. ISBN 0-8071-1207-0

Robert E. May's well-written 1985 biography of "Old Chapultepec," John A. Quitman, the premier secessionist of antebellum Mississippi, is again available in paperback from LSU Press. The first critical biography to probe Quitman's life as state legislator and governor of Mississippi, congressman, judicial leader, and Mexican War general, May's study interprets the historical relevance of Mississippi's most volcanic "fire-eater." As a national champion of Manifest Destiny and states rights, Quitman became one of the most prominent radicals in the South. This detailed analysis of his actions and thoughts sheds new light upon the important role John A. Quitman played in the North-South estrangement that led to the American Civil War.

In 1821 at the age of twenty-two, a romantic, exuberant, John Anthony Quitman, possessing high intelligence and spirited energy, arrived in the social center of young Mississippi, the river port city of Natchez. There Quitman sought his fortune from the vast economic prospects available within the blossoming frontier state. From his residence in Natchez, Quitman managed his agribusiness interests, but he routinely left the actual supervision of his vast agricultural holdings to others. Elected to the state legislature in 1827, the young lawyer/planter identified himself with the John Quincey Adams section of the Republican party. Politically, the young legislator did not endorse the issues of states rights until the early 1830s, first as a states rights Whig and later as a Democrat.

In May's analysis, Quitman's conversion to secessionism, and the political radicalism which marked his public career, was generated by his deep concern for the constitutional security of the slave system within the Union. This interpretation of Quitman contrasts significantly with the traditional image of the fire-breathing Mississippi radical as a demagogic misfit. The traditional view has been that Quitman, despite his Yankee roots, was a man who labored throughout his life to prove himself to the people of his adopted state and its culture. May demonstrates that Mississippi's most steadfast slavery imperialist was both an American nationalist and a southern sectionalist. May argues that Quitman, often labeled "high priest of the secession cult in Mississippi," was not the enthusiastic southern nationalist, as previous historians have interpreted the Old South "fire-eater" radicals to have been. However, Quitman's formal advocacy of Mississippi's secession from the Union in 1850, nurtured to its maturity through the troubling periods of social/political crisis within antebellum America, placed him

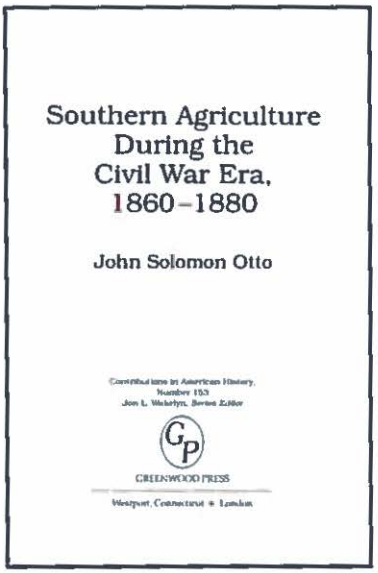
philosophically ahead of the political majority in the South. May challenges readers to remember that whites in the Old South "conceived of themselves both as Americans *and* Southerners with no sense of hypocrisy or reason to feel hypocritical," and that the people of the Old South had not lost all cultural commonality with the North. A look at Quitman's beliefs and behavior provides evidence that he only supported secession for a few, separated years during a distinguished public career spanning three decades. The "radical fire-eater's" personal road to secession, followed a halting and agonizing course, until finally, in Quitman's reasoning, the disbandment of the American Union was the only means left to the people of the South to secure their rights of national citizenship provided under the Constitution.

Despite his adoption of disunion, Quitman was an active proponent of Manifest Destiny, declaring himself "an unabashed patriot and nationalist." In the 1830s, the Mississippian rapidly became a supporter of waging war with Mexico to achieve Texas independence. A decade later, the warrior-patriot-nationalist served as a major general in the Mexican War, where he fought to secure for the American Union the fruits of its geographical destiny. Having compiled an outstanding combat record as a volunteer citizen-soldier, Quitman was named the first civil and military governor of Mexico City and formally managed the American occupation. May states that although Quitman was an intensely ambitious man, in both the political and social arena, "Old Chapultepec...was rarely more at peace with himself than when on a military campaign."

Although Quitman died less than three years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, May concludes that his secessionist philosophy dominated the momentous events which carried Mississippi and ten additional states out of the Union. It was Quitman who had made the people of Mississippi familiar with states' rights constitutional theories and their secession option. Abolitionist control of the federal government, the degrading national context of second-class citizenship for Southerners, free-soil antagonism toward the expansion of slavery both to the west and in the south, northern defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law, and abolitionist threats of promoting slave revolt, were concerns which John A. Quitman had voiced upon the state's political forum time and time again. To Quitman, the northern actions and thoughts supporting these fears, presaged a war of extermination against the sacred rights of the slave holders. In the end, disunion was the only answer. Even though the citizens of Mississippi cherished the ancient ties of their fathers, Quitman charged in 1850 that Mississippians could love no other Union than that defined in the Constitution. John A. Quitman's dictums "remained

imprinted upon Mississippi's collective consciousness," and on January 9, 1861, they compelled her secession from the union.

Stacy D. Allen Shiloh National Military Park, Shiloh, Tennessee



John Solomon Otto. *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era, 1860-1880.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994, *ix*, pp. 171. $49.95. ISBN 0-313-26714-6

Southern agriculture experienced a tremendous transformation during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. This is the topic so ably covered by John Solomon Otto in his *Southern Agriculture During the Civil War Era*. Although much has been written about the southern agricultural system during the colonial, antebellum, and postbellum eras, no one has ever adequately examined agriculture during the Civil War. To tell this story, Professor Otto has utilized voluminous primary and secondary resources. Masterfully, he cites autobiographies, diaries, and other documents to illustrate agricultural conditions in the South during the war and Reconstruction periods. If for no other reason, the value of this monograph lies in its excellent bibliography which lists numerous sources for southern agricultural history.

As the Civil War commenced "the South was the most productive agricultural region in the United States." However, agricultural bounty did not translate into a cornucopia during the Confederate era. On the contrary, southern soldiers and civilians suffered food shortages that worsened as the war continued. Although agricultural production shifted from cotton to foodstuffs as the war progressed, shortages persisted. Otto quotes sources indicating that cultivation of edible crops "tripled during the war from 10,600,000 acres to 29,550,000 acres by 1864." Furthermore, food output increased as Union forces seized more Confederate territory. Why then did soldiers and civilians lack adequate nourishment? Otto attributes scarcities to "the collection and distribution of foodstuffs."

In the course of an economic appraisal after the end of hostilities, Southerners became acutely aware of the horrible state of southern agriculture wrought by the war. Not only was slavery outlawed, but also lost was the large capital investment in slave property. In addition, landowners had to develop new methods of acquiring precious labor–methods which included hiring newly freed blacks and dealing with sharecroppers and land renters. Another hardship was arranging for credit, which was solved eventually by the development of the infamous crop lien system, saddling southern farmers with a tremendous financial burden for decades. Furthermore, many had to cope with loss of their farm animals and implements. What is really amazing about postwar southern agriculture was that it rebounded at all.

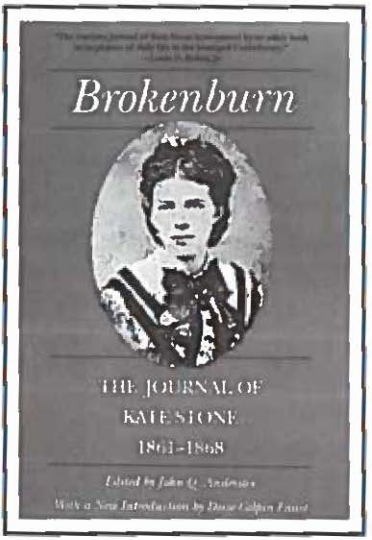
The antebellum plantation system which had produced long-staple cotton, sugar cane, rice, tobacco, and hemp crops was likewise devastated by the Civil War. Production of short-staple cotton, the great prewar crop of the South, was also disrupted. Herds of cattle and hogs were depleted. By 1880 the short-staple cotton crop exceeded antebellum production levels, but crops such as long-staple cotton and rice never recovered. Others such as sugar cane, tobacco, and hemp were much slower to rebound.

Adding to landowners' woes, Republican-controlled southern state governments imposed taxation policies which shifted taxation from slaves, which had been the most heavily assessed property in the antebellum South, to land taxes. Southern land taxes rose dramatically in the Reconstruction period, forcing many native Southerners to forfeit their lands. Otto asserts that onerous property taxes were implemented "not only to pay for public programs but also to force the breakup of estates." Another factor which irritated small southern farmers was fencing legislation. This outlawed the practice whereby foraging livestock freely roamed forests and fields. Several southern state legislatures enacted no-fence laws in response to pleas from large landowners now without slave labor to enclose their fields.

Otto discusses the impact that commercial fertilizers had upon southern agriculture. Few farmers utilized them in the antebellum period since forest lands could be cleared with slave labor. After the war it proved financially burdensome to continue this antebellum tradition. It was more feasible to cultivate old lands using fertilizers. Professor Otto explains the various combinations of fertilizing elements which included Peruvian guano and superphosphates. These two ingredients provided nitrogen and phosphorous–a blend which permitted the extension of cotton cultivation into areas with short growing seasons and into coastal areas. Although the switch to commercial fertilizers added to farmers' costs, Otto argues that they "offered more advantages than disadvantages."

The author spends little time examining the impact railroads had upon the southern agricultural system, but emphasizes that there was steady movement away from river transportation to the railroads. Another trend was the continued westward expansion of agriculturalists. Texas, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas contained vast acreage of federal and state lands at war's end. Making a case study of Texas, Otto documents how this state, offering state lands to whites only, attracted thousands of applicants hoping to obtain homesteads. Florida, making land available to both races, "became a mecca for black Southerners," doubling its black population between 1860 and 1880. Otto maintains that the Gulf Coast states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana were not as successful in attracting new residents since their federal lands were less fertile than those elsewhere.

Mary Ellen Wilson Middle Georgia College



John Q. Anderson, ed., *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1865*. Introduction by Drew Gilpin Faust. Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, *xi*, pp. 400. $16.95. ISBN 0-8071-2042-1

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Kate Stone lived with her widowed mother and siblings at a plantation called Brokenburn in northeast Louisiana, located approximately thirty miles northwest of the Mississippi River city of Vicksburg, Mississippi. It was not a good place to be, because Vicksburg, located high on bluffs overlooking a hairpin turn in the river and fortified with the Confederate artillery, immediately drew the attention of federal forces intent on keeping the great river open. Kate Stone's journal depicts typical experiences of Confederate civilians in the Gulf region of the Confederacy, where most lived in terror of invading Yankees and marauding bands of freed slaves.

When originally published in 1955, the volume suffered somewhat from John Q. Anderson's often insufficient and sometimes inaccurate editing.

Anderson was clearly not a Civil War historian, and though he perceptively analyzed Kate's experiences in terms of her civilian status, he ignored other aspects, especially regarding military operations, that begged elaboration. In this third edition of the journal, Louisiana State University Press addresses that problem by including an excellent essay by Drew Gilpin Faust, a prominent social historian of the war. Faust draws on pertinent recent historiography, much of which she is responsible for, to frame Stone's journal in a proper perspective, although much more could be done regarding Kate's comments on military operations.

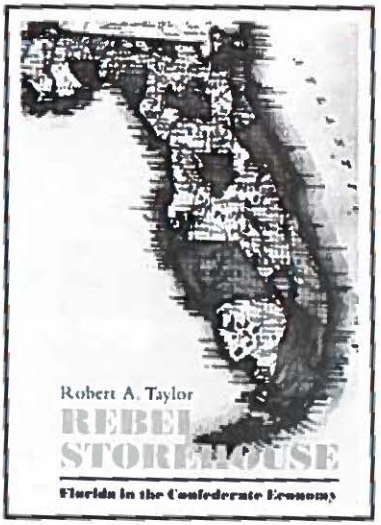
In her introduction, Faust emphasized that the journal is a very personal portrait of a young, upper-class southern white woman maturing in a world turned upside down by civil war, an invading army, and the disruption of routine on the plantation by rebellious slaves. Kate, like many young women, wanted to go to war herself, to defend the world she cherished. Ironically, she did just that, not by picking up a rifled musket, but by coping daily with trying circumstances brought on by the war. In her own way, she battled the fear of cannon thundering on the river, of federal troops and freed slaves raiding Brokenburn, of being forced by the increasing intensity of military activity to leave Louisiana with her family for the relative safety of Texas where she stayed for many months. Her experiences matured her considerably, fortified her racist views and hatred of Yankees, and set the stage for postwar involvement in joining with other Lost Cause advocates to recreate the Confederacy in their own image of a noble crusade honorably fought and worth memorializing.

While Kate Stone certainly had her own unique experiences, and her writing necessarily reveals much about her personality, her journal in many ways reflect the experiences of a region in the turmoil of war. The war was decided in the Gulf South where shipping was drastically affected by Union gunboats, where the plantation economies were plowed under, where towns and cities underwent occupation and frequent destruction. Stone's journal gives us insights into all these aspects of war, and she tells us not only of her inner turmoil as the scourge of war hit Louisiana, but also of reactions by those around her, both black and white. Her story of the family's journeys to and from Texas, and of the time spent in Tyler, Texas, gives us fascinating glimpses of what Confederate civilians had to endure and classic examples of human adaptability.

Kate Stone's journal has been used by many Civil War scholars through the years for the wide variety of information it contains. But only through the expansion of the historiography of the war beyond the battlefield

are we beginning to appreciate its multifaceted aspects. Now at last we are looking more at the war on the fronts where Kate fought.

Michael B. Ballard Mississippi State University



Robert A. Taylor. *Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy.* Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1995, *xii*, pp. 220. $29.95. ISBN 0-8173-0776-1

With only the battle of Olustee ranking as a major conflict within its borders, Florida's contribution to the Confederate war effort has long been ignored. Robert A. Taylor, however, in *Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy* probes the murky world of Confederate supplies to evaluate Florida's role. As it turns out, Florida was of great importance to the Confederacy. Florida in the 1850s had been a land of opportunity. Cotton, sugar, corn, fruit, cattle, lumber, and salt flowed in abundance, and these resources, under the guidance of Governor John Milton, were exploited by the Confederate States of America in the 1860s.

At the beginning of the war Florida assumed a secondary role among the Confederate states. The national government diverted manpower from the peninsula to other theaters deemed more important, leaving Governor Milton to defend the long Florida coastline with few troops.

The main Union presence in Florida came in the form of the blockade. Even so, given Florida's geography, blockade-runners used small inlets along the vast coast to bring arms, ammunition, as well as the luxuries of life, into the Confederacy. As the Union grip tightened, the supply dwindled, but in the early days, the porous blockade allowed Florida to make a significant contribution to the southern cause in material goods.

Florida's usefulness to the Confederacy extended far beyond imported goods, however. All along its thirteen-hundred mile coast, salt works sprang up. As a primary means of food preservation, salt was vital to the war effort, and although the Union Navy vigilantly patrolled the coasts disrupting

salt operations, Florida continued to provide this necessary mineral for use by the southern forces.

Taylor also explores Florida agriculture, which made the state a major supplier of cattle. After the fall of Vicksburg in the summer of 1863, Confederate commissary officers scrambled to find beef for their hungry armies. Richmond scoured Florida for its herds. Mounted patrols scurried throughout the state in search of the vital supplies. Although Florida provided large amounts of cattle, Taylor explains that Richmond's demands were too high for Florida to meet alone.

The book is an excellent read. Although a study of the economic importance of a region may at first seem to be far removed from something the normal Civil War enthusiast would be interested in, Taylor explains the economic contributions of Florida to the war in simple and clear terms. The narrative is light and enjoyable, making a delightful story. The book contains many informative endnotes. An extensive bibliography makes the work an excellent source for Civil War Florida references.

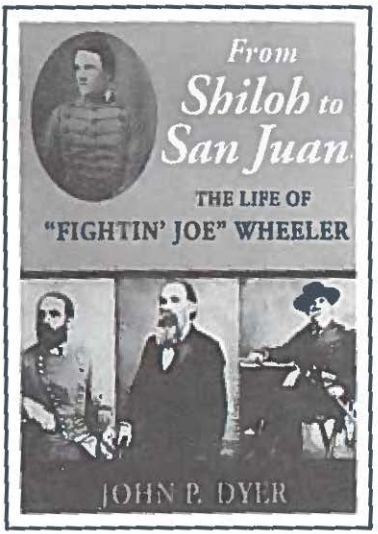
Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy will become a standard text on Florida in the Civil War. Robert Taylor has brought to life an interesting and overlooked point of vital importance to the sustenance of the Confederate fighting machine. He has written a topnotch book in the realm of Civil War literature. It is heartily recommended.

Leonard Curtis Clinton, Mississippi

John P. Dyer. *From Shiloh to San Juan: The Life of "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, *xii*, pp. 275. $14.95. ISBN 0-8071-1809-5

With so much of the print spotlight again being given over to figures and campaigns of the American Civil War, it is fitting that some of that illumination fall on Georgian Joseph Wheeler. In a life that spanned just sixty-nine years, Wheeler served the Confederacy as one of its top cavalry leaders, became a fixture in the postwar U.S. Congress, and returned to the colors (this time the Stars and Stripes) to command significant ground forces in Cuba during the Spanish-American War.

Wheeler is perhaps the least known of the triumvirate of high ranking Confederate cavalry commanders. While he may not have been as flamboyant as J.E.B. Stuart, or as ruthlessly efficient as Nathan B. Forrest, Wheeler nevertheless served with distinction in many of the major western campaigns,



including Shiloh (where he commanded an Alabama infantry regiment), Perryville, Stone's River, Chickamauga, and Sherman's march on Atlanta. Something of his image problem can be gleaned from the fact that while Stuart and Forrest have both been the subject of recent biographies, Wheeler remains represented by John P. Dyer's 1941 study, which was revised in 1961 to create the present edition.

On the one hand, it is good to have Dyer's serviceable book back in circulation. However, its return might have been far more valuable had LSU spent a little more time with the production of this reissue.

Dyer's 1961 revision of his original work expanded the Civil War section, removed all footnote citations, but otherwise added, in the author's words, "no new source material on Wheeler." By choosing not to provide an updated preface to this edition of the work, LSU Press has ignored more than fifty years of scholarly work into the western campaigns in general, and Wheeler's career in particular. All of which is not to say that there was anything faulty in Dyer's original work, but contemporary students should be warned to use this book only as a starting point for research and not the final word.

One would expect that the reissue of a book some thirty years after it first appeared would, at minimum, permit the opportunity to correct nagging factual errors that must have been noted by reviewers and readers when it was new. This appears not to be the case here. How else can one explain the such glaring mistakes as referring to the Confederate Major General Dabney H. Maury as Daniel H. Maury or placing Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet in Greensboro, North Carolina, on the day after they fled Richmond in April, 1865, when, in fact, they settled in Danville, Virginia, until April 10. Add to that a small but steady succession of uncorrected typographical errors–"gettting," "wheeel," "completneess" –and one wonders what LSU Press hoped to accomplish with this reissue.

Putting such complaints aside, how has Dyer's book weathered the test of time? It does not score especially well as a perceptive biography. Many aspects of Wheeler's life which might put some flesh on the bones of this historical figure are absent. We learn a fair amount about Wheeler the cavalry general, and Wheeler the Congressman, but distressingly little about

his personal life and little more about his views on such pressing issues of his age as black civil rights and U.S. social policies. Even the extensive sections devoted to Wheeler's Civil War career are more often than not broad campaign overviews into which a generalized account of his activities is inserted. At no point are we treated to even a single close-up examination into the kinds of considerations and decisions Wheeler had to make under fire. While something of a scholar of military matters (he authored a book of cavalry tactics during the war), Wheeler also proved unable to "successfully conduct large scale independent cavalry operations." No modern student of military biography would let such a statement pass without careful analysis seeking to answer the question, why?

While it may seem unfair to criticize a book from 1961 with the standards of 1993, it is inevitable given LSU Press's refusal to acknowledge that anything has changed in the thirty year interim. And more's the pity, because there is much of value here for the interested reader. The story of the cavalry in the west is too often dominated by the more colorful, anti-establishment figures of Nathan B. Forrest or John H. Morgan, and Wheeler did play an important role in the campaigns and tactical developments of the period. It is hard not to feel some respect for a man who had to overcome a height impairment (when told by a young lady that she wanted to see General Wheeler, an aide replied, "Well, madam, you won't see much when you do."), or for an aged veteran who, at the height of a combat action in Cuba in 1898, forgot thirty years had passed and yelled triumphantly to his men that they had the Yankees on the run. And, as Edwin C. Bearss points out in his brief but perceptive biographical overview of the man, "His continuing reputation in the early 20th century was underscored by his selection as one of Alabama's two heroes to have their statues in the nation's capitol."

Dyer's book offers a durable account of Wheeler's life and will suffice in the absence of any modern study. It is unfortunate that LSU Press did not turn to any one of a number of appropriate scholars to write a proper introduction for this work, or to footnote it in such a way as to correct the mistakes that are sure to ensnare future students of the western campaigns.

Noah Andre Trudeau Washington, D.C.

Lynda Laswell Christ, Mary Seaton Dix, and Kenneth H. Williams, eds. *The Papers of Jefferson Davis.* Vol. 8, *1862.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, *v*, pp. 692. $65.00. ISBN 0-8071-1938-5

Eighteen sixty-two was a pivotal year for the Confederate States of America. During that year, General Robert E. Lee took command of the Confederate army in Virginia and rechristened it the Army of Northern Virginia; Lee's defense of Richmond in the Seven Days' Campaign thwarted yet another "On to Richmond" campaign; and the Confederates invaded the north for the first time. In the western theater, 1862 brought retreats, defeats, and the loss of Nashville and New Orleans. Presiding over the course of events was Jefferson Davis, who was installed as permanent president on February 22, 1862. Volume 8 in the ongoing series of *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* chronicles this year in detail.

Much of the correspondence included in this volume deals with military matters. Indeed, from a look at both the brief summaries of letters not included in the collection to those presented in full, one can understand that the war effort, and the Confederacy's waning fortunes on the battlefield, loomed large in Davis's thoughts.

The situation in Tennessee was especially disturbing, for Union General Ulysses S. Grant had cut deep into the area with victories at Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Not surprisingly, a group of Tennessee congressmen wrote to Davis in early March to tell him rather bluntly that military affairs in their home state were in a disturbing condition. Not only did those men ask the President to visit Tennessee to shore up waning morale, but they also maintained that General Albert Sidney Johnston, the area commander, had lost the confidence of the people and his troops as a result of federal successes in the area.

While Davis defended his friend Sidney Johnston, he also found himself on numerous occasions forced to justify his own formulation of Confederate military strategy. One letter in particular shows rare candor on Davis's part, for he admitted to William M. Brooks of Richmond that "I acknowledged the error of my attempt to defend all of../the/frontier, sea

board and inland." As Davis's biographers have demonstrated, the Chief Executive always considered himself more a field commander than a commander-in-chief, and his correspondence demonstrates this repeatedly as it addresses all matters military.

The federal conquest of the Tennessee Valley, and the push to New Orleans and toward Vicksburg can also be traced throughout this volume of correspondence. The reader can clearly see that Davis tried to shore up southern defenses in the Confederate "heartland" but was unsuccessful in the attempt. Perhaps aware of how important the area was and how much it needed to be defended, Davis journeyed to the West in late 1862 to assess conditions in that theater. While visiting the armies, he accepted an invitation to speak to the Mississippi legislature. The volume ends, perhaps fittingly, with that address, which basically sums up Davis's view of the Confederacy and the war to December, 1862. The address ends, predictably on a hopeful note, by stating that Southerners have "learned to economize," and that the armies "have been augmented, our troops have been instructed and disciplined." One has the sense that 1863 will be a banner one for the fledgling nation.

As before, editors Lynda Lasswell Christ, Mary Seaton Dix, and Kenneth H. Williams have done a masterful job. They gave close attention to incorporating those documents not published previously. The result is, as Grady McWhiney states in the introduction, a book that allows the reader to see how Davis governed during a pivotal period, how he remained staunchly committed to the Confederate cause, and how firmly convinced he was of ultimate Confederate victory. Volume 8 of *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* makes a tremendous contribution to our knowledge of the Confederacy's first and only chief executive. It also makes us eagerly await the publication of volume 9.

