


2000

Book Reviews

Florida Historical Society
membership@myfloridahistory.org

 Part of the [American Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)
Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq>
University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Book Review is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Florida Historical Quarterly by an authorized editor of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (2000) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 79: No. 2, Article 6.
Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol79/iss2/6>

Book Reviews

Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present. By Jerald T. Milanich. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 224 pp. Illustrations, photographs, maps, line drawings, table. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

For an archaeologist who spends more time in the muck swatting mosquitoes than in front of a computer, Jerald Milanich has been writing a lot of books. In the last ten years alone he has published *Hernando de Soto and the Florida Indians* with Charles Hudson (1993), *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida* (1994), *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (1995), *The Timucua* (1996), this book, and the liltily titled *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and Southeastern Indians* (1999). By now, even a devoted reader might be tempted to ask what Milanich has left to say. The answer lies in the title: *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* is an overview of the entire twelve thousand years of human habitation in the peninsula, told with grace and clarity.

The author begins with two chapters on the Paleoindian and Archaic periods. In 10,000 B.C., Florida was cooler, drier, and twice its present size. The sea level has since risen 300 feet, leaving most Paleoindian sites on the drowned coast on the Gulf shelf. The Paleoindians were expert predators with a large kit of lithic and bone tools (including the distinctively fluted Clovis points first described in the Southwest) and may have hunted several species to extinction. The Archaic people who succeeded them preferred to familiarize themselves with one environment than to follow the migrating herds. Central-based foragers, they lived in villages, undertook large construction projects, wove fabrics, and buried their dead in shell mounds and ponds, one of which they remembered and used for a thousand years. As early as 2,000 B.C., they were firing pots.

By 500 B.C., several distinctive cultures had developed, to which Milanich devotes five chapters. The St. Johns culture of east and central Florida, descended from the Late Archaic Orange culture, was ancestral to the Timucua and Mayaca peoples who greeted the Europeans. The Safety Harbor culture centered on Tampa Bay was ancestral to the Tocobaga and Pohoy. The Belle Glade, Glades, and Caloosahatchee cultures of south Florida, known for their elaborate wooden carvings and canoe canals, developed into the Calusa, Tequesta, and Ais. The people of the Fort Walton culture of north Florida, ancestral to the Apalachee, were the only Florida culture to develop the Mississippian traits of paramount chiefdoms, omnipotent chiefs, and pyramidal platform mounds associated with intensive agriculture. The earliest farmers, however, were probably the Georgia Indians, ancestral to the Potano, who migrated into north-central Florida around A.D. 600 to settle on fertile soils just west of the Suwannee River and roughened their pottery with dried corncobs. The agricultural revolution bypassed south Florida. Corn was not grown in the watery world below Lake George and Cape Canaveral, where Lake Okeechobee was twice as large as it is now. But the population growth which agriculture set in motion had, by 1500, raised the population of the peninsula to an estimated 350,000.

Milanich brings the story up to the present with three chapters on the historic period. He first gives the reader a serviceable summary of sixteenth-century European expeditions, concentrating on the cultures encountered. He then provides an overview of the mission period, asking why the Indians agreed to become Christian and answering that their chiefs found alliance with the Spaniards to their advantage. Last, he offers a fast-paced account of Indian depopulation and repopulation. During Queen Anne's War, slave-raiders scoured the peninsula, driving the native inhabitants into exile where, with the exception of the Red River Apalachees of Louisiana, they forgot their origins. Between 1750 and 1815, the hollow peninsula attracted three waves of wartime refugees: Lower, Upper, and Red Stick Creeks. Divided into Seminoles and Miccosukees, the Florida Creeks fought the United States to a standstill in three Seminole Wars.

Part of a new Florida Heritage series on *Native Peoples, Cultures, and Places of the Southeastern United States*, of which Milanich himself is general editor, the book is designed for the general public, offering good maps and drawings, sixteen color plates, and a low paper-

back price, and dispensing with the paraphernalia of index and notes. Readers who find the field romantic will enjoy Milanich's sidebars about the delights of archaeological discovery and appreciate his use of modern place names to identify sites. Scholars from other disciplines will be drawn to learn more about his arcane world.

College of Charleston

AMY TURNER BUSHNELL

Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions. By Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. xix, 215 pp. Series editor foreword, author's preface, foreword, introduction, appendix, bibliography, index, plates, illustrations. \$29.95 paper.)

Here They Once Stood is the latest reprint in the University Press of Florida's valuable *Southeastern Classics in Archeology, Anthropology, and History* series. Thanks to this series, a number of authoritative and seminal works in Florida and Southeastern archeology, ethnology, and history are coming back into print, offering individuals and libraries a chance to fill gaps in their collections. Not only are these reprints, such as the book discussed here, important as path-breaking studies, but they also still stand on their own merits as useful sources.

When it was first published in 1951, *Here They Once Stood* served as one of the principal sources of documentary and archeological information on Spanish northwest Florida. The book describes the actions of Spanish officials and Franciscan priests within the Spanish mission system established among the Apalachees and other north Florida Indians during the seventeenth century, and it documents the devastating impact of English raiders from Carolina during Queen Anne's War in the early eighteenth century. Today, readers seeking information on the Apalachees and the mission network should also consult John Hann's definitive ethnohistorical work, *Apalachee: The Land Between the Rivers* (University Press of Florida, 1988). Hann relied in part on the documents and data presented in *Here They Once Stood*, and this volume still provides a very useful cross-disciplinary interpretation of the demise of the mission system.

Here They Once Stood is divided into three principal sections. The first chapter, by the late historian Mark F. Boyd, translates and reproduces forty-five Spanish documents from 1693 to 1704. That

correspondence reveals Spanish attempts to counter the military threat of English Carolinians who sponsored raids by the Creeks and other Indians against the Spanish mission towns among the Apalachees. Boyd also provides capable annotation and an introduction to this section that places the documents in context. The second and third chapters, by the late archeologists Hale G. Smith and John W. Griffin respectively, present the state of archeological investigations at two mission sites: San Francisco de Oconee in present-day Jefferson County and San Luis just west of Tallahassee. Both Smith and Griffin incorporated documentary findings and analysis of material remains into their discussion of these two mission sites. In addition, Smith and Griffin describe ceramic types and other objects found at the sites, many of which are reproduced in photographs in an appendix. In these pictures we see firsthand the intermingling of Indian and Spanish materials and technology that is symbolic of the merging of religious beliefs and culture that also occurred in the Apalachee mission towns.

By combining historical and anthropological approaches to better understand the joint Indian and Spanish villages of north-west Florida, *Here They Once Stood* was an early and successful attempt at ethnohistorical analysis. Such a cross-disciplinary approach characterizes the best publications on American Indians published today. *Here They Once Stood* was ahead of its time in another respect because it focused on a region and time too often relegated to "Spanish Borderlands" studies. This is American history, and the three authors are to be commended for considering the topic serious enough to warrant careful study. *Here They Once Stood* still inspires scholars working to interpret Indian culture and the impact of the European presence on native people. The University Press of Florida deserves praise for bringing this work to the attention of a new generation of students.

University of Southern Mississippi

GREG O'BRIEN

Florida's Hurricane History. By Jay Barnes. Foreword by Neil Frank. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. x, 330 pp. Introduction, appendix, acknowledgments, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

Hurricanes have always been part of the Florida experience—unpredictable and unwelcome intruders in a fabled land of high

blue skies and bright sunshine. While the frequency of these cyclonic monsters has fluctuated over time, no generation of Floridians has been able to escape the fury and devastation of powerful tropical storms. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine anyone living in the state for very long without developing at least some appreciation for the historical significance of hurricanes. Yet, inexplicably, Florida historians and other regional scholars have paid little attention to the history of hurricanes. Among the few exceptions are environmental activist Marjory Stoneman Douglas, whose 1952 study *Hurricane* provided a sweeping survey of tropical storms; the novelist Zora Neale Hurston, who gave us a memorable depiction of the 1928 Okeechobee storm in her 1936 novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*; and environmental scientists John M. Williams and Iver W. Duedall, the compilers of *Florida Hurricanes and Tropical Storms*, a brief 1994 (revised in 1997) volume of charts, maps, and photographs. Unfortunately, these works make only a modest effort to place hurricanes in the broader context of Florida's natural and human history. Though valuable and suggestive, they do not give us what we really need: a body of sustained scholarship that provides both a comprehensive description and a sophisticated analysis of Florida's storm-tossed history.

Whatever faults it may have as a work of analysis, Jay Barnes's massive compendium of wind and water, *Florida's Hurricane History*, certainly goes a long way towards filling the prescription for a comprehensive survey of Florida hurricanes. As in his earlier work, *North Carolina's Hurricane History*, Barnes offers an annotated chronology of tropical storms—an exhaustive array of individual storm narratives, ranging from the tempest of 1546 that left Domingo Escalante Fontaneda shipwrecked in the Florida Keys to Hurricane Opal, the Category 3 storm that ravaged the Florida Panhandle in 1995. Based on prodigious research and presented in an oversized format that allows the author to include a series of revealing charts and storm track maps, as well as numerous eye-catching photographs of storm damage, the book is encyclopedic in scope. Following three brief introductory chapters that offer a scientific profile of tropical storms, Barnes's chronicle proceeds apace, era by era, storm by storm. In recounting the early storms—those that struck the state prior to the twentieth century—Barnes is sometimes hampered by insufficient and fragmentary evidence. But when he gets to the modern era his accounts have an authoritative ring, despite the maddening absence of footnotes. Barnes is a good storyteller

with a flair for dramatic narrative, especially when he deals with the major storms of the twentieth century—the great Miami hurricane of 1926, the Okeechobee storm of 1928, the great Labor Day hurricane that struck the Keys in 1935, and more recent “named” (the official naming of hurricanes began in 1950) storms such as Donna (1960), Andrew (1992), and Opal (1995).

Readers in search of hurricane lore will find a wealth of informative detail in Barnes’s compendium. What they will not find, however, is an analysis that acknowledges and explores the contingent and “unnatural” aspects of so-called “natural disasters.” In describing the many encounters between tropical storms and human communities, Barnes pays little attention to the disastrous consequences of the cultural conceits and public policies that have placed population centers at great risk. The human side of the story, as he tells it, is essentially a saga of damage to persons and property, not a complex tale of risk and responsibility. At the same time, his approach leaves little room for a proper consideration of the environmental consequences of hurricanes. The impact on Florida’s landscape—on its flora and fauna and terra firma—receives almost no consideration in a work that should have been titled *Floridians’* (as opposed to *Florida’s*) *Hurricane History*. Despite its strengths, this book does not meet the standards of the new environmental history, an emerging discipline that recognizes the interdependence of human behavior, natural phenomena, and global survival.

University of South Florida, St. Petersburg

RAYMOND ARSENAULT

Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, & the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia. By Woody Holton. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xxi, 231 pp. Acknowledgments, list of illustrations, abbreviations, introduction, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$15.95 paper.)

This is an important book. In deft, graceful, and economical prose Woody Holton revises the traditional picture of a confident and powerful Virginia gentry striding towards independence by demonstrating that the planter elite were driven, too, by a sense of desperation fueled by the influence of Indians, slaves, merchants, and smallholders; thus, the Revolutionary leaders were “forced founders.” In a subtle and sophisticated work which shows how ordinary people indirectly shaped the course of Virginia’s drive for

independence, Holton examines the interplay between races and classes, showing that the contest over who shall rule at home greatly influenced the founders' drive toward independence.

