STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume 86
Number 3 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Volume 86, Number 3*

Article 9

2007

Book Reviews

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Recommended Citation
Society, Florida Historical (2007) "Book Reviews," *Florida Historical Quarterly*: Vol. 86: No. 3, Article 9.
Available at: https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol86/iss3/9

Book Reviews

Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement. By Gelien Matthews. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006. Pp. ix, 240. Bibliography. $42.95 cloth).

In *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement*, Gelien Matthews introduces a fresh historiographical perspective into what has become a rapidly expanding body of literature concerning slave revolts and their affect upon metropolitan abolitionist movements. What sets Matthews's work apart from past and contemporary works concerning the British abolitionist movement is her assertion that nineteenth century slave revolts constituted a primary agent of change through the semi-symbiotic relationship they shared with the metropolitan front in Parliament. Slave risings, according to Matthews, instituted "a double-edged attitude of fear and denunciation as well as a renewed and expanded attack on the servile regime" (3).

Matthews, who is currently a professor of history at Caribbean Nazarene College in Trinidad and Tobago, believes that present scholarship on the subject of abolition and revolt has been excessively limited in its scope and overly focused on issues such as the political environment of British Parliament, planter agitation, climatic factors, and the persecution of sectarian missionaries. While she does not wish to discredit the significance or the study of such factors, Matthews instead attempts to take a relativist position through a reexamination of past historical interpretations and build upon the pre-existent theory of "emancipation from below" initially posed by Eric Williams in *Capitalism and Slavery* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1964) and Richard Hart in *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery: Blacks in Rebellion* (Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1985).

Published by STARS, 2007

Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 86 [2007], No. 3, Art. 9

Matthews attempts to "[provide] the missing volume in the history of British abolitionism by examining the activist response to and utilization of the rebellion of nineteenth century slaves in the English Caribbean" (10). By analyzing the revolts of Barbados (1816), Demerara (1832), and Jamaica (1831-32), she illustrates the chronological evolution of abolitionist thought and discourse from a vacillating and ambivalent stance to a clearly more radicalized and accepting position concerning revolts and their place within the socio-political discourse of both the metropole and its colonial holdings.

The framework in which Matthews presents her argument consists of a three-phase progression. Beginning in Chapter 2, "Agitating the Question," Matthews both appraises and criticizes the aforementioned vacillating effects which slave revolts had upon the relatively fledgling abolitionist movements as well as the ambivalent and defensive arguments put forth by its leaders, notably William Wilberforce and to a lesser extent Thomas Fowell Buxton. Conversely, in Chapter 3, "The Other Side of Slave Revolts," Matthews shows the beneficial nature of the Caribbean revolts and their ability to affect change within the less conservative elements of the abolitionist movement. Additionally, she details ways in which abolitionists attempted to diffuse the arguments of pro-slavery advocates. For example, by putting forth a defense of revolt inherently tied to the fundamental rights of men, that "slavery itself catapulted the slaves into open rebellion" (63), abolitionists not only showed themselves willing to be unapologetic for a dogma spawned from the French Revolution (a generally taboo subject in the British Parliament), but also their shift from a conservative defense of deniability to a far more liberal and Republican rhetoric. This is the essence of Matthews's argument; that the slave revolts between 1816 and 1832 created an inexorable environment from which more radical abolitionist doctrines developed.

In the following two chapters Matthews delivers the primary defense of *Caribbean Slave Revolts.* Her argument that these slave revolts had a positive affect upon metropolitan British abolition, and in fact acted as catalysts in key moments of the abolition process, is the basis of chapters 4 and 5. Additionally, the aforementioned shift from conservative to liberal ideologies and the resulting fissures within abolitionist circles is also discussed. Notable among these is the division between William Wilberforce, who believed high society to be the engine of aboli-

tion, and the emergence of the common man as a voice of abolition, championed by Thomas Clarkson. Despite the noticeable segmentation of abolitionist discourse, Matthews illustrates that there existed throughout the 1820s a continual movement towards the progressive-left by all parties involved, whether it be through a more conservative "humanitarian conscience," or the progressive belief that only through full emancipation would further violence be prevented.

Gelien Matthews has given a unique contribution to the ever-growing body of literature concerning the nineteenth century abolitionist movement. Though dry and reading like the Ph.D. dissertation that it most surely once was, *Caribbean Slave Revolts and the British Abolitionist Movement* is a refreshing addition to a well-established historiography. Alterations need made to several chapters in order to allow greater chronological and topical fluidity and prevent the reiteration of material, and the absence of an index is somewhat of a hindrance. Despite these criticisms, Matthews does an excellent job at presenting a complex analysis of the continuously fluctuating state of early nineteenth century abolitionist discourse, as well as the subtle and overt consequences of slave revolts on metropolitan abolition movements.

Ryan D. Groves *University of Central Florida*

The Seminole Freedmen, A History. By Kevin Mulroy. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. pp.480. Illustrations, preface, acknowledgements, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $36.95 cloth.)

North American Indians' understandings of race have gained much attention from historians in recent years. James F. Brook's edited collection titled *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian – Black Experience in North America* (2002), Theda Perdue's *Mixed Blood Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South* (2005), and Claudio Saunt's *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (2005) have attempted to determine the impact of race, both as a legally defined entity and socially constructed reality, on native peoples as they grappled with U.S. expansion and subsequent erosion of their autonomy. Consensus is generally lacking in these works and others similar in subject matter, especially in regard to conclusions reached by Perdue and Saunt.

Kevin Mulroy does not resolve disagreements on these matters but does provide an intriguing perspective that will surely add much fodder to these debates.