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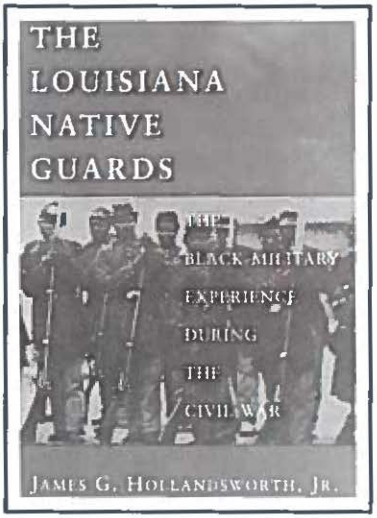
James G. Hollandsworth, Jr. *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War.* Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, *xvi*, pp. 140. $24.95. ISBN 0-8071-1939-3

In April 1861 a newly-formed infantry regiment paraded down Canal Street in New Orleans demonstrating its military skill and determination to defend the now Confederate state of Louisiana from any enemy. What made



this unit of the Louisiana Native Guards so unusual was the fact that it was officered and manned entirely from the Crescent City's large free black population. James G. Hollandsworth, Jr. chronicles the Civil War odyssey of these men in *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience During the Civil War.* His study joins those of Dudley T. Cornish and Joseph T. Glatthaar in examining an aspect of Civil War history which has suffered neglect for far too long.

Confederate leaders saw the Native Guards as nothing more than a propaganda ploy and entertained no real plans to use them as combat troops. However, when New Orleans fell to Union forces early in 1862 its new master, General Benjamin F. Butler, decided to resurrect the Native Guards as warriors for the federal cause. Ironically "Beast" Butler would become the best friend the African Americans in the Louisiana Native Guards ever had. Under his sponsorship the Guards grew to three thousand troops organized into three regiments where aristocratic free blacks rubbed shoulders with newly freed "contraband" recruits.

Was the Native Guards' military experience a microcosm of that undergone by the 180,000 black men who served in the Union army as the author contends? In most cases the answer is "yes." Native Guards faced discrimination in the form of unequal pay, poor equipment, lack of adequate medical care, and far too many assignments to fatigue duty. Probably the most blatant prejudice was faced by Native Guard officers who were subjected to a deliberate campaign led by Butler's successor, Nathaniel P. Banks, to force them out of the service and to replace them with white officers. Most of the original Guard officers fell victim to this purge, though a few hardy souls held on to their commissions until the end of the war.

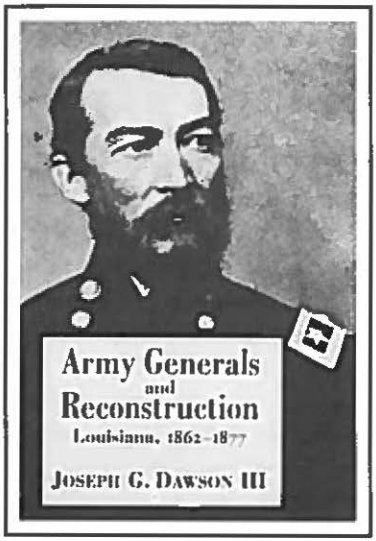
What Native Guard officers and enlisted men wanted was to fight such racism by proving themselves on the field of battle. Their chance came on May 27, 1863, when elements of the Native Guards assaulted the rebel works at Port Hudson. Despite valiant efforts the Guards were repulsed with heavy losses in what became "the first major encounter of black troops with the Confederate army on the battlefield." Hollandsworth argues that this action settled the matter of whether or not African Americans could become

effective combat soldiers among Northerners and led to full-scale recruiting. However, the Port Hudson fight must be paired with the clash at Milliken's Bend two weeks later in changing Yankee attitudes about the usefulness of black troops in the Union army.

Students of Gulf Coast history will be particularly interested in the Native Guards operations in that region. One of the first engagements between the Native Guards and Confederates occurred at East Pascagoula, Mississippi, in April 1863. Later the 1st Guards Regiment, renamed the 73rd United States Colored Troops, was selected to be one of the few such regiments used in the final land offensive against Mobile in 1865. The author should have examined the Native Guards' role here with the same kind of in-depth treatment accorded the earlier clash at Port Hudson.

The Louisiana Native Guards is a solidly researched and well-written history that makes a positive contribution to the vast literature of the Civil War. The author sums up their story by stating that while "pawns of three governments, the men of the Native Guards worked hard and did their duty." For soldiers no higher praise is necessary.

Robert A. Taylor — Florida Atlantic University



Joseph G. Dawson III. *Army Generals and Reconstruction: Louisiana, 1862-1877.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994, pp. 294. $14.95. ISBN 0-8071-1960-1

In its 220-year history, the United States Army has been called on many times to respond to incidents of riot, civil disobedience, and natural disaster. But only once has it been called on to govern recalcitrant citizens within the boundaries of their own states. That was during the period following the Civil War known as Reconstruction, and the tale of that government in Louisiana is the subject of Joseph G. Dawson's eminently readable book, first published in 1982 and now reissued in paperback.

Dawson's thesis is that although most soldiers found the task distasteful, they carried it out to the best of their ability. He focuses on and views Louisiana's military-civil government through the eyes of the general officers who were called upon to oversee it. Some Radical Republican generals relished the opportunity to prop up the shaky regimes set over the ex-Confederate population by Northerners and recently-enfranchised blacks. Others, Democrats themselves, governed with a much lighter hand and were prone to be more lenient, even sympathetic, to their charges.

Louisiana had the distinction of being the state with the longest tenure of military administration, from the occupation by General Ben Butler in April 1862 to the final withdrawal of federal troops in 1878, following the election of President Rutherford B. Hayes. Sixteen Union generals upheld minority Republican government over the Democratic population during the sixteen years of Reconstruction. Some held sway for years, others for as short a time as one week. Three of them died in Louisiana, cut down by the diseases that ravaged the South in the nineteenth century. Philip H. Sheridan was the most hated because of his Radical Republican policies, Winfield S. Hancock perhaps the best liked because of his sympathetic outlook, and Christopher C. Auguer the most respected due to his even-handed application of national policy. Joseph Dawson has done an excellent job of characterizing each of these commanders and some of their principal subordinates.

The carpetbaggers, scalawags, and opportunists who, with their black constituents, made up the Republican Party in Louisiana, are also aptly drawn and characterized, as are their internal struggles for control of power in the party. Consider for example one James F. Casey, titular head of the radical Custom House Ring in New Orleans. Collector of Customs for the port, a lucrative source of graft, he was also President Grant's brother-in-law, and sworn enemy of then-Governor Henry C. Warmoth, a former Union officer whom Grant detested and with whom he had quarreled at Vicksburg in 1863.

Less well drawn are the Democratic leaders. For example, about John McEnery, the "shadow" governor during the period of dual administrations, Dawson tells us only that he was "a rabid anti-Republican conservative." That in itself was probably credential enough for the voters of Louisiana, but we learn nothing of his long and valiant Confederate service as commander of the 4th Louisiana Battalion. True to his focus on "army generals," the author has devoted far less research to understanding the personalities and politics of their Democratic opponents. Dawson has divided Reconstruction into two periods, 1862 to 1869 when civil and political rights for blacks

were established, and 1870 to 1877, when those rights were eroded. It was during the second period that the army found combating violence to be its most important mission. Indeed, to the army's credit, it can be said that whenever United States soldiers were physically present, violence subsided.

Joseph Dawson has brought to life in gripping narrative many turbulent years in Louisiana. It is indeed beneficial that LSU Press has published this paperback edition of his work whose value has not dimmed over the past dozen years. Students of history can learn much from Dawson's exposition of the pressures that bear on military officers in civil roles and the far-from-clear short-term and long-term results.

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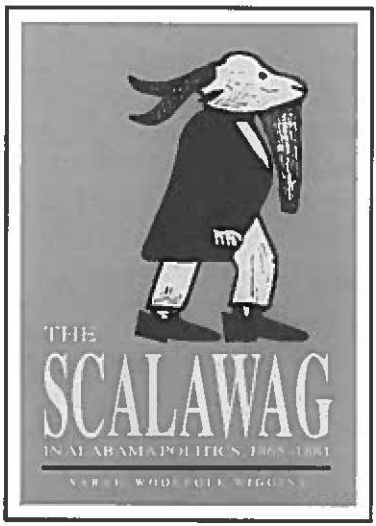
Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins. *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics, 1865-1881.* 2d ed. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991, pp. 220. $14.50. ISBN 0-8173-0557-2

Mark Wahlgren Summers. *The Era of Good Stealings.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 390. $49.95. ISBN 0-19-507503-x



In the two volumes under review, Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins and Mark Wahlgren Summers embark upon the historians' most exciting and risky task: they seek to challenge prevailing interpretations of the past. Wading into the tumultuous sea of late nineteenth-century political history, both authors add new ripples to the historiography of Reconstruction.

Of the two books, Summer's *The Era of Good Stealings*, an analytically and organizationally sophisticated look at corruption and the corruption issue as construed in national politics between 1865 and 1877, offers a fresh interpretation of the Reconstruction Era. It is an exemplar of the new political history. It takes into account the ins-and-outs of political phenomena and also tackles

the question of the influence of perceptions on reality and on the political culture, ideology, and discourse that shapes and is shaped by events.

Wiggins's *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics*, on the other hand, which was first published in 1977 as a modified version of her 1965 dissertation, seems dated. When juxtaposed to Summer's work, the questions that Wiggins raises, the methodology she employs, and the historiographic concerns that she addresses suggest the changes in the practice of history that have taken place since she began her work.

Despite obvious differences between the two books and the eras in which the authors wrote, Wiggins and Summers share one concern: Each endeavors to test the validity of contemporaries' views of politics and politicians.

The unreconstructed white contemporaries of the events Wiggins depicts (and for that matter historians writing in the tradition of John H. Dunning) regarded southern scalawags as obsequious, even if in a Machiavellian manner, toward Radical Republicans, through whom they sought to fulfill their aspirations for political office. Through an investigation of white, native-born Republicans' political pedigrees and Reconstruction-era activities, Wiggins believes that she refutes almost every claim made by her predecessors.

According to Wiggins, in the first two years after the Civil War, Unionists–those who suffered silently during the war and those who unenthusiastically supported the Confederacy–played a prominent role in Alabama's reconstruction. Believing themselves the only portion of the native white population that deserved political power, Unionists Lewis Parsons and Robert Miller Patton oversaw the state's initial economic reconstruction, ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, and the Freedmen's Bureau efforts to incorporate ex-slaves into society. Passage of the Reconstruction Acts and the inauguration of congressional Reconstruction did not discourage Alabama Unionists hungry for offices and power, as they energetically attempted to influence the 1867 constitutional convention. Unable to eliminate suffrage restrictions for certain whites, Unionists joined the Republican party, hoping to gain control of reconstruction. According to Wiggins, scalawags who held offices were typically wealthy men, who had held political offices in the

antebellum period and who for self-serving economic reasons chose to align themselves with the Republican party. They were also, she says, "political realists," who longed to direct the course of reconstruction for their own benefit.

Although Wiggins ably proves that scalawags were not ignorant, political neophytes who abandoned the Republican party at the first sign of disaster, she fails to portray them as anything other than opportunists. Pointing out the difference between "political realists" and self-serving politicians should have been important to Wiggins, especially considering her early contention that white, native-born Republicans acted out of something other than the Machiavellian general refusal to support significant Republican principles, like racial equality. That complaint notwithstanding, Wiggins's work remains an important study of scalawags in the South.

Where Wiggins concerns herself exclusively with identifying scalawags and cataloging their activities within the Republican party, Mark Summers constructs his study around questions about corruption and the influence of the corruption issue on political reform. Specifically, he questions the validity of the contemporary notion that the republic was awash in bribery and influence peddling. Once he establishes that the postwar period was no more corrupt than the prewar period, he asks significant follow-up questions: Why was the era portrayed as the Age of the Great Barbecue? What fruit did the false portrayal bear?

Characterizations of the Reconstruction period as corrupt originated among Democrats who wished to portray their party as an agent of reform and thus as deserving of political power. To Summers, the creation of the corruption issue and the apparent accuracy of the depiction as borne out in Andrew Johnson's near impeachment, the Credit Mobilier affair, the Sanborn contract case, and numerous railroad scandals, were equally important. Although Summers contends that graft, bribery, and influence peddling occasionally determined politicians' actions in the immediate postwar period, the influence of corruption was less real than imagined. By 1876, with reformers and banner headlines screaming denunciations of politicians for their spoilsmanship, thieving ways, and willingness to acquiesce to lobbyists, trust in government vanished. Consequently, businessmen and lobbyists believed that the only way to conduct affairs in Washington was through bribery and fraud. The corruption issue had created corruption.

Mining the popular press and manuscript collections, Summers covers the major scandals (and many minor ones) of the Reconstruction period, adding new insights into the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of investigations, and fixes the investigations in their political contexts. Additionally, Summers

subtly employs corruption and the corruption issue as a means of determining Americans' changing concepts of civic identity, his most perceptive and important achievement.

By the close of the Reconstruction era, Americans were convinced that theirs was a corrupt government. But, at the same time, they believed that the era of corruption, if not passed, would never again appear in such an exaggerated form. Despite the corrupt election of Rutherford B. Hayes, a reform-minded Republican, to the presidency, the excesses of the Grant administration, and "black" rule in the South, the fraud of Hayes's election would never be replicated. For such examples of fraud had infused the public with a healthy dose of cynicism. Americans, once again, were virtuous, more so than the officials they would elect in the future.

For readers particularly interested in the Gulf South, Wiggins's *The Scalawag in Alabama* offers a brief, if densely packed, introduction to the political machinations of, though rarely, the policies embraced by, white southern Republicans. Summers's *Era of Good Stealings*, a more perceptive book, mentions Gulf South states in passing, but should be read by all historians interested in Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, as well as those more broadly interested in new methods of doing political history.

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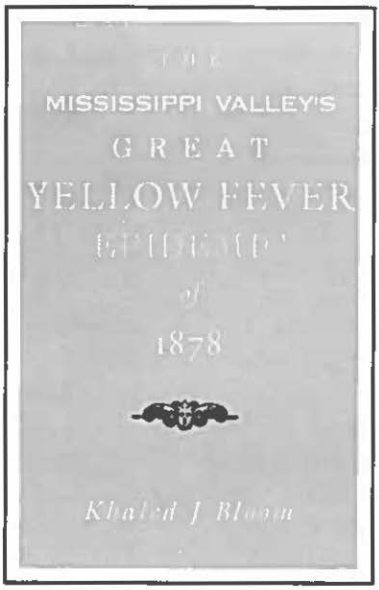
Khaled J. Bloom. *The Mississippi Valley's Great Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878.* Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1993, *x*, pp. 290. $29.95. ISBN 0-8071-1824-9

Although it is not a revised dissertation (according to LSU Press), this first book by an obviously advanced graduate student in the Department of Geography, University of California, Davis, is the third monograph on yellow fever in the South to appear in the past eighteen months. The other two are Margaret Humphrey's *Yellow Fever and the South* (Rutgers) and my own *Yellow Fever and Public Health in the New South* (Kentucky). "The imperative to control yellow fever," Humphrey argues, "fundamentally directed the development of southern and federal public health institutions in nineteenth-century America. I attempt to demonstrate that [t]he public health movement in the South originated in the aftermath of the lower Mississippi Valley yellow fever epidemic in 1878, one of the worst disasters in American history."



While the epidemic of 1878 is also Bloom's central concern, a clear statement of thesis, aim, or purpose seems to be lacking. Early on, however, he refers to his work as "our story," a designation most historians would shy away from. Apparently, Bloom's approach is that of an ethnogeographer who, like a cultural anthropologist, presents his findings based on observations and notes from "the field." Viewed this way, the telling of the story as narrative history *is* the author's aim and purpose, with appropriate conclusion(s) placed at the end. But there are problems: for example, the rules governing the use of evidence by geographers are clearly not those of the historian. What follows, therefore, is an effort to appraise Bloom's work based on the merits of the "story" he presents.

Chapters One and Two furnish a brief natural history of yellow fever; its common clinical manifestations; significant visitations in the gulf region before 1878; and a succinct summary of etiological theories from the eighteenth century to the age of Lister, when carbolic acid was enlisted as a weapon against the "germ" of yellow fever. Bloom's discussion of the contagionist/anti-contagionist dichotomy in medical thought is exemplary for its clarity and insight. No doubt acquaintance with the work of Kenneth F. Kiple, Virginia H. King, and others would have helped him explain the lower morbidity and mortality among blacks.

Chapters Three and Four bring the book's subject into focus: the Mississippi Valley's great yellow fever epidemic of 1878, a horrifying disaster of epic regional and national proportions costing some 20,000 lives among 120,000 persons stricken and approximately $200,000,000 in overall losses. Between July and November the King of Terrors ravaged New Orleans and nearly destroyed Memphis, causing roughly 4,600 deaths in the former and more than 5,000 in the latter. From these two urban infernos the disease spread outward rapidly by rail to smaller towns and villages–from Louisiana to Kentucky–where fear and tragedy also struck if on a smaller scale. The strongest features of Bloom's account are the attention given to these hamlets and byways, based on little used material in the National Archives, and his analysis of railroads as the primary carrier of infection to

them. Yet *nothing* is said about volunteer relief activities in city and village (the Howard Associations and other groups); the astonishingly generous outpouring of humanitarian aid to the stricken South from across the country and around the world; and the ill-fated voyage of the yellow relief boat *John M. Chambers*, whose journey from St. Louis to Vicksburg during October held a nation in daily suspense.

Chapters Five and Six describe the fearful, yet greatly diminished, recurrence of yellow fever in Memphis during 1878, Carlos Finlay's role in the Reed Commission's Cuban discoveries in 1900, and the last, less explosive, southern outbreaks between 1888 and 1905. There is no mention of the collapse of the Memphis city government and its replacement by the commission-form Taxing District of Shelby County. Bloom is also silent about the bitter conflict in 1879 over the authority of the Tennessee State Board of Health. And neither does he note the formation in Memphis of the Sanitary Council of the Mississippi Valley, the nation's first regional health organization. The short-lived National Board of Health, 1879-83, is mentioned, but little is said about how it came into existence, what it accomplished, or why it was abandoned.

In conclusion Bloom notes correctly that the fever of '78 was unusually virulent. This factor and rapid rail transport lay behind the devastation of villages never attacked previously. Also, the great epidemic of 1878 destroyed the popular notion of a southern "yellow fever zone," for its impact was truly national. The results of depopulation as a technique of epidemic control–as in Memphis in 1879 and Jacksonville in 1888–proved as inconclusive as the debates over quarantine, yet the resort to sanitary measures, however wide of the mosquito vector they may have been, ultimately proved to be beneficial. For all its limitations, Bloom tells his story well–well enough, indeed, to have eliminated some of the excessively numerous, extended quotations. Frequently, also, his word selection seems pompously prissy: for example, "beyond the purlieus [environs or confines] of the city"; "it was bruited [reported] in the Associated Press"; and, most amusing, "the huge talus [mound or slope] of excrement that had piled up." The current *Webster's Collegiate* defines *talus* as a "slope indicating the presence of *gold* [emphasis supplied] under the soil." But more importantly, although Bloom has drawn on primary sources, they are narrowly selected and then milked dry, giving his work the appearance of shallowness rather than depth. Too, he has ignored completely a vast amount of secondary material such as state and local histories, articles in state historical quarterlies and reviews, and so forth. Yet, despite these substantial criticisms of the

book, its author has made a readable and genuinely useful contribution to the story of America's greatest medical disaster.

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Paul Finkelman, ed. *The Age of Jim Crow: Segregation from the End of Reconstruction to the Great Depression.* New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992, *xiii*, pp. 669. $102.00. ISBN 0-8153-0537-0

As the title implies, the articles reproduced in *The Age of Jim Crow* focus on the evolution of legal segregation in the South and how the courts supported the emerging caste system. Sifting through the voluminous literature on segregation in the post-Reconstruction South, editor Paul Finkelman has done a fine job of pulling together the best available articles dealing with this topic. They illuminate how race has affected the evolution of law and how "the legal system in turn has defined concepts of race" from Reconstruction to the New Deal.

Readers of this journal will find several articles particularly useful. In a 1977 study that exemplifies the current consensus by incorporating ideas of both C. Vann Woodward and Howard N. Rabinowitz, Jerrell H. Shofner shows how social customs undermined the attempt to legislate racial equality in Florida during Reconstruction. After seizing control of the federal government, congressional radicals joined forces with the newly-formed Florida Republican party to implement a program of "corrective legislation" that included suffrage for the freedmen and federal supervision of elections. Subsequently in 1873, following years of obstruction by a coalition of Democrats and conservative Republicans, the Florida legislature supplemented federal law by passing a civil rights law that called "for equal accommodation in public places." But, while operative for some years, this law remained a dead letter because most white Floridians opposed its principles.

After failing to change social conduct by legislative fiat, crusading carpetbaggers finally withdrew from the struggle, leaving native Floridians to resolve the racial dilemma of the state. Consequently, in 1889 Florida Redeemers passed a series of laws that went well beyond the erstwhile "black codes" in separating the races. Since these laws once again harmonized with the customs and ideology of the dominant social group, by the early twentieth century, racial segregation in Florida had become more

extensive than during Reconstruction. As Shofner sees it, Jim Crow merely legalized existing social conditions.

Like Shofner, Carl V. Harris's study of governmental control of African Americans in Birmingham from 1890 to 1920 underscores how discriminatory laws buttressed the existing conventions and attitudes of the white majority. At the time, most Birmingham whites believed that local statutes should do two things: render blacks a cheap labor pool ripe for exploitation, and restrain their alleged inclination to engage in menacing criminal activity.

Yet surprisingly, some legislation directed against blacks, stirred considerable controversy among white civil leaders. Indeed, various interests–industrial corporations, organized labor, saloons, prohibitionists, and middle-class citizens–all struggled to shape government policy toward blacks so that it benefitted a particular white concern. Members of the middle class and industrialists favored vagrancy-law enforcement. Coal-mining corporations, for one, learned that cheap convict labor reduced operating costs and thereby increased company profits. In contrast, organized labor became highly critical of the practice. According to the unions, each convict leased to work in a mine cost a free laborer a job.

Regulation of saloons became another divisive issue in municiple politics. Birmingham whites generally viewed the "Negro saloon" as a cancer on society in dire need of stringent regulation or eradication. So to squeeze "black dives" out of business, three times between 1889 and 1907, Birmingham mayors proposed increasing drastically the annual license fee on saloons to at least one thousand dollars.

Yet, the Board of Alderman refused to enact the proposed bills. The pro-saloon city Democratic organization that dominated the board had strong links with bar owners, liquor dealers, and the local brewery. The brewery, moreover, owned several African-American saloons, and all the bars that served black patrons provided important markets for the local liquor wholesalers. Joining the liquor interests, Birmingham's industrialists opposed tighter saloon regulation because they thought it "would actually make labor scarcer."

As it turned out, however, saloon regulation became a moot point. In 1915 the rural-dominated state legislature enacted, "against the wishes of the majority of Birmingham voters," a statewide prohibition law. Still, Harris asserts, by enacting tighter saloon regulations, stricter vagrancy laws, and other measures, Birmingham whites had clearly intended to control and to discipline the black population of the city.

Stuart Galishoff's study of public health policy in Atlanta during the Progressive Era reveals the extent and limits of American apartheid. Relegated to wretched housing that lacked sanitary facilities, Atlanta's blacks suffered an inordinately large number of deaths due to typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and other infectious diseases. In 1900 "the black death rate exceeded the white death rate by 69%." But since disease knows no color line, city leaders felt obliged to alleviate some of the misery in Atlanta's slums by providing the dwellers pure water and a sanitary means of disposing of their bodily wastes. Doing this, reformers believed, would not only protect white citizens from contagious diseases emanating from the ghetto, but also preserve Atlanta's reputation for salubrity and increase its ability to attract new businesses to the city. Spending large sums of money for the benefit of Atlanta's impoverished blacks thus became a fine example of self-preservation and "economic necessity triumphing over racial prejudice."