A brief review cannot do justice to the nuances of the argument but a few examples suggest how the author constructed his thesis. Virginia's planters were burdened by debts on the eve of the Revolution. Holton argues that a 1769 boycott of British goods served both patriotic and financial ends. It forced planters to do what they could not bring themselves to do on their own: stop importing British luxury goods. But to work, the boycott needed the cooperation of all planters which did not happen; a 1774 boycott proved far more effective because a recession forced British merchants to contract credit and demand cash, leaving planters no choice but to reduce imports. To a great extent, then, economic necessity—not patriotic choice—made the boycott feasible and effective. The question of debt continually loomed large for the planter class and led to a plan for crop withholding whereby planters tried to drive up prices by keeping tobacco off the market. Here, Holton revises Progressive historians by contending that planters did act for economic reasons but not in the way usually thought. They did not simply repudiate their debts; rather, they withheld crops to force up prices, then sold them to pay off some of all of their debts. Serendipitously, withholding dovetailed with the patriot movement while still serving an economic goal: non-exportation came in response to the Coercive Acts and gave planters a chance to relieve their debtor status and support the patriot side. Holton makes clear that the merchant-debtor relationship exerted powerful pressures on the gentry.

At home, Governor Dunmore's threat to emancipate black slaves to fight for the crown against the patriots deeply troubled the planters who were ever fearful of slave insurrections. Dunmore's offer of emancipation never came, but since the initiative was actively supported by slaves seeking freedom, the mere possibility of such an action threatened the planters and provided yet another example—the book is full of them—of a supposedly powerless group shaping and influencing the elite planters. And smallholders also pushed the planter elite, believing that the only means to achieving a foreign trading partner was independence. This push from smallholders was part of an emerging sense on their part that independence would shake things up at home, offering them a much greater role in government and society. Virginia's elites, anx-

ious to get ahead of any such movements so as to head them off, moved to the forefront of the independence movement so that they could direct it toward their ends and vitiate any republican or democratic initiatives from below.

Holton's achievement comes in linking a variety of seemingly disparate movements into a "web of influences" (xvii) that pushed Virginia into independence. Equally impressive is his ability to show how groups usually portrayed as being passive actors in fact had a greater degree of agency than is traditionally thought. By insightfully using the records, letters, and diaries of elites to discover their reactions to the rest of Virginia society, Holton persuasively contends that the planter elite was driven or "forced" and had far less agency themselves than once thought. Ultimately, the Revolution strengthened the position of planters while it proved disastrous for Indians, contained mixed results for slaves, and proved less transforming than hoped for by smallholders. However, Holton argues convincingly that "at the *other* end of the revolutionary struggle—its inception—elite Virginians were less prominent than we have been led to believe. When the rulers of Britain's largest American colony took it into the American Revolution, they did so partly because they were feeling pressure from below" (220).

Oakland University

TODD ESTES

Nat Turner Before the Bar of Judgment: Fictional Treatments of the Southampton Slave Insurrection. By Mary Kemp Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 298 pp. Acknowledgments, index. \$30.00 cloth.)

According to Herbert Aptheker, more than 250 slave revolts occurred in North America prior to 1865. Yet, only four or five of these rebellions or conspiracies consistently have received much attention. Of these few, more studies have focused on the Nat Turner insurrection than any other. Since his 1831 slave revolt—where approximately fifty-seven whites lost their lives—Turner persistently has captured the imaginations of scholars and literary writers alike. Subsequent generations of writers have analyzed and re-analyzed his tale.

In *Nat Turner Before the Bar of Judgment: Fictional Treatments of the Southampton Slave Insurrections*, Mary Kemp Davis focuses on the works of six such authors. They include George P. R. James's *The Old Dominion; or, The Southampton Massacre* (1856), Harriet Beecher

Stowe's *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856), Mary Spear Tiernan's *Homoselle* (1881), Pauline Carrington Rust Bouve's *Their Shadows Before: A Story of the Southampton Insurrection* (1899), Daniel Panger's *Ol' Prophet Nat* (1967), and William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967). Davis's conclusion focuses on Sherley Ann Williams's response to Styron's novel. All novels, with the exception of one, were written by Americans—three by males and three by females.

This book should interest history buffs as well as literary scholars since the author places this event in historical context while using a wide range of scholarly and nonscholarly documents to analyze the works of the six authors under study. Davis's central theme, though, concerns a more philosophical matter. Regardless of how the six novelists described Turner, they all have the issue of judgment at their core. These writers placed him on trial, ultimately rendering a verdict of innocence or guilt. As Davis aptly notes, "Nat Turner has been re-arraigned, retried, and re-sentenced many times during the last century-and-a-half as a succession of novelists has grappled with the moral issues raised by this [in]famous revolt" (3).

Professor Davis is the first author to write a full length book that systematically analyzes the Nat Turner rebellion together with the works of previous writers on this controversial subject. She reveals that most of the writers largely drew their fundamental information from either Virginia governor John Floyd's over-determined assessment of the revolt or from Thomas Gray's *The Confession of Nat Turner*. This underlies the fundamental problem with the six writers' descriptions of the insurrection. Davis notes that Gray, a pro-slavery advocate, claimed to have gotten an actual confession from Nat Turner, but she and other scholars question this assertion since evidence does not support it. Floyd relied largely on pro-slavery newspaper accounts to formulate his assessment. Both men talked and wrote about the tragic loss of white lives during the insurrection, while avoiding the reasons why such a revolt occurred. They pointed their fingers at Nat Turner and his band of followers without blaming the institution of slavery that created their dilemma.

In general, Davis does a splendid job of analyzing the frames of reference, the times and political eras in which these six authors wrote their novels, and how these factors impacted their interpretation of the revolt. The author eloquently shows how these writers

described the moral, political, social, economical, sexual, and psychological factors surrounding Nat Turner and the revolt. Davis poignantly explains why these works will always be somewhat incomplete since the actual statements of black rebels who participated in the insurrection were not included. Everyone spoke for the insurrectionists instead of allowing them to speak for themselves. In essence, the Turner persona continues to be invented and reinvented with each passing generation. Much like the Civil War, the subject of the 1831 Nat Turner revolt doubtlessly will continue to receive much attention in future years.

If you are looking for an exciting, scholarly, and highly thought-provoking study of the Nat Turner revolt, you should read Davis's book. You likely will view the 1831 Southampton insurrection from a whole new perspective. This study is well documented and meticulously researched. The book also includes the most recent scholarship and goes beyond it in analyzing the Turner revolt. The most intriguing part about this work is not its major theme—how each novel contrives to extract a verdict from the plot—but its tantalizing pieces of information that suggest how writers over a 150-year period have conjured up various images of Nat Turner using questionable methods and sources. The book should be read by students of African American history and literature, Southern history, and United States history.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement. By Julie Roy Jeffrey. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998. xii, 311 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

In this ambitious book Julie Roy Jeffrey sets out to “recover the experiences of abolitionist women living in small towns and rural communities, the areas where abolitionism was strongest” (2). Most studies of female abolitionism have focused on those individuals who became prominent in the women’s movement. Few of the women Jeffrey studies would have considered themselves feminists. They became abolitionists because of their conviction that a woman’s role should be that of the guardian of virtue, the friend to those in distress. However, as Jeffrey reminds us “to embrace abolitionism was to embrace radicalism” (6).

Male abolitionists did not initially envisage women playing a major role in the movement. They began by urging them to boycott slave-produced goods, educate their children on the wrongs of slavery, and spread the antislavery message among friends and family. Then came the call to form female auxiliaries—a call that had far-reaching consequences. Sometimes a society came into being after a group of women read an article calling them to action or saw the constitution of another society in an antislavery newspaper. Sometimes nothing was needed beyond the sense of several women in a community that slavery was wrong. Some of the societies flourished, but others soon foundered. After all, how could farmers' wives travel long distances in poor weather to attend meetings or find the time to do so? As Jeffrey notes, few were wealthy enough to employ servants to spare them from the daily drudgery of running a home.

Fund-raising was difficult when these rural women had little disposable income and when the cause was controversial. The antislavery fairs that began in the 1830s were designed to make money and draw in people who were not necessarily antislavery sympathizers. The network of fairs, and the making and exchanging of items for sale, also put these women in touch with a wider community of female reformers, including women across the Atlantic.

Women could and did change their religious affiliations if they felt their particular church was not sufficiently antislavery. Some derived a perverse satisfaction from challenging anti-abolition ministers and "weighty members." Others simply withdrew from a church, although doing so might well have had social consequences in the close-knit communities Jeffrey describes.

Although women did not vote, and relatively few female abolitionists joined the antislavery movement to the struggle for female suffrage, some did champion the Liberty Party, and later the Republican Party, as part of their abolitionist initiative. And in an age when the lines between politics, entertainment, and socializing were not rigidly drawn, there were many ways they could get involved.

By the 1850s, antislavery meetings, fairs, and sewing circles had become part of the everyday lives of many women. Others had been active, had dropped out in the 1840s, and were won back to the cause, as abolition moved from the fringes to the center of moral, religious, and political discourse. Still others became involved for the first time. Especially after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, abolitionist women, black and white, took upon themselves the task of aiding runaways. In a sense, their "domestic" role was being

called upon as they fed, clothed, and nursed fugitives. When war actually came, the antislavery women dedicated time and money to aiding soldiers and contrabands. Dozens went to the South as nurses and teachers.

The war's end saw an interesting parting of the ways. For black women, and some of their white sisters, the struggle was not over with Emancipation. They carried on, promoting a wider agenda of racial reform. Others declared victory and took up new causes, among them women's rights. If there is one aspect of the involvement of "ordinary women" in the antislavery movement that merits more attention it is the role of African-American women. However, Jeffrey can hardly be faulted when the material itself is lacking. She has mined her sources for every scrap of information and has brought out the complex interplay between black and white women in a campaign that had at its heart freeing the slaves—but not necessarily elevating people of color to civil and social equality. Overall, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism* is a superb work of scholarship that advances our understanding of women's antislavery efforts far beyond the careers of a handful of abolitionist-feminists. Jeffrey's women were truly the "foot-soldiers" of antislavery.

University of Massachusetts at Boston

JULIE WINCH

Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874. By Christopher Schmidt-Nowara. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999. xiii, 239 pp. List of tables, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

Among the several works on slavery, antislavery, and abolitionism in Spain, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Caribbean, *Empire and Antislavery* is a must for students and scholars. It is a serious book, flawed somewhat in its style of chronology and internal chapter organization and not easily read, but it is clearly worth the effort. Depending upon the level of knowledge of the subject, it may be viewed as a cornucopia, a treasure trove, or a Pandora's box.

Based on extensive research in Spanish original documents in the official archives of Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, and a wide selection of secondary sources, many of which are also in Spanish, the author's foundations for his interpretations are well established. The book's state subject is the origins of the Spanish Abolitionist Society and the goals, strategies, and rationales its members

and other metropolitan and colonial abolitionists utilized in their efforts to eliminate slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Rich in detail and interpretations, the major portion of the book describes and analyzes the growth, directions, and nature of the antislavery opinion and action within the swirling currents of a reconstituted empire as they became more pronounced in the liberal-conservative conflicts throughout the century, and especially so in the 1830s—the years of the Liberal Union (1854-1868)—, and the revolutions in both Cuba and Spain in 1868 and their aftermath.