Mulroy's work examines the history of African American relationships with Seminole Indians from the colonial era to the twentieth century. Hoping to clear up existing misunderstandings, he emphatically contends that Native American Seminoles traditionally have enjoyed close, long term ties with certain African American runaway slaves and freedmen, whom he collectively labels "Seminole Maroons," but that the groups perpetually have maintained separate identities and cultures that differentiated them in significant ways. In his words, Seminole Maroons "are not today and never were Seminole Indians" (xxv). Though not written in response to current legal and political battles involving the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, Mulroy acknowledges that his book's content "attempts to trace and explain the historical roots of the current difficulties between Seminoles and freedmen" (xxx).

In order to do this, Mulroy guides his readers through a painstaking history of Seminole Indians and Maroons that highlights the complexity of their interaction over time. Employing a chronological perspective, he reviews the emergence of the Seminole Indians in the late eighteenth century and their attitudes toward slavery and kinship that fostered mutually beneficial connections with African Americans avoiding European control. Mulroy then proceeds to analyze the impact of Removal on both groups, noting that current controversies stem from often conflicting treaty provisions and promises issued by U.S. officials in efforts to have both Indians and Maroons relocated to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). Once in their new locales, Seminole Indians and Maroons continued to live together much as they had in Florida, with some Maroons enjoying greater economic prosperity than Indians, while others of both groups deeming Indian Territory unsatisfactory in a myriad of ways relocated to Texas and Mexico. The Civil War provided the first substantial divisions between Seminole Indians and Maroons, mostly due to the pro-slavery stance taken by some Indians and the resulting reevaluation of African American-Indian relationships by all. Mulroy asserts that the 1866 treaty reaffirming peace between the United States and Seminoles after the conflict "was a watershed in the history of Seminole-maroon relations" (200). In this document, federal officials stated that henceforth Seminole Maroons would "enjoy all the

rights of native citizens" while laws of the Seminole "nation" would apply to "all persons of whatever race or color, who may be adopted as citizens or members of said tribe" (200). As often was the case with United States-Indian treaties, terms such as *citizen, nation, members,* and *tribe* fostered ambiguity and confusion, a situation that would persist well into the future. Mulroy concludes the book with an evaluation of the multiple factors that have precipitated legal battles over Seminole membership in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries: intercultural marriage and offspring, land allotment, Christianization and Civilization agendas, Oklahoma statehood, and Seminole tribe/nation political factionalism.

There is much to commend in Mulroy's assessment. It is exhaustively researched and carefully conceptualized. Past historiography related to his topic is systematically critiqued and traditional conclusions re-evaluated based on the author's findings. Unlike others concerned with Native Americans and race, Mulroy doesn't compartmentalize his study with arbitrary starting or stopping points but makes efforts to comprehensively examine Seminole Indian and Maroon ties over time and place, thus incorporating colonialists' perspectives as well as New Western history approaches. Moreover, distinctions between Seminole Indians and Maroons are clearly illustrated through evidence documenting language patterns, marriage conventions, clan affiliations, and land use practices. Those preferring biographical narratives of history will find much of value in the author's portrayals of figures such as Robert Johnson, Caesar Bowlegs, and Heniha Mikko to make his points.

The Seminole Freedmen is not flawless. British East Florida Lt. Governor John Moultrie is misidentified as Governor and Mulroy seems less familiar with colonial Florida's historiography than that of later periods. In addition, some will question the author's assessments of slavery in general, especially any benign aspects, regardless of Seminole Indian intentions or practices. Overall, however, those interested in Florida or Seminole history will benefit greatly from this work. It expands on traditional assessments of both subjects in terms of scope, research, and consequences while highlighting the relevance of historical developments in Florida to broader historiographic trends affecting Native American Studies and U.S. history in general.

Daniel S. Murphree *University of Texas at Tyler*

1812 War with America. By John Latimer. (Cambridge, Mass. And London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007. Pp. vii, 637. Acknowledgments, introduction, maps, illustrations, note on place names and currency, abbreviations, notes, selected bibliography, index. $35.00 cloth.)

John Latimer's new book on the War of 1812 is the most recent in a run of studies that have exploded into the historical literature like bombs bursting in air. Two others of note are Walter R. Borneman's *1812 The War that Forged a Nation* (2004) and A.J. Langguth's *Union 1812, The Americans who Fought the Second War of Independence* (2006). These studies point to the continuing popularity of the subject and possibly to a recognition that the bicentennial of the conflict is fast approaching. They also have something in common—they all focus on themes that most students of the era will find familiar. The themes of Borneman and Langguth are apparent in the titles they selected The former focuses on the importance of the war in giving Americans a sense of themselves as a nation and a people, the latter on the War of 1812 as the finishing stroke of the American Revolution. Latimer's book *1812 War with America* offers a British perspective. It is an important contribution—since a British examination of the war is an essential counterpoint to the much more abundant American analyses—but it also follows a time-honored theme, namely that from the British perspective, the war was a sideshow of the Napoleonic Wars and did not even deserve its own name.

The book is a solid military narrative, with some aspects of social history, based on British and Canadian source material. Latimer adopts the position (unpopular with American historians) that the United States declared war on Britain 1812 largely to fulfill intentions to seize portions of Canada. This goes against the grain of standard American works such as Donald Hickey's *War of 1812* which specifically cited free trade and sailors' rights as the political justification for the war although acknowledging multiple causes. Latimer probably goes too much in the other direction, seeing American desires for Canada as overriding.

The strength of Latimer's work rests primarily on his coverage of the campaigns along the Canadian border and in the Great Lakes (not surprising, given his premise about the cause of war). His analyses of naval warfare and of the Battle of New Orleans are illuminating because of his familiarity with British source material.