Finkelman selected his mix of twenty-four articles from history journals, law reviews, and various quarterlies. Since he succeeds in presenting a "multi-disciplinary approach" to the topics of race relations, law, and United States history, scholars lacking a background in legal training should not overlook this important volume. The selections provide interesting and insightful reading for both specialist and non-specialist. And they illustrate clearly that de jure segregation in the South existed before the Civil War, expanded during Reconstruction and continued spreading in the 1880s up through the Progressive Era. By providing scholars ready access to the major works in this field, Finkelman has met his goal. Anyone interested in race relations in particular, or southern history in general, will find this work highly informative.

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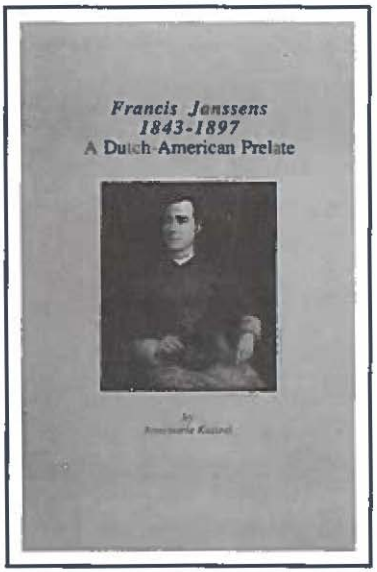
Annemarie Kasteel. *Francis Janssens, 1843-1897: A Dutch-American Prelate.* Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992, *xv*, pp. 403. $30.00. ISBN 0-940984-68-7

This book addresses a little-known topic, the contribution made to the nineteenth-century development of U.S. Roman Catholicism by Dutch priests, and that is its greatest asset. More native-born Dutchmen came as missionaries to the United States than to any other place on the globe, but their history has not heretofore been told. Kasteel supplies part of the



omission with the story of Francis Janssens, born in Tilburg, in the overwhelmingly Catholic southern Dutch province of North Brabant to a family of wool merchants. He did his seminary studies at the minor seminary of Beevliet, which he entered at the age of twelve, and philosophical and theological preparation at Harren, both seminaries of his native diocese of Hertogenbosch. In 1866 having been ordained a subdeacon, Janssens responded to an appeal by Bishop John McGill of Richmond, Virginia for priests. Janssens was assigned to the American College at Louvain, Belgium, for his final year of theological studies, graduated *summa cum laude* and left for Richmond in late summer, 1868.

Aided by diligent service and timely acquaintances, Janssens advanced through the American church hierarchy. In 1881 he was named fourth bishop of Natchez, a diocese covering the entire state of Mississippi where every one of the Catholic priests was a foreign immigrant. Catholics were concentrated in Natchez, where twelve hundred of a population of nine thousand belonged to that church, and in Vicksburg, where they numbered three thousand. Others were scattered throughout the state.

The religious climate seemed favorable, borne out when members of the Jewish and Protestant communities participated in welcoming the new Catholic bishop to Natchez. As Janssens made the rounds of the diocese, Protestants, he noted in his diary, were frequently in attendance at his sermons. They listened "with much attention and respect," and sometimes, a local minister offered the use of his church for the service.

Janssens took a great interest in the spiritual welfare of the Choctaw tribe at Bayou Lacroix and in Nashoba county. He secured funds and a priest for them from the Netherlands, a "Protestant gentleman" conducted a school, and the Sisters of Mercy assisted. The bishop was a great promoter of Catholic education, and particularly insisted that it be provided for the black people who made up over one-half the total population of Mississippi and ten percent of the state's Catholics. With the financial assistance of the multimillion dollar heiress, today known as the Blessed Katharine Drexel, he established schools for black students.

In 1887, Janssens opened correspondence with the priest, John R. Slattery, first superior-general in the United States of the Josephite congregation, a community dedicated to ministry among American blacks. He encouraged Slattery to open a seminary in which black students might enroll with a view to ordination as priests. On the thorny question of whether or not black people should share churches with white co-religionists, Janssens came down on the side of separate churches for blacks "that they could call exclusively their own." In the growing atmosphere of racism in the 1880s and 1890s, he deemed it the preferable answer.

Janssens was promoted by Rome in 1888 to the archepiscopal see of New Orleans. His appointment came only after a long discussion among American bishops and with some Roman authorities. New Orleans was a traditionally "French" diocese. Many of its people were French speaking, as were the clergy and all previous bishops. One prominent priest declared that the church might as well choose a Chinese as a Dutchman as archbishop. Opposition to Janssens because of his nationality continued all throughout his tenure, even though he spoke French with a Dutch accent. Despite clerical opposition, most Catholics accepted the new archbishop. English was increasingly spoken and the language preferred by numerous immigrants. It was also the language spoken in the state schools, which a majority of Catholic students attended. The cosmopolitan Janssens, who had thoroughly assimilated American ways, proved able to govern the archdiocese with a vigor that had been notably lacking in his predecessors.

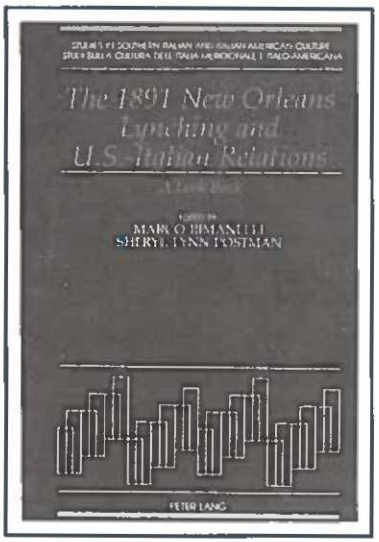
One interesting event in Janssens's prelacy is the account of an 1892 pastoral visit to a far flung southwestern diocese. Janssens traveled by train to the Bayou Teche region, Cameron and Calcasieu parishes, and the area around Lake Charles. Interesting also is what was almost the last major project he undertook, negotiating with the Daughters of Charity to come to the aid of those afflicted with leprosy in their new home at White Castle in Iberville parish. He provided the sisters and patients with a chaplain, went himself to care for them, and otherwise attend to their religious needs.

In the earlier part of 1897, the archbishop, in declining health, decided to make a trip to Europe for rest and recreation and also to make the final arrangements with creditors for repayment of the archdiocesan debt. On June 9 he embarked on the Cromwell steamer "La Creole" en route to New York and a planned Atlantic crossing on the "Nederland." That night he was taken ill and died in the small hours of June 10 at age fifty-three.

Kasteel has told a straightforward story, which brings to our attention a little-known figure in American Catholic history. She writes simply and clearly. The book is easy reading. We might wish for more extensive

treatment of some topics. How did Janssens relate to the general cultural and religious scene in Mississippi and Louisiana? What were his relations with the civil authorities? Is there more to be said about his positions in the sometimes heated controversies lumped together as the "Americanist" crisis in late nineteenth-century American Catholic circles? But, all in all, Kasteel has produced a fine introduction to the man and the bishop, Francis Janssens.

James Hennesey Canisius College, Buffalo, New York



Marco Rimanelli and Sheryl Lynn Postman, eds. *The 1891 New Orleans Lynching and U.S.-Italian Relations: A Look Back*. New York: Peter Lang, 1992, pp. 425. $59.95. ISBN 0-8204-1672-x

On March 14, 1891, a mob of twenty thousand people stormed the parish prison in New Orleans' Congo Square and lynched eleven Italian immigrants who had just been exonerated the day before for the assassination of the local police chief, David Hennessey. When the Harrison administration was unwilling to prosecute the vigilantes, an international diplomatic crisis ensued. Whipped up by a sensationalistic press on both sides of the Atlantic, Italy and America flirted with war.

At that time, the Italian navy ranked fourth in the world and grossly outnumbered the United States in warships by a margin of twenty-two to one. Luckily for the United States, Italy was not intent on waging a war so far away, but the crisis served to bolster the arguments of U.S. navalists, such as Alfred T. Mahan and Theodore Roosevelt, about the importance of building a strong navy. A full year later, this incident ended when the United States paid reparations to the families of the victims. However, none of the vigilantes was ever tried for their crime.

This book thoroughly analyzes the fascinating events of 1891 and 1892 by using several frames of reference: one diplomatic, one literary, one nativistic, another involving post-Civil War southern race relations, and still another from the vantage point of Bourbon politics.

There were four forces at work in New Orleans that created the environment that produced the lynching. In the years just prior to the event there had been a flood of immigrants from southern Italy, most of whom were concentrated in the port cities, such as New Orleans. The overwhelming majority of these immigrants were from Sicily, and in the minds of Anglo-Americans they became unfairly associated with the Mafia. The book recounts how the Mafia was transplanted to New Orleans from its roots in Sicily and further explains how its acts of crime and extortion were reserved for the Italian-American community exclusively until the gangland-type slaying of New Orleans Sheriff Hennessey, who had worked for years to quell the organization.

This murder proved to most Anglo-Americans that they were no longer immune from the Mafia's violence. Furthermore, the fact that the culprits were not found guilty because of the Italian-American community's habit of "omerta," or witnesses' silence, caused the Anglos to feel that their own safety was now severely threatened.

The authors explain that there were also other forces at work adding to the xenophobia and honest fear of these new immigrants by New Orleans natives. Southern whites had originally welcomed the Italians, believing them to be the answer to their labor problems after slavery. But although they replaced African Americans in the workplace, the newcomers did not align themselves with whites either politically, culturally, or socially. This put an unusual torque on local politics since the Italians tended to align themselves with the Republicans or the Populists, which, of course, threatened southern Democrats and explains why the lynching party was led by one faction of the local Democratic party.

This little-known event in American history had very important ramifications. According to the authors, the Mafia mystique began with this case and also led to the "generalized labelling of all Italo-Americans as criminally-prone and 'Mafiosi.'"

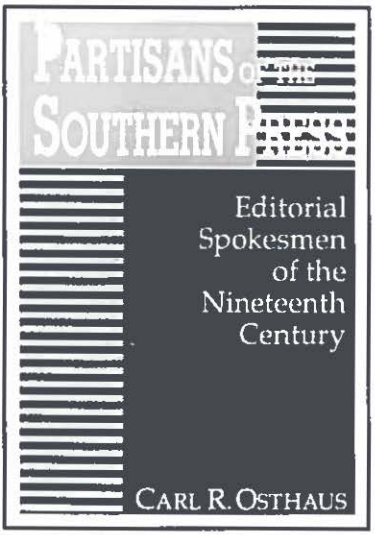
For historians, this diplomatic crisis puts the Spanish-American War in the context of a decade of xenophobia and saber-rattling between the Old and New Worlds, and, in this setting, sheds much light on the Splendid Little War, especially in terms of the role of the sensationalistic press and its pressure for war.

Another impact of the Italian-American crisis that is important to southern historians is the role this event had in reunifying North and South. The Spanish-American War has long been given credit for this because it gave Southerners an opportunity to earn northern respect again by eagerly enlisting in the U.S. army. However, the authors point out that this process

of national healing began in 1892 as Southerners loudly and patriotically volunteered for the right to defend their nation against the Italians.

This book has flaws. There are at least ten mistakes in grammar, word usage, or spelling in the first six pages, and, by no means, does it improve as one reads on. It is also heavily laden with jargon. For example, the following expressions were all found on just one page: historico-cultural identity, juridico-political bodies, politico-financial autonomy, and politico-economic ventures. The work also suffers from redundancy. Many sentences and paragraphs are duplicated in different chapters of the book. It is a shame that these errors give the work an unprofessional face, because the facts and analysis of the case are fascinating and worth the read.

Lynn Willoughby — Winthrop University



Carl R. Osthaus. *Partisans of the Southern Press.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994, pp. 294. $39.95. ISBN 0-8131-1875-1

In his book, Carl R. Osthaus studies the evolution of the southern press in the nineteenth century. His methodology is both and clear and interesting. He chose a chronological presentation aimed at comparing the various forms of the press in the nineteenth-century South. He divides the century into seven historical periods, each corresponding one chapter, in which he studies several of the leading editors of the southern press. If his presentation is historically complete, it is also geographically exhaustive. The main southern regions are represented. Examples are taken from Virginia, South Carolina, and also the Gulf Coast region. After an introduction in which Osthaus presents in a very clear and comprehensive way his topic and methodology, he describes in the first chapter the world of the southern editor. The first period, which he calls "Between Nationalism and Nullification," is dealt with in Chapter 2. Here he focuses on Thomas Ritchie, the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*. Chapter 3 examines the late 1830s and the 1840s, wherein he detects the first stirrings of tensions

between the North and the South. Osthaus concentrates on the editors of the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, F. A. Lumsden and G. W. Kendall. Chapter 4 deals with the decade before the Civil War and focuses upon two editors of two Charleston newspapers, Aaron S. Willington of the *Charleston Daily Courier*, and Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr. of the *Charleston Mercury*. Chapter 5 deals with the Civil War years, and more precisely with John M. Daniel, the editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, while Chapter 6 concentrates on the Reconstruction period, represented by John Forsyth, the editor of the *Mobile Daily Register*. Chapters 7 and 8 study three editors, Henry Watterson, Francis W. Dawson, and Henry Grady, through their work in the late 1860s and in the 1870s. Chapter 8 examines their editing work in the 1880s, referring to them as "Three Giants of the New South Journalism."

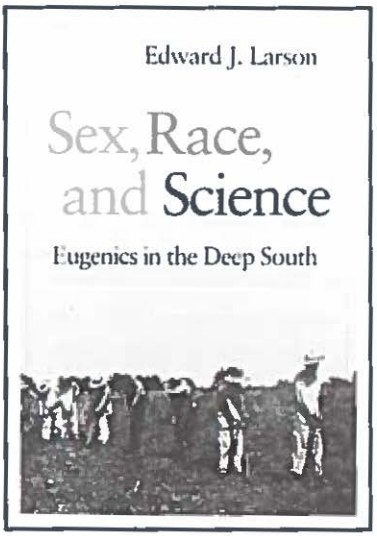
Some chapters focus on the personality of one editor (Thomas Ritchie, for example), others compare and contrast several newspapers (chapter 4, for instance), while the last two chapters survey comparatively the careers of three editors over two different periods. The book presents contrasting pictures of these editors, taking critical note of their careers, qualities, and flaws, as well as the political context of the section, state, town, and readership of the paper. The geographic distribution makes the study very complete. The comparative viewpoint permits an extremely varied presentation of the evolution of the press, revealing much about changing mentalities. Osthaus presents interesting characters, with strong personalities, who wielded much influence and who occupied prominent positions of excellence. He always justifies very clearly his options, aware that some readers might find his selection of editors disputable. As he says himself, "The subjects were chosen because they were significant as individuals and because their work, considered collectively, illuminates key aspects of Southern daily newspaper history in the nineteenth century."

The drawback of this method is that the author concentrates so exclusively on the editors he has chosen that he does not allude to many others. Is it possible to write an entire book on the southern press in the nineteenth century without ever mentioning such a leading figure as James de Bow, for instance? The comparative methodology is illuminating, the periods chosen are perfectly justified historically, but it sometimes seems somewhat artificial to study one editor or one paper over a brief period while his career or the publication lasted for decades. The title of chapter 4, for instance, indicates that it is a study of the *Charleston Courier* in the last decade before the Civil War, whereas the presentation of the paper goes back to its foundation in 1803. In short, although the author explains his options in a very clear way, some of his choices are questionable. Finally, it is

regrettable that the author decided to collect all the notes at the end of the book. They cover sixty pages, and this makes them difficult to consult. This is unfortunate since they are very complete. The book is highly documented as the endnotes and bibliography indicate.

Despite these few reservations about subject matter and methodology, this book is a very good synthesis of nineteenth-century southern journalism and is highly recommended to anyone interested in the nineteenth-century South and/or in the press in general.

Natalie Hind University of Toulouse (France)



Edward J. Larson. *Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995, *ix*, pp. 252. $35.00. ISBN 0-8018-4938-1

Readers familiar with the history of eugenics are likely to pick up *Sex, Race, and Science* in the expectation that the movement's worst excesses were perpetrated in the Deep South. If so, they will be disappointed. Edward J. Larson's fine-grained analysis of the growth and decline of the southern eugenics movement makes it clear that characteristics which led outsiders to describe the Deep South as backward–its religiosity, and the absence of large research universities and state-sponsored training schools for persons deemed "feeble-minded" –enabled it to withstand, longer than other areas of the country, the invidious tide of eugenic "race improvement" that crested in the early decades of this century. Thus, the region that Progressive Era reformers deemed the nation's least eugenically "forward thinking," emerges in the light of history as relatively "enlightened," thanks to, of all things, old-time religion.

Christian belief in personal salvation, available to all regardless of station or sin, was at odds with the eugenic doctrine that some citizens, even whole family lines, were permanently tainted by bad blood. Also, Southerners' commitment to the sanctity of the family made them resistant to the logic of dividing families by placing "inferior" members in segregated

facilities. Other factors too made eugenics a harder sell in the South than elsewhere.

Without a large immigrant population that could be baited, Southerners were not aroused by eugenic-inspired, nativist prejudice in the immigration debates of the early twenties. Moreover, the absence of research universities and state facilities for persons with mental retardation meant that scientific advocates for eugenics had to be imported from elsewhere. Local spokespersons notwithstanding, eugenics was grafted onto the southern body politic from outside.

In spite of all these factors, the movement achieved successes, although they came later, and were generally on a smaller scale than those in the rest of the country. Between 1918 and 1920 every state in the Deep South created an institution to train and segregate persons with mental retardation. By the mid-thirties all but Louisiana had passed legislation permitting compulsory sterilizations under certain conditions.

Larson's clear presentation of the contours of eugenic debates in various states is quite useful. For example, the opposition of the Catholic Church to eugenics policies has been noted in previous works. However, Larson's focused description of the Church's successful effort to defeat sterilization in Louisiana and its less successful opposition elsewhere, is a richer account than those available in more global treatments of the eugenics movement.

Larson's unearthing of the alliance of anti-evolution and anti-eugenic sentiments is also important. He notes that the 1926 Louisiana legislature was the only state lawmaking body to consider, in the same session, bills to allow both the teaching of evolution in public schools and compulsory sterilization. They were both ultimately defeated by the same forces.

Regarding race, Larson shows that, at least in the golden age of eugenics prior to World War II, "inferior" southern whites, not blacks, were the target of reformers. Blacks' "deficiencies" were understood to suit them for lives of hard labor. Therefore, given strict enforcement of anti-miscegenation laws, no remedy was seen as necessary. The institutions built to segregate persons with mental retardation were populated by whites only, and, once sterilization was legalized, surgeons drew their victims from this pool. Larson concludes that in the South, class prejudice, far more than race, was the engine for eugenic reform.

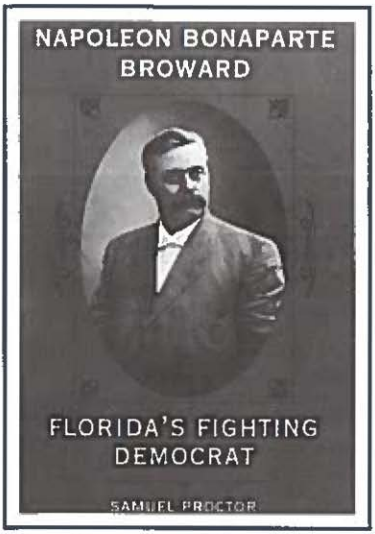
Turning to gender, Larson confirms earlier work that described unique opportunities available to women in the eugenics movement as well as the prominent role they played in it. In the Deep South, as elsewhere, women, as bearers of children, were understood to have a vital and legitimate interest

in heredity. Women's clubs played an influential role in advancing the eugenic agenda across the South.

This fine book is inadequately served by an all too brief concluding chapter that fails to assess its contribution in light of other work. Larson raises but does not answer the important questions of why, in the Deep South, traditional religion proved a more effective brake on eugenic aspirations than medical or scientific ethics, and why, over time, mainline Protestant groups, but not Catholic or fundamentalists, abandoned their opposition to eugenics. Both are related to, what in my view is Larson's most important contribution, his demonstration of the importance of religion and religious conflict in the rise and fall of the eugenics movement.

Francis Galton, English founder of the movement, explicitly described eugenics as a new scientific religion, as did many of his followers. Larson shows that the unique characteristics of the Deep South made the conflict between new and old religions–Eugenics and Christianity–more open and visible than elsewhere. From this we grasp more clearly what was and is at stake in considerations of heredity and the human future.

Steven A. Gelb University of San Diego



Samuel Proctor. *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993, *xvi*, pp. 400. $16.95. ISBN 0-8130-1191-4

Many historians will welcome the reissue of Samuel Proctor's most important work, his biography of Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, by the University Press of Florida in its Sand Dollar series. Napoleon Bonaparte Broward was one of Florida's most important and dynamic governors. Born in 1857 into a well-to-do planter family in Duval County, Broward witnessed the upheaval and destruction of the Civil War that ruined his family and plunged it into a hard scrabble existence. Further misfortune followed with the death of his parents in 1869 and 1870, but Broward was a tough and resourceful individual. By the mid-1880s he

had become moderately prosperous as the Jacksonville operator and owner of a riverboat along the St. Johns River.

By the late 1880s Broward had achieved enough local prominence to enter politics. In 1888 he was elected sheriff. The event that catapulted him into the statewide notice, though, came from his commercial operations. In the mid-1890s he and his business partners constructed a large vessel that Broward put to use running the blockade and provisioning the rebels in Cuba. The fame and favorable publicity reaped from these exploits helped elect him to the state legislature in 1900 and made him a major political force in the state.

From his early days in politics Broward had been identified with the reform, anticorporate faction of the Democratic party. In 1904 he campaigned successfully for governor on a platform that stressed his determination to uphold the rights of "the people" against the machinations of "the interests." As governor he embarked upon perhaps the most ambitious program of any Florida chief executive in the first two-thirds of the century. Broward supported a wide variety of reform measures ranging from Everglades drainage (the issue on which he invested the most energy and the aim of which was to open vast tracts of fertile land to the people), to more humane treatment for state prisoners, better pay for teachers and judges, and regulation of child labor. While not all of his proposals became law, Broward's impact on the state was significant, especially in education where the Buckman Act created the first modern system of state universities in Florida.

Constitutionally prevented from serving a second term, Broward threw himself into the continuing crusade of Everglades drainage after 1908 and then into the U.S. Senate races in 1909 and 1910. He lost the first but won the second. Tragically, he never took his seat. He became ill and died on October 1, 1910.

Cast in the progressive mold of Charles Beard and Vernon Parrington, Broward's story is captivating narrative history. Proctor brings his subject to life and causes the reader to identify with Broward as he suffers through trial and tribulation. Few histories written in the last decade of the twentieth century can equal Proctor's work for its drama and descriptive power. This book is also important for what it tells us about the changing nature of liberalism in the twentieth century. Along with most southern progressives at the turn of the century, Broward embraced positions on race and the environment that presumably make his admirers of today squirm.

Although never a Negrophobe like Tom Watson, Broward was a thoroughgoing segregationist and rarely displayed any sympathy for blacks.

During his term the legislature passed a series of Jim Crow laws and attempted to disfranchise blacks. Broward himself, in his April 1907 message to the legislature, called for the federal government to purchase territory, to transport blacks to it, and to prevent them from returning to the United States.

However, he is best known for his attempt to drain the Everglades, a "progressive" scheme in 1900 that would be an anathema today. In fact, the phrase with which Broward is most closely identified, "Water will run downhill," today sounds ridiculous. In fairness, Broward did call for the enactment of conservation laws to protect fish, oysters, game, and forests. No one in 1900 could see that Florida's perennial problem of too much water might someday be replaced by a crisis of too little water. Still, Broward's life and career shows, among other things, how much the meaning of liberal reform has changed in this century.