Schmidt-Nowara frames his research and findings against a background of four arguments which he believes to be necessary in order to fully understand the growth and destruction of Antillean slavery: 1) the power and complexity of Spain's colonial policies and their relationship to the reconstructed empire must be reassessed; 2) the political stage on which the antislavery battle took place must be reconstructed and focus on the Abolitionist Society and related antislavery initiatives; 3) the antislavery campaign must be studied against the backdrop of the fact that metropolitan and Antillean elites always perceived political and economic transformations through racial lens; and finally, 4) the subject of Antillean slavery and the formation of antislavery movements must be studied by focusing on the interactions of colony and metropolis.

The author enriches the study by relating his findings to several historiographical interpretations of his subject. He indicates that he "will try to straddle" the two economic models of causation for antislavery advanced by Eric Williams and Seymour Dretcher and gives attention to later studies which give greater emphasis to social, cultural, and political transformations by examining "forms of ideology and political action" throughout the empire (9). Admitting that he follows Rebecca Scott's work on the influence of the expanded public sphere and popular mobilization, he skillfully traces the evolution of abolitionism from a single issue to coalitions supporting free trade, colonial representation, race, and other liberal ideas.

Woven throughout the narrative are important premises that influenced the policy debates on the slave trade and slavery in the colonies and the metropolis. They include the obsessive fear of a race war in the colonies or spilling over from Haiti or other Caribbean islands; the interest in annexation to the United States when Spain's support of slavery was in doubt; the alternative of separation as other Spanish colonies had chosen earlier; proposals for "whitening" the populations of the colonies to mute the metropo-

lis's concerns about "heterogeneity"; the relationship of free trade, free slaves, and liberty; and most of all, the mutual desire for Cuba and Puerto Rico to remain part of the Empire. The various proposals from colonial and metropolitan abolitionists were made within these considerations and were wide ranging, including gradual emancipation, compensation to the slave holders, and immediate freedom with no payment, depending upon conditions in the colonies and the political views in Madrid.

The Cuban insurrection of 1868, beginning the Ten Years War, was probably decisive in the ending of slavery, although clearly the Cuban and Puerto Rican abolitionist activities (including the formation of the Spanish Abolitionists Society in Madrid 1865) were also highly influential. The Spanish government decreed gradual abolition in 1870. Then, in what appeared a desperate move to hold on to the Caribbean colonies, one of the first acts of Spain's First Republic in 1873 was to abolish slavery with compensation in Puerto Rico with a required three-year contract for free wage labor to former owners. Emancipation for Cuban slaves had to await the ending of the Ten Years War, the settlement of the debris following its close, and the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. In 1880, the Restoration government enacted another gradual emancipation law for Cuba that required an eight-year period of apprenticeship of slaves to their masters after which freedom would be given. But again, the design did not fit reality and that law was superseded by another, finally freeing all slaves in Cuba in 1886.

The author concludes that the "interaction of Cuban and Puerto Rican reformers with Madrid liberals produced abolitionism" and that "the intersection of abolitionism with revolutionary changes to the imperial order in Cuba and Spain led to the Society's determined attacks on Antillean slavery". Ironically, the ending of slavery was produced by different parts of a loosely integrated "second" empire built on a base of a "second slavery." It is also clear from the conclusions of the work that the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico was accomplished by a combination of liberals and conservatives in the ebb and flow of revolutionary initiatives and visions of empire. Economics were important, the public mobilization essential, but in the end, it was the interests or perceived interests of empire and retention of the Caribbean colonies within that empire that carried the day.

For Honor, Glory, & Union: The Mexican and Civil War Letters of Brig. Gen. William Haines Lytle. Edited by Ruth C. Carter. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999. xiv, 244 pp. A note on the editing, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, bibliography, index. \$27.50 cloth.)

William Haines Lytle was an interesting man. Born in Cincinnati in 1826, he was reared in an upper class family with connections throughout Ohio and into Kentucky. Lytle was well educated and imbibed politics from an early age. He followed his father as a supporter of the Jacksonian Democrats which helps to explain why he was a strong advocate of the Union while sympathizing with the southern position before the Civil War. After graduating from the University of Cincinnati and studying law, Lytle volunteered for the war with Mexico serving as a captain but seeing no combat. He echoed the spirit of the renaissance man by being an accomplished poet with many published poems to his credit. In the period between the wars, Lytle seemed unable to settle on a calling, shifting uneasily from law to politics to law again. The outbreak of the Civil War freed him from indecision, however, and gave meaning to his life. He received appointment as colonel of volunteers, earned promotion to Brigadier General, and was wounded in each of the three battles in which he led troops. The last wound, received at Chickamauga, proved fatal, ending what promised to be an outstanding military career.

Unfortunately, too little of the material in the letters collected here will be of interest to either the general reader or the scholar seeking materials on the politics of the border states or the war in the West. Instead, the collection is filled with comments about Lytle's personal concerns such as his new pistols, the health of his horse, and family matters.

Still, this is not to say that there are not some valuable items. Lytle's letters from Mexico provide good descriptions of the landscape and reveal the racism that was common among American forces. Some of the letters offer graphic evidence of the difficulties of campaigning armies such as when he complains of "rain—drenching pouring rains that wet a man to the skin every day" (74) during the struggle for West Virginia in 1861. Other letters are valuable, too, for showing the kind of political maneuvering that was endemic among the volunteer units as officers tried to pull strings to secure promotion. Still other letters written while Lytle

was serving in Confederate territory, especially in East Tennessee, depict some of the horrors of conflict in local areas.

The editor, Ruth Carter, an archivist for the University of Pittsburgh Library System, has provided a good brief biography of Lytle and has done an excellent job supplying needed information to make the letters usable, and the University Press of Kentucky has produced a handsome volume. Still, it can be argued that publishing a selection of the more useful letters as an article in a scholarly might have served the historical profession just as well.

Tarleton State University

MICHAEL D. PIERCE

"Jottings from Dixie": The Civil War Dispatches of Sergeant Major Stephen F. Fleharty, U.S.A. Edited by Philip J. Reyburn and Terry L. Wilson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. xiii, 262 pp. Preface, introduction, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

Sergeant Major Stephen Francis Fleharty's "Jottings from Dixie" was a series of fifty-five letters published in the Rock Island (Illinois) *Argus* and the Rock Island *Weekly Union* from September 1862 to September 1864. Fleharty (1836-1899), an Illinois native, had worked as a schoolteacher, printer, clerk, and small-town postmaster before the Civil War. After the battle of Shiloh and McClellan's unsuccessful campaign on the Peninsula in 1862, President Abraham Lincoln called for 300,000 more troops. At this point Fleharty believed it was his "duty" to join the Union army so he enlisted in Company C of the 102d Illinois Infantry in August 1862.

Although the 102d Illinois marched into Kentucky in response to Braxton Bragg's campaign in the state, they did little beyond garrison duty. After a particularly frustrating march, Fleharty called for more cavalry since infantry were unable to move fast enough to intercept mounted raiders such as John Hunt Morgan. In November 1862, the 102d moved to Tennessee where they spent most of their time until February 1864 guarding various stretches of railroad. Then Fleharty went north for several months on recruiting duty, first to Illinois and then escorting the recruits to a camp at Vicksburg. Fleharty rejoined his regiment in northern Georgia in early May 1864 and experienced his first battle at Resaca on May 15. He observed the battles of Kolb's Farm and Kennesaw Mountain from a distance, but his regiment did not actually fight again until Peachtree Creek on July 20. After the Union forces captured

Atlanta, Fleharty, for reasons which he chose not to explain, decided to stop writing for the newspapers.

Since Fleharty's letters contain almost no battle accounts, why should anyone bother to read them? Fleharty was a literate, observant, and entertaining writer who gave excellent descriptions of the non-military aspects of the war. Activities of the soldiers in camp, the problems of homesickness, and the construction of shelter for the troops were discussed. At times Fleharty also boldly expressed his opinions about such matters as the attitudes of officers in general and the bad management of the camp for recruits at Camp Butler, Illinois. Fleharty described a lot of scenery when the troops were traveling or arriving at a new camp. He also took opportunities to be a tourist and visited caves near Bowling Green, Kentucky (November 1862); the Stone's River battlefield (June 1863); Andrew Jackson's home, "The Hermitage," near Nashville (February 1864); and the Vicksburg battlefield (April 1864). He also reported on the attitudes of the Kentucky and Tennessee civilians toward the Union troops and remarked favorably on the military appearance of some "Negro" Union soldiers near Vicksburg.

Fleharty survived the war and, using his own letters and notes plus the diaries of several comrades, wrote one of the earliest regimental histories of the war, *Our Regiment: A History of the 102d Illinois Infantry Volunteers, with Sketches of the Atlanta Campaign, the Georgia Raid, and the Campaign of the Carolinas*, published in October 1865. He served as justice of the peace and as a member of the Illinois house of representatives (1870-72), while continuing his journalistic career. In 1875, he moved to Nebraska where he was private secretary to the governor (1881-83), but he soon moved to Tampa because he was suffering from tuberculosis. He died in North Carolina of pneumonia in 1899.

The editors of the volume have done a good job of introducing and annotating Fleharty's letters to the newspapers. He apparently wrote a number of letters to family members also, which the editors used for annotation purposes. While these fifty-five letters stand very well on their own, it might have made the account seem more complete had the editors included family correspondence for the March to the Sea and through the Carolinas. However, there may have been such great stylistic differences between the two types of letters that the contrast would have been annoying. In any case, this volume is a worthwhile addition for any Civil War collection.

Civil War Macon. By Richard W. Iobst. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1999. xiii, 462 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Macon, the fifth largest city in Georgia in 1860, became a center of intense economic and military activity during the Civil War. With a white population of over five thousand and more than three thousand slaves, Macon supported an army arsenal, armory, iron works, and weapons laboratory. It was an important railroad hub and the site of both a large prisoner-of-war camp and several military hospitals. It became a center for raising and training Confederate troops, and it served as headquarters for the Georgia Reserves during the last year of the war. In short, as Richard W. Iobst maintains, the story of wartime Macon and its people is in many ways "the story of the urban population of the Lower South" (1).

Iobst has accepted the challenge of telling that story, and he succeeds to an admirable degree. This is a workmanlike account of life in the urban Confederacy, filled with details of how the inhabitants of Macon coped with four suspenseful years of war. It is a treasure trove of facts and stories about human endurance. Iobst sets the stage with three chapters devoted to antebellum Macon. Here he describes the population in terms of occupations and professions, discusses the organization and role of its militia units, and explains the unfolding drama of the secession crisis in a city where pro-secession sentiment reached fever pitch as early as December 1860. Having dispensed with these preliminaries, he turns to the eventful war years, exploring everything from the recruitment and training of Confederate troops to the surrender and occupation of the city in the spring of 1865.

Iobst devotes a large chunk of his narrative—nearly 150 pages—to the chief military and economic institutions of wartime Macon: its military hospitals, arsenal, armory, laboratory, and prison camp (Camp Oglethorpe). The coverage is extensive and detailed, and Iobst could make his case for the economic and military importance of Macon based on the roles played by these five institutions alone. Yet, as careful and informed as this portion of the text tends to be, Iobst might have handled it more deliberately. Rather than weaving the stories of the hospitals, armory, arsenal, and so on into his narrative, he has separated—very nearly isolated—they from the rest of the city's experience. Each of the five is described on its own terms, from its creation early in the war

(1862 in each case) until the close of the conflict, in a separate chapter. The organization seems too mechanical, and it drains some flavor and pizzaz from other parts of the city's wartime saga.