In terms of overall contribution to the literature, his most important point, hammered home repeatedly, is that neither the United States nor Britain had a strategy for fighting the war. Indeed, the opening line of his concluding chapter is a good summary of his argument: "A feature of war without strategy is that it tends to be played out in a series of "hands," the scores of which cancel each other out, as in bridge." This statement is one that is increasingly acceptable to other scholars. The War of 1812 was a conflict fought on a variety of fronts and varied greatly in its character depending on whether the scene of action was the northern or southern boundaries of the United States. Latimer provides all the essential coverage of major military action and also has a good analysis of the terms of peace and of the aftermath of the war. He makes a strong case for what many American historians have a difficult time stating: that the United States lost the war, at least in terms of gaining any concessions from Britain, and that the war's enduring reputation as a struggle to save the republic was the product of subsequent national myth-building.

For those interested in southern history, the book will be a disappointment. Latimer follows a score of previous authors in paying little attention to southern campaigns, the Battle of New Orleans excepted. This is understandable (but maybe not excusable) given his interest in Canada. He is dismissive of the Creek War, saying it made no impression on British tactics or strategy. That conclusion runs counter to recent scholarship on the Negro Fort at Prospect Bluff that shows (from British sources) a substantial investment in time and money to forge the Creeks into a fighting force that could penetrate deep into the southern states. While giving token coverage to Jackson's campaigns prior to New Orleans, Latimer also has little to say about British endeavors to hit the soft southern underbelly of the United States or about long-standing southern fears of British overtures to southern Indians and to slaves. Although British plans may have come to nothing, they were certainly part of British thinking, and the mere apprehension of them struck fear in southern hearts. Overall, there is a lack of historical perspective in his coverage of the southern frontier that is all the more regrettable when contrasted with his in-depth analysis of the tactics and battles along the northern one.

This book is a valuable contribution as a British perspective on 1812 and has no current rival in that respect; however, in its attention to the southern front it falls short of Frank Lawrence Owsley

Jr's much older *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands.* Few historians have looked closely at British intentions in the southern campaigns. Since many southerners saw the war as a replay of the American Revolution in the South, it would have been interesting to read an exploration of whether or not British participants viewed it in the same manner. Somehow, a major storyline seems to have been missed.

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George A. Smathers Library, University of Florida

Making a New South: Race, Leadership, and Community after the Civil War. Edited by Paul A. Cimbala and Barton C. Shaw. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007. Pp. 328. Foreword, introduction, notes, contributors, index. $59.95 cloth.)

One of the most daunting challenges facing historians of the American South is trying to fashion historical generalizations that can fit such a large and diverse region. Can such grand theses be constructed, and are they truly valid? As more and more scholarship in what is surely the most energetic field of American historiography comes to life, the modern South's experience becomes even more complex. Editors Paul A. Cimbala and Barton C. Shaw offer studies aimed at specific historical topics on the state or city level from roughly the 1870s to the 1970s.This essay collection, *Making a New South: Race, Leadership, and Community after the Civil War,* explores how southerners black and white struggled to create "New Souths" in the decades after Appomattox.

Of the eleven essays included in this work, only three are actually set in the Reconstruction era. Deborah Beckel looks at the thorny problem of creating and maintaining a biracial Republican Party in post-war North Carolina. Finally, in her view, white leaders like J.C. L. Harris proved unable to overcome "white line" politics and stop reactionaries from all but completely disenfranchising African Americans in the state. Post-war Georgia also grappled with the issues of race, politics, and economics. Bobby Donaldson paints a portrait of how African American churchmen worked to find some middle ground between white segregationists and accommodationists like Booker T. Washington. Faith in their people, and faith in the future, sustained them during the darkest days of Jim

Crow. The financial consequences of looking backward in places like Columbus, Georgia are revisited in an article by Faye L. Jensen. She sees a failure of that town's leadership to move beyond old ideas of race relations and not seek new business opportunities as dooming Columbus to never become a booming New South city.

Six essays in *Making a New South* cover the first half dozen decades of the twentieth century. William D. Carrigan sees Waco, Texas as an interesting place to examine racial violence and how white and black Texans remembered such tragic incidents. Waco's experiences stand in stark contrast to Atlanta's by the early years of the Depression, as Douglas L. Fleming points out. There the city's business and political leadership pushed for racial moderation in hopes of stimulating economic growth and a return to prosperity. A similar ethos seemed to exist in neighboring Sough Carolina, where Tony Badger finds that post-World War II governors chose not to follow the examples of their colleagues in Mississippi and Alabama in urging resistance to desegregation after the *Brown* decision. Hence the Palmetto State escaped much of the trauma spawned by state refusals to submit to the rule of federal law.

Making a New South introduces readers to some very interesting southerners of both races as they worked either for or against change. Larissa M. Smith recalls how Virginia's Brownie Lee Jones labored against long odds for decades to bring political reform and economic justice to that state's black community. Louisville, Kentucky's Andrew Wade and Carl and Anne Braden fought not only against housing segregation but also the injustices of the Red Scare of the 1950s. Catherine Fosl reminds us in her article about the 1954 Wade-Braden case that the blooming civil rights movement did not exist in a vacuum from the fear and intolerance generated by the Cold War. Such hatred motivated individuals like John Kasper to instigate a violent crisis in what would have been peaceful school desegregation in 1956 Clinton, Tennessee. Author Clive Webb offers a chilling portrait of a man dedicated to bigotry at all costs.

The final two selections look at Mississippi in the late 1960s and 1970s. David C. Carter chronicles the drive to create a Head Start program across the state beginning in 1965, and shows how civil rights and educational rights meshed. Segregationists fought such efforts with the conviction that these programs had to be communist conspiracies directed from Moscow. In the end sadly political realities trumped grassroots efforts to lift up those in

need. Kris Shepard continues this theme in his look at the evolution of the North Mississippi Legal Services organization. Despite real advances in providing legal services the African American community, by the 1970s the energy of the civil rights movement in Mississippi began to ebb. Action was also slowed by the onset of conservatism in the post-Nixon years. The decade ended with rural public attorneys such as these left with much work undone.