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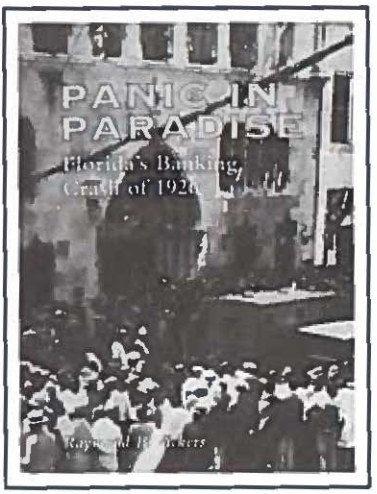
Raymond B. Vickers. *Panic in Paradise: Florida's Banking Crash of 1926.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994, pp. 336. $34.96. ISBN 0-8137-0723-0



Vickers's book is both poorly focused and well focused. Where it is poorly focused, the investigative reporting on chain banking, political influence, the chartering of new banks, and bank regulation in Georgia and Florida in the mid-1920s, seems plausible. On the other hand, where the book appears to be well focused, the author gets it all wrong.

Drawing upon his service as chief of staff of the Florida Department of Banking and Finance, Vickers, brings to light many banking records from the 1920s. In doing so, he investigates a chain of "nearly two hundred banks in Florida, Georgia, New York and New Jersey," owned by James R. Anthony and Wesley D. Manley. Moreover, the web of banking activity extended to the Palm-Beach/Boca-Raton area of Florida where Addison Mizner operated as

an architect and conducted business through the Mizner Development Company and Mizner Industries, Inc. The political-regulatory part of the web even extended to national political and bank-chartering levels.

If Vickers has told us what all this meant against the conditions and the backdrop of the mid-1920s (and even in relation to the present), he would have offered a clean and potentially more useful thesis. However, when *Panic in Paradise* (presumably meaning in Florida) is given a specific focus, the book looses its way. Vickers argues that Florida's land boom crashed because of fraud, insider abuse, and bank secrecy, as well as political influence, the granting of bank charters, and Addison Mizner's business activities. Although none of this is revealed until after the turning point in the boom conditions, it is still incredulously offered as the explanation for the unraveling of the 1915 to 1925 Florida land boom.

Vickers's book fails to offer either the perspective of industrial development in the United States, the promotional efforts behind Florida's boom, or the features it shares with other great speculative booms in history. None of the key data series regarding the boom are examined by Vickers as they are by Guthrie and myself in *The Florida Land Boom: Speculation, Money, and the Banks,* (1995). Such series would include those on the flow of bank reserves into and then out of Florida. The bank reserves at first supported the creation of bank credit and money balances that interacted with the rise in land values and the intensity of the development in Florida. As they flowed out of the state they left banks as a whole without the funds to confront bank runs that spanned the years 1926 through 1933 (and not simply 1926, as Vickers's title suggests). The Federal Reserve, which Congress had established in 1913, failed to perform the central banking function of a lender of last resort on a scale that made a difference.

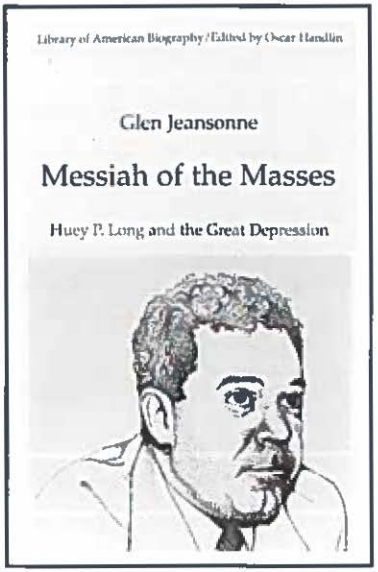
However, Alfred I. DuPont, an individual with access to large amounts of money, appeared in Florida. With the help of Jacksonville's Edward Ball and a fund incorporated under the laws of Florida (Almours Securities), the two entrepreneurs went about saving numerous banks through the use of liquid funds. In other words, DuPont and Bell used the liquid wealth of Almours Securities against the backdrop of the times to serve as a "lender of last resort" and to save some failing banks, which became a part of the Florida National Bank group. Although no fraud, insider abuse, or conflicts of interest surfaced there, the Florida National group experienced some of the same crises as other banks in Florida in the 1926 to 1933 period.

In the presence of a widely shared drain on reserves, the entire commercial banking system was vulnerable. The same forces contributing to a general move toward liquidity on the part of the public at large–and an

accompanying decline in the turnover of money balances–may be shared by the non-central banking sector as well. The result in the first instance was that payments on even relatively secure loans could not be met, and, in the second, that banks collectively compounded the crisis by forcing loan repayments and dramatically reducing new loans.

So, against the background of evidence reported in *The Florida Land Boom*, Raymond Vickers's main thesis is groundless. Put simply, the crash in land values and the unraveling of the Florida boom cannot be explained merely by fraud, insider abuse, and conflicts of interests.

William Frazer The University of Florida



Glen Jeansonne. *Messiah of the Masses: Huey P. Long and the Great Depression.* Harper/Collins, 1993, pp. 204. $16.95. ISBN 0-06500-162-1

Larry L. King and Ben Z. Grant. *The Kingfish: A One-man Play Loosely Depicting the Life and Times of the Late Huey P. Long of Louisiana.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1992, pp. 73. Cloth, $17.95 / Paper, $6.95. ISBN 0-87074-325-2

Glen Jeansonne writes *Messiah of the Masses* from the perspective of an academic steeped in Louisiana history while Larry L. King and Ben Z. Grant, the authors of *The Kingfish* are, respectively, a Tony Award winning playwright and a Texarkana judge.

Messiah chronicles the ups and downs of Huey Long's career by utilizing biographies, Long's papers at Louisiana State University and Duke University, Long's FBI file, Louisiana newspaper and *New York Times*

coverage of Long's campaigns, and information culled from various articles and book chapters on the Great Depression and southern politics.

The Kingfish is a two-act, one-man play that premiered in 1979 at the New Playwrights' Theatre in Washington, D.C. The play's account of Huey Long's life and times is based on his real-life experiences and speeches that emphasize Long's boisterous and bombastic style as an eternal showman/politician over the character and consequences of his dictatorial rule in Louisiana. The play brings Long back from the grave to comment on certain newsworthy incidents in his life and on contemporary politics. Long was assassinated at age forty-two in April 1935.

Both the book and the play present Huey Long as a historical personality with a flair for the dramatic that served him well in his political career. The obvious major difference between the two works is that *The Kingfish* is intended to be a work of fiction and entertainment. Events are often revealed to us directly (periodically unfolding in real time), and the focus is on Long's point of view as he interacts with a variety of imaginary personae ranging from ordinary citizens to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Huey Long's rise to state and national prominence was due in part to his folksy appeal that placed in the political foreground the needs of a Populist constituency hungry and hopeful for better times. As Jeansonne points out, however, even though Long moved from state government to national office, his agenda and followings in Louisiana and on a national scale were not the same.

Both *Kingfish* and *Messiah* recount Long's first success as a traveling salesman at age sixteen hawking Cottolene, a cottonseed cooking oil, from door to door to rural families. Various scenes in *The Kingfish* demonstrate Long's easy charm and persuasive manner. Such is the case when he makes his sales pitch to an unsuspecting housewife who finds herself with three buckets of Cottolene instead of just one.

In 1918 Long won his first race for public office, a six-year term on the Louisiana Railroad Commission. It had the power to tax railroad and telegraph companies and to regulate the rates charged by them to the public.

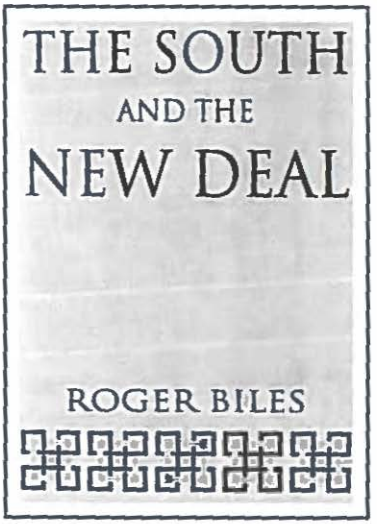
common people yet lived a lavish lifestyle of excesses with women, food, and drink.

The book does not shy away from the darker side of Long. For although Long called himself a servant of the people, his authoritarian rule of Louisiana and his personal intolerance of dissent of any kind, Jeansonne suggests, was close to fascism. Long was power hungry, and his attitudes toward women, poor, and people of color was based on expediency as well as empathy.

In the end, however, Jeansonne argues that whatever his faults, Huey P. Long's legacy as the "messiah of the masses" is that he gave the disenfranchised hope that a better time was yet to come.

The *Kingfish* ends with Huey Long returning to the stage, grinning and waving, taking his bows, convincingly arguing his own case as a major political figure, however flawed, in American history and literature.

Donna Jean Zane Honolulu, Hawaii



Roger Biles. *The South and the New Deal.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1994, *x*, pp. 205. $23.00. ISBN 0-8131-1836-0

Of books about the South and books about the New Deal, there seems to be no end. Despite a fairly steady stream of southern state studies, no effort devoted exclusively to the New Deal's impact on the region as a whole has appeared since Frank Freidel's Fleming Lectures (*F. D. R. And the South*) three decades ago. For that reason alone, Roger Biles's volume is a welcome addition to both New Deal and Southern historiography.

In eight chapters–two introductory, five topical, and one summary–Biles elaborates the basic theme that "the New Deal marked the beginning of the end of southern exceptionalism." In the region's reluctant but inexorable march from isolation and rural tradition to the modernity of "mainstream American culture...the first crucial steps...came in the 1930s." For this "most radical alteration" in southern history, "the New Deal's role," Biles argues,

"was largely preparatory," paving the way, along with World War II, for the "sunbelt boom" and "a Second Reconstruction" that finally quelled the ancient forces of southern continuity.

From a somewhat overdrawn portrait of the South "On the Eve of Depression" and a brief sketch of the impact of the economic disaster itself, Biles moves on to his primary task of exploring "the interplay between the federal government and the South during the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt." What he finds is a national administration that "disrupted, challenged, catalyzed" but never really changed the South. Hungry for federal dollars but fearful of outside intrusion, state and local officials embraced the New Deal with one hand while fending it off with the other. The result was modest reform whose legacy proved more profound than its substance.

None of this is particularly new or startling. Biles has himself written much of it in his earlier fine work, especially on depression-era Memphis. Indeed in the current volume, the urban tail often seems to wag the rural dog, as the author's command of the history of southern cities during the 1930s provides a framework around which he has cobbled together the other components of the New Deal story in the South. The product is strong at the core but frail in the extremities. Moreover, it turns the story somewhat inside out for a region still, in the author's own words, "predominantly rural and agricultural" in the 1930s. The further Biles ventures from the familiar ground of his urban base, the less sure his interpretive touch becomes, particularly in the treatment of agriculture where he sometimes seems more at the mercy of his sources than in command of them.

Isolated flaws, which are perhaps inevitable in a work of such scope, do not necessarily compromise the interpretive validity of the larger analysis, but their cumulative effect betrays a less than firm grasp of certain aspects of both the New Deal and the South. And they do begin to pile up: cotton at 41 cents *a bale* in 1920; 8.5 million southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers on page 18 but only 1.8 million on page 36 (failing to distinguish between families and individuals), a *97 percent* plunge in the value of cotton sales from 1929 to 1932, a $4.8 *billion* appropriation *for rural power* in 1935, blurring the distinction between Agrarians and Fugitives, labeling Howard Mumford Jones a "southern writer," treating *Hoosac Mills* and *U.S. v. Butler* as separate cases.

More serious is Biles's tendency to reduce the story to a morality play in which benevolent liberal reformers do battle against evil conservative Southerners. His notion of the New Deal as a conscious, though modestly effectual, precursor of modernization, whose "greatest influence rested in a comprehensive challenge to the South's distinctive way of life" cuts through

a tangle of ambiguity that enmeshed New Dealers and Southerners alike as they grappled with the depression and with each other. That remaking the South was either the goal or the effect of New Deal policy remains problematical, and as Barry Karl has observed in *The Uneasy State* (1983), "it was not only southerners who wanted to limit federal control in order to preserve special traditions." Americans generally were willing to countenance government intervention to fix the economy, but not permanently and certainly not at the expense of local autonomy. Roosevelt's palliative was a grassroots democracy that played havoc with the New Deal's own ambiguous quest for both short-term recovery and long-range economic planning.

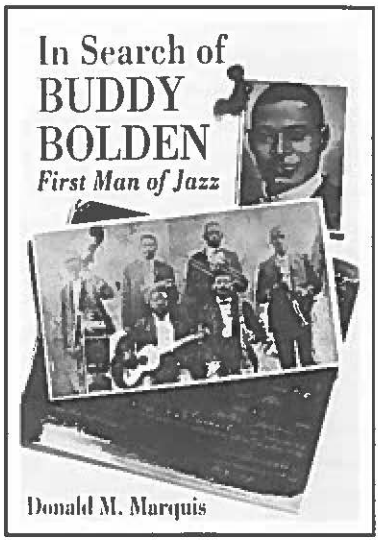
"The New Deal," Biles declares, "dismantled plantation agriculture," replacing "an archaic sharecropping system with agribusiness." Yet, in 1940 the sharecropper population was about what it had been two decades earlier, and more tenants abandoned farming in both the 1920s and the 1940s than during the intervening decade. Rather than "tractoring" tenants off the land, as Biles suggests, the New Deal, by subsidizing cotton production, probably kept many of them on the farm until the wartime boom created other economic alternatives.

Always vulnerable to criticism for failing to give sufficient attention to something, historical synthesis demands both critical assimilation of a large body of existing literature and judicious selection. In this case, the brevity of the text–158 pages, a quarter of it devoted to introductory and concluding material–and the scope of the subject perhaps made the task impossible. The desperate need for a fresh assessment of the New Deal in the South makes Biles's effort commendable. The execution, however, is somewhat disappointing.

Chester M. Morgan Delta State University

Donald M. Marquis. *In Search of Buddy Bolden: First Man of Jazz.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993, *xix*, pp. 176. $9.95. ISBN 0-8071-1857-5

When *In Search of Buddy Bolden* first appeared in 1978, it was widely acclaimed as "the definitive treatment" (*Library Journal*) of cornetist Charles "Buddy" Bolden, and given the benefits of fifteen years of hindsight and subsequent historical scholarship on jazz, one would be hard-pressed to dispute this claim. In an interview with New Orleans *Times-Picayune* staff



writer Bill Grady in November 1991, Don Marquis admitted that the only new information he had uncovered about Bolden in the thirteen years since the initial publication was that his mother's maiden name had been "Harris" rather than "Harrison." Yet, in assessing the impact of this monograph on jazz historiography, it is clear, in retrospect, that Marquis's investigations have contributed much more than a debunking of the myths surrounding the exploits of "the first man of jazz." Indeed, *In Search of Buddy Bolden* attempted to move beyond simplistic explanations of jazz origins in New Orleans and to grapple with the complexities of the regionally distinctive musical culture which existed there at the turn of the century. The author was never entirely comfortable with the subtitle (apparently suggested by editors at LSU Press), and one ultimately learns more about the context in which Bolden operated than about the man himself. Perhaps, even more than Gunther Schuller's seminal *Early Jazz* (1968), Marquis's book on Bolden–with its intensive use of the census, oral history interviews, vital records, and city directories–has raised the standards of jazz scholarship to new levels of precision, anticipating by several years the revisionist work of Lawrence Gushee, Gene Anderson, William Howland Kenney, and other historians who have reopened the question of jazz origins over the course of the past decade.

Marquis's research, especially his critical reevaluation of the testimony given by Bunk Johnson to the authors of *Jazzmen* in 1938, called into question the chronology for the origins of jazz, shifting attention from 1895 (the purported date of the Bolden photograph) to a decade later. The work of Morroe Berger, who first raised the issue of Bunk's reliability in 1947 ("Jazz Pre-history and Bunk Johnson," in *Frontiers of Jazz*), is inexplicably not cited, however, and references to Bolden in Louis Armstrong's autobiographical *Swing That Music* (1936), where a benchmark date of 1905 is given, are also overlooked. Yet, the strength of this book comes more from the manner in which Marquis presents Bolden's place in the "big picture" of New Orleans culture than on how well he has covered the previous literature on King Bolden. Reconstruction of Bolden's neighborhood from census schedules and documents in the city's notarial archives reveals

the racially-mixed demographics which were often typical of the Crescent City–an important fact in explaining the rapid proliferation of jazz bands throughout New Orleans in the formative stages of development. Other important features which Marquis examines are the uptown black/downtown Creole dichotomy among musicians (and its amelioration with the rise of jazz), the roles of the Baptist Church, brass bands, "string" (dance) bands, and street criers in the creation of Bolden's style, and the "sporting life" ethos which pervaded the entertainment districts such as Rampart and Perdido (Black Storyville) and the dance halls of Treme. Of course, any discussion of Bolden's "style" is conjectural, based on the vagaries of informants' attempts to describe his music with words, but the author is careful to admit to speculation when he engages in it. Of particular note is Marquis's use of police arrest records and licensing documentation to gain insights into band personnel, characteristics of the audiences, and the proliferation of saloons (especially Rampart-Perdido) coinciding with Bolden's period of greatest popularity, 1900-1905. Throughout the book, changes in the cornetist's life-story are anchored to transitions in the cultural context, providing a dynamic portrait of a music scene in transformation. Ultimately, one gains the impression that the author sees Bolden as playing a kind of proto-jazz, which is then refined by others such as Manuel Perez, Freddie Keppard, Joe Oliver, and Louis Armstrong.

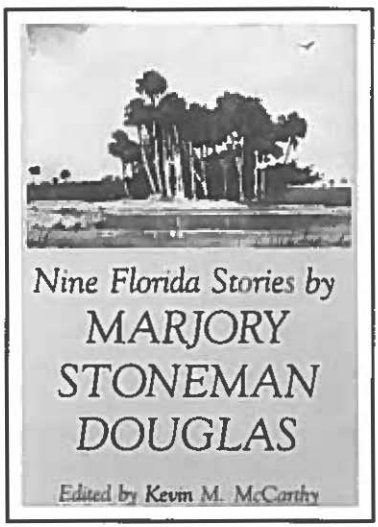
Its contributions notwithstanding, *In Search of Buddy Bolden* does contain some minor factual errors. References to E. Belfield Spriggins's April, 1933 columns on jazz in *Louisiana Weekly* as "the first non-derogatory statement about jazz music in the New Orleans press" overlooks such pieces as "Orleans' Product: Stale Bread's Fiddle Gave Jazz to the World," New Orleans *Item*, March 9, 1919. Further, commentary that Spriggins's work was "the first recognition of a need to document New Orleans jazz history" ignores Orin Blackstone's "Leader of First Jazz Band Reviews Rise of New Music," *Popular Music* (March 10, 1933). Citation of the Library of Congress interviews conducted by Alan Lomax with Jelly Roll Morton in 1938 as "tapes" is incorrect: a Presto portable disc recorder was used. The "John M. Dodds, boilermaker" listed by Marquis is not the renowned clarinetist. Interviewer Nesuhi Ertegun's name is consistently misspelled throughout the work. If there are other problems with Marquis's portrayal of Buddy Bolden, it will take additional evidence to identify them, which at this point is unlikely, but not impossible. Frederic Ramsey, Jr. (an editor of *Jazzmen)* actually began researching a book on Bolden in the 1950s, which afforded him the opportunity to interview several informants who were gone by the time Marquis entered the field. In "Frederic Ramsey–An Interview

with the Historian, Writer, Photographer," by Pete Whelan in *78 Quarterly* (1989), Ramsey states quite emphatically that there is material in his possession which was not included in Marquis' book and offers some theories of his own on what caused Bolden's insanity in 1906. If Ramsey is able to complete his book in the near future, we can expect a regenerated debate on "the first man of jazz." Meanwhile, for those who wish to learn more about how Don Marquis discovered as much as he did, his *Finding Buddy Bolden, The Journal of a Search for the First Man of Jazz* (Goshen College, Indiana: Pinchpenny Press, 1990/revised ed.) is highly recommended.

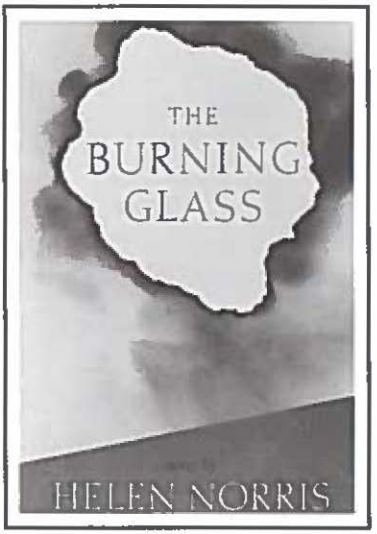
Bruce Boyd Raeburn — Tulane University

Kevin M. McCarthy, ed. *Nine Florida Stories by Marjory Stoneman Douglas.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990, pp. 198. Cloth, $22.95. ISBN 0-8130-0988-x/Paper, $4.99. ISBN 0-8130-0994-4

Helen Norris. *The Burning Glass.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992, pp. 193. Cloth, $19.95. ISBN 0-8071-1790-0



In most art forms there are two camps established, two turfs as avidly defended as any urban jungle. These states of artistic action are usually divided into the two camps known as "popular" and "serious," and each group tends to disdain the efforts of the other. This is certainly true in the area of short fiction where the map can be clearly drawn and the boundaries distinctly marked by consulting the acknowledgments page of the work in question. In the case of the two southern women writers under consideration, their positions are obvious. Marjory Stoneman Douglas's stories all appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* between 1924 and 1941, a period when the short story was quite popular as a source of light entertainment. Helen Norris's stories all appeared originally in literary reviews between 1987 and 1992 which is one indication that while the academic "stock" of short fiction has risen, its popular appeal has fallen off. In



reading these two fine collections, it is important to remember their intended audiences and the inherent requirements of these two equal but distinct genres. To judge a literary work by popular standards or vice versa would result in an unfairly negative assessment of either work. However, both of these collections, while fulfilling the expectations of their chosen genres, also offer surprises from the "other" territory.

In popular short fiction, we expect to find stereotypical characters who are often the specific embodiment of a general "mythic" type. We expect quickly-moving plot, dramatic external action, and a landscape as a backdrop–a stage on which the characters act out their drama. If there is a theme, we want it to be readily apparent. However, in literary short fiction, we look for highly individualistic, complex characters who sustain the illusion of being real. For plot we look for subtle changes in the protagonist's perspective which are usually brought about by rather slight external events. Landscapes take on a symbiotic relationship with the characters, and usually multiple themes are buried like land mines in it, often designed to detonate as a reaction is created among the characters, the setting, the action, and the reader. The stories of Douglas and Norris both fulfill and defy our expectations of them.

Marjory Stoneman Douglas, one of our pioneer environmentalists, finds in popular fiction a sturdy platform for her concerns. Set in southern Florida in the days when Miami was just beginning to extend its urban swamp at the expense of the Everglade's more natural one, her stories sympathetically chronicle the lives of land developers, poachers, independent rural women, young men coming of age, and war veterans.

Although she supplies the stock characters, quick action, and clear-cut resolutions expected of her by *Post* readers of the time, she also gives us much more. First, some of her characters are strikingly real, with well-placed physical details that serve to lift them out of stereotype and subtle conflicts. Douglas brings her landscapes to life with a greater love and attention than many "literary" practitioners do today. Importantly, her environmental concerns take on an even greater urgency and relevance now than when they were first published. This is one of Kevin McCarthy's motives for editing

and publishing this important writer, who might have otherwise been lost in the thick saw grass of early twentieth-century popular fiction.

The first story, "Pineland" introduces us to Sarah McDevitt, a remarkably independent woman at the turn of the century who struggles to maintain a government homestead and to raise two sons in spite of being deserted by her shiftless husband. As editor, Kevin McCarthy points out in his historically-useful introduction, that the character of Sarah McDevitt is remarkably similar to Douglas herself. "Pineland" gives us, along with the melodramatic action of the pioneer woman fighting to save the homestead, fully developed characters, passionate and enticing descriptions of a landscape many would otherwise write off as drab and monotonous, and a surprisingly mature conclusion.