Most of the rest of the book involves two themes: the lives of noncombatants in the city and the whirl of military operations around Macon. Iobst here avoids his earlier institutional approach, but he is still slow to create a sense of human drama. Two chapters on the home front cover a range of topics, including the numerous fires that plagued the city, crime, religious life, sickness, disease, entertainments, and plans for local defense. They provide an informative look at daily life, with much of the information drawn from local and city newspapers, but again, the author too often describes *things* rather than *people*. Not until the arrival of the Union army at Atlanta, in the summer of 1864, does the suspense build and the narrative assume movement through time. Then, five compelling chapters, describing such events as William T. Sherman's march to the sea and James H. Wilson's climatic raid on Macon, carry readers through the end of the war.

In other words, this is a good book that could have been better. It is the most complete survey of wartime Macon available, and it represents a good deal of diligent research and digging after archival nuggets by Iobst. If the book appears at times to be more compilation than story, it may be that Iobst simply could not digest the enormous amount of information he had gathered. All authors know the feeling.

University of Arkansas

DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND

Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Richmond. By Steven H. Newton. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xiii, 278 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

For most students of the Civil War, the history of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia began with Robert E. Lee's assumption of command after Joseph E. Johnston's wounding on 31 May 1862 at the Battle of Seven Pines. Although Johnston had commanded the nucleus of this army since July 1861, historians have tended to view him as the underachieving caretaker of a military organization destined to be led into immortality by Lee. While recuperating from his wounds, even Johnston told a visitor that the

shot which felled him at Seven Pines was "the very best that has been fired for the Southern cause yet."

In *Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Richmond*, Steven H. Newton reexamines Johnston's performance in Virginia between August 1861 and May 1862 while commanding the future Army of Northern Virginia. In the preface, the University of Delaware history professor wastes no time proclaiming "that the tenor of this work is pro-Johnston." While in many respects Newton's work might be more aptly entitled "Joseph E. Johnston and the Defense of Joseph E. Johnston," he generally provides an even-handed treatment of Johnston and a fresh look at a relatively neglected period of the war in Virginia.

Newton focuses on Johnston and his army's activities between March and May 1861, beginning with his retreat from Centreville and ending with his wounding at Seven Pines. Newton sees Johnston as an able leader and competent administrator who effectively performed a series of thankless duties to help insure the successful defense of the Confederate capital. Johnston's task became increasingly complicated as Lee and President Jefferson Davis became increasingly involved in the planning and execution of the overall operation. Davis and Johnston's uneasy interaction during this campaign drove a wedge between the two men that never was removed.

The author also shows how Johnston's operations were affected by the performance of his subordinates, particularly Gustavus W. Smith and James Longstreet. When he began his retreat, Johnston viewed Smith as his most valuable lieutenant. By May 31, Smith lost the confidence of his commander and essentially was functioning as a high-ranking aide de camp. Johnston came to rely more on the ability and advice of Longstreet, despite the Georgian's developing penchant for only half heartedly supporting operations which he did not believe in.

Throughout the narrative, Newton continually pounds home one unifying message: Johnston's performance in Virginia in early 1862 must be viewed separately from the rest of his Civil War career. Newton contends that other historians have done Johnston a disservice by judging this campaign as just another in a long line of retreats he would execute during the war. As Newton points out, both Davis and Lee advocated Johnston's 1862 retreat as the best course to defend Richmond. The operation also ended with Johnston launching an offensive attack at Seven Pines. Newton writes, "Through choice or circumstance, however, Johnston did

not fight another offensive battle until nearly three years later, at Bentonville."

Although Newton readily admits Johnston's shortcomings as a military leader, he often overreaches in his attempt to give the Virginian credit for the successful defense of Richmond. He rarely mentions the impact that the timidity of his opponent, Union General George B. McClellan, had on Johnston's operations. On more than one occasion, he unconvincingly tries to give Johnston more credit than is due for the success of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley. Finally, Johnston had practically nothing to do with John Bankhead Magruder's successful defense of Yorktown, which was perhaps the most important single reason why McClellan was unable to capture Richmond. Newton waits until the final chapter to discuss the impact these three men had on Johnston's campaign.

Overall, Newton makes a strong case for examining the Joseph E. Johnston of 1862 separately from the 1863-1864 model. He also raises an interesting question concerning the impact his wounding at Seven Pines may have had on his performance later in the war. Newton asks the reader to ponder whether Johnston's Civil War career may have turned out differently if he could have been able to take the lessons he learned on May 31, 1862, and gone back into battle the next day. Newton contends that Johnston's wounds "almost froze his development as a field general forever."

Library of Virginia, Richmond

DALE HARTER

Letters to Amanda: The Civil War Letters of Marion Hill Fitzpatrick, Army of Northern Virginia. Edited by Jeffrey C. Lowe and Sam Hodges. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998. xxi, 227 pp. Foreword, introduction, acknowledgments, a note on the text, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth).

In October 1863, Private Marion Hill Fitzpatrick of Company K, Forty-Fifth Georgia Infantry Regiment wrote home to his young wife Amanda that "my poor pen fails to give even a faint description of the sufferings of the soldier. I will leave it for future historians to tell, but never will justice be done the subject" (94). Despite this lament, this Georgian's Civil War letters help in no small way to recreate the grueling existence of the common soldier in that struggle. Jeffrey C. Lowe and Sam Hodges, both descendants of

Fitzpatrick, have produced a new edited collection of over one hundred of his letters that are a microcosm of the Confederate experience.

When secession and war changed his life, Marion Hill Fitzpatrick was a twenty-seven year old farmer and itinerant school-teacher from Crawford County, Georgia. As a husband and new father he certainly did not hunger for a place in the ranks, but the fear of conscription pushed him into the Forty-Fifth Georgia by the spring of 1862. Hill Fitzpatrick was an ardent supporter of the Confederacy and vowed to "do without meat altogether than submit to yankee rule" (29). Such strong sentiments sustained Fitzpatrick during the hard days to come and are evident in all his correspondence.

The Forty-Fifth Georgia served as a part of A. P. Hill's famous division, giving Fitzpatrick a vantage point to see much of the war in Virginia. He first "saw the elephant" during the Seven Days battles and there suffered a slight wound. But it was at Fredericksburg that a bullet badly bruised his ribs and led him to report that "never had anything hurt quite so bad before" (37), placing him in the hospital, and Fitzpatrick was fated to be a patient several times for various conditions.

Recovered from his wound, the Georgian rejoined his regiment in time for the 1863 Chancellorsville campaign in which he served with particular valor under fire. Ill health rather than Union lead felled him after this clash, and once more landed Fitzpatrick in a hospital ward. He did not return to his comrades until the fall and thus missed the deadly fight at Gettysburg.

The rigors of army life tempered Hill Fitzpatrick, but nothing pained him more than the long separations from his wife and baby son. The burdens his beloved "Cout" endured alone weighed heavily on his mind, and he commented in a letter to her in September 1863 how proud he was of his "true and heroic Southern woman" (85). Like so many other Southern men, Private Fitzpatrick learned a new appreciation of the value of "woman's work" like cooking and sewing when these tasks were thrust upon them in military camps.

The return of spring to Virginia in 1864 saw the veteran Fitzpatrick now a sharpshooter and skirmisher, which even he admitted was "ticklish at times" (128). It was in this role that Fitzpatrick went through the Overland Campaign that finally brought Lee's army to Petersburg. He wearily confessed that "now it is nothing but fight, fight, and we are in danger all the time" (149). Such com-

bat stress ruined the Georgian's health yet again, and he escaped for a time to a field hospital. By October, he returned to a promotion to sergeant major on the regiment staff. This new position helped him to survive the hard winter in the Petersburg trenches, and he even managed a furlough home.

Sergeant Major Fitzpatrick declared in January that "Yankees may kill me but will never subjugate me" (194). Unfortunately these words became prophecy when enemy shrapnel tore into his hip during the final Union assault on Petersburg; he died from this wound on April 6, 1865. However, his story lives on in these letters, and the editors provide adequate and helpful annotations. Overall, *Letters to Amanda* makes a contribution to the literature of the Civil War and the men who fought it.

Florida Institute of Technology

ROBERT A. TAYLOR

African American Women During the Civil War. By Ella Forbes. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998. xv, 272 pp. Preface, abbreviations, bibliography, index. \$64.00 cloth.)

Ella Forbes is a pioneer in her attempt to reconstruct the role of African American women during the Civil War. This task is made even more difficult by the fact that writers of African American women's antebellum history must attempt to gather information from a "depersonalized objectification of the black female presence" (vii) in American historiography. The lack of available resources for telling the African American female's story has been further complicated by the fact that traditionally, the history of African American women has been collectively tied to that of African American males. These past actions have contributed significantly to making the historical presence and contributions of African American women invisible.

According to Forbes, a collective history was often perpetuated by African American women who had, as their primary goal, care for the entire African American community. Forbes asserts that African American women shared responsibility for creating a collective historical past because they saw themselves as sharing a common racial history with African American men that could not be separated by gender. Just as white antebellum women, they saw their economic fortunes and social futures tied to the success of their men. It is Forbes's belief that African American women

achieved "a certain nobility by playing a supporting role to their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers," (vii) and that sexism was only a minor consideration in their minds. Forbes supplies evidence that African American women saw the creation of free and stable families—the building block of free and stable black communities—as a cause worthy of racial solidarity. The quest for stable African American communities was much more important than concern over gender issues, because through stable, free black communities, African American women could be exonerated. In addition, Forbes indicates African American women were forced to work for black liberation and black freedom because they, more than the African American male, were more directly confronted and challenged by negative stereotypes which included their race and their womanhood. Forbes credits black women with providing for the economic well being of the black family while their men fought for black freedom in the Union Army.

African American women brought many varied experiences, resources, and backgrounds into their battle for citizenship. Seeking to insure victory for black men was also a victory for black women; African American women actively worked to recruit African American males into the Union military. To combat the negative image of African Americans, black women feverishly supported the "freedman." Through their strong philanthropic work, African American women successfully influenced Congress to create the Freedman's Bureau and participated in the establishment of several organizations around the nation that served to educate, nurse, feed, clothe, and house wounded soldiers. African American women followed African American men into battle to provide needed medical attention and support services that were often denied by white officers.

Forbes estimates that nearly 250,000 African Americans actively participated in the Civil War. Several of these active war participants were African American women. Many were camp followers labeled "contrabands," drawn to the military experience by following black men to military camps upon enlistment. Some were introduced to military life when they made the decision to take their freedom, fleeing to the protection of Union military lines. Camp commanders, quickly realizing the benefit of free labor, put African American women to productive use, in many instances, assigning them the same military duties as their male counterparts with the exception that African American women received considerably less or no pay. These active military duties included traditional roles normally as-

signed to women such as that of nurses, cooks, and laundresses, as well as non-traditional roles normally reserved for men such as camp workers, servants, military scouts, spies, and journalists. Through recounting the military roles assigned African American women, Forbes demonstrates the lack of distinction or advantage female gender afforded black women. This lack of gender distinction served to further ban African American women from the cult of "true womanhood" by insuring their continued use as forced labor, thereby maintaining and reinforcing a clear distinction between European and African American women.