Making a New South offers keen insights on how southern communities dealt with issues of race and social and political change since the Civil War. However, this collection falls short of being complete. Some ex-Confederate states are not included, while others like Georgia have multiple entries. Students of Florida history will wonder why nothing from the Sunshine State's past made it into this book. In fact one essay has LeRoy Collins as a U.S. Senator and not governor in 1957 (p. 186). In spite of this, historians and those with an interest in the South would be well-advised to consult these essays, as they represent in many cases the cutting edge of recent scholarship.

Robert A. Taylor *Florida Institute of Technology*

Why Confederates Fought: Family and Nation in Civil War Virginia. By Aaron Sheehan-Dean. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth.)

Aaron Sheehan-Dean's *Why Confederates Fought* represents the latest attempt to answer the complex question of what made so many white southerners take up arms against the United States government in the years 1861-1865. Using diaries, letters, memoirs, and census records, Sheehan-Dean, employing Virginia as a test case, analyzes Confederate soldiers' motivations from secession through their defeat at Appomattox. His study concludes that almost all white Virginians fought and that they fought out of loyalty both to family and to southern society. With the exception of the part of the state that became West Virginia, he finds approximately ninety percent of the eligible men served in the Confederate army. Additionally, he contends that white Virginians remained loyal Confederates until defeat but emphasizes that the meaning of Confederate loyalty evolved over the course of the war. Despite some frustrations with government policies, these soldiers

never ceased being Confederates. Overall, Sheehan-Dean convincingly argues his case, and he has provided another valuable lesson in the importance of trying to understand Civil War soldiers from their perspectives rather than from our own.

Sheehan-Dean's work speaks to many current debates among Civil War scholars. In looking at soldiers' loyalty, he confronts the thorny issue of Confederate nationalism. While maintaining that Confederate nationalism clearly existed, Dean takes a nuanced approach, explaining how the nature of this nationalism changed over the course of the war. Initially, soldiers enlisted to defend their homes, their state's rights, and the institution of slavery. While many scholars assert that Confederate soldiers often had to choose between familial and national duty, Sheehan-Dean contends that Virginia's soldiers saw the two as complementing one another. By the end of the war, this flexible Confederate nationalism had transformed itself primarily into an opposition to Union hard war policies. Emancipation and attacks on Confederate civilians, most significantly the destruction of Fredericksburg, helped bind Virginians to the Confederacy. According to Sheehan-Dean, "the harder the North fought, the more vigorously the Confederacy resisted" (195). Because of harsh Union policies, Virginia soldiers believed that they could best protect their homes by remaining at their posts and defeating the Union army. They surrendered only when the army collapsed; and this defeat signaled military loss but not the disappearance of an ideological commitment to the Confederate cause. In other words, Sheehan-Dean supports the contention that historians searching for the explanation for Confederate defeat should look to the strength of northern armies rather than the weakness of Confederate morale.

In discussing who fought, Sheehan-Dean ventures into the debate over whether the Civil War was a "rich man's war but a poor man's fight." Based on enlistment patterns, he concludes that, outside of modern-day West Virginia, nearly everyone fought regardless of wealth. He asserts that non-slaveholders realized that they fought for a slave society, but they did so because they shared in this society's prosperity, democracy, and racial views. Non-slaveholders recognized that slavery benefited all white citizens. Additionally, within the army, enlisted men, by electing their own officers, had a voice in their own affairs just as they did in antebellum elections. In assessing who fought, Sheehan-Dean succinctly concludes that "rich men fought this war" (36). While his study

perhaps provides more support to the conclusion that "rich men and poor men fought this war" or maybe even that "men from wealthiest counties of Virginia fought in this war," he has certainly provided another brief to the argument against a severe class schism undermining the Confederacy.

Throughout *Why Confederates Fought*, Sheehan-Dean skillfully emphasizes how the meaning of Confederate loyalty changed over time and that this identity did not have a one-to-one correspondence with an endorsement of government policies. For instance, the passage of a conscription law in April 1862 challenged the democratic ideals of white southerners. In reaction to this atmosphere of compulsive service and to the fall 1862 invasion of Maryland—which for many soldiers challenged their ideas of a purely defensive war—desertion peaked. As the war progressed, however, soldiers accepted the necessity of duty, and desertions steadily decreased. Soldiers recognized that desertion undermined the Confederate nation even if that was not the deserters' intent. In this discussion and several others, Sheehan-Dean convincingly explains that white southerners had a different understanding of nationalism than historians writing more than a century later. Confederates opposed to national policies or skeptical of decision-making were not necessarily anti-Confederates. Instead, they remained committed to independence while divided on the best method to achieve it.

Why the Confederates Fought provides a succinct and compelling analysis of white southerners' participation in the Civil War, and his sophisticated discussion of Confederate nationalism should influence future debates on this subject. As Sheehan-Dean acknowledges, his work is a case study of a single state. In comparison to other Confederates, Virginia soldiers probably found it easier to reconcile the idea that fighting for the Confederacy protected their state and their homes, since they primarily fought within their state's borders. Other scholars will want to test how soldiers from states such as Florida or Louisiana, who generally fought far from their homes, linked home front and battlefront. Additionally, Sheehan-Dean's Virginia, stripped of the region of the state opposed to the Confederacy, exhibited homogeneity not present elsewhere. In other states, particularly Tennessee and North Carolina, Unionist regions remained within the state, and their presence could complicate understanding Confederate nationalism there. However, regardless of whether studies of soldiers from

other states will buttress or challenge Sheehan-Dean's conclusions, he has clearly provided a valuable blueprint for other historians to follow. His attention to chronological and geographic context in his study of Virginia's Confederate soldiers serves as an excellent example for scholars of all aspects of Civil War history.