The last five stories are all eloquent and mature portraits of the Florida Marjory Douglas knows and loves perhaps better than anyone else. The characters come alive on the page because, as a writer, she never writes "down" to her characters. She obviously writes "from" them. In her environmental concerns, she is never didactic or heavy-handed. Unlike many contemporary environmental writers, she presents those destructive to the environment not as villains but as merely uninformed, and her environmental defenders are not heroes. In fact, the protagonist of "Plumes" who fights to save the white heron is an escaped convict, and he does not win.

Finally, the reason to read Marjory Stoneman Douglas is the Florida landscape she hands to us like a sacrament even in her weakest stories:

> Then they came into a land where tiny stunted cypresses lifted their bleached whiteness above the wet green earth, a miniature forest of distorted ancient trees upon whose dead bones of branches the new green of leaves was scratched in a million tiny crosshatchings, misted and virginal. Behind them, here and there, taller hammocks of cypresses stood crowded together, whiteness showing through tangled green. Still the roadway was a blistering white line before them, and in the clear brown water of the canal birds dipped and flew up suddenly, scattering brighter drops. ("A Bird Dog in the Hand")

On almost every page Douglas shares a love for the environment that is more persuasive than the constant barrage of guilt and fear currently being hurled at us by Machiavellian environmentalists. Douglas is a needed reminder that love, not fear, is the most effective evangelist.

Helen Norris's *The Burning Glass*, while unquestionably literary in its achievement and scope, also provides dramatic action that readers of popular

fiction will find enjoyable. In fact, this collection is a masterful blend of artistic subtlety and popular appeal. Although *The Burning Glass* is replete with hints of cultural and personal disenfranchisement, Norris also offers obvious themes of moral and spiritual awakening, themes that are hard to find in much of contemporary American fiction, themes which will remind many readers of the great master of southern short fiction, Flannery O'Connor.

However, when we compare Norris with such famous Southerners as Welty, O'Connor, Faulkner, Percy, and Porter, one notices a distinct difference: Norris does not choose to limit her fiction to the rural south. Nevertheless, she retains the southern sensibility of our best writers.

In the first very powerful story, "Inside the Silence," we are taken along with Lora, the story's protagonist, on a tour of a Nazi death camp in Mjdanek, Poland. While her father shelters himself with the comforter of language, (they are in Poland so he can deliver a series of lectures on Melville), she is forced beyond the blanket of words into the silent reality of death. After touring the camp she tells an uncomprehending Polish woman:

> "I am one of them. One of those who were tortured there. But also I am one of those...I am that woman who stood in the road and took the baby..." She broke off and began to weep.
>
> Mrs. Kosinski stroked her hand. "I am the babies whose heads she dashed against the wall...My baby was one of them."

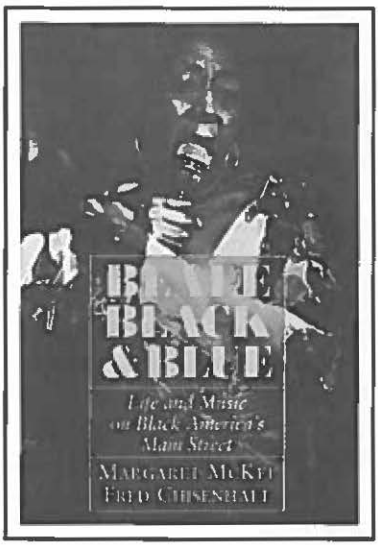
Norris is a courageous writer, for in almost every story we encounter melodramatic actions which affect the protagonists internally. It is this very quality that makes her stories as consistently entertaining as they are troublesome for current literary fashion. In short, Norris is minimalist. Her stories are richly layered and textured, and they will affect readers on many levels. In "Mirror Image" a distraught woman is drawn into a "twilight zone" to attend to a dying Mafia boss who mistakes her for his daughter. "A Bee in Amber" puts us back in Poland for a delightful tale of star-crossed lovers and international espionage. In "The Inglenook" we follow the misfortunes of an infant who is given away several times. In other words, in every story, the internal machinations of contemporary society, although very much present, play second fiddle to the exciting external events that move swiftly along to a surprising conclusion. Helen Norris gives me hope for American short fiction.

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, many formidable artistic walls are coming down, often resulting in happy marriages of

formerly separate genres. Both Douglas and Norris are good examples of good art resulting from territorial exchange. Marjory Douglas, by all lights a popular writer, is published by an excellent University Press and is thus able to receive some of the critical attention she deserves. One could only hope that Helen Norris will receive the popular readership she deserves, that in fact her fiction cries out for. Many of us divide our reading time into "serious" and "light." Since both of these collections float in between, I recommend them as literary time savers.

Charles Belcher, Jr. San Antonio, Texas

Margaret McKee and Fred Chisenhall. *Beale Black and Blue: Life on Black America's Main Street.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993, pp. 265. $11.95. ISBN 0-8071-1886-9



> Blues is like a doctor. Doctor studies medicine–'course he ain't sick, but he studies to help them people. A blues player ain't got no blues, but he plays for the worried people. He has the talent to give to the worried people. See, they enjoy it. Like the doctor works from the outside of the body to the inside of the body. But the blues works on the insides of the inside.

So says Roosevelt Sykes, "The Honeydripper," about his life profession and the great personal gifts he and other Mississippi bluesmen and women shared with their many listeners. Such healing wisdom, gained by years and years of traveling, working, suffering, and celebrating life, makes up the bulk of this book. Thankfully, these profound reflections have been made more accessible to readers with the paperback reprint of a work originally published in 1981. From the musicians, we gain an understanding of the impact of the blues as culture not only on the lives of individual musicians and their devoted fans, but also on the history and heritage of American popular culture. We are vividly reminded of the central role of people of

African descent in creating elements of our national culture that are distinctly American, distinctly black, and distinctly southern.

Part 2 of the book, entitled, "The Blues," collects the memories and reflections of men such as Furry Lewis, Booker White, Piano Red Williams, and one woman, Big Mama Lillie Mae Glover, about their lives in the music business. The authors reproduce large sections of transcriptions to allow the blues artists to narrate their stories in their own words. From them we hear about informal apprenticeships traveling on the vaudeville circuits and performing in backwoods jukejoints; their struggles to make a living doing what they do best while also having to labor in cotton fields, or on riverfronts, or as hoodoo doctors, or as bootleggers. These sidelines were necessary, periodically, in part because the organized structures of the popular music business were not yet regularized, but also because of the discrimination those musicians experienced as the business of recording contracts, concert tours, and radio airplay emerged in a society and an economy which used race to deprive people of color of the fruits of their labor.

Their career opportunities were radically marked by the migrations of southern rural African Americans, especially Mississippians, to the northern cities such as Chicago and New York during and after the World Wars. While their peers often settled into the South Side or Harlem and "stayed put" to establish families, the musicians found themselves constantly "rambling the road." In this itinerant life, the styles of the blues and jazz developed both from shared influences in the church and from lifelong friendships and casual encounters between musicians on the move in Chicago, Memphis, St. Louis, Atlanta, New York, and New Orleans.

Many of the performers came from religious backgrounds where their chosen profession was looked down upon, and they made a conscious decision to forsake such social restrictions to do what they loved most. Many of them describe such a joy, a high (that was sometimes natural and sometimes alcohol-induced) in being before a crowd and pleasing them with their music, that they felt compelled to perform while being deeply rewarded by it. Still other blues people such as Sam Chatmon came from backgrounds where the whole family was musically inclined. As the youngest of nine brothers, Chatmon performed as part of a family group who were the central blues performers in the area where they grew up, making regular circuits of the house parties and watering holes in the nearby towns. Similarly, B. B. King shared stages with his cousin Booker White and his half-brother Albert King. Regardless of whether or not bloodties withstood the rigors of a career as a blues artist, these musicians' stories attest to the importance of a

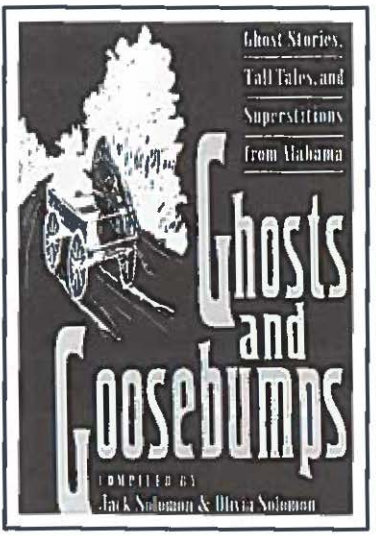
figurative family of audiences and fellow musicians with similar cultural roots and shared life experiences in making them into the performers they became.

They assert that a ritual pattern of performance, of call-and-response onstage, of enjoying liquor or gambling or fighting or pool or love affairs offstage existed not only to add tension and excitement and variety to their lives, but also to make them integral parts of the communities where they lived and performed. The musicians recognized that on the one hand, they were privileged with respect to their peers, when they could be assured of earning a better living singing the blues than from picking cotton, and of having more free time and more geographical mobility than those working in a factory. On the other hand, they realized their responsibility to make the daily grind of working and raising a family less of a grind by giving their best to their audiences, and that their art derived from being able to sing to, for, and about their mostly working-class audiences. The bluespeople also recognized the irony that often the leaders of a community, the preachers, lawyers, and teachers of the black middle class who sometimes publicly shunned them as immoral or unsophisticated, especially in the urban centers, also related to the blues and enjoyed the clubs because they were largely freed from any censure they might have experienced in a smaller town with less tolerant attitudes.

The vibrant blues culture was born in the hard lives of sharecropping residents of rural towns in Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi, but it matured in the night clubs of Beale Street in Memphis, which often became the first destination of migrants from those towns. A history of the street as a social center of black Memphis constitutes the first part of the book and provides context for the second. The authors examine the central role of Beale Street as a space for recreation, entrepreneurship, and politics, guided by historian, philosopher, former disc jockey, and fellow journalist Nate D. Williams. Williams wrote an editorial column for the Memphis *World* and the Pittsburgh *Courier* and shared a prescient awareness of the importance of Beale Street's culturally black and southern milieu, an importance shared by such streets as Rampart Street in New Orleans, or South Park Street in Chicago, to African-American popular culture. The authors take us from the beginnings of Beale, an area acquired by newly-freed black people during Reconstruction as a place to establish homes, schools, and businesses, to its postwar peak as an entertainment center with a profitable underground culture of vice and as a site of political, class, and racial contention, and finally to its post-segregation decline. Williams's editorials provide much of the obscure information and astute commentary on the various divisions of economic, gender, age, and color consciousness

within the black community of Memphis, and between black and white in the city, that had a particular impact on Beale Street. And while Williams's ideas provide a useful body of work which help the reader to appreciate the urban home of black blues culture, the time parameters of the original publication and a lack of awareness of their own racial and economic privilege prevent McKee and Chisenhall from providing a thorough analysis of the reasons for the area's decline and recent rebirth as a tourist attraction. Yet, their book provides the basis for asking and answering these questions in the not-so-distant future, perhaps with an eye to attempting to revive similar central city areas in Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, or New York. It remains a unique example of a historical study of a specific geographic area and cultural life which impinges closely on the present.

Angela Winand Xavier University, New Orleans



Jack Solomon and Olivia Solomon, eds. *Ghosts and Goosebumps: Ghost Stories, Tall Tales, and Superstitions from Alabama.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994, reprint ed., pp. 202. $14.95. ISBN 08203-1634-2

Ghosts and Goosebumps, first published in 1981 by the University of Alabama Press and reissued by the University of Georgia Press in April 1994, is a collection of material relating to the supernatural from WPA Writer's Project narratives, field notes taken between 1958 and 1962 by folklore students at Troy State University in Pike County, and a few stories from students at Alexander City State Junior College from 1972 to 1977. The introduction, by editors Jack and Olivia Solomon, provides a worthwhile look at the medium of the folk tale and at the book's purpose. The Solomons, collectors of Alabama folklore for several decades, are the editors of other collections of folklore. They intended *Ghosts and Goosebumps* for students, either high school or college, and for the general reader. Thus, they have not included an index of folk tale motifs. However,

the tales are all in familiar modes, and readers well acquainted with southern folklore will find few real surprises.

The book is well presented and opens with seventy-seven pages of ghost stories and accounts of supernatural happenings related by the Troy State University students and their contacts. The material collected by students at Alexander City State Junior College in Tallapoosa County is also here. The themes are what a reader or hearer of ghost stories comes to expect–jilted lovers, balls of fire in graveyards, witches burnt at the stake, shape-shifting spirits, a hole that no earth can fill, hoop snakes and fish stories. The tales are attributed by name, though the collectors' names are not given, nor the date of collection. The place is sometimes apparent from the heading of the text. Tales of palm readings and practical jokes round out the more "superstitious" material. This section would be invaluable to anyone entertaining young people or serving as a tour guide in a haunted house.

The "superstitions" proper cover forty-five pages and are exhaustive and exhausting. They are mostly one-liners and are grouped by subject matter. Naturally, they are also very repetitive, although it is possible that there was no other way to deal with this material. Once again, these are familiar–pregnant women, spoiling meat, how to wish on a star or the moon, good and bad luck, fortune telling and divination, wart cures, and interpreting dreams. There are some amusing adaptations of old motifs to the modern South such as superstitions about window screens or spaghetti, for example. The modern settings remind the reader of Jan Brunvand's books about urban legends, such as *The Vanishing Hitchhiker* (indeed, there is a vanishing hitchhiker story in *Ghosts and Goosebumps*).

Thirty-two pages at the end of the book are reserved for the Alabama WPA lore. This is a series of longer stories with traditional grammar and pronunciation followed in the transcriptions. They vary in quality. Some of the informers were good storytellers; others were not. The language used makes them entertaining reading. Silvia Witherspoon's account of witches and "ghosties" is a brief excerpt from her life story, while Josh Horn of Sumter County tells several tales, including more than one ghost story, in a rambling four-page entry. A section of "Notes for Further Study" is the most interesting part of the book. The author deals with such topics as the editing of troublesome material from the slave narratives. An index of Alabama folk material in the Library of Congress closes the book.

The tone of this book hovers between the popular and the scholarly. The notes at the end deal with serious issues that merit discussion by anyone dealing with the history of the South–tampering with the WPA narratives, for example. On the other hand, the reader may have little use for the repetitive

superstitions and slumber party ghost stories. The lack of an index of motifs or of any text index at all makes the book hard to use. I would be delighted to use it as a supplementary folklore text, if my students were mature enough to see that the stories are presented as folklore and not as fact. I recommend *Ghosts and Goosebumps* to anyone fond of "hant" and supernatural tales, or to any student of southern magical and folk beliefs. In these days of mass-produced 'horror' stories and silly vampire movies, a dose of real southern Gothic is welcome.

Jim Comer Richmond, Virginia

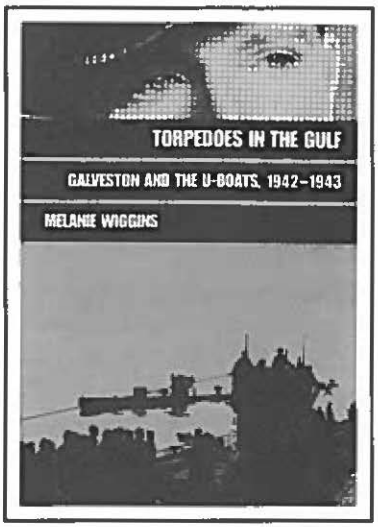
Donald S. Lopez. *Fighter Pilot's Heaven: Flight Testing the Early Jets*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995, *xxi*, pp. 223. $24.95. ISBN 1-56098-457-0

Melanie Wiggins. *Torpedoes in the Gulf: Galveston and the U-Boats, 1942-1943*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995, *xiii*, pp. 265. Cloth, $29.50 / Paper, $14.95. ISBN 0-89096-627-3

The Gulf Coast region has a richly diverse historical experience. One area that scholars have recently discovered is the region's role in twentieth-century American military history. While the Gulf Coast's role in nineteenth-century military affairs is well-documented, more recent contributions represent a relatively unmined trove for historians examining modern Gulf Coast history. Donald S. Lopez and Melanie Wiggins have both offered some insights into the importance of the Gulf Coast to American national defense in the twentieth century.

Fighter Pilot's Heaven: Flight Testing the Early Jets is Donald Lopez's memoir of his days as a jet test pilot at Eglin Air Force Base, Florida. Home of the Air Proving Ground Command and one of the nation's largest military installations, Eglin was at the forefront of jet aircraft development during and immediately after World War II. Flown by highly skilled combat pilots, new jet aircraft were tested for suitability, durability, and overall soundness of design. Stringent aircraft tests were conducted, usually fashioned

to push a plane to its aerodynamic limits. The results were meticulously recorded, used to modify equipment, and applied to future aircraft designs. Just as important, test pilots at Eglin applied their extensive combat experience to develop new tactics for these faster, more maneuverable aircraft. Using the gulf itself as a firing range and the airspace above coastal towns as maneuver areas, Lopez and his fellow test pilots explored the new tactical problems and possibilities of jet flight individually and in simulated attacks against one another. In short, Eglin Air Force Base could be described as the cradle of both jet pilot training and jet combat tactics.



Lopez tells a great story. His account of five years at Eglin is exciting, captivating, and well-written. His explanations of the technical aspects of jet flight are written for the lay person. Furthermore, he gives the reader a glimpse into test pilot culture, showing how these men related to one another, and how they dealt with the death and tragedy that sometimes accompanied their chosen profession. The author briefly discusses the importance of Eglin and other Gulf Coast installations to national defense efforts, perhaps suggesting to historians lines of future inquiry. Lopez further attempts to place events at Eglin in the context of larger national and international events, such as the final battles of the Second World War and the beginnings of the Cold War. While this is a welcome departure from the standard memoir format, the links between activities at Eglin to larger historical events are tenuously made. Nevertheless, *Fighter Pilot's Heaven* is an excellent memoir that should appeal to air power historians, military officers, and anyone seeking a better understanding of the early days of jet aviation.

In her book, *Torpedoes in the Gulf: Galveston and the U-Boats, 1942-1943*, Melanie Wiggins tells of German submarine operations against Allied shipping in the Gulf of Mexico during the Second World War. Wiggins takes a dual approach to her subject. First, she provides a detailed narrative of German submarine operations along the Gulf Coast, using both American and German sources. Beginning in late April 1942, and lasting until December 1943, German submarine commanders waged a very successful campaign against American merchant shipping along the Gulf Coast. As a

result of these attacks, American military officials enacted measures designed to protect merchant vessels bearing essential war material to Europe and Asia.

Near the port city of Galveston, Texas, and other Gulf port cities, coastal artillery guns were emplaced to guard allied ships, while foot patrols along local beaches sought to prevent contacts between German crews and potentially sympathetic local residents. The Federal Bureau of Investigation set up surveillance units in local homes attempting to catch citizens passing information to enemy submarines. Fighters, bombers, and even dirigibles were deployed to search for the elusive submarines from the air. These measures, along with the development of the convoy system, slowly brought the U-boat campaign to a halt. By the time the last German submarine left Gulf waters in December 1943, the Germans had claimed fifty-six Allied vessels sunk and another fourteen damaged.

The second aspect Wiggins examines is the ways Galveston residents reacted to the submarine campaign, and to the war in general. Initially, Galvestonians had little reaction to the sinkings in the gulf. In fact, the war did not immediately interrupt their daily lives. However, as the attacks grew more frequent, and war measures took effect on the home front, residents became more concerned about the battles taking place in their home waters. Blackouts and dimouts, security measures taken to protect shipping, were ordered by local military and civil defense officials. Compliance with these orders was initially lackluster, but improved as citizens soon understood their importance. Galvestonians actively supported other war efforts such as scrap, grease, and bond drives, although rationing remained unpopular. Men over draft age volunteered for Coast Guard auxiliary units, which patrolled beaches and searched merchant vessels. Women went to work for shipyards, served in various capacities at military bases, and organized various activities for servicemen and their families.

Wiggins successfully argues that submarine operations in gulf waters profoundly effected residents of Galveston. By placing her thesis in the context of larger events, she offers new insights into the Second World War as seen from a homefront that became, in a real sense, a front line. The book is well-written and makes good use of many excellent photographs. However, the extensive examination of submarine operations from the German perspective is sometimes tedious and peripheral to the main thesis. Scholars would have appreciated a more precise footnoting style, as well as a more detailed bibliography. Nevertheless, Wiggins has produced a solid account of the effects of German U-boat operation on Galveston, Texas. More importantly, she has shown some of the ways a world conflict affected individual lives in an American city. Regional historians, as well as scholars

interested in naval affairs or the Second World War, will benefit from her efforts.

Taken together, these two works suggest a new direction in regional historical studies. These books show that military history can be used as a backdrop for research into regional history. By investigating how a community, city, or region reacted to a national military crisis, historians can broaden our understanding of the social, political, and even cultural forces at work within a particular locality. Historians should examine community contributions to war efforts or national emergencies. Donald Lopez and Melanie Wiggins have certainly shown these approaches can give great insight into both the Gulf Coast region, and its role in national events.

Richard D. Starnes Auburn University

Adam Fairclough. *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995, *xix*, pp. 538. $34.95. ISBN 0-8203-1700-4

On the face of it, Adam Fairclough's *Race and Democracy* seems pretty conventional. Yet, it is a deceptively subtle book which departs from customary civil rights historiography in several ways. Perhaps, it was the special political, racial, and cultural make-up of Louisiana, its status as quite southern but quite unusually so, that stimulated Fairclough to rethink the conventional approach. Whatever the case, the result is a very important–and extremely good–work of history, all the more remarkable considering that Fairclough is himself an outsider of sorts–a professor of history at Leeds in Britain.

According to Fairclough, his work departs from "the Montgomery-to-Selma" narrative, first, by pushing the story of racial protest in Louisiana back to 1915 and by extending it to 1972–and beyond. Specifically, he contends that "black protest between the late 1930s and the mid-1950s constituted more than a mere prelude to the drama [of the civil rights movement] proper: it was the first act of a two-act play." Further, Fairclough

emphasizes that he was dealing with a southern state in which the black Protestant church and its ministers played a relatively unimportant part in the movement. In addition, local movements, though often with some help from CORE or the NAACP, were impressively organized and quite militant (as in Bogalusa). Finally, Fairclough insists on doing full justice to the NAACP's often heroic role, particularly in the "first act" of the struggle for black civil rights. This latter point commits Fairclough to the important generalization that in Louisiana "legal strategy and grassroots activity were mutually dependent."

Beyond the particular interpretive spin Fairclough applies, *Race and Democracy* is a triumph of historical imagination. To be sure, most readers will find it hard to remain attentive over the nearly five hundred name- and fact-filled pages of text. But Fairclough writes a readable, smooth prose; and within any given chapter, the rhythm and pace are exceedingly well-judged. Chapter 12 "North to Bogalusa" is a masterpiece of historical recreation in the way it explores the racial confrontation in that city in the mid-1960s. One reason is that Fairclough makes good on his promise to interrelate local, state, and federal perspectives rather than just concentrating on one or two of them to the exclusion of others. The incredibly complex and sometimes moving interaction between black protest leaders and white officeholders, between protesters and the Klan, as they struggled to arrive at a resolution to the crisis, is both detailed and exciting. Moreover, this chapter quite clearly exemplifies the objectivity and detachment that Fairclough demonstrates throughout the book. There are no easy points scored at the expense of local white politicians who often risked their lives, or at least their livelihoods, in dealing with protestors. (Nor are they let off the hook either.) Black leaders and organizations are praised but at times judged just as harshly. Overall, Fairclough earns the trust and respect of his readers by the unusual generosity of his perspective.

Obviously, a review of this length can only skim the surface of *Race and Democracy*. The story of the school integration crisis in New Orleans in the early 1960s and then its renewal a decade later is particularly well-told. Shuttling back and forth from the Protestant North to the Catholic South, from Shreveport in the northwest to the tough "Florida parishes" in the east, Fairclough provides a rich "thick description" of the political culture of the state in the twentieth century. The rhythm of historical change emerges in its full complexity: ahead of most southern states in black political participation up until the mid-1950s, Louisiana proved, next to Mississippi, the most resistant of the southern states to racial change. Throughout its history, white violence and resistance seemed to go hand-in-

hand with more significant (and more relaxed) interracial contact than in the rest of the South.