Using information taken from collections of African American women's club records, the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Bureau, African American newspapers, diaries, and autobiographies written by African American women, Forbes reconstructs an invisible history for today's readers. Using examples from such well-known autobiographies as that of African American Civil War nurse and educator Susan King Taylor, and Civil War spy, nurse, and scout Harriet Tubman, Forbes explores the lives of well-known and lesser-known antebellum African American women. The lives of lesser-known black women are reconstructed through the use of club records, newspaper articles, and personal diaries. From such sources, we learn of the active role African American women took in creating and supporting schools, health care organizations, and homes to care for orphaned, ill, and aged African American men, women, and children. Forbes offers many examples of nationwide participation by African American females by providing information on the formation of such local self-help organizations as The Ladies Sanitary Association in Philadelphia, the First Female Contraband Aid Society of Alexandria, Virginia, and the Relief Association of Elmira, New York, to name a few. The formation of these local self-help organizations across the nation involved the support of elite and newly freed African American women who sought to erase class distinctions among themselves by choosing to avoid use of such terms as "Mrs." or "Miss" when referring to each other. Middle-class African American women, whose family backgrounds often included several generations of freedom, took the lead in aiding newly freed southern black women in establishing methods to stabilize their communities.

The most valuable asset of Forbes's work is the information she provides readers by listing local and state self-help organizations formed at the time of and immediately following the Civil War.

Forbes expends great effort to document the names of each known African American female involved in creating a local, national, or international antebellum self-help organization. Through her efforts, Forbes has made these women visible, and made it possible for research to continue on this important work within local communities. Every reader has much to gain from this text. Some of it is well-known history; much of it is new information which challenges us to do more research on the work of antebellum African American women in our own individual states and regions.

Westbend, Kentucky

ALICESTYNE TURLEY-ADAMS

Families & Freedom: A Documentary History of African American Kinship in the Civil War Era. Edited by Ira A. Berlin and Leslie S. Rowland. (New York: The New Press, 1997. xx, 259 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, editorial method, short titles and abbreviations, introduction, notes, index. \$25.00 cloth, \$16.95 paper.)

In the past few years scholars have focused on the slave family and its transformation over time. This book, edited by Ira Berlin and Leslie S. Rowland, both at the University of Maryland, presents an interesting selection of letters and other correspondence written by slaves and former slaves concerning family and kinship ties during and shortly after the Civil War.

This collection of letters was compiled by the editors over many years. Berlin and Rowland center their first chapter on the letters written by escaped bond people from the various farms and plantations of the South, and their subsequent rescue by Union forces. Chapter two focuses on slave families who successfully made it to the protection of Union forces located within the Confederate States. Chapters three and four center around slaves who joined the Union military as soldiers in the free and border states and their concerns about the treatment of family and kinfolk left behind on various plantations and farms throughout the South. Chapters five through seven explore black soldiers' quests to find lost family members—that is, husbands and wives, parents and children after the war. The letters in these chapters serve as a testament to the strength and resilience of the black family during and after the Civil War. And the final chapter focuses on the importance of grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins to the overall make-up of the black family.

As for Florida, the editors provide a glimpse into the life of one black soldier stationed in Florida who expressed concerns about his family in Louisiana. Two letters describe black soldiers' efforts to assist kinfolk and explore marriage arrangements after the war. Unfortunately, there are no letters or correspondence from Florida bond servants to their families, kinfolk, or loved ones in this book.

But, as historians Daniel Schafer and Canter Brown Jr. have shown, over one thousand blacks left East Florida to join Union forces. They became soldiers in numerous regiments, including the First, Second, and Third South Carolina Infantry, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, and the Second, Eighth, Twenty-first, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Ninety-ninth, and 102d United States Colored Infantry (USCI) regiments. Many left families behind but returned during the war to reclaim them. Upon being reunited, these soldiers left with their families. Many safely reached Union lines.

Among these Florida bondsmen who joined Union forces, for example, were Thomas Warren Long and a slave named Jake. Long joined the Union army in 1862 but felt compelled to leave behind his wife and children. After joining the Thirty-third USCI, he returned to claim his wife and two daughters. Jake, a runaway slave from Jacksonville, joined the Union Army around 1862. Shortly afterward, he returned to the plantation of A. M. Reed to reclaim his wife. To his dismay, the master had sold her. Before returning to his regiment, Jake wanted to locate Reed, according to the slave holder's daughter, and teach him a lesson for separating husband from wife. The Florida experience abounds with stories of Florida soldiers who sought to maintain family and kinship ties during the war, and those who sought to strengthen them after it ended. This volume would have been enriched had some of them found their way into its pages.

Ultimately, this work does what any solid documentary volume should do. Berlin and Rowland expose us to mounds of documents that tell of the strength and tenacious nature of the slave family during and after the Civil War. This impressive book should be read by those interested in American, African American, and Southern History.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

Freedom's Soldiers: The Black Military Experience in the Civil War. Edited by Ira A. Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998. xvi, 192 pp. Intro-

duction, a note on editorial method, short titles and abbreviations, illustrations, sources of documents, suggestions for further reading, index. \$49.95.)

This book is volume two in a series by Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland on the African American experience in the Civil War. *Freedom's Soldiers* is considered an abbreviated version of the authors' earlier work, *The Black Military Experience*. The three have firmly placed themselves in the position as authorities on the black Civil War military experience, and this newest work becomes an important addition to the very limited number of publications currently devoted to the topic.

As their basis of analysis, the authors include an examination of letters retrieved from National Archives written by African American soldiers and their white commanding officers during the Civil War. Through judicious examination of the soldiers' own words, the authors shed light on how African Americans saw themselves and their role as fighting men, as well as offer a primary source on dominant white military opinion regarding the use of African American troops. By using "the commanding imagery of their language" contained within personal letters, the authors open windows into the lives of black soldiers, their families, and their communities (ix).

Attention is given to the role of individual states involved in black military recruitment. The careful listing of each state's recruitment numbers and personalities offers insight on popular opinions opposed to and supportive of the use of black military personnel. In addition, this listing provides readers with a source of seldom published figures on black military enlistment.

As in their previous volume, Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland attempt to impress upon readers the complex, non-uniform, and highly racial manner by which African Americans were inducted and maintained within the ranks of the Union Army and into the military ranks of the Confederacy. By providing a national overview of the protagonists, villains, and political and social issues that moved African Americans from former slaves to soldiers, the authors credit black military enrollment as the basis for all black citizenship, paralleling Lincoln's order granting African Americans access to military enlistment in the Union Army with the rapid advancement of black emancipation. African American troops fighting and dying for the Union are portrayed as securing claims of full

citizenship for all African Americans, encouraging the reader to view the struggle of African American troops for equality within military ranks as the basis for equipping the entire African American community for the larger struggle it endured following the war.

If there are flaws to this work, they center on the authors' total dependence upon the black military experience as the cause and basis for black liberty in America. Within the context of military experience, the writers virtually elevate African American soldiers to a status equal to that of lower class whites, while at the same time offering a contradiction to this theory by portraying African Americans as "contrabands" limited in their ability to bring about positive change even within military ranks. The black military experience was liberating for many African Americans. However, military experience did not automatically result in full citizenship for all African Americans in the larger society, North or South. Within their own text, Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland refer to the limited rights and access enjoyed by African Americans, even within their newly acquired status as soldiers. Black military involvement brought about positive changes, i.e., the ability of African Americans to acquire property. Death and suffering alongside white soldiers only made it possible for African Americans to make a claim for black citizenship. It is important to make note that African American males in the military were heavily supported in their efforts by the influence of northern abolitionists, women, and military necessity (even the influence of these important elements became illusive or non-existent following the Civil War). To downplay the important support received from these major agitators for African American military acceptance and citizenship ignores important antebellum African American historiography continuing to develop around this topic in recent years.

The authors also assert the importance of the African American military experience in the removal of black class distinctions. In many instances, military involvement served to create even greater class distinctions because military pensions, no matter how meager, created definite social and structural differences in the black community. Military pensions allowed former slaves to establish incomes separate from their former masters, created the ability of former slaves to purchase property, and directly contributed to their ability to acquire an education and/or access to information. As Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland acknowledge, African Americans from northern, middle-class families who possessed the ability to read and write were almost always selected as officers within black military ranks.

These former African American military leaders, by caveat, often became community leaders. This selection process in itself offers evidence of the formation of class distinctions as an outgrowth of military experience. These established leadership roles continued to grow and develop into the solid black middle-class, which persisted through the Civil War and development of the New South.

The greatest asset offered by this publication is its excellent use of references. By producing a well-referenced, less cumbersome, more accessible text, the authors have potentially widened the audience of those who can be better informed about the black military experience in the Civil War. The concise organization and listing of available resources allows for expanded research by interested parties.

This abbreviated version of the African American military experience offers important additions to our base of knowledge on African American Civil War history. In addition to providing seldom seen military photographs of African Americans along with black military statistics, this text recounts black military enlistment on a state-by-state basis for both the North and South. The authors also provide a list of important personalities associated with the formation of black Civil War units. This important information makes Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland's latest work an excellent resource. Readers may find it difficult to read as a stand-alone text; however, it does provide a good survey of events, personalities, and locations associated with the African American Civil War military experience. Because of this, Berlin, Reidy and Rowland have once again made a valuable contribution by expanding the field of knowledge on this under-acknowledged and under-researched aspect of African American history.

West Bend, Kentucky

ALICESTYNE TURLEY-ADAMS

Sherman's Civil War: Selected Correspondence of William T. Sherman, 1860-1865. Edited by Brooks D. Simpson and Jean V. Berlin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xx, 948 pp. List of maps and illustrations, introduction, acknowledgments, editorial method, symbols and abbreviations, chronological list of letters, list of letters by recipient, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Simpson and Berlin provide a cornucopia of more than four hundred official and personal Sherman letters written between late

1860 (when Sherman was superintendent of the Louisiana State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy in Alexandria, Louisiana) and May 30, 1865 (when Sherman issued a field order announcing that the fighting was over and bidding farewell to his men). Much of this correspondence is published for the first time; further, the editors have restored deletions from and corrected misleading alterations within letters that have appeared in earlier published collections. A great share of the correspondence was directed to Sherman's wife Ellen, his brother U.S. Senator John Sherman, his father-in-law Thomas Ewing, his daughter Maria, and Ulysses S. Grant; but Sherman had many other addressees, including President Lincoln and former Southern acquaintances. Sherman rehashed many of the same concerns to each of his primary correspondents; yet virtually every letter is rich in its own way. Wisely, the editors exclude routine documents available in the *Official Records*.

This collection bulges with information about Sherman's marital and family relations (two of his children died during the war) and finances, his operations and occupation policies, and his judgments about fellow Union commanders, grand strategy, and army organization. Sherman had a conservative Unionist perspective on the coming of the Civil War: emotions and unreasonable, radical politicians North and South reigned supreme, bringing on an "Irresistible Conflict" (11). Believing that the South lacked justification for activating its "right of revolution" (24), he endorsed coercion, and both anticipated and explained the North's going to war in terms of the Old Northwest's need for unrestricted access to the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi River.

Never doubting that the war would be lengthy, Sherman, in phrasing relevant to historian Gary Gallagher's recent work as well as current debates about gender and the Southern cause, repeatedly attributed Confederate tenacity to the success of its leaders—as compared to Union authorities—in rallying a self-sacrificing public to the cause. Confederate white women, he kept discovering, displayed remarkably unshaken devotion to the Southern cause. Many letters illuminate Sherman's prewar proslavery attitudes, as well as his authoritarian and antidemocratic proclivities. As early as February 1861, Sherman was suggesting that "if the People are incompetent to Rule, some remedy must be devised" (53). Later, Sherman expressed sentiments that could have come out of George M. Fredrickson's *The Inner Civil War* (1965) by predicting that wartime regimentation would correct anarchic trends in the nation.