John Sacher *University of Central Florida*

Race and Medicine in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century America. By Todd L.Savitt. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2007. Preface, appendix, notes, index. Pp. x, 453. $49 cloth.)

During the last three decades no scholar has contributed more to the intersection of the study of slave and African American medicine and southern history than Todd L. Savitt, a professor of Medical Humanities at the Brody School of Medicine at East Carolina University. Savitt is best known for his path breaking *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia* (1978). But he also edited or co-edited several essential books, including *Dictionary of American Medical Biography* (2 vols., 1984), *Disease and Distinctiveness in the American South* (1988), *Science and Medicine in the Old South* (1989), *Fevers, Agues, and Cures: Medical Life in Old Virginia* (1990), and *Medical Readers' Theater: A Guide and Scripts* (2002).

Savitt's *Race and Medicine in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century America* is an extremely valuable anthology of twenty-one of the author's essays, all of which appeared previously. The author has revised the articles, modernizing language and medical information, correcting errors, clarifying statements, standardizing documentation, and updating references to include recent scholarship. In order to reduce repetition of similar information in several of the essays, Savitt includes introductions before two groups of articles—those on sickle cell anemia (SCA) and on the history of medical education for African Americans. He also directs readers to relevant information in different chapters, thereby providing a degree of coherence frequently absent in similar collections.

Savitt's articles essentially cover the history of African Americans and medicine in the South from the colonial period to the early twentieth century. His early writings examined aspects of slave medicine not included in *Medicine and Slavery*,

including topical essays on slave life insurance, medical experimentation on bondsmen and women, and such maladies as crib death, elephantiasis, and SCA. He concluded, for example, that most infant deaths attributed to suffocation, smothering, or overlaying in antebellum America were in fact cases of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome.

Savitt next studied the health and health care of ex-slaves, specifically the medical education of post-bellum African American physicians. Over many years Savitt researched the fourteen medical schools established between 1868 and 1900 that trained black physicians. His recent work has focused on the culture and experiences of African American practitioners in the Jim Crow South, especially their sense of professionalism as exhibited in the establishment of medical journals and medical societies.

Savitt divides *Race and Medicine in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century America* into four sections of unequal length. The first section, on diseases of African Americans, consists of six articles that treat smothering and overlaying of slaves, elephantiasis, and SCA. Part two, on health and health care during slavery and Reconstruction, includes four essays on plantation medical conditions, medical experimentation, slave life insurance, and health care sponsored by Freedmen's Bureau administrators in Georgia. The third section focuses on African American medical education and includes eight articles. These include two overviews of the topic and case studies of medical schools established by Lincoln, Straight, and Shaw Universities, and of Leonard Medical School and Knoxville College's Medical Department. This section also contains an essay on Abraham Flexner, the white medical education reformer whose 1910 report criticized the state of contemporary black medical education. Flexner proposed that five of the seven medical schools that then educated black students be closed. The final part includes three essays on the history of the African American medical profession.

Collectively, Savitt's essays reflect painstaking research in numerous obscure primary sources, including hard-to-find medical journals, newspapers, pamphlets, and proceedings; government documents; religious publications; archives and manuscripts; and oral history interviews. In many cases he was the first scholar to track these sources down and to use them systematically. While sensitive to the special aspects of so-called "racial" medicine, Savitt properly contextualizes the state of medical

research and practice over the course of his research. His work consistently captures the nexus of class, culture, gender, race, and science over time. In many ways Savitt has set the standard for scholarship in African American medical history, especially as it pertains to the American South.

While specialists are familiar with many of Savitt's articles, the two chapters that introduce the sections on SCA and pioneer black medical schools include fresh material. In "Race, Medicine, and the Discovery of Sickle Cell Anemia," Savitt notes that the stories of the first case reports on SCA "reflect the excitement and competitiveness of medical science in early-twentieth-century America and the varying economic and social status of people of color in the United States at the time. Though the medical literature for sixty years following these first reported cases of SCA demonstrate the interest some medical scientists and practitioners took in the disease, SCA was not well-known to the general public, white or black, as late as the early 1970s" (pp. 16-17). Savitt has done as much as any historian to explain the historical significance of this disease.

The institutional case studies that Savitt introduces in "The Rise and Decline of African American Medical Schools," document the process whereby post-emancipation-era black physicians received their training. As freedmen, he explains, "[b]lack patients had now to insinuate themselves into a private enterprise medical care system from which they had been previously excluded" (pp. 121-22). Overcoming all manner of adversity, between 1868 and 1923 blacks established fifteen medical colleges between Oxford, Pennsylvania, and New Orleans, Louisiana. Savitt concludes that under funded black-owned proprietary medical schools—"doomed to failure from the start"—struggled financially while medical schools established by northern white missionary organizations had better chances of surviving. Ultimately the success of the latter medical schools depended on "white organized medicine and the funding of large white philanthropic organizations allied with organized medicine" (p. 124).

While predictably *Race and Medicine in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century America* reads more like a collection of essays than an integrated monograph, readers nevertheless will applaud the consistent high quality of Savitt's research and his numerous original insights into the field of African American medical history.

John David Smith *The University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 1898. By César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. viii, 428. $29.95 cloth.)

Puerto Rico's political status *vis a vis* the United States has received considerable attention from prominent academics. Following in this tradition, César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe mark 1898 (the year in which the United States "acquired" Puerto Rico as a result of Spain's surrender during the Spanish American War) as the year in which a new political framework emerged to define all future debates that concern Puerto Rico. Ayala and Bernabe provide a new understanding of the particular relationship between U.S. colonial and imperial expansion and Puerto Rico, positioning the island as a "colony of a fundamentally non colonial imperialism."