It is hard to mount any significant criticisms of *Race and Democracy.* The cultural diversity of the state is perhaps more described than evoked and a bit more fleshing out of the background of politicians such as the fascinating John McKeithen, a kind of Gulf Coast LBJ, would have been welcomed. Fairclough, like several other historians of post-World War II southern reform, stresses the way that McCarthyism and the search for subversives, southern-style, fatefully sundered the black movement, especially the NAACP, from white liberal support by the mid-1950s. The result was a "divorcing of the civil rights agenda from the labor-left agenda" and hence the NAACP's narrow focus upon legal and political matters. Yet, Fairclough fails to note that this had the advantage of forcing Louisiana blacks–and blacks throughout the South–to develop their own leadership and to learn to deal with the white power structure on their own. Even without the witchhunts of the 1950s, I doubt that any significant white liberal or labor support for the grass-roots struggle for racial justice would have been forthcoming in Louisiana or elsewhere; and even in the 1930s, the NAACP's legalistic approach came in for considerable criticism. That said, it is a tribute to his achievement that the words with which Fairclough concludes his study are fully earned and entirely appropriate: "The struggle for racial equality is a struggle without end."

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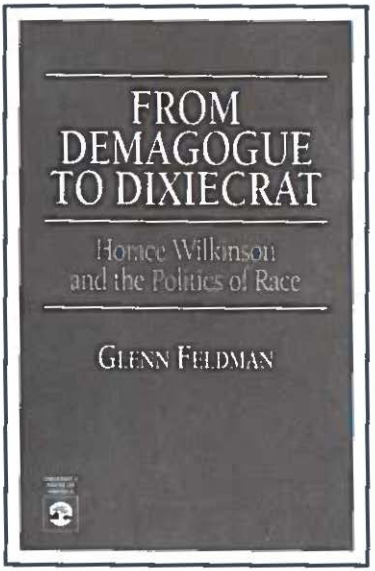
Glen Feldman. *From Demagogue to Dixiecrat: Horace Wilkinson and the Politics of Race.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1995, *xviii,* pp. 311. Paper, $32.50. ISBN 0-8191-9782-1/ Cloth, $49.00. ISBN 0-8191-9782-3

Horace Wilkinson was an influential figure in Alabama and southern politics for decades. Starting as a "progressive demagogue," he moved from anti-lynching crusader to Ku Klux Klan leader and lawyer. A Democratic party activist and Birmingham-based patronage politician, he participated in the 1928 bolt against Al Smith's nomination, supported the New Deal as a mechanism for patronage development and control, was a friend of labor in



the 1930s but anti-labor in the 1940s, served as a Dixiecrat leader and strategist, and became a McCarthy-style anti-Communist crusader in the 1950s. A behind-the-scenes adviser to politicians operating at the local and state level, he also had ties to Washington. Wilkinson was an active Baptist who found biblical justification for his racial beliefs and actions.

Glenn Feldman views Wilkinson as an opportunist whose career choices and the issue positions he adopted reflected the changing political and social attitudes of Alabama and the South. His gift "seems to have been a penchant for perceiving exactly what the political pulse of Alabama was at any given time." Feldman also maintains that one can learn much about party politics in Alabama and divisions in the national Democratic party through an examination of Wilkinson's life. This well-documented work is at its best when it concentrates on these two themes.

Feldman's coverage of Wilkinson's early career illustrates this work's best qualities. Shortly after working his way through the University of Alabama law school, Wilkinson began practicing in Birmingham in 1910, and he later served as a judge in the local police court. Upon his return from service in World War I, he was appointed assistant attorney general by Governor Thomas Kilby. It was in this position that his progressive image formed.

Peace brought with it economic upheaval and labor unrest. A wave of anti-immigrant, anti-labor, anti-black sentiment swept the nation, and Ku Klux Klan membership soared. Race riots plagued northern and southern states. In response, the federal government threatened to reorganize the national guard under exclusive federal control and to pass anti-lynching legislation. Alabama's political leaders, like those of other southern states, immediately moved to stop this.

From February to September 1919 Wilkinson successfully prosecuted thirty members of a lynch mob that had killed Frank Foukal, a white immigrant residing in Baldwin County. In 1921 he prosecuted (under appointment form Governor Kilby) nine Alabama national guardsmen for the lynching of Marshall County coal miner, Willie Baird, during the coal strikes

of 1920-1921. The strikes pitted the industrial Big Mules against labor unions, including the United Mine Workers which actively recruited black members and placed them in positions of authority.

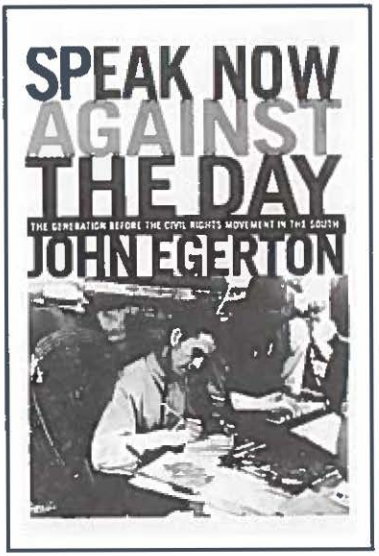
Feldman's descriptions of the lynchings, preparations for the trails, and the actual trials are highly detailed. He argues convincingly that the prosecutions had as their sole purpose the prevention of federal intervention in Alabama. That accomplished, state government could continue to be used to maintain the political, economic, and social status quo. Wilkinson was rewarded with state and national fame as well as support from the Big Mule leadership.

Unfortunately, this work is marred by needless repetition. Tighter editing could have significantly reduced its length and made it more readable. A second weakness is more serious. Feldman occasionally strays from his thoroughly research account of Wilkinson's life and career to comment on other political actors and their beliefs and motives. When he does so he is on often shaky ground. For example, he states: "Apart from an inconsequential handful of Henry Wallace Progressives, the best the state could muster–Lister Hill, John Sparkman, Jim Folsom, and Chauncey Sparks–held racial views not far from Horace Wilkinson's." He justifies this conclusion with a few partial quotes of newspaper accounts of a speech or two.

As one who has carefully examined the life and times of Folsom (*Big Mules and Branchheads: James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama*), this reviewer cannot agree with Feldman's characterization. Others who have studied the careers of Hill and Sparkman will undoubtedly raise similar objections.

Feldman emphasizes that an evaluation of a political figure must not only locate that figure in an appropriate context of time and place, but also be thoroughly researched using multiple sources. Fortunately, the reader of *From Demagogue to Dixiecrat* will find that such an effort went into Feldman's depiction of Horace Wilkinson.

Anne Permaloff Auburn University at Montgomery



John Egerton. *Speak Now Against The Day: The Generation Before The Civil Rights Movement In The South.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994, pp. 704. $35.00. ISBN 0-679-40808-8

Tennessee journalist John Egerton, no stranger to southern themes and the author of *The Americanization of Dixie* and *A Mind To Stay Here: Profiles From The South*, offers the reader a very lengthy history of southern race relations from 1932 to 1954. Egerton chose these two dates because they were "momentous turning points," the election of FDR and the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which provide brackets around the author's watershed event–the end of World War II.

To Egerton the end of the war gave Southerners (presumably white Southerners in particular) the chance to cross "from darkness into light"; it was "a hinge of time swinging shut on a constricted past and opening to an expansive future." Obviously, the white South missed the opportunity and Egerton provides some answers for why that was the case. While the focus of the book is race relations, southern politics, economics, and culture are not neglected but neatly woven into the main theme. There are no surprises and not much analysis in this "reinterpretation," and Egerton admits his book is a synthesis of other peoples' accounts (there is a twenty-seven page bibliography of secondary sources). The extensive research, however, is impressive.

Why the South, with so many chances to take the highroad of race relations, failed to take charge of its own social reformation, is a question answered again and again by the author: "Southern leaders" (and pillar institutions, church, press, academe) "could not muster the vision and courage...." Southern congressmen, governors, legislators, the clergy, the church, press, and university allowed segregation to go unchallenged. Even liberal (for the '30s and '40s) southern voices hoped for a way to achieve equality within separate but equal conditions, or that, in time, white Southerners would somehow solve the race problem.

There were those who sought equality and justice, but these heroes and heroines acted as individuals; their congregations, boards of trustees, or

publishers were usually too cowardly to stand up for basic human rights for all citizens. Lillian Smith, writer and editor, Dorothy R. Tilly, a member of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, Will W. Alexander of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Rosenwald Fund, and Joseph A. Rabun, a south Georgia Baptist preacher are a few of Egerton's heroes. Of course, Egerton writes that most southern blacks recognized the imperative of ending segregation, but their influence or power was severely limited.

Racial equality and those who attempted to bring the South into a new era had more enemies than they could handle. Egerton describes those who looked backwards as white, middle-aged, and mostly male, whose "money, property, or position" allowed them to control southern society and politics. There was James Eastland and John Stennis of Mississippi, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Harry Byrd of Virginia, Horace Wilkinson of Alabama, Leander Perez from Louisiana, and Martin Dies of Texas, to name just a few.

Following the Truman victory in 1948, it appeared that progressivism in the South had a new chance. Anti-communism hysteria, fed by Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy and northern Republicans, however, allowed southern reactionaries to maintain their vice-like grip on the South. To Egerton, "Democratic social reform in the South was being sacrificed on the altar of anticommunist white supremacy...."

However, the 1954 *Brown* decision eliminated any hope for a southern solution to the racial inequality that kept the South at the bottom of any measurement. The *Brown* decision was monumental for many reasons, but Egerton makes it clear that what it meant was "it would take lawsuits, court decision, protest demonstrations, needless casualties, and long years of struggle" to bring equity to the South.

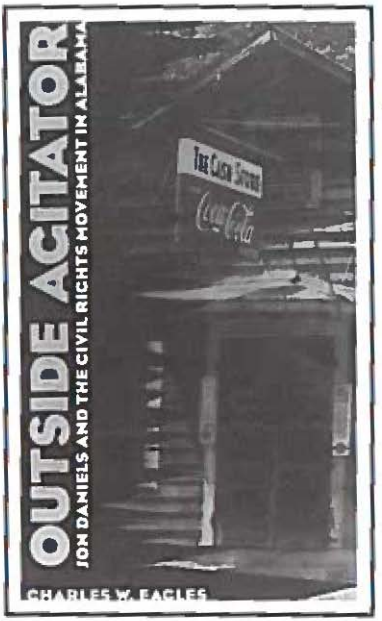
Egerton, a native Southerner is clearly disappointed that his region could never voluntarily bring itself to do the right thing toward blacks and poor whites. He shows no mercy to the race-baiters and red-baiters, and he does not let moderate Southerners off the hook when they shied away from attacking inequality. Hodding Carter and Ralph McGill, for example, are taken to task by Egerton, for opposing the 1947 report of Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.

The subtitle claims that the book is about the South a generation before the Civil Rights movement, but the history is skewed toward the states of the Atlantic seaboard, particularly Georgia and North Carolina. There are notable exceptions, Tennessee's Highlander Folk School and Alabama's progressive sons, Hugo Black and John Sparkman, to name just two, but Texas is surprisingly something of a minor player, and Louisiana is barely

represented. The progressive mayor of New Orleans, DeLesseps S. Morrison, receives two lines, and respected Louisiana Congressman Hale Boggs is not even mentioned.

In a readable style, Egerton has accomplished his purpose to document the South's missed opportunities to behave decently toward all its citizens. At the same time he tells a good story about the South, and he includes dozens of intriguing incidents within the book about many not-so-well-known black and white Southerners that give the book a personal touch. Egerton also manages to place his story of the South within the context of national and even international events, while never losing his southern focus.

Marius Carriere Christian Brothers University, Memphis



Charles W. Eagles. *Outside Agitator: Jon Daniels and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993, pp. 335. Cloth, $45.00. ISBN 0-8078-2091-1 / Paper, $17.95. ISBN 0-8078-4420-9

Outside Agitator is the story of the life and death of Jon Daniels, a civil rights martyr shot to death in Lowndes County in 1965. A New Hampshire native, Daniels was a precocious, serious, and somewhat rebellious youth who graduated from Virginia Military Institute and subsequently enrolled in divinity school. His sojourn in Alabama began in March 1965 when he answered Martin Luther King, Jr.'s call for clergy to work in the Selma voter registration drive. It ended in August in Hayneville on the front porch of the Cash Store when Tom Coleman discharged a load of buckshot into his chest at point-blank range. He was twenty-five when he died.

What distinguishes Eagles's work is that, in placing the little-known Daniels in historical context, he illuminates a place, time, and attitudes now unfamiliar to many Americans. Daniels's early life is Eagles's vehicle for examining not only the influences on Daniels's childhood and youth, but also the role of churches in the civil rights movement. Daniels's attempt to

integrate St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Selma provides the venue for exploring the differences in outlook on race relations between northern and southern churches. Setting Daniels's campaign against the backdrop of the Dallas County civil rights movement, Eagles sketches a history of Selma and its race relations which forcefully explains the deep-seated attitudes behind segregation. The resulting portrait belies the white civic booster interpretation of Selma as a friendly, progressive southern city which combined the best of the old and new South.

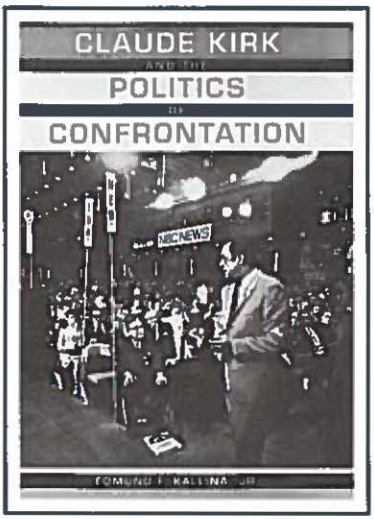
Selma was safe by comparison with nearby Lowndes County. Daniels moved to this overwhelmingly rural area in mid-July. Known as "Bloody Lowndes" because of its high incidence of white-on-black violence, the county was created in 1830 and remained a coarse frontier society even as its cotton economy grew explosively. Sharecropping and tenancy succeeded slavery as the dominant labor regime. By 1903 there was sufficient debt peonage for a district attorney to describe Lowndes as the center of the southern peonage system. Peonage, disfranchisement, and segregation–all buttressed by overt violence–kept the black majority in check and made Lowndes a model of racial oppression. The decline of cotton left Lowndes one of the poorest counties in the nation by 1960. Lowndes had no radio or TV station, and no public library. Eighty percent of its people lacked telephones, almost sixty percent had no automobile, and seventy percent did without washing machines. Most of those who had these conveniences were white. Whites owned most of the land and ran all facets of county government. Not one of nearly six thousand eligible blacks was registered to vote in 1965. When Daniels arrived, local whites still resented the national attention recently focused on them when the Klan killed Viola Liuzzo in Lowndes County. Daniels, then, was just another "outside agitator," perhaps even a Communist, but certainly a threat to their customs, religion, and families.

Tom Coleman, who killed Daniels, was prime beneficiary of the system of white preference. A poor student, heavy drinker, and prone to violence, his career nonetheless had benefited from his family connections. The civil rights movement threatened his very world, because in an open, competitive society, he would be well down in the ranks. On August 20, 1965, fearing an imminent civil rights disturbance in his town, he drove to the Cash Store, ostensibly to protect the womenfolk. There he shot Jon Daniels. Despite the best efforts of Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers, Coleman was charged only with manslaughter and was acquitted by a jury of his peers. Subsequently, civil rights activists completed the work of demolishing

legalized segregation in "Bloody Lowndes" even as the whites mounted a rear guard action which included deserting the public schools.

This measured but startling portrait of race relations in an economic and social backwater is a valuable addition to an emerging body of civil rights scholarship which focuses on the local level, where one can fully sense the totality of segregation, with its pervasive "good ole boy" pecking order undergirded by the ever-present threat of lethal violence. In conveying that sensibility to readers, and in reminding us of the remarkable courage of ordinary people, Eagles has done a real service for students of southern history and of civil rights. This book will have special value for upper-division and graduate courses in both fields. Finally, one might hope that this work will inspire similar treatments of black civil rights workers–Lamar Smith, gunned down in 1956 in Brookhaven, Mississippi, comes to mind–who gave their lives for the cause.

Michael G. Wade Appalachian State University



Edmund F. Kallina, Jr. *Claude Kirk and the Politics of Confrontation.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993, *ix*, pp. 263. Cloth, $34.95. ISBN 0-8130-1189-2 / Paper, $18.95. ISBN 0-8130-1190-6

Most Florida governors are elected, serve their term, and then fade quickly into history. Claude Roy Kirk, Jr. seems destined for a few more minutes of fame. While general histories of Florida fail to even mention most state governors, Kirk has now been the subject of two books. The first, *Claude Kirk: Man and Myth*, published during his reelection campaign in 1970 by right wing columnist Ralph de Toledano and Philip R. Brennan, Jr., was a meanspirited election ploy of Kirk's Republican opposition. Nonetheless, the book did pose some serious questions about the governor's administration and his qualifications to continue in office.

Claude Kirk and the Politics of Confrontation, the second of these books, is a revisionist history of both Kirk and his administration, in which

the author claims that Kirk made an excellent record as governor and changed state politics forever. Fortunately, as a good historian, Kallina carefully reconstructs the many Kirk controversies giving the reader both sides.

After serving as head of the Democrats for Nixon in 1960, and having "no desire to work his way up through the political ranks," Kirk ran as a Republican against incumbent Senator Spessard Holland in 1964. Although Holland won easily, Kirk gained name recognition with Florida's voters which helped him when he ran for governor two years later.

Although Kallina claims that Kirk ran an almost perfect campaign in 1966, he won because of the divisions within the Democratic party. Republican House Minority Leader Don Reed and State Senator Skip L. A. Bafalis contacted business leaders and conservative Democrats, assuring them that Kirk was safe. Miami mayor Robert King High, on the other hand, never appeased Governor Burns or his party's conservatives.

The history of Kirk's four years as governor reads like a series of mini-wars involving him, the cabinet, the legislature, and various state organizations. Kallina calls these feuds the "politics of confrontation." Kirk disliked sharing executive power with Florida's strong cabinet. He attempted to curb cabinet power by limiting its meetings to every two weeks instead of every week. In 1968 during the fight for constitutional revision, Kirk attempted to eliminate the elected cabinet. While he had support from many reformers, he once more lost the battle.

Kirk promised in his campaign to fight official corruption and organized crime. As governor, he discovered that Florida had no state police force, so he hired the George Wackenhut Detective Agency to command his "War on Crime." From the first, it was called the Florida variation of the Keystone Cops, a political vendetta to discredit and intimidate Democrats, or the basis for a police state. When the War on Crime ended, just ten months later, the governor could claim few accomplishments though Wackenhut said Kirk still owed him over $250,000.

Kirk's linking of educational improvements and no new taxes also bought controversy. Without new money, he attempted to move the educational focus from finances to reform. When the legislature finally appropriated an additional $250 million for education, the Florida Education Association said it failed to meet the needs of the state. Since state employees are forbidden to strike, the FEA called upon teachers to "resign." Kirk knew little about the fight brewing over education, as he was involved in out-of-state political campaigning, negotiations to bring Disney World to Florida, and the celebration of his first wedding anniversary. This made many

Florida citizens feel the governor cared little about the state's educational problems. Although the teachers gave up in just a few weeks, the strike was no Kirk victory.

The new constitution of 1968 called for yearly meetings of the legislature. Legislative leaders of both parties believed membership had become a full-time job and that pay should reflect that reality. Minority leader Don Reed claimed that Kirk had promised to support a pay hike. After quick passage of a bill raising salaries from $1,200 to $12,000 a year, the legislature faced a rising tide of public opposition.

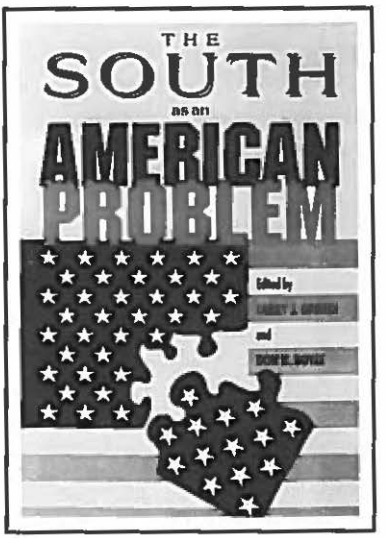
Later, in an inflammatory address, Kirk said he would veto the bill and, in an aside aimed at Reed, he added, "I do not make deals with legislators." Kirk believed his action enhanced his chances for reelection in 1970 because he anticipated campaigning against the Democratic-controlled legislature which had quickly passed the pay raise over his veto. Unfortunately, Reed believed the governor had challenged his credibility and an "irrevocable breach" between the two led to "a political bloodbath in the Republican party," assuring a Democratic victory in 1970.

Kallina's work has a major failing in what he omits in the story of Kirk's governorship. While de Toledano and Brennan seriously question the governor's finances, Kallina states offhandedly that Kirk was wealthy when he entered office. The author also claims that Kirk recruited the best people for Florida government, though his list of talent is not accompanied by adequate explanation.

Kallina also remarked that "it is difficult to reduce [Kirk] to the printed page." While we are told of the former governor's energy, brilliance as a speaker, imposing appearance, flamboyance, and extraordinary memory, we never really get to know the man. Perhaps there is no one to know. Claude Kirk was an enigma as governor and an enigma today. I think Carl Hiaasen, *Miami Herald* columnist and novelist, has captured something of Kirk in his character "Skink," a former governor of Florida who now protects the state environment with his wits and rifle, and lives off the land and still-warm road kill.

Donald W. Curl Florida Atlantic University

Larry J. Griffin and Don H. Doyle, eds. *The South as an American Problem.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995, pp. 310. $29.95. ISBN 0-8203-1792-2



The South as an American Problem presents an old debate in a new perspective. While there are several arguments that have been delivered for decades for why the South has been considered "an American problem," and the counter argument that it was not, editors Griffin and Doyle address this issue in relation to several themes. Further, *The South as an American Problem* is not a neutral assessment. For example, the book considers race, as most others do, as the main argument for the South being an American problem. The essays do not, however, dwell upon the slavery issue. Instead, they combine race with other aspects of society, both as regional and national topics.

This can be seen in Joyce E. Chaplin's essay "Climate and Southern Pessimism: The Natural History of the Idea, 1500-1800." It is filled with cultural and historical information invaluable to the reader. Chaplin argues that "climate made their colonies and states distinctive," an interpretation that fits within the overall focus of the book.

Four essays are arranged in the middle of the book, all dealing with some aspect of the legal system. "Slavery as an American Problem" by James Oaks advances the idea that slavery in the context of liberalism was both a southern and an American problem. Oaks's contribution is followed by Don H. Doyle's "Slavery, Secession, and Reconstruction as American Problems," and James W. Ely, Jr.'s "The South, the Supreme Court, and Race Relations, 1890-1965." Both essays argue that the federal government allowed the South to get away with what it pleased and thereby, the region became a problem. Doyle points out that anti-slavery groups wanted to contain slavery, not to abolish it. They did not want it in their backyard. Slavery would, if it was meant to be, die out on its own. Ely, however, provides a compelling examination of how the federal government and its legal system allowed a region under its wing to attain so much power, and then use that power to oppress a group of people. Ely gives several reasons for the actions taken by the United States Supreme Court. Principally, the

court wanted to effect reconciliation between the North and the South. Ely presents a precise overview of how the legal system worked, and is working. From a legal standpoint Ely does not consider the South as the American problem, or different from the rest of the country.