Possibly no theme dominates this collection more than Sherman's hatred of war correspondents (whom he tried to exclude from camp and operations), the home front press, and speculators. Sherman even had a *New York Herald* correspondent court-martialed for reports that Sherman considered tantamount to spying, since they divulged information to the enemy: "I want the fellow shot" (387-88). Sherman had disdain for volunteer soldiers and political generals (especially John A. McClelland), preferring to leave the war to professionals, though he ultimately chastised Union politicians for not adequately enforcing their own draft. In many letters, Sherman called for disenfranchising all Northerners who avoided service in the army.

Like George McClellan, Sherman overestimated the size of Confederate forces during the early going. If he did not go insane during his Kentucky campaigns (as his wife apprehended briefly), he drank excessively and verged upon a nervous breakdown. His letters reflect incomprehension at God's visiting his country with "this terrible judgment" (170), and he wrote his brother that he would have committed suicide had it not been for his children. It is fascinating to trace Sherman's growing appreciation of U. S. Grant's command abilities, as well as his own evolving self-confidence. Though deferential, Sherman had no compunctions about strongly pressing his own strategic ideas upon his superior. Many letters illuminate Sherman's attitudes about warring on Southern civilians, generally reinforcing the argument of Mark Grimsley (*The Hard Hand of War*, 1995) that Union policies were more calculated and measured than total. Still, Sherman quoted Laertes in "Hamlet" to justify deferring attempts at political reconstruction until the South surrendered. Many letters reflect his attitudes about assimilating black former slaves into the army. Generally he favored using limited numbers of black males as military laborers, but not as soldiers, since he doubted their fighting capacity—"Can they improvise roads, bridges, sorties, flank movements, &c., like the white man? I say no" (700)—and believed that black males needed to provide for their wives and children. Such ill-advised opinions turned up in Northern newspapers, causing a backlash against him. Sherman's self-righteousness and his ambivalence about contemporary and historical fame also permeate these letters. Fortunately for the Union cause, his frequent prognostications of his own battlefield mortality proved to be mistaken.

The editors divide Sherman's correspondence into fifteen chapters, correlating roughly to major phases of his Civil War career, and provide helpful introductions alerting readers to what they might expect to find in each chapter's letters. Excellent maps allow one to campaign with Sherman. Further, within their notes, the editors include synopses of, and sometimes quotations from, incoming correspondence, in order to clarify the context for unclear allusions in Sherman's outgoing letters. Notes do a superb job of identifying persons and events, though the editors might have explained terms that had a different meaning then than they do today (e.g., "filibustering," "strikers"). Unfortunately, the index lacks sufficient subject entries, a deficiency that will encumber persons consulting the letters for reference purposes. For instance, Sherman alludes to Jewish cotton speculators on pages 260, 269, 271n, and 319 yet the index lacks any entry for Jews or anti-Semitism. Similarly, it is impossible to tell from the index that Sherman tended to reference Mexico for an example of nationwide anarchy and decay. This engrossing, invaluable collection belongs in public, college, and university libraries, and on the bookshelves of Civil War scholars and buffs. Amazingly, its nearly one thousand pages are available for only \$45.

Purdue University

ROBERT E. MAY

A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South. By Eugene D. Genovese. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xvi, 18 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth.)

Eugene Genovese is in some ways an unlikely candidate to write a book about southern evangelicals. A Yankee Marxist from a Roman Catholic background, Genovese has nonetheless written an insightful book about Southern religion in the nineteenth century, proving that an outsider often discovers patterns that insiders miss because they take them for granted. Little in Genovese's book is new or surprising to scholars who have carefully studied religion in the South. But Genovese's configuration and analysis of material from an impressive variety of well known and obscure sources breaks new ground.

The reader needs to know that this work is intellectual history focused on a theological elite. Like Brooks Holifield's *The Gentlemen Theologians*, it is a religious history from the top down and

largely ignores the illusive folk theology of the South's mainly bivocational ministers. Based on the author's Lamar Lectures at Mercer University, these four compact chapters move chronologically from the late antebellum period to the late nineteenth century. Genovese argues that most antebellum southern clergymen were moderates who tried to reform slavery. The "Christian" or "reformed" slavery established a Biblical standard that affirmed the obligation of masters to educate their slaves so they could read the Bible and to refrain from breaking up slave families.

Once the Civil War began, many ministers proclaimed the justice and righteousness of the South's cause. But others denounced war as an evil or warned that slave owner's private unrighteousness endangered the southern cause. They also renewed their call for reforms in the treatment of slaves and argued that slavery was not eternal, that in time God might bring it to an end. Furthermore the individuals upon whom Genovese focuses did not tie slavery to race (denying, for instance, the "curse of Ham" thesis as unbiblical).

The racism of the post Civil War church was different in some ways. Many orthodox, southern antebellum religious leaders had rejected the scientific racism rising in the North. But postbellum ministers slowly retreated from orthodoxy, Genovese claims, while focusing on the decline in personal moral conduct, grounding their defense of social stratification and the need for political order (Bourbon hegemony) in Scripture and Christian theology.

Genovese's most controversial argument is his claim that the postbellum defense of segregation was less principled, consistent, and Biblically based than the antebellum defense of slavery because the earlier movement was dominated by theological orthodoxy while the later movement was influenced by theological liberalism. Postbellum segregationist theory was more pegged to northern and European climates of scientific thought and less tied to Scripture. The church capitulated to racist community sentiment in a stage of sectarian development characterized by democratization of religious opinion.

There is something to Genovese's argument, but less than he imagines. Evidence comes on pages 95 and 96 where he cites only one example to support his premise, and that from a Methodist.

Bivocational and even many formally educated ministers, especially in the dominant Southern Baptist Convention, did in fact fashion a Biblical defense of segregation which may not be convincing to Genovese, but certainly was quite convincing to millions of southern

evangelicals. But as Genovese claims and as Mark Newman pointed out in a perceptive dissertation on Southern Baptists and race, there were major defections from such theology in the twentieth century.

Liberalism did intrude more into Southern evangelical thinking than most historians have realized, just as Genovese contends. But the dominant position on race and segregation still derived more from orthodox interpretations of Scripture than from liberalism.

Whether or not one accepts all of Genovese's propositions, this is a provocative book that cannot be ignored. It is well researched, tightly argued, and gracefully written. Few illustrations are drawn from Florida, but most of the generalizations apply as well to the Sunshine State as they do to other parts of the South.

Wayne Flynt

Auburn University

Hurrah for Hampton! Black Red Shirts in South Carolina During Reconstruction. By Edmund L. Drago. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998. xv, 158 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, notes, name index. \$32.00 cloth.)

African American historiography is maturing. Attempts by revisionists to force blacks into a single historical mold are yielding to more comprehensive scholarship. In recent years, post-revisionists like Larry Koger (*Black Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina*), Ervin L. Jordon (*Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*), and Richard Rollins et al. (*Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro-Americans in Confederate Armies*) have explored diversity within the antebellum black community. In *Hurrah for Hampton! Black Red Shirts in South Carolina During Reconstruction*, Drago challenges revisionist orthodoxy and presents a more inclusive portrait of black southerners in the post-war decade.

The election of 1876 was high political drama in South Carolina. Resurgent Democrats, determined to regain control of the Palmetto State, mounted an all-out attack on the Radical power structure. Wade Hampton, a former Confederate general, led the Democratic ticket. Of course, their call for "home rule" was but a thinly veiled attempt to reestablish white supremacy. To support their "redemption" campaign, South Carolina Democrats organized paramilitary groups call Red Shirts to parade on horseback at political rallies and public gatherings. Composed mainly of Confederate veterans, Red Shirt companies sought black members to blunt

charges of racism and enhance their appeal to black voters. The Red Shirts were successful in luring hundreds of blacks to their ranks in a very visible show of support for the former general.

At a time when "black" was virtually synonymous with Republican in South Carolina, Drago asks why substantial numbers of blacks joined white Democrats in overthrowing the party of Lincoln. In seeking an answer, Drago explores the complexity of race relations in postbellum South Carolina and the personal connections that led some blacks to align their political loyalties with whites. And while specifics vary, all reveal the diversity of political thought within the black community. A diversity, Drago suggests, that fits a pattern of black conservatism that persists to the present.

By 1876, many black South Carolinians were becoming disillusioned with Republican rule. They often resented Yankee officials as outsiders. Moreover, the rampant corruption of the GOP coupled with the party's unkept promises prompted many blacks to wonder if their interests would be better served by a paternalist white regime. Democrats eagerly encouraged this sentiment and offered blacks tangible rewards for their support.

African Americans joined Red Shirt companies for a variety of reasons. Some were Confederate veterans who welcomed the chance to parade with former comrades. Others simply enjoyed the prestige of associating with prominent whites. Many more were attracted by the dash and verve of Red Shirt parades. Typically, black recruits were feted with food and drink, serenaded by brass bands, and furnished with mounts. Political patronage played a part as well. Grateful Democrats later rewarded key black Red Shirts with public employment.

The movement crossed lines of class as well as race. Brown elites in Charleston and field hands from the upcountry joined Red Shirt cadres in their communities. Sometimes, African American Democrats paid a price for their partisanship. Persuaded by Republican propaganda that Democrats intended to re-enslave the black population, African American women sometimes assaulted black Red Shirts. But opposition notwithstanding, black support helped carry the state for Hampton. Indeed, in some counties Hampton received as much as 20 percent of the black vote. Although difficult to measure with precision, the best evidence suggests that black support was crucial to Democratic victory.

Drago draws on substantial primary sources to make his case. Perhaps the best known is the WPA Slave Narratives. The inter-

views, conducted in the 1930s, preserve the memories of ten black Red Shirts and the widow of an eleventh. A lesser known but more contemporary record is the Congressional inquiry into the 1876 elections in South Carolina in which several black Red Shirts were questioned by three United States senators. Full texts of both sources are included in an appendix. An impressive body of newspaper accounts from both Republican and Democratic presses completes the evidence.

Hurrah for Hampton! is a cogent, well-written analysis of a little understood and undervalued aspect of southern history—divergence within the black community. This is a book no serious student of Reconstruction or black history can afford to ignore.

Coastal Carolina University

ELDRED E. PRINCE JR.

Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction. By Scott Reynolds Nelson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. x, 257 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, illustrations, notes, select bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction is a book with a somewhat unusual title. Yet, after the book is read, the title makes sense. Author Scott Reynolds Nelson shows how a vastly reorganized post-Civil War railroad network, especially routes from Virginia into the Carolinas and Georgia, greatly altered the political and social dynamics of the region. With the opening in the early 1870s of a through line under single control between Virginia and Georgia (after 1893 known as the Southern Railway), trade expanded along this corridor. Moreover, the railroad affected racial relationships, initially creating greater economic opportunities with good paying jobs for people of color that white conservatives found unacceptable. The upshot was continued railroad system building, a growing Ku Klux Klan, and eventual "redemption" of state governments from carpetbaggers and scalawags. In time, railroad corporations became comfortable with the power shifts and their version of the Railway Age became firmly established.