The authors divide the book into two sections that coincide with an economic understanding of historical and political events. The first part of the book covers the era of economic expansion following 1898 and ends with the Great Depression. The second part chronicles a postwar economic expansion and the economic decline that occurred after the mid 1970s. While the study is framed in economic terms (colonialism and imperialism are similarly defined as processes rooted in market forces), politics and culture are not artificially subsumed beneath this framework. Rather, they emerge naturally from the economic contexts that the author's provide. The political activism of the "Generation of the 1930s," for example, is mirrored in the island's burgeoning literary arts movements. Its themes, such as political self-determination and the emergence of a national identity distinct from that of the United States, are rooted in the political issues of the era.

Ayala and Bernabe manage to compile a critical reexamination of the political developments that affect Puerto Rico while simultaneously synthesizing the existing literature on the subject. They account for the rise and fall of key actors in Puerto Rican history, such as the *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD) and Luis Muñoz Marin, and locate the current resurgence of the pro-statehood movement in Puerto Rico within a long tradition of innovative activism for social justice. Their analysis also examines the influence of the Nuyorican communities from East Harlem to Chicago, and the transformations that these underwent following periods of economic growth and / or decline.

In so doing, their study repudiates any assumptions that Puerto Rico was simply an afterthought in the minds of North American politicians. The century-long relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States emerges as constantly adjusting to the interests of North American capital and Puerto Rican political developments. Strategies and tactics on both sides are painted as undergoing a constant process of redefinition as both sides acknowledged and responded to each other. It is within this framework that Pedro Albizu Campos, despite his own *independista* beliefs, emerges from the author's study as a strategic proponent of either statehood or independence—a critic of the position in which Puerto Rico was languishing during the 1930s. Similarly, the transformation of the PPD from a broad based political party into one that championed the creation of the Commonwealth is seen by the authors as a strategic decision taken by Luis Muñoz Marin during a period of economic expansion and in the context of the New Deal era, which allowed him to negotiate the terms of the Commonwealth. The inability of the PPD to sustain its political base into the latter decades of the twentieth century was then a result of the leadership's inability to adjust its strategies to the new political and economic transformations that had taken place on the island and in the United States. On the other hand, the statehood movement was able to effectively distance itself from its old association with North American interests and managed to transform itself into a critique of both the Commonwealth status and North American policies on the island.

The authors acknowledge that their account of the island's history is one in which certain aspects of Puerto Rican society have been necessarily privileged over other, equally important aspects. Instead of providing us with a superficial account of topics such as sports, music, and dance, for example, the authors leave it up to future scholars to take up the call for a more in depth analysis of Puerto Rican society. And while Ayala and Bernabe have necessarily tied the history of Puerto Rico to that of the United States in order to accomplish their study (as the title of the work suggests, the scope of the book centers on an examination of Puerto Rico in the "American Century"), they acknowledge the inherent danger in such an action. They endeavor to present Puerto Rico as a political actor in its own right. They have indeed succeeded.

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History of Gambling in Florida. By Donald D. Spencer. (Ormond Beach, Fla.: Camelot Publishing Company, 2007. Pp.198. Illustrations, acknowledgement, introduction, table of contents, appendices, bibliography, index. $49.95 paper.)

Florida has a long history when it comes to gambling, but the number of published works on the subject is surprisingly short. Indeed, if one counts only book-length treatments, there are none. Into this void has stepped Donald D. Spencer, a computer scientist, memorabilia collector, and amateur historian. The result is a coffee table book that is as colorful as its subject.

Befitting the love-hate nature of the relationship, Florida's gambling history is rich and complex. In 1828, the Territorial Council approved a $1,000 lottery to support Jacksonville's Union Academy, but in 1832 it banned all forms of betting. In 1868, a provision outlawing lotteries was added to the constitution, but in 1931 an exception was made for pari-mutuels (to boost tourism). In 1935, slot machines were legalized (to thwart gangsters like Meyer Lansky), but the statute permitting them was repealed in 1937. In 1986, Floridians authorized a state lottery (to support education), but voted against a constitutional amendment permitting full-scale casinos. Although similar proposals failed in 1978 and 1994, the state now has casino boats (1994), "racinos" (pari-mutuel facilities with limited casino games) (2004), and a compact with the Seminoles that, if implemented, will allow the tribe to have baccarat, blackjack, and simulated craps and roulette at its seven casinos (2007).

Spencer takes these matters up in his self-published book, which consists of an introduction, eleven chapters, two appendices (a guide to casino games and a glossary of gambling terms), a bibliography, and an index. Like his earlier books on Florida—which have explored such diverse topics as the state's beaches, cities, industries, and rivers—Spencer's effort is a feast for the eyes. There are nearly 500 illustrations, almost all of them in full color. They run the gamut from photographs to postcards, placards to portraits, and include candids, live action shots, and stills. Although many of the pictures are stock footage, others are quite rare (a $50 gaming chip from the notorious Floridian Casino in Miami Beach, for example, and two betting tickets from a 1948 meet at the Volusia County Kennel Club).

After a brief introduction, which summarizes the book's contents, the opening chapter traces the history of gambling in the United States. This provides a nice lead-in to the next two chapters, which dis-

cuss, respectively, legal and illegal gambling in Florida. Each of the remaining eight chapters then examines a different type of gambling. The one exception is Chapter 10, which covers both lotteries and racinos. This is an odd pairing, for the two have nothing in common. Spencer admits as much when he writes, "This chapter covers one of the oldest forms of gambling and one of the newest forms."

Some of Spencer's other choices are equally odd. Chapter 4 is entitled "Floating Casinos," although everyone else uses the terms "Cruises to Nowhere" and "Day Cruises." In addition, he waits until Chapter 11 ("Cruise Ship Gambling") to complete his look at waterborne betting. These two chapters should have followed seriatim (with cruise ships coming first, as they pre-date day cruising by decades), and arguably should have been combined into one chapter.