This contradicts the opening essay of Larry J. Griffin, "Why Was the South a Problem?" who regards the South as an American problem. According to Griffin, the southern states and their flying of the Confederate battle flag is "in opposition to America." Griffin considers the South a problem for America because it is the "nature of its very definition and existence," for the South to be this way. Griffin seems to be using the same arguments used in the old South to defend slavery: African Americans were by nature suited to slavery. Griffin sees no end to the South being an American problem. Although the other essayists agree on the historical aspects of the problems of the South in opposition to the rest of the country, Griffin is alone is his negative reflection of the South's past in relation to the present or the future. As such, Griffin's essay provides a diverse view for the reader.

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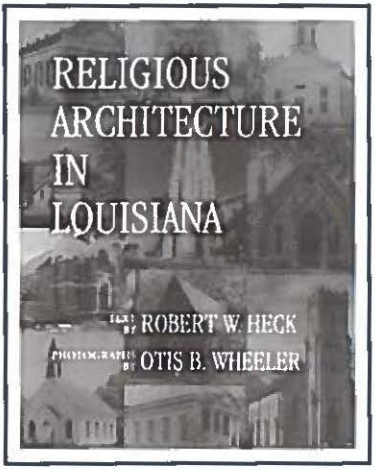


Robert W. Heck. *Religious Architecture in Louisiana*. Photographs by Otis B. Wheeler. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995, pp. 131. $29.95. ISBN 0-8071-1977-6.

Religious Architecture in Louisiana accomplishes the difficult task of cataloging 123 churches of historical significance in a religiously diverse state. A brief introduction describes how the formulation of ecclesiastical architecture in southern Louisiana during the eighteenth century was influenced by France and Roman Catholicism. Heck's description of religious settlements following the 1803 conclusion of the Louisiana Purchase includes the role that Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians played in the fabric of religious architecture in Louisiana. Appropriate recognition is also given to the Episcopal Bishop, Leonidas K. Polk, and his influence on the construction of Oxford Movement

churches in Louisiana. Heck also describes the temple architecture associated with the Jewish community in New Orleans as well as the influence of the Baptists during the nineteenth century.

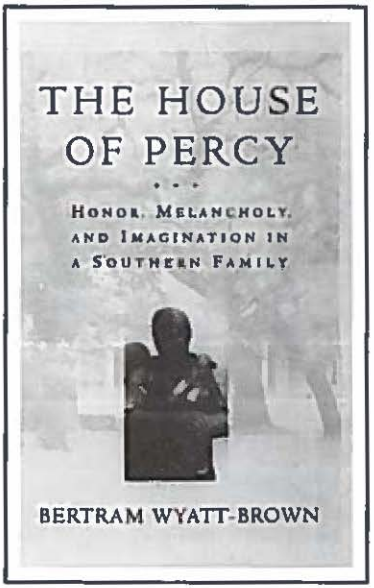
Heck's book is first and foremost a photographic catalog. Architectural styles run the entire spectrum from simple wooden structures such as Walnut Creek Baptist Church in Lincoln Parish to the English Perpendicular or the Chapel of the Holy Name of Jesus Catholic Church on the campus of Loyola University. The churches in the book are catalogized by six geographic regions: 1. Northwestern (Shreveport); 2. Northeastern (Monroe); 3. Central (Alexandria); 4. Southwestern (Lake Charles); 5. Southcentral (Lafayette); and 6. Southeastern (New Orleans). Several entries have both exterior and interior photographs. All entries are accompanied by a brief description of the church. The photographic catalog provides an excellent springboard for research and scholarship on a variety of topics. To that end, it would have been helpful had Heck footnoted the sources for the information associated with the individual church descriptions.

Several churches are worth noting for specific architectural reasons and invite examination when visiting Louisiana. Modeled after Saint Martin-in-the-Fields, London, First United Methodist Church (1913) in Shreveport is placed on axis at the head of Texas Street, providing a monumental approach to the building. Kings Highway Church (1925) in Shreveport is an excellent example of Early Christian Architecture. The brick detailing is noteworthy. Antioch Baptist Church (1869) in Calcasieu Parish is representative of the simple meetinghouse in the vernacular style. Christ Episcopal Church in Assumption Parish (1853) was designed by Frank Wills and is one of the most significant Gothic Revival buildings in Louisiana. This quintessential Oxford Movement Church was consecrated by Bishop Leonidas K. Polk. Saint Paul Lutheran Church (1889) in New Orleans is classical in design and detailing but is constructed of wood. Touro Synagogue (1909) in New Orleans is Byzantine in style and contains a large central dome. Saint Joseph's Catholic Church (1926) in Jefferson Parish represents one of the most ornate churches in the state. It is in the Spanish Baroque Revival Style. Madisonville Presbyterian Church (1905) in Saint Tammany Parish is an eclectic mix of classical and Gothic elements. The combination resembles post-modern design. Heck provides a bibliography and an appendix naming, by parish, all Louisiana houses of worship included on the National Register of Historic Places. Additionally, he also provides a list of historic ecclesiastical structures in Louisiana which are no longer standing.

One of the most difficult tasks of undertaking research on a specific building type of a geographical region is the logistical task of amassing the

photographic data from which to make a hypothesis and frame an essay. It is often the case when architectural historians invest inordinate amounts of time collecting data only to find that the data collected is of little worth with respect to their overall research. This is where Heck's book provides its greatest value. As a photographic catalog, the book is lacking in text. The groupings of buildings by denomination rather than region would have more clearly illustrated denominational trends particularly with regard to the classically based themes of the Roman Catholic Churches and the Gothic English parish church associated with the Oxford Movement Episcopal Churches. Nonetheless, Heck's book is a welcome addition to any library on ecclesiastical architecture. His efforts, one hopes, will be repeated by others in developing similar publications for other southern states.

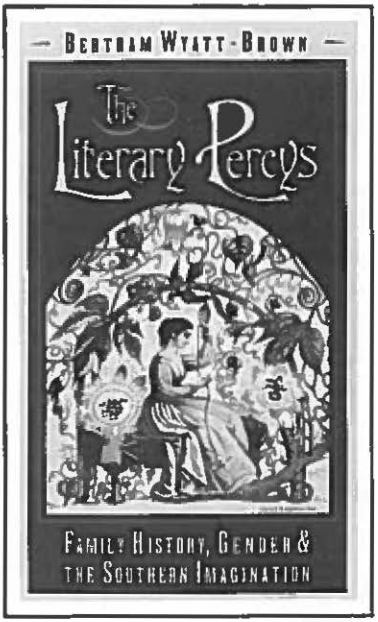
John E. Joyner III Georgia Institute of Technology



Bertram Wyatt-Brown. *The House of Percy: Honor, Melancholy, and Imagination in a Southern Family*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 454, $30.00. ISBN 0-19-505626-4.

Bertram Wyatt-Brown. *The Literary Percys: Family History, Gender, and the Southern Imagination*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994, pp. 110. $19.95. ISBN 0-8203-1665-2.

Bertram Wyatt-Brown is most well-known for his exploration of southern honor, the powerful behavior ideal regulated by family and community. Now, he has followed this general interpretation of southern mores with a specific look at one family, and the effects of a southern sense of place in their lives and art. In these two volumes, Wyatt-Brown has masterfully crafted a portrait of six generations of the Percy family, including Walker and William Alexander Percy, as well as other family members, many of whom were also writers. In this "family biography," although Wyatt-Brown does not claim the Percys to be a representative southern family, he demonstrates how regional identity



has influenced their lives. He contends that across several generations, writers in the family have attempted to confront and express similar experiences and characteristics.

In *The House of Percy*, Wyatt-Brown identifies three intertwined themes which run throughout the lives of family members and which are reflected in their writings: honor, melancholy, and imagination. The theme of honor, fully elaborated upon in his earlier work, is evident in the Percy family emphasis on social order and stoicism. Unable to live up to such expectations, unfortunately, many members of the clan were affected with melancholy, or manic depression. From 1794 to 1929, a Percy in each generation but one committed suicide. Finally, the Percy's were prolific with at least six family members published. Wyatt-Brown argues that their literary imagination is evident in family stories and remembrances as well as in published works, and served as an outlet for reconciling the demands of honor and the pain of melancholy.

The founder of the family, Charles Percy (1740-94), settled on the present border of Mississippi and Louisiana in the 1770s and soon married Susannah Collins, a wealthy sixteen-year-old heiress. Neither family genealogists nor Wyatt-Brown have been able to verify Percy's ancestors, although it is generally believed by most of the family that he came from the noble house of Northumberland.

The first writers in the Percy clan were two sisters, the children of Charles's daughter Sarah. Like her father, Sarah also suffered from mental illness, although in her case she was committed to an asylum in Philadelphia. Wyatt-Brown argues that her daughters, Catherine Ann Warfield (1816-77) and Eleanor Percy Lee (1819-49), wrote poetry as they wrestled with the depression, the absence of their mother, and the responsibility her illness ascribed to their morose father. In family lore, Sarah's mental state was displaced on her sister Susan, a "childless and long-gotten aunt." Wyatt-Brown speculates that this reveals "the serviceability of legend as a means of repressing those events and thoughts that few wished to explore very deeply." Moreover, Wyatt-Brown claims that Catherine's interest in the ritual

of Catholicism (several members of the family were Catholic, including, most notably, Walker Percy) stemmed from her need to deal with suicide and death. He contends, "Warfield, like the other Percys, recognized that order, structure, hierarchy, and a moral imperative could challenge depression."

Catherine's niece, Sarah Ellis Dorsey (1829-79), followed her aunt's foray into literature. Sarah was an extremely intelligent woman, with divergent interests and many correspondents. Her husband, Samuel Dorsey, although loving and loyal, did not provide her with the intellectual stimulation that she craved. Yet, according to Wyatt-Brown, she turned down the job of headmistress of Patapsco Institute in Baltimore in part because she did not want to give up her life as "a lady of grace and leisure." Her interest in politics led her to write a biography of Henry Watkins Allen, the governor of Louisiana, in which she enshrined the virtue and honor of the Confederate Lost Cause. Following the death of her husband, she extended her support and her home to Jefferson Davis, offering him the opportunity to write his memoirs while living at Beauvoir, her plantation home. Despite rumors about the pair, and Davis's wife Varina Howell's dissatisfaction with that arrangement, Davis stayed. At her death, Sarah left everything to Davis, including Beauvoir, exhibiting a southern "sense of feminine self-sacrifice for the good of a worthy knight."

None of these nineteenth-century female writers would become as well-known as William Alexander and Walker Percy, both descended from Charles Percy's son Thomas George. William Alexander Percy (1885-1942) was stoic, gracious, and exhibited a strong sense of noblesse oblige. Wyatt-Brown points to his benevolent treatment of African-American tenants, for example, running the commissary at cost rather than charging the typical usurious interest rates. However, despite his benevolence, in his memoir, *Lanterns on the Levee*, his ruminations on race reveal that he did not see African Americans as real people, only as dependents.

A bachelor, William Alexander took care of Walker Percy (1916-90) and his brothers after both Walker's father and grandfather took their own lives, and his mother died in a car accident. Walker was greatly influenced by his uncle's sense of honor and duty. Walker, however, in his comments on *Lanterns on the Levee* criticized William Alexander for not realizing the dictatorial downside of his benevolence. Later, Walker struggled with the expectations of his uncle as well as from depression." Wyatt-Brown concludes that, partly due to the mystique of his family, Walker was obliged to work toward one objective in his writing: "the transformation of personal pain into a more universal and philosophical observation about human destiny and the imperfections of the world."

Unfortunately *The Literary Percys* does not deliver as compelling a story as did *The House of Percy*. Taken from the Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures, it is an unsatisfying attempt by Wyatt-Brown to focus more on gender, because, "Women simply did not count in the family annals, a situation in the South hardly peculiar to the Percy clan." As in *The House of Percy*, he examines Catherine Warfield and Eleanor Lee, but here adds a discussion of Eleanor's daughter, Catherine (Kate) Ferguson, a nineteenth-century novelist. Despite a narrative focus on women (two of three chapters), gender relations are not fully explored. His discussion of the Percy women and their art is not nearly as richly detailed as that of the Percy men, and it is not clear how the demands of southern mores affected these women and their art. His understanding of stoicism as a masculine expectation is absorbing, and one wishes for the same richness in his discussion of women. In fact, he reveals more about gender in his discussion of Walker Percy's "voiceless" women characters.

Despite this, together *The House of Percy* and *The Literary Percys* are an exhaustive narrative of the Percy clan. Wyatt-Brown's intensive research here and in Britain, along with family interviews (which he used for background), enable him to detail several generations of the family. The genealogical charts provided in *The House of Percy* are invaluable and would have been helpful in *The Literary Percys* as well. In addition, Wyatt-Brown adeptly intertwines an interpretation of the events in the lives of the Percys with an insightful reading of their literary works.

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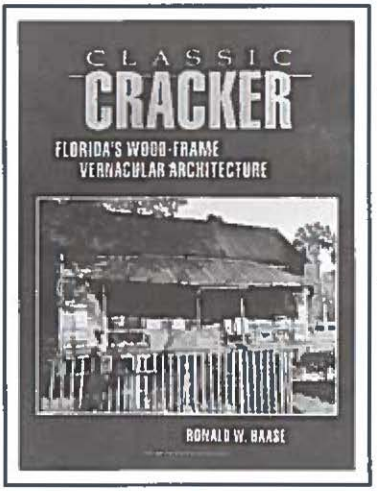
Ronald W. Haase. *Classic Cracker: Florida's Wood-Frame Vernacular Architecture*. Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1992, pp. 112. $17.95. ISBN 1-56164-013-1

Lynn Mitsuko Kaufelt. *Key West Writers and Their Houses: The Influence of Key West and Its Architecture on 20th-Century Poets and Writers from Ernest Hemingway to Thomas McGuane*. 2d edition. Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1991, pp. 148. $15.95. ISBN 0-910923-29-9

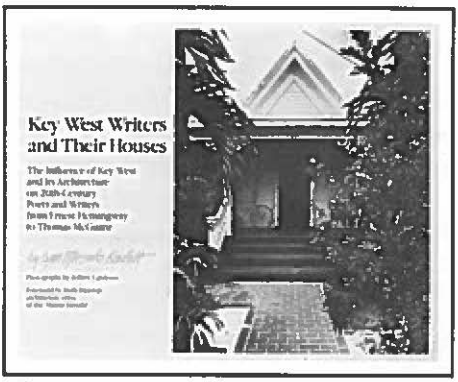
These two books on Florida's architectural history rehearse the Gulf Coast's own version of a debate about regional styles and social identities. The first, Ronald Haase's *Classic Cracker*, is concerned with north Florida's vernacular architecture– the modest homes of the region's earliest white



"cracker" settlers. It is Haase's contention that a specific typology can be discerned in these homes which were built by successive generations of nineteenth-century farmers and homesteaders and which constituted, in hindsight, a local dialect unique in its intensity and ubiquity. The second, Lynn Kaufelt's *Key West Writers*, is interested in the Bohemian enclave of south Florida and, more specifically, in the kinds of influence the island's architecture might have had on its generations of notable literati. Read in tandem, one realizes that both are circling around a familiar issue–namely, the interaction between the built (and rebuilt) environment and those inhabitants who epitomized a specific social identity for the regions. This is not a new issue, of course, but the conclusions one might reach after reading the two books can be instructive.

Haase's book is the more programmatic. He traces the development of an insulated architectural system begun in the early nineteenth century. It was the single-pen homestead–an austere, one-room, rough-hewn box–which the earliest settlers constructed and which became the basis for a series of new house designs in succeeding generations. The single-pen led, for example, to the double-pen, the saddlebag, the dog-trot, the I-house, the four-square, and so on. As the descriptive names suggest, these variations on a theme were simple modular expansions, and there seems to have been a certain doggedness in home building. Sons and grandsons did not so much re-work the constructions of their fathers as they added to them. Later houses often grew around existing single-pens; new houses, built separately, took the additive logic as the basis for a design. The results were homes characterized by symmetry, a certain blockiness, and a fairly predictable repetition of geometric shapes. Haase is at his best when he peels back the layers of later walls and add-ons, treating the homes like a multi-level archaeological dig and searching for the original germinating structure. His discussions are aided by a number of useful color photographs, informative floor plans, and simple line drawings.

During the course of his narrative, Haase links the house accretions to the social world of cracker families. This is clearly not the major thrust of his book, which is primarily concerned with outlining a relatively



sustained architectural vocabulary. And Haase is certainly no social historian. But the discussions about the social origins of the mutating designs provide some of the book's best moments and, quite importantly, expose Haase's own assumptions which propel much of his argument. The development of an additive logic is connected to a peculiar cracker social characteristic; as sons reached adulthood, they did not leave the family homestead but rather made space for themselves on it by adding modular rooms to the existing house. For Haase, this communal insularity is evidence of the cracker desire to "retreat from crowding social contact" with others.

Part of Haase's depiction of the crackers is for rhetorical effect, as he conjures a vivid (and romantic) image of these early north Floridians for his readers. But the picture of the rough and tumble cracker, eking out a living amidst the tall pines, underwrites much of Haase's assessments. For him, there is a proper and local architectural dialect because the vernacular homes are reflections of a certain authentic social type. This leads Haase to make such uncompromising claims that the cracker home is an "honest regional architectural expression," that those cracker descendants who ignored the more grandiose plantation styles of Louisiana and Mississippi were "true to the simple, unpretentious and unsophisticated social circumstance," and that those descendants who fell prey to the architectural ideas of "outsiders" ended up making "high-style pseudo-intellectual choices." Furthermore, today's populations who can claim cracker descent are housed in either the (bad) "latest configuration of fashionable universalized taste" or the (good) "financially affordable modular...housing units." These are strong claims indeed, and they are authorized by a celebration of a specific social type *as* the legitimate one.

If Haase takes the anonymous north Floridians and their houses as his subject matter, Kaufelt considers the assuredly more high profile authors and their houses as hers. *Key West Writers* is comprised of short chapters, each focusing on a major American writer who spent some time on the south Florida island and who, in the fiction and poetry produced during those stays, found inspiration in the exotic architectural surrounds–a mix of Bahamian, New England, and Spanish buildings. "I believe the reason so many writers thrive in Key West," she writes, "is that the houses they write

in and the houses around them are filled with the traditions and the histories and the life that help spark that often elusive creative fire." But it is clear from Kaufelt's accounts that the architecture is a metaphor for a specific kind of life on the island–the marginal, frolicking, uninhibited lifestyle of the literati, or so it is imagined.

Unfortunately, the metaphoric status of the architecture is hardly articulated, and Kaufelt is content to juxtapose photographs of the extant buildings with short, highly idiosyncratic musings about the authors and their works. So we learn that Wallace Stevens was too much an unimaginative businessman to appreciate the island's fantasy world, Hemingway too restless for a quicker pace to remain for long, Tom McGuane too cynical to like the commercialized atmosphere. Despite her strong claim that the houses "spark" the creative fires, she never offers clear discussion about *what* in the architecture is enabling, never indicates *where* in the works such influence can be glimpsed (except for a few paragraphs in the novels, notable for their brevity and inconsequence, where certain Key West streets or haunts are actually described). We end up, instead, with disjointed ramblings about Tennessee Williams's culinary tastes, moody passages from James Leo Herlihy's *All Fall Down*, and a banal chronology of the poet James Merrill's daily activities.

To be fair, Kaufelt is not writing a full-fledged critical study, and despite the fact that her major concerns are important authors, their houses, and their works, she does not intend to bring any level of literary or architectural analysis to the discussion. Thus, the book's title is terribly misleading, and the reader who hopes to find some kind of synthetic interpretation of literature and architecture will be confronted with one writer's temperamental meditations on the Bohemian life on Key West.

What is really interesting about both of these books is what they represent as modes of writing on architecture. They each invest the house with the capacity to confer a social identity to its inhabitant. But it is, quite emphatically, an imaginative identification. The last portion of Haase's book, for example, is devoted to contemporary house designs based on cracker architectural typology. But it is clear that these homes are hardly the modular units that today's cracker heirs might easily afford. With their expansive spiral staircases, glass-enclosed sunrooms, and Palladian motifs, these homes are the products of expensive commissions. When Haase argues for a wholesale reawakening to a historical past, he is really opting for an imaginary relationship by rich patrons at best. And when Kaufelt speaks of the "histories" embedded in the houses, she is referring to the romantic reconstructions of the island's famed episodes of rumrunning and drug

smuggling. These histories serve to underwrite the outcast, lawless identities of Key West's self-styled Bohemians.

It will come as no surprise that the narrative voices of both books lapse into the first person at key moments. Haase begins with his search for the classic cracker and ends with the design for his own house as an updated version. Kaufelt discusses where she has lived on the island, which authors she has met, and which houses possess a particular resonance for her. It is hard not to think of the social identities foisted onto the books' various buildings as really issuing from an imaginary identification of the authors themselves.

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Henry C. Dethloff. *Suddenly, Tomorrow Came...: A History of the Johnson Space Center.* NASA History Series, Washington D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1993, *xi*, pp. 409. $28.00. ISBN 0-16-043754-7

Gulf Coast Historical Review readers should find Henry Dethloff's attempt to explain the story of NASA, of the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center at Houston, Texas, and of manned spaceflight an interesting and informative overview. This volume in NASA's history series chronicles three decades of American manned spaceflight by focusing on the individuals who made JSC one of NASA's key centers. In accomplishing this mammoth task, Dethloff attempts to balance the role of the highly visible astronaut with the supporting team who provided the nuts and bolts of these operations. The book also places these efforts into their political and technical context by painting a picture of the overriding vision and ability of the major figures who created the institution and those who kept it on track over the years. From a small cadre of three hundred talented and dedicated individuals from the Space Task Group in Langley, Virginia, through the peak of the Apollo era, to the personnel who sustained the early Shuttle years, Dethloff crafts a story of how the people of JSC played a pivotal role in the growth and development of each of NASA's manned spaceflight programs.

As an example of how a Houstonian played a significant part in making NASA personnel welcome at JSC and in the local community, Dethloff cites an interview with a lady who, more than any other single person, "reflected the sincere warmth, support, and helpfulness of the Houston community." Dethloff richly describes how Mrs. Grace Winn, a prominent community servant, dropped by to see her old friend Congressman

Olin E. "Tiger" Teague at his office. At the meeting, "Tiger" suggested, because she knew the city and had been a part of it for a long time, that she should go and introduce these NASA people to Houston. Having decided she should be their point-of-contact, Teague called Franklin Phillips, assistant to Administrator James Webb, and told him NASA should send her down there to Langley. Phillips promptly asked her to come see him.

Although readers will appreciate this and similar moments of local insight, the portrait of Mrs. Grace Winn does not survive chapter three. Nor does Dethloff give the reader any real sense of how Mrs. Winn became such a prominent and influential figure in the community. If Mrs. Winn was a typical Houstonian, then revelations about her past might have shed light upon why Houston was selected above its competitors to be the location of the Manned Spaceflight Center.

Relying on interviews with administrators and astronauts, their memoirs, and a number of NASA's classic program histories, Dethloff has chosen to present a "great person" account of the period rather than a social history of the institution. He leaves untold the story of how thousands of engineers and scientists, government contractors and international organizations, as well as military and university personnel, made equally significant contributions to America's manned spaceflight efforts.

Because Dethloff relied on *The Omni Space Almanac* to document the military foundations of our nation's spaceflight program, rather than a more focused publication such as Michael Gorn's *The Universal Man* (1992) or a broader effort such as Walter McDougall's *...the Heavens and the Earth* (1985), he misrepresents the significance of the Army Air Forces in World War II and in postwar research. By referring to the service as the "Strategic Air Forces," he suggests that air power's strategic role was its sole mission, discounting any other operational mission as well as any research and development role the service played during, or after, World War II. Additionally, Dethloff fails to mention any of the manned spaceflight contributions made by the Air Force's Ballistic Missile Division. General Bernard Schriever, commander of the Ballistic Missile Division, had already worked out the details of three programs (Man-in-Space-Soonest, its two-man follow-on Man-in-Space-Sophisticated, and LUMAN--a manned lunar program) and submitted them to Air Force headquarters for approval before NASA's May 1958 Washington, D. C., conference on manned spaceflight.