Nelson reveals that a revolution of sorts occurred in Dixie between the 1840s and the 1880s. The nature of the Southern railroad network changed dramatically between the eve of the Civil War and the close of Reconstruction. Although shortlines had

dominated much of America where the iron horse had appeared, the South by 1860 had moved on a course somewhat different from the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Old Northwest regions. Generally in the South, there was much less enthusiasm for railroads. Southerners fussed about the impact of new-line construction on their long-established patterns of agricultural trade. And, too, they worried about state finances since the public sector had underwritten numerous pioneer pikes. Indeed, Southern governments were seemingly forced into "state socialism" because "smart money" commonly flowed to railroad projects elsewhere, especially in the populous and industrial Northeast. Moreover, Southern roads suffered from an imbalance of traffic: cotton traveled to coastal ports but little in the way of manufactured goods moved inbound. But after the war when mostly "foreign" railroad captains oriented traffic flows to new destinations, including in Virginia, the old ports like Charleston and Savannah suffered. These interregional carriers molded Southern agriculture, resulting in an economy based heavily on cotton, tobacco, and extractive industries.

Nelson has produced a thoughtful account of the impact of the powerful inter-regional railroad on a specific geographic area. Railroad corridors became more than what John Stilgoe has described in his path-breaking book, *The Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads in the American Scene*. The iron horse significantly altered the social and political milieu in addition to spawning physical changes. Nelson's thesis is both cogent and well-argued. Yet, he has hardly penned the flawless monograph. At times his narrative is repetitive; his grasp of railroad history is somewhat limited and he makes some factual errors. But *Iron Confederacies* is a *must* book for anyone interested in why the New South took the shape that it did.

Clemson University

H. ROGER GRANT

Paper, Presses, and Profits: A History of the E. O. Painter Printing Company. By Sidney Philip Johnston. (DeLeon Springs, Fla.: E.O. Painter Printing Company, 1996. List of illustrations, preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$18.95 paper.)

Sidney Johnston wrote the original manuscript as his master's thesis at the University of Florida under the direction of Professor Samuel Proctor. With the urging of his father, Dick Johnston, and Professor Proctor, he subsequently revised and expanded his the-

sis. The result is this book: a history of the E. O. Painter Printing Company. Of course, the many illustrations are particularly interesting not only for the company history, but for the families too.

The book contains five chapters each dealing with a specific period in the company history: 1866-1903, 1904-1919, 1920-1941, 1942-1962, and the post-1962 era, which Johnston calls "The Challenges of the Future." Throughout, he explains the connection between his family, the Johnstons, and the Painter Printing Company, and how his family became involved with E. O. Painter.

The company originated in DeLand, Florida, in 1886, when it was created to publish the *Florida Agriculturist*. In 1904, the company expanded into the book and journal publishing market and was incorporated that year. The company has remained under the control of one family ever since and it is believed to be the oldest continuously operating printing business in Florida.

One of the company's early employees, Edward Okle Painter, began work there as a "printer's devil." Initially, Painter acquired half-interest in the *Florida Agriculturist*, but by December 1886, he had secured all rights to the journal. Painter, at age 26, became the sole owner of the company. In 1906, however, he severed his connection with the printing company and turned his interests to the fertilizer business. From 1908 to 1928, the company printed *Painter's Florida Almanac*, which served as a farm journal.

Johnston also discusses the persons who served as shareholders and those who played a major role in the company. For example, Bert Fish, one of Volusia County's most distinguished politicians, served as president of Painter Printing Company from 1907 to 1933. Company growth, however, put strains on the traditional ways of doing business, company employees became disgruntled with not being paid well and, in January 1907, went on strike. The company acquired a large portion of the specialty market of book printing in Florida, requiring the purchase of new and improved printing equipment. Company management tended to delay replacement of printing equipment, largely because of the high cost involved. Johnston goes into some detail regarding the problems facing a growing business in the early twentieth century.

World War II helped Florida and E. O. Painter economically. The publication of the *Florida Supreme Court Reports* was the largest single contract for the war years. But the war also created problems: employees were scarce, those found demanded higher wages, and paper for printing became more difficult to acquire.

In time, the business came under control of Paul Johnston who trained his two sons: Donald Corbin Johnston (1926-) and Sidney Dick Johnston (1930-) in the company business. They eventually became President and Vice President, respectively, and held those positions until the 1980s. After more than eighty years in DeLand, the company in 1970, moved to nearby DeLeon Springs, where it remains. Since its move, the company has secured contracts for annual and quarterly publications including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, which it began printing in 1969.

This is a good overall history of the E. O. Painter Printing Company. Those interested in the history of printing in Florida will certainly want to read it.

William S. Coker

University of West Florida

Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830-1930. Edited by Elna C. Green. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999. xxvi, 222 pp. Introduction, selected bibliography, list of contributors, index. \$36.00 cloth, \$18.00 paper.)

The past twenty years have seen a shift in the focus of historical analysis to the processes of social history and an examination of "history from the bottom up." This has included investigations into the individuals, agencies, and institutions involved in the emerging social welfare system—a system designed to improve the life chances of persons on the margins of society. For a variety of reasons, ranging from accessibility of source material to preconceived notions about the regional nature of the reform tradition, this analysis has centered on social welfare and reform in the North. *Before the New Deal* is a healthy corrective to this phenomenon and offers multiple views of the Southern experience in assisting those considered less fortunate. It is especially welcome in that it places focus on a time period generally ignored by even the few historians venturing into the field of the South and its experiences with public assistance.

Edited volumes are notoriously difficult to assess and review, as differences in style, focus, and interpretive framework make generalizations problematical. The introduction becomes crucial here, as it can provide the connections necessary to make the book a thematic whole, rather than a series of disconnected essays. Elna Green's introduction does this by emphasizing the regional nature of the southern welfare experience. The South *was* different, both

in its views of governmental responsibilities and its experiences with the devastation of war and defeat. But Green does not simply make the case for southern distinctiveness based on regional considerations. She emphasizes the importance of southern views on race, class, and gender in shaping the development of southern welfare institutions. She ties the essays in the book to broader themes in not only southern history, but women's history and the history of race relations. She recognizes this book as only the beginning of an investigation into southern welfare history and maps out a research agenda for future work. She also has added a comprehensive bibliography of articles and books dealing with southern welfare. This will be the first place scholars go to begin their work in this field.

The essays in this book examine a wide range of initiatives designed to ameliorate social ills. They look at both the organizers and the recipients of welfare help. By analyzing such diverse responses as the Poor Farm in Jefferson County (Birmingham), Alabama, aid to women and families in post-World War I Atlanta, and private charity aid in post-bellum New Orleans, the authors show the variety of southern welfare programs. Yet, in spite of their differences, the essays reveal a consistent pattern in the southern response to social problems. While consciously following northern models, southerners also maintained a regional welfare identity, one based on white southern values and traditions. This is shown best in the three essays that deal with the aftermath of the Civil War. Kathleen Gorman's work on Confederate penions, Susan Hamburger's story of the Richmond Home for needy Confederate women, and E. Susan Barber's analysis of responses to Richmond's Civil War orphan population all point out how the Cult of the Lost Cause was woven into the very fabric of charity. Charity was not "given"; it was earned as a reward for serving the South—the traditional white South. Other essays point out the class-based nature of southern welfare. Especially insightful at examining this issue is Lee Polansky's work on the Georgia Training School for Girls. The facility, opened in a blush of Progressive Era optimism in 1914, was used not only to help the unfortunate, but also, according to Polansky, "to widen the strictures of being a 'southern Lady'" (141). Finally, all the essays show, either explicitly or implicitly, the important relation of women to welfare and charity in the South. While maintaining their special sphere as domestic protectors, southern women carved out a public space designed to improve the society around them. Particularly good in this regard is Elna Green's piece on social welfare in New

Orleans and Joan Johnson's work on the push for reform among clubwomen, both white and black, in South Carolina.

This book, then, provides a good starting point from which to examine southern welfare history. As with all edited collections, the pieces are uneven in nature. All tell good stories, but some fail to place their narrative into the broader context of the historical mainstream. There are missing parts as well. The largest and most influential public welfare program in the South before the New Deal was the Freedman's Bureau. Yet it is not the subject of an essay. Perhaps a second volume will cover this neglected aspect. Elna Green is to be commended for putting out this work which adds much to our knowledge of the South and the interplay between its erstwhile reformers and most unfortunate citizens.

University of Florida

STEVEN NOLL

Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930. By Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999. xv, 245 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

This study is an examination of the development of southern black education and its relationship to northern corporate interests, Protestant philanthropy, and southern race ideology; as well as to black demands and expectations. By the first decade of the twentieth century, secular foundation boards assumed major responsibility in shaping philanthropic funding to southern black education and displaced the postbellum roles of Protestant missionary societies and individual benefactors. The title of Anderson and Moss's study, taken from southern Methodist Bishop Warren A. Candler's 1909 polemic, *Dangerous Donation or Degrading Doles, or A Vast Scheme for Capturing and Controlling the Colleges and Universities of the Country*, delineates the hostile environment surrounding African American education. Candler's perspective reified the regional tension and suspicion generated by northern involvement with racial issues. The monograph challenged the direction and purpose of secular foundation boards which were not responsible to civil or religious authority; and the potential for black elevation at, ostensibly, white expense.

Candler's title underscores the importance of white supremacy in shaping private foundation policies. Secular boards, emulated by older Protestant missionary societies, set policies for black edu-

cation that accommodated the pressure of regional race ideology. But despite the dominance of southern race ideology, Anderson and Moss assert that northern philanthropy differed significantly from ideological whiteness. The scholars posit that private foundations had national impact on public policy, education as part of the domestic agenda, and cultural values.

The foundation movement, led by the General Education Board (GEB) beginning in 1902, included the Jeanes, Phelps-Stokes, and Slater Funds. The Protestant missionary societies included the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Aid Society, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen. Anderson and Moss include an examination of the largely ignored Episcopal American Church Institute for Negroes (ACIN), established in 1906, as well.

Anderson and Moss argue that the GEB, as the prototype of modern philanthropy, sought to make education apolitical, non-partisan, and neutral but neglected race equality. The operating theory of the GEB supported improved standards and tax-supported public education, and tripled spending for black education beginning in the 1920s. The ACIN, characterized as influenced more by the foundation movement than its denominational counterparts, endorsed industrial education for southern African Americans, but ultimately failed to separate its organization from southern control; and its fund raising remained inconsistent.

Moss and Anderson conclude that philanthropy from the turn of the century maintained a separate space apart from white supremacy. They frame a transformation of northern philanthropy for black education between 1900 and 1930 that replaced the older models of religious motivation with modern ideas that included economic rationality. The foundation movement introduced modernity to a pre-modern space. In addition, the scholars suggest that, given the inconsistent but potentially ethical nature of the foundation movement, the black movement arose not from black educators but from the black church.

Dangerous Donations increases our understanding of the historiography of black education and the foundation movement. Moss and Anderson synthesized those interpretations which frame northern philanthropy for black education as either adversarial or "essentially benign."

Book Notes

Hiring the Black Worker: The Racial Integration of the Southern Textile Industry 1960-1980. By Timothy J. Minchin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. 271 pp. \$49.95 cloth.)

Timothy J. Minchin's scholarly but readable work investigates the economic impact of the Civil Rights movement. He focuses on textile workers because that industry was the largest in the South and had traditionally excluded black workers. Other historians have argued that mills only hired black workers because of a labor shortage. Minchin disputes this conclusion and attributes blacks' advancement to federal regulations. He also highlights the contributions made by unions and the opposition of white executives. Men and women had differing experiences of economic discrimination. Women had difficulty getting hired while men did not receive promotion. Minchin, then, supplies a well-rounded commentary that everyone can enjoy.