Given their newness, it also is curious that Spencer begins with day cruises. For the sake of clarity and continuity, he should have started with lotteries, which, as noted above, were present in territorial times.

Chapter 5 is devoted to Indian gambling. Because such gambling did not become significant until the mid-1990s, its appearance so early in the book is jarring.

Chapters 6 ("Horse Racing"), 7 ("Greyhound Racing"), and 8 ("Jai Alai") examine pari-mutuel betting, which has long been at the heart of Florida gambling. They are followed by a discussion of poker rooms (Chapter 9). By law, such rooms must be operated in conjunction with either a pari-mutuel or a vessel, so the need for a separate chapter is not apparent. Indeed, it is a bit misleading.

Spencer's line-up makes it difficult for the uninitiated to easily follow Florida's gambling history. Moreover, a fair number of errors can be found in the text. Thus, for example, he gets the name of SeaEscape's well-known casino ship wrong (calling it the "Island Adventurer" instead of the "Island Adventure"); claims *Bryan v. Itasca County, Minnesota*, 426 U.S. 373 (1976), led to an expansion of Indian gambling (such gambling did not even exist until 1979); and says Broward County's racinos were allowed to install slot machines in 2005 (the first license granting permission to do so was not issued until 2006).

More regrettable is Spencer's failure to discuss four other types of gambling found in Florida: charitable, social, sports, and wireless (*i.e.*, internet). While the former two are severely limited by state law, and the latter two are flatly prohibited by federal law, their omission from a work of this sort is both striking and inexplicable.

Even with these problems, Spencer's book is a most welcome addition. And its sumptuous pictures (whose beauty is enhanced by being

printed on high quality paper) make it a valuable resource for the expert and a fun read (as well as an excellent gift) for everyone else.

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A History of Florida Forests. By Bayard Kendrick and Barry Walden Walsh. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007. Foreword, illustrations, maps, sidebars, tables, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xiv, 585, $65 cloth.)

In this era of theme parks, golf courses, and retirement communities, it is easy to forget that timber was once at the center of the Florida economy. Now, about two hundred acres of Florida's forests are destroyed each and every day, but the state's vast tracts of old-growth cypress, live oak, longleaf pine, were the treasures that first lured investors and settlers into the Sunshine State. *A History of Florida Forests* helps to uncover this forgotten past and to remind readers and Florida residents of forestry's central role in the state's history.

The book has an unusual history of its own. The project began in the 1960s, when the Florida Board of Forestry commissioned the novelist and amateur historian Bayard Kendrick to write its history. Kendrick also had work experience in the industry and personal connections with some of the state's leading forestry families. Kendrick submitted his manuscript in 1967, but it remained unpublished for decades. It languished as a "bible" that passed among those interested in Florida forestry, and his papers, archived at the University of South Florida, have remained a valuable resource for scholars. Interest in the project revived recently, and in 2000 Florida's Division of Forestry hired the environmental writer Barry Walden Walsh to bring the project to completion. Walsh edited and revised Kendrick's manuscript, supplemented his research with hundreds of photographs, incorporated dozens of sidebars with additional text, and added two chapters on developments since the mid-1960s.

Despite its unconventional structure, the book provides a solid introduction to this underappreciated aspect of Florida history. It opens with a helpful survey of Florida's forest wealth; with 314 different species, more than any other state except Hawaii, Florida boasts a wide range of important and valuable trees. Florida's Native Americans were effective managers of forest resources, but Hernando de Soto and other early explorers found the region's immense forests to be obstacles and sources of danger. It was not

long, however, before traders found wealth in Florida timber, particularly the live oak essential in shipping construction, the pine and hardwoods used in the construction trades, and the cedar used in the manufacturing of pencils. By 1853, fourteen sawmills operated in Jacksonville, and railroad and steamboat operators soon found ways to probe ever deeper into the state's interior. In the late nineteenth century, as longleaf pine resources in the Carolinas and Georgia neared exhaustion, the naval stores industry moved into northern Florida. Kendrick's manuscript and Walsh's supplemental materials provide an especially fine picture of the naval stores industry, with insights into its brutal treatment of both trees and workers, the convict lease system, company stores, and the author and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston's interviews with turpentine camp workers.

In subsequent chapters, the authors focus on the timber, lumber, and pulp and paper companies that dominated North Florida's economy from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. The authors provide interesting tidbits on the operations of water-powered sawmills, on the rise and fall of the large landowners, on the company and ghost towns that followed forest operations, and on the technologies employed to extract the ever more remote stands of old growth timber. Kendrick's ties with the industry's leaders of the 1960s are evident, as the text includes an abundance of details on the interconnections among these families.

Amidst their evidence of resource extraction and exploitation, the authors often turn their attention to forest conservation issues. Kendrick traces the topic to 1821, the year Florida became a United States territory, when efforts began to protect valuable stands of live oak. Presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson worked to secure a government reserve at Santa Rosa, near Pensacola, one of the federal government's first official efforts at resource conservation. In sections on the early twentieth century, Kendrick describes the conservationists who established the nation's first wildlife reserves in Florida, those who worked to reduce damage caused by the naval stores industry, and the continual battles between timbermen who hoped to minimize forest fires and the cattle ranchers who considered an annual burn of forest underbrush an ideal method to generate young grasses for grazing. In her chapters, Walsh addresses the impact of environmentalist thinking since the 1970s, such as policies that reduced the water pollution generated by pulp and paper producers, efforts to control invasive and protect endangered species, and research in genetics and other biotechnologies that have

increased productivity, reduced plant disease, and established more sustainable forestry practices. In all, the book traces an evolution in forest history, from exploitation to timber management to broader notions of resource and ecosystem management.

The book is informative, engaging, and accessible to a broad audience. One can learn a good deal of forest history simply by reading the captions to the three hundred photographs and illustrations. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this thoroughly unconventional text has some obvious shortcomings. The multiple sidebars interrupt a consistent narrative, and many of these include trivial information, such as lists of recent forest fires, members of the board of forestry, and recipients of the Florida Tree Farmer of the Year award. A more rigorous editor might have trimmed pages of interview transcripts and the rambling letters from forestry board members. Someone needed to catch the instances in which paragraphs and pages appear to be inserted completely out of their proper place. The authors do not engage recent scholarship in environmental history, and they rarely address connections between Florida's forests and developments beyond the state borders. They tend to celebrate achievements of industry leaders and avoid more controversial issues such as racial tensions, the wholesale destruction of some irreplaceable ecosystems, and the excessive power of industry leaders in Florida politics. One can be sure that historians will return to these topics in future works, but those who do surely will find valuable information in this comprehensive and interesting introduction to the history of Florida's forests.

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Weeki Wachee: City of Mermaids, A History of One of Florida's Oldest Roadside Attractions. By Lu Vickers and Sara Dionne. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007. Pp. 295. Foreword, preface and acknowledgments, photographs,notes, index. $34.95 cloth.)

"Before you go to Florida," a writer for the *Chicago Sun-Times* advised, "you have to decide if you want to see the Authentic Florida, the Fake Florida or the Authentically Fake Florida" (77). Opened on October 12, 1947, Weeki Wachee was, along with Silver Springs, Orchid Jungle, Cypress Gardens, Rainbow Springs, and others, one of the oldest natural roadside attractions in the state. The green and blue springs had been visited by mastodons, ancient Indians, Spanish conquistadors, and southern travelers before mermaids eating

bananas, drinking Grapette and RC Cola, and performing underwater routines were added, and a $1 million underwater theatre was sunk into a side in 1960. Weeki Wachee was "...at once a primordial pool and kitschy tourist attraction" (2). Lu Vickers, a former Kingsbury Fellow at Florida State University and author of the novel, *Breathing Underwater*, and Sara Dionne, a fashion designer in New York City, who is currently working on a documentary, "Once a Mermaid," have collaborated—text by Vickers and research and photograph compilation by Dionne—to produce a nostalgic, yet significant book.

Situated on Florida's west coast, Weeki Wachee relied on sexuality to attract crowds. The underwater performances provided a vision of another world and a sense of fantasy, and the mermaids, with their flowing long hair, tight costumes, and caressing toned bodies, exuded sensuality. Becoming and staying a mermaid was not easy. The women were young, shapely, and athletic. They had to pass a test that required them to swim across the springs and hold their breath for 2 ? minutes. The Aquabelles slid down a 60-foot cylinder to perform three to nine shows a day in 72° water. Some of the early wanabees were pretty naïve. One aspiring Aquabelle thought that skin diving meant skinny dipping. Sinus and ear infections were chronic problems. Thunderstorms, large catfish and garfish, big turtles, and an occasional alligator were employment hazards. Those who made the grade became icons of popular culture, part of a sisterhood and a paradise that would last a lifetime, unlike the employees of corporate entertainment.

While the interviews with mermaids salvages critical information about day-to-day activities, perhaps the most valuable material focuses on Newton Perry, a swimming, diving and inventing genius, who Grantland Rice called "The Human Fish." Born in Georgia in 1908, Perry learned to swim as a child. He became a lifeguard at Silver Springs and placed cardboard stickers on visitors' cars; formed the swim team at Ocala high school; lettered in swimming, diving, and wrestling at the University of Florida; managed the Wakulla Springs resort; appeared in hundreds of cinema shorts and doubled for Tarzan's Johnny Weissmuller; invited another legendary figure, the herpetologist Ross Allen, to set up an institute and exhibits of reptiles and snakes at Weeki Wachee; developed the air hose and airlock that made underwater theatrics possible; organized underwater picnics, prizefights, and other zany events for Grantland Rice Sportslights; trained navy frogmen; filmed combat situations; entertained the troops during World War II; and staged underwater beauty contests among many other weird and wacky activities.

There is a built-in redundancy when dealing with a single institution. The collaborators have, however, negotiated this tightrope to produce a balanced text and variegated imagery. There are excursions into the movies made at the springs, and stories about famous visitors, including Elvis Presley, Howard Hughes, Esther Williams, Arthur Godfrey, Eddie Arnold, and Don Knotts. Vickers confronts some the thorniest issues that the new social history would ask. Weeki Wachee observed the conventions of Jim Crow until the 1960s. Local African Americans were hired as cooks, clerks in the gift shop, and glass-bottomed boat drivers, and as "savages" for jungle films. They could not eat in the restaurant, remained in the kitchen during Christmas parties until 1953-54, and had to sit at the back of the theatre. In keeping with their sexual image, most of the mermaids wore falsies and exposed more than was intended when bathing suit straps broke. The women tried to warm-up and tan-up by sunbathing *au natural* on the roof of a private sundeck. The springs were marketed through the advertising outlets of the day—billboards, brochures, postcards, group shots for souvenirs, movies, and television shows hosted by Gary Moore and Dave Garroway.

Sadly, Weeki Wachee was killed by a combination of economic and environmental factors—the Florida Turnpike and interstate highways 75 and 4; pollution produced by Hernando County's rapid home, golf course, and shopping center development; fertilizer run-off; absentee owners who pocketed gate receipts without reinvestment in the attraction; a labor strike; and the arrival of technological entertainment exemplified by Disney. Since this book was published, there has been a movement to get the State of Florida to purchase the park. Just as readers owe a debt of gratitude to Vickers and Dionne for saving the record and infusing it with life, the authors are indebted to Delee