Regardless, Dethloff did not want to write a social history or a contextual history of the JSC. His decision to write the story of NASA, the JSC, and manned spaceflight for the general public, rather than an institutional history (as were previously published histories of NASA centers)

of the JSC, leaves a social history or a more contextual history of the institution to future historians. Ultimately, Dethloff accomplishes his task. He provides a very readable overview of NASA's manned spaceflight history and the contributions the JSC made to these events.

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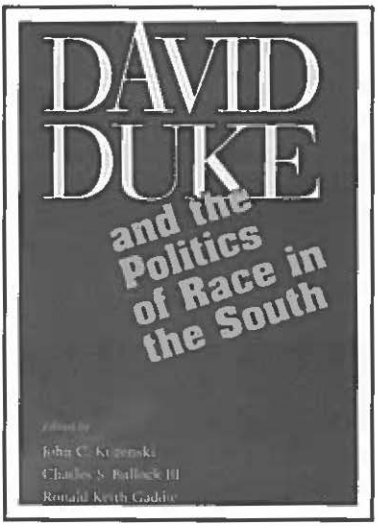
John C. Kuzenski, Charles Bullock III, and Ronald Keith Gaddie, eds. *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South.* Nashville and London: Vanderbilt University Press, 1995, *xv*, pp. 188. ISBN 0-8265-1266-6



The fact that a former Nazi and Ku Klux Klan leader, an open racist and anti-Semite, could win a seat in the Louisiana legislature, and then garner a clear majority of Louisiana's white votes in two statewide elections, is eminently worthy of scholarly study. This volume consists of conference papers written by political scientists; the essays concern David Duke's campaigns for state legislator, U.S. Senator, Louisiana governor, and U.S. president. Readers expecting a tasty gumbo, however, will be disappointed: instead of thick stew we are offered thin gruel.

The academic imperative to "publish or perish" (although many of today's less fortunate graduate students will both publish *and* perish) has led to a proliferation of books in this format. One should not decry the publication of conference proceedings as books, for such volumes can perform a useful function if they bring together significant work on an important topic, work that would otherwise be unpublished or inaccessible. Inevitably, such collections are only as good as their component parts, and the proportion of papers that are good, bad, and indifferent varies widely. In *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South*, unfortunately, the bad and the indifferent clearly outnumber the good. Moreover, the fact that so many pages of this slim book are devoted to highly technical discussions of statistical techniques–material that ought to have been relegated to the

endnotes–reduces the proportion of grain to chaff still more. Bad writing, superficial history, and poor editing further diminish the volume's usefulness.

John K. Wildgen's essay, "David Duke and Social Science," is the best of the bunch. Peppering his statistics with snappy prose, Wildgen contends that pollsters and political scientists allowed themselves to be overawed by the Duke phenomenon. Instead of positing a large "hidden" Duke vote and fearfully speculating about a possible Duke win, they ought to have been able to predict, from their own polling data, Duke's crushing defeat by Edwin Edwards in the 1991 gubernatorial election.

A few useful points emerge from the other papers, although most of them confirm the obvious rather than tell us anything new or surprising. John Kuzenski informs us that Louisiana's "open" primary helped Duke in his bid for statewide office by allowing him to win a large "crossover" vote from disaffected Democrats. Keith Boeckelman, William Arp, and Bernard Terradot conclude that Duke was an ineffective legislator when he sat in the Louisiana House of Representatives. Stephen Caldas and John C. Kilburn, in the collection's second-best essay, argue that poorer whites were more likely to vote for Duke than were middle- and upper-class whites. Michael Giles and Melanie Bruckner contend that the larger the black population in a given parish, the greater the white support for Duke. Charles Bullock, Ronald Gaddie and John Kuzenski draw the unremarkable conclusion that Duke's statewide campaigns stimulated exceptionally high turnouts among both white and black voters. Two essays offer useful analyses of Duke's abysmal performance in his 1992 campaign for president. Wayne Parent's too-brief essay on "Race and Republicanism in the South," unfortunately, has virtually nothing useful to say.

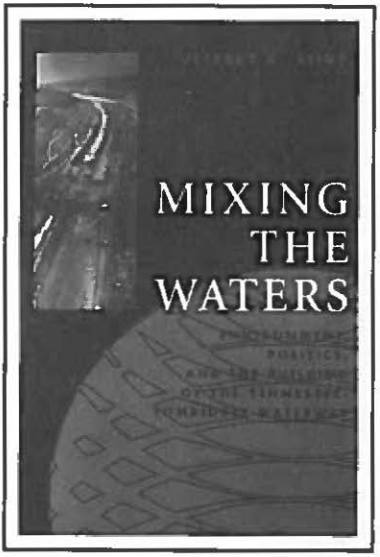
Readers should be warned that the few clear, straightforward points made in these essays are clothed in a heavy coat of statistics. Unless the reader is versed in advanced statistical analysis, he or she will find much of this book incomprehensible. Despite such ostensibly sophisticated techniques, however, the overall level of political analysis is often superficial. With one or two exceptions, however, they display little interest in discussing history, personalities, issues, or ideology. Little attempt is made to compare Duke with other southern, gulf states, or even Louisiana politicians. None of the contributors, moreover, adequately addresses one of the most pertinent facts about the Duke phenomenon: that for all the parish-by-parish variations, a *majority* of the white voters supported Duke, a rank outsider and extreme racist, in two statewide elections. The book contains virtually no analysis of the racial attitudes of white Louisianans. Indeed, for a book that purports to

illuminate David Duke and the politics of race in the South, we learn remarkably little about either Duke or southern racial politics.

To make matters worse, the editor's introduction fails to provide the essential background information–historical, political, and biographical–that a general reader needs. Poor editing is also evident in the typographical errors that abound in the text. For anyone interested in southern history and politics, this thin book will be a letdown. Even the most avid fans of political science "number-crunching" will, I suspect, find it disappointing.

Adam Fairclough University of Leeds

Jeffrey K. Stine. *Mixing the Waters: Environment, Politics, and the Building of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway*. Akron: The University of Akron, 1993, *xii*, pp. 336. $39.95. ISBN 0-962-2628-6-2



Few newcomers to Alabama know anything about the Tennessee-Tombibee Waterway (Tenn-Tom), and even many Alabamians are unfamilier with it. The 234-mile-long Tenn-Tom, a canal and a straightened and widened Tombigbee River, connects the Tennessee and Tombigbee Rivers. The Tenn-Tom makes it possible to move barges and boats from the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers to the Gulf of Mexico. Prior to its construction by the Army Corps of Engineers, water traffic moving west on the Tennessee had to go north from the Mississippi-Tennessee border and then to the Kentucky-Illinois border where it would join the Ohio River and then the Mississippi. Such traffic went out of its way a distance exceeding the width of the state of Mississippi and twice the north-south dimension of the state of Tennessee.

Although the history of the Tenn-Tom begins in the eighteenth century, Jeffrey K. Stine concentrates on the more interesting and important period beginning with the project's congressional authorization in 1946. This authorization was unaccompanied by any appropriation except for preconstruction planning. It was not until 1970 that the first appropriation for construction was approved by Congress and the president.

The author documents the efforts of Army Corps of Engineers personnel, business promoters located in Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Florida, and members of Congress from those states, as they molded and remolded project plans and pushed for construction appropriations. Until the emergence of the environmental movement in the 1960s, the story of the Tenn-Tom was that of a classic subgovernment (or iron triangle) quietly working to promote its interests.

Environmentalists are often criticized for opposing civil works projects to protect obscure creatures such as the Snail Darter. Arguments about biological rarities played little part in the Tenn-Tom debate. Stine makes clear that friend and foe understood that the Tenn-Tom's environmental impact would be enormous. More earth was moved during the Tenn-Tom's construction than was excavated for the Panama Canal. Furthermore, parts of the Tombigbee River's course would be straightened, a process that has produced substantial environmental damage on other rivers. And, the mixing of the Tombigbee and Tennessee Rivers' waters, whose chemical and biological constituents differed substantially, posed unknown but potentially serious risks. Environmentalists were joined in their opposition to the Tenn-Tom by railroads and fiscal conservatives, an odd alliance that would reappear in many other similar fights.

Stine chronicles the court battles, media campaigns, and congressional fights that occurred up to the Tenn-Tom's completion in 1985. Even after it opened, environmentalists continued to use it as evidence of the correctness of their stand, a position buttressed by the trickle of commercial traffic through the waterway.

Research supporting this volume comes from an impressive array of personal interviews, archival and manuscript collections, government documents, newspapers, books, and articles. Readers interested in such topics as the early history of the Tenn-Tom or details of the benefit-cost analysis chicanery associated with the Tenn-Tom will probably not find enough here to meet their needs, but they can locate appropriate sources in its many informative footnotes and an extensive bibliography.

Stine's narrative is not only extraordinarily well documented, it readably interweaves technical information about the sophisticated engineering that went into Tenn-Tom construction with information on congressional and presidential lobbying, legislative maneuvering, and court cases.

While Stine cannot be faulted as a historian, ultimately this work is not satisfying. It would have benefitted from a cross-pollination with the extensive political science studies on interest group behavior (David Truman), subgovernments (Douglass Cater), agenda setting (Bryan Jones),

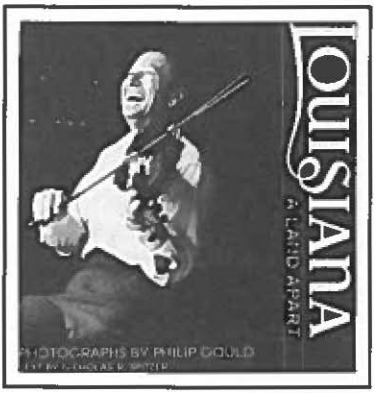
implementation (Eugene Bardach), and bureaucratic behaviour (Anthony Downs). One question suggested by these studies, but not raised by Stine, is whether the relationship between the dam-dike-canal builders and the environmentalists ever settled into that of an enlarged, normalized subgovernment. There is another book or doctoral dissertation in this question.

The study would also have profited from broadening its relatively narrow dam construction perspective to a view of the Tenn-Tom as not just a dam, but a large technological project such as the Space Shuttle or a linear accelerator. The Tenn-Tom appears to share a number of characteristics with such enterprises especially the difficulty that advocates of large technologically sophisticated projects experience in moving from one presidency to another.

Even though Stine does not take as much advantage of the political science and the science, technology, and public policy literatures as he might have done, his clear writing and thorough research will permit others to use his work for such efforts.

Carl Grafton Auburn University at Montgomery

Philip Gould and Nicholas R. Spitzer. *Louisiana: A Land Apart.* Photographs by Philip Gould, text by Nicholas R. Spitzer. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991, pp. 143. $39.95. ISBN 0-8071-1719-6



Louisiana has long been a photographer's paradise, rich in texture, contrast, and the pure joy of living. In many ways, it is truly a land apart, as the title of this collection by photographer Philip Gould suggests. What other state evokes such distinctive images–or tastes and sound, for that matter–as does this former French and Spanish colony? Gould's art demonstrates that Louisiana well deserves Huey Long's description of himself, *sui generis*. Yet, there is more in these photographs than a simple celebration of uniqueness. As the organization of the text indicates, the photographs lead the reader through the cycle of life, which begins and ends with the land as both provider and last resting place. In between comes the struggle to survive, as captured in the sinewy frame of

an oil field worker in Denham Springs; the rituals of courtship and marriage, as illustrated by the photo of a Cajun wedding; the thrill of sport, whether it be hunting or horse racing; and the simple pleasure of family and place, captured in one instance by a beautiful photograph of accordionist Marc Savoy and his daughter Sarah. An "enigmatic thread" holds the state's various regions together, Gould writes. This common denominator is much better photographed than quantified.

Gould's work has a happy quality about it, which no doubt has landed his collection on many a coffee table since its original publication in 1985. (Louisiana State University reprinted the book in 1991.) Yet these photographs are not altogether an uncritical portrait of a state that has suffered more than most from poverty, political corruption, and racism. Yes, there are the obligatory photographs of the French Quarter, with its jazz funerals, Mardi Gras costumes, and street performers. But if one looks more closely, one also sees the hard edge of life, as in the wrinkled face of a bonneted country woman from False River, or in the wrenching poverty of Shreveport's notorious Bottoms slum, contrasted beautifully with the facing photograph of a Monroe development, replete with the obligatory columns of slightly upscale neighborhoods. There is also the devastation of the land that oil and gas production has wreaked, as harshly presented by an aerial of a canal-infested marsh in Leeville. The old puzzle remains: How can a land so rich in natural resources and people be cursed with so much poverty and ignorance? (In his text, Spitzer refers to the "negative counterpoint to tradition," in which people failed to value the land enough.) One answer surely lies in the quality of leaders whom the people have followed or at least tolerated. The photograph of a kneeling Edwin Edwards, haranguing a political audience in the style of a fundamentalist preacher speaks poignantly to Louisiana's condition, for no state politician in recent memory has possessed such astounding gifts as he, beginning with a first-rate mind. Yet, he has largely squandered them on scandal and self-interest, leaving the people with a richer repertoire of political stories but most of the same old problems. Again, juxtaposition tells the tale, for the facing photograph shows three black figures peering from behind a doorway festooned with an Edwards political poster. What hope of material progress exists for any of the generations in the photograph, other than to expect further entertainment from the political system?

Mostly, however, the images speak to the persistence of culture in face of homogenizing influences, such as glass-tower office buildings and roaring expressways. For all the wealth that has come and gone, following the various booms centered on exploitation of natural resources, much of

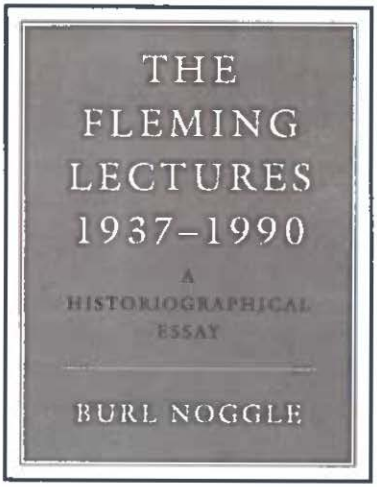
Louisiana maintains a distinctive feel, particularly in the southern parishes, where Cajun ways stubbornly hang on. Gould is particularly adept at blending folkways, ethnic traditions, and race. Thus, Louisiana emerges from his photographic essay as a stunningly diverse place–again, part of its great appeal worldwide. The text, meanwhile, provides an overview for readers who are uninitiated in the state's history and current affairs, but it is elementary and not particularly enlightening. It serves mainly as an organizational device–a chance for readers to switch mental gears before going on to the next theme. Great photographs almost always stand by themselves, and certainly, Gould's work has that quality. The loving reproduction by LSU Press does justice to the work, framing the photographs in a beautiful presentation that would grace equally well the coffee table or the library shelf.

Bailey Thomson The University of Alabama

O. Kendall White, Jr. and Daryl White, eds. *Religion and The Contemporary South: Diversity, Community, and Identity*. Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, no. 28, Mary W. Helms, series editor. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995, pp. 172. Cloth, $30.00. ISBN 08203-1675-x / Paper, $20.00. ISBN 0-8203-1676-8

The American South is a land of religious stereotypes. In *Religion in the Contemporary South: Diversity, Community, and Identity*, O. Kendall White and Daryl White have collected fifteen essays that examine the region's religious identity from an anthropological viewpoint. The authors agree that in spite of sweeping socio-economic and cultural changes, religion continues to be a leading factor in shaping southern identity.

Each of this book's four sections examines a special aspect of southern religion. Part one offers four essays exploring the interconnectedness of religious symbolism and "tradition." Part two contains three essays that examine the tension between "conferred and chosen" identities. Part three's five essays delve into the way religion confronts power structures and cultural forces. Finally, part four contains three essays that examine regionalism and religious identity. The editors of this volume acknowledge that this work is not exhaustive. This is not a major problem, because the topic is enormous. Methodologically, however, this work is open to considerable criticism. The editors explain that most of these essays are based on firsthand observation. They call this "native anthropology" and defend it



Huey Long, was flush with state money. Long's largesse provided the basis for a brief intellectual efflorescence at LSU, most evident in the creation of the *Southern Review* edited by Robert Penn Warren and Cleanth Brooks. The southern historian Wendell Holmes Stephenson saw his opportunity at LSU in the mid-thirties. He helped establish the Southern Historical Association in 1934 and managed at the same time to gain LSU's sponsorship for the *Journal of Southern History*. Before he was finished, Stephenson had arranged for a southern biography series to be undertaken by the Louisiana State University Press and for the Press's co-sponsorship (with the Major George W. Littlefield Fund) of the ten-volume *History of the South*, already being planned by Charles W. Ramsdell at the University of Texas. His successful proposal to found a lecture series in southern history (named for a former LSU history professor) was, then, only part of a blossoming cottage industry in southern history.

Were Burl Noggle's slim volume on the Fleming Lectures from 1937 to 1990 a study of the LSU history department or of the development of a southern academic self-conception, it would be a valuable contribution. As Noggle suggests, the lectures are an important episode in the growth of southern academic self-understanding. Noggle's historiographical essay, though diverting to read, is something quite different. Noggle struggles vainly to prove that the lectures in and of themselves contain key insights into the development of southern historiography. One wishes for more attention to the social history of the lectures but receives only a few pages in the introduction. From then on Noggle's historiographical essay becomes an account book–listing in two chapters each of the lecturers and their chosen topics. In a third and final chapter Noggle argues for the significance of the lectures to the field of southern history.

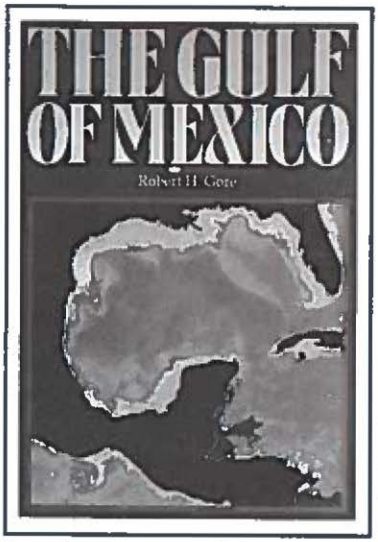
Despite the distinguished scholars chosen by the LSU history department (including C. Vann Woodward, Avery O. Craven, James G. Randall, Frank L. Owsley, David Donald, Eugene Genovese, David M. Potter, John Hope Franklin, Eric Foner, and so forth), it is debatable whether the lectures had anything to do with the development of these scholars' writings. The historians who delivered Fleming lectures would have produced their

scholarship in any case. Rather, it is the LSU history department's role in the field and the standing of the field as a whole on which the Fleming lectures may shed light.

Noggle argues that the choice of lecturers reveals the changing dynamics of the field of southern history. Based on the topics covered by lecturers, he suggests that southern historians' interest has centered on the post-colonial period "when the South as a self-conscious entity began." The lectures have focused on the themes of antebellum slavery, southern sectionalism, the origins of the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Further, Noggle divides the lecturers into two generations, with the first generation representing a more cohesive, like-minded group of predominantly southern scholars, and the second, post-1960s group evidencing, due to an increasing number of non-southerners and diversity of viewpoint, the maturing of the field and a change of perspective. (Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that only one black, John Hope Franklin, and one woman, Drew Gilpin Faust, delivered a Fleming lecture up to 1990.) Yet, the Fleming lectures hardly seem an adequate basis for such generalizations about the field as a whole. An argument that they tell something about the LSU history department would be more convincing.

If looking for insights into the field of southern historiography, there can be few approaches more oblique than this little book. Noggle's treatment of authors is usually limited to a recitation of their place of birth, academic background, reputation, and publications. The book is neither chatty nor anecdotal, and Noggle's critical insights are only subtly present. In fact, the book has about it the air of the academic introduction–written as if Noggle was standing before the audience at the first night's lecture. Indeed, Noggle has taught at LSU for over thirty years and compiled the book from his own memories, those of his colleagues, and some rummaging through departmental files. It is a volume, one suspects, fated never to be read. Rather, it will function as a social counter–testifying on the shelves of southern libraries, in the sanctum of the LSU history department, and in the hands of guest Fleming lecturers, potential benefactors, and university administrators to the great prestige and importance of the Fleming lectures.

Paul Murphy Indiana University



Robert H Gore. *The Gulf of Mexico: A Treasury of Resources in the American Mediterranean.* Sarasota, Florida: Pineapple Press, Inc., 1992, pp. 384. $24.95. ISBN 1-56164-010-7

It is unfortunate that the attention of mankind becomes concerned with natural resources only after they have been despoiled by overuse. Robert Gore's valuable treatise on the Gulf of Mexico will, one hopes, have reached us in time to stave off ecological disaster in what the author colloquially describes as "the American Mediterranean." Indeed, this is an apt description, for Gore emphasizes the fact that many nations are dependent upon the Gulf of Mexico for food, natural resources, transport, and communication.

Although the author's strengths are in the fields of oceanography and maritime ecology, he is equally at home when describing the economic and historical importance of the Gulf. This is a wide-ranging text that will undoubtedly be of great appeal to the readers of this journal. Although the historical survey provided by Gore is limited in scope, it highlights the strategic importance of the Gulf of Mexico during the age of discovery and beyond. The exploits of Spanish, French, and British explorers and adventurers, as well as the fate of the region's indigenous populations are briefly, yet eloquently surveyed. The role of the United States in establishing a virtual protectorate over the region, its peoples, and its wealth is also discussed in light of the Gulf's ecological and economical importance. Gore's historical analysis concludes with the dilemma that currently faces those who regulate our marine resources.

> Population impacts on the coastal regions are increasing, pressure for coastal and offshore oil and gas exploration continues, many commercial fisheries are overexploited, recreational open space is deteriorating because of pollution, coastal habitats are undergoing constant degradation, and demands for cleaner waters and waterways are becoming more strident. Solutions to these problems are no longer simple, and many are environmentally damaging.

Clearly, Gore is highly concerned about the ecological survival of the Gulf of Mexico, and his biases are clear in the chapters dealing with oil and gas exploration, and pollution from industrial wastes. Nonetheless, Gore is acutely aware of the profound economic impact that oil and gas exploration in the Gulf has upon established and developing economies.

The entire Gulf of Mexico from the smallest Caribbean islands to the bayous of Louisiana serves as a treasury of foodstuffs. Yet, increasingly, the region is threatened by overfishing from factory ships, and wasteful commercial fishing techniques. While Gore correctly points out that many previously undesirable or "trash" fish are now finding their way to the tables of gourmands he fails to address adequately the next major revolution in global food supply–aquaculture (both fish and shellfish farming) in the Gulf's economic future.

Singularly disappointing is perhaps the best way to describe the book's all too brief chapter on tourism. Here Gore had the opportunity to present valuable economic data on the growth of leisure industries in both the American South, the Caribbean and the Mexican and Venezuelan coasts. Eco-tourism is currently finding a bright future in many areas, and as Gore points out, the region's reefs and fishing are a valuable attraction for divers and anglers. However, a meaningful discussion of tourism should at least have included some selected statistics, even if they were as innocuous as cruise ship departures and passenger air miles to destinations in the Caribbean.

Overall, Gore has written a fascinating and very "user-friendly" study of the Gulf of Mexico. His prose is straightforward and concise, and his intense concern for the Gulf's ecological and economic future will be readily apparent to all readers. In addition, economic historians of the Gulf Coast region will find the author's discussion of both marine and natural resources to be highly instructive and scientifically sound. A comprehensive and useful glossary that encompasses geological, meteorological, and oceanographic terminology is included, as well as a generous number of charts, maps, and tables. Preeminently, Gore is concerned with scientific facts, and to his credit he does not overwhelm the lay reader with theory, but rather presents his findings in a manner that fully engages the reader's attention and interest.

Thomas P. Maloney University of Wisconsin-Madison

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Announcement

The Georgia Historical Society announced dual winners of its Malcolm and Muriel Bell Award, presented in odd-numbered years to the best book on Georgia history published over the previous two years. The $1000 award was shared by Mart Stewart for *What Nature Suffers to Groe": Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920* (UGA Press, 1996) and Melissa Fay Greene for *The Temple Bombing* (Addison-Wesley, 1995). Stewart is associate professor of history at the University of Western Washington; Greene is an independent writer in Atlanta. The awards were presented at the Society's annual meeting in Savannah in April.