A Bibliography of Florida, Volume 3: 1881-1899. By James S. Servies and Lana D Servies. (Pensacola: King and Queen Books, 1999. 599 pp. \$165 cloth.)

Volume Three of this series is now complete. It lists books, pamphlets, broadsides, maps, articles, and government and corporate documents relating to Florida that were published between 1881 and 1899. The collection is arranged chronologically with separate sections under each year for newspapers and government documents. A comprehensive index allows searching by subject. Not all the items listed are available to researchers, but this bibliography shows that many sources exist for those prepared to search for them.

The Florida Handbook 1999-2000. Compiled by Allen Morris and Joan Perry Morris. (Tallahassee: Peninsular Publishing Company, 1999. 724 pp. \$44.95 cloth.)

The most recent edition of this annual is now available. Besides the usual revisions to the sections about the state government, literature, and demographics, this edition features a new section on Local Government. While Florida postcards seem an unlikely topic for discussion, they decorate the cover, and a whimsical yet informative account of their use has been included. The article on Florida's symbols has been augmented by colored pictures of the state's flags. This encyclopedia will tell readers everything that they wish to know about Florida plus some things that they never considered.

Antiquities of the Southern Indians, Particularly of the Georgia Tribes. By Charles C. Jones Jr. Edited and with an introduction by Frank T. Schnell, Jr. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. 640 pp. \$29.95 paper.)

When Charles C. Jones Jr. first published *Antiquities of the Southern Indians* in 1873, he hoped that his work would provide information and pleasure to those interested in southern archaeology. Frank T. Schnell, Jr. confirms that Jones succeeded admirably in the former, and a brief examination of the text will show that he also furnished the latter. A full-time lawyer, Jones still managed to be a trailblazer in southeastern archaeology. His work endures despite errors in assessing the extent of time involved. He refuted the suggestions that the mound builders were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel and that they had become extinct. Instead, he advocated the idea that they were the ancestors of the contemporaneous Native Americans who had recently suffered on the Trail of Tears. In attributing damage to Native American culture to the Spaniards' actions and ignoring that of the British and Americans, however, he showed that he retained some of the prejudices of his age. Nevertheless, scholars will appreciate the chance to obtain this influential work, and all readers will enjoy investigating archaeology.

Tin Can Tourists in Florida 1900-1970. By Nick Wynne. Images of America Series. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 1999. 128 pp. \$18.99 paper.)

The popular Images of America series continues with an engaging look at tourism in Florida. Beginning with the advent of the

motor car, tourists started to explore their country in greater numbers than ever before. Florida quickly recognized that these "Tin Can Tourists" could have a positive economic impact. To take advantage of the opportunity, the state built roads, and private enterprise supplied accommodations and entertainments to attract visitors. Nick Wynne has chosen a delightful variety of photographs, primarily from the Ernest Meyer Collection, which documents the adventures of tourists. From shuffleboard to Jai-Lai, this collection includes everything except Mickey Mouse.

The Citrus Industry in the Sunshine State. By Brian Weaver and Richard Weaver. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 1999. 127 pp. \$18.99 paper.)

Postcards are amusing primary sources that help us understand how people used to live, work, and play. This collection allows us to see how citrus was grown, harvested, and packed between fifty and one hundred years ago. Additionally, the cards show citrus's importance to Florida's tourist industry. People all over the United States received pictures of oranges to brighten their cold winter days. Photographers even used citrus as a backdrop that provided an excuse to show pictures of glamorous women. Brian and Richard Weaver have not simply assembled a group of postcards, however, they have augmented the compilation with personal recollections and even family recipes. Consequently, they have achieved the remarkable feat of making numerous pictures of oranges entertaining and informative.

Civil War Texas: A History and a Guide. By Ralph A. Wooster. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1999. 66 pp. \$7.95 paper.)

Ralph Wooster splendidly narrates the story of the Civil War in Texas from secession in February 1861 to surrender in June 1865. He does not confine his discussion to military matters but devotes a chapter to civilians' difficulties in dealing with shortages of basic foodstuffs such as coffee. Asides entitled "Then and Now" describe places of historic interest that can still be viewed today. Visitors can, therefore, use this book to plan a tour of Texas's important sites. This slim volume is well-illustrated with photographs and maps and offers a comprehensive but light introduction to Texas's role in the Civil War.

The San Saba Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas. By Robert S. Weddle. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999. 320 pp. \$16.95 paper.)

The San Saba Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas was first published in 1964 and explains how Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros established the mission to proselytize the Apaches. Unfortunately, Robert S. Weddle tells the story from the Spanish perspective, which relegates the Apaches to objects for conversion. Their enemy tribes, however, managed to take center stage by destroying the mission, allowing Fray Alonso to fulfill his ambition to become a martyr and forcing the Spanish to revise their policy in the area. Military might replaced missionary zeal, which meant that the presidio and the mission became linked in local mythology. This confusion resulted in the mission site remaining undiscovered until 1993. Its rediscovery prompted publication of this new edition, and Weddle has provided a new introduction that relates how archeologists finally found the site of the San Saba Mission. Weddle produced a well-researched book but writes in a relaxed style that holds his readers' attention.

The Reins of Power: Racial Change and Challenge in a Southern County. By Clinton McCarty. (Tallahassee: Sentry Press, 1999. 330 pp. \$34.95 cloth.)

This county history written in a hard-hitting journalistic style explains the roots of racial problems in Wilcox County, Alabama. Sociologists have often studied Wilcox because it seems a perfect example of an impoverished southern county. Wilcox has little industry or infrastructure; its people are poor. Clinton McCarty's family came from the area so he writes with an insider's perspective though he had lived elsewhere for many years, which gives him an outsider's perception. He begins his story with the first settlers in the area who brought blacks as slaves. Although the slaves gained their freedom after the Civil War, they suffered from segregation until the Civil Rights movement forced change. Even so, the black majority did not manage to gain significant representation in government until 1982. Despite these changes, the inhabitants of Wilcox County remain backward in the important matter of education, and allegations of fraud still plague the electoral process. McCarty fears for the future because racial tension prevents economic and social improvements. That these problems still exist in modern America should give us all cause for concern.

Louisiana During World War II. By Jerry Purvis Sanson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 323 pp. \$60 cloth.)

Although many books have been written about the changes in the United States during World War II, few study individual states. Jerry Purvis Sanson puts Louisiana under the microscope, exploring the mechanization of agriculture, and the roles of increased affluence, patriotism, and participation by women and black men inspired by the war. The greatest changes occurred, however, in the public arena. Huey Long had dominated politics until 1939 when the electorate became disgusted with the level of corruption in politics and voted for the anti-Longite camp. These two factions dominated Louisiana's government until 1960. Still, Sanson leaves his readers with an impression that the more things change the more they stay the same. World War II brought superficial not fundamental alterations to Louisiana. This story, then, is one of continuity in the face of change.

Contemplations of a Primal Mind. By Gabriel Horn. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. 170 pp. \$19.95 cloth.)

History, philosophy, religion, and anthropology meet in this attention-grabbing anthology by Gabriel Horn. His collection of essays flows across our minds like a stream of white water flooding our consciousness with a demand to be heard. In discussing Indians' influence upon whites, he reclaims Native Americans' place in the nation's history. He criticizes civilization for forcing technological progress, claiming that people lack the psychological capacity to handle it. Not surprisingly, Horn has special concerns for the environment. The imbalance in nature caused by the spread of cities and pollution disturbs and angers him. A book of parables, this collection forms a parable itself that explains how we should live and devote ourselves to the mystic part of our lives rather than to excessive consumerism. It is a thought-provoking read.

River of Lakes: A Journey on Florida's St. Johns River. By Bill Belleville. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000. 192 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

Bill Belleville has a different approach, but his ecological message mirrors that of Horn. Belleville's book narrates the story of the St. Johns River in both time and place. From its birth in prehistory

somewhere in St. Lucie County to its present Atlantic outlet at Mayport, the river meanders its slow way north through Florida. Its northern track is unusual in this hemisphere, but its strangeness does not end there. Each section of the river has its own attributes and personality. Wetlands, artesian springs, and bayous make this river fascinating to explore. Belleville sought help from scientists, environmentalists, fishermen, cave divers, and folk historians on his travels, and their comments illuminate a publication that could otherwise descend to travelogue. Sadly, this tale is one of loss: lost wildlife, lost springs, and lost water. We must not ignore these prophets for fear of losing profits, or our descendants will only have this book to show them the beauties of the St. Johns River.

Balancing Evils Judiciously: The Proslavery Writings of Zephaniah Kingsley. Edited and annotated by Daniel W. Stowell. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000. 160 pp. \$49.95 cloth.)

Daniel W. Stowell contributes this latest addition to the Florida History and Culture Series. In his introduction to Zephaniah Kingsley's works, Stowell relates Kingsley's life story and explains how his proslavery beliefs compared and contrasted with other notable writers such as Thomas Jefferson. Although Kingsley was born in England, he changed his nationality frequently; he was variously American, Danish, and Spanish. Settling in East Florida in the late eighteenth century, he purchased a plantation on the St. Johns River in 1803. The plantation flourished, and when the United States gained control of Florida, Kingsley became a member of the Legislative Council for a short period before resigning over the legal position of free blacks in the territory. In the 1830s, he began settling some fifty freed slaves in Haiti although, at his death in 1843, he still owned more than eighty slaves.

Kingsley's writings begin with the moving document manumitting his wife and children and end with his will leaving most of his fortune to his mulatto children. This collection also includes his address to Florida's Legislative Council and letters he sent from Haiti. The most unusual item, however, is "A Treatise on the Patriarchal, or Co-operative System of Society" which Stowell reproduces as one document, but which actually went through four editions. Stowell clearly shows the differences between the editions to explain development in Kingsley's thought. Surprisingly easy to

read, this book will engage anyone with an interest in slavery but will be especially beneficial as a primary source.

Pop Culture Florida. By James P. Goss. (Sarasota: Pineapple Press, Inc., 2000. 176 pp. \$9.95 paper.)

Florida's much vaunted climate has attracted the rich, famous, and infamous to its shores. In this entertaining volume, James P. Goss has collected anecdotes about those who have contributed to Florida's popularity since 1945. From Burt Reynolds who does not want to be remembered as the first man to pose nude to Chris Evert whose reputation as an all-American girl remains untarnished, Goss manages to include an eclectic cast of characters sure to amuse everyone. For the serious-minded, Goss uncovers Florida's part in the Watergate scandal and details its part in the space race. This book is perfect to read on the beach and then quiz your friends. So kick back, relax, and enjoy.

Grit-Tempered: Early Women Archaeologists in the Southeastern United States. Edited by Nancy Marie White, Lynne P. Sullivan, and Rochelle A. Marrinan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 416 pp. \$49.95. cloth.)

This group biography documents the lives of ten archaeologists from the 1920s through the 1960s. The essays vary from well-researched histories of pioneers to recollections of and interviews with modern practitioners of the craft. These individuals were all white women, but an additional chapter chronicles the experiences of both black and white women who excavated sites under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration during the New Deal. These women were disregarded by the profession and their contribution ignored—until now. Yet, this book does more than simply recount life histories; supplemental essays explore the influence of gender on interpretations of the past. The authors challenge terms such as “early man” to describe prehistoric men and women. Nevertheless, they avoid producing a strident criticism of men in favor of a plea for open-mindedness in deciphering ancient symbols. Personal details and anecdotes make this a light-hearted as well as informative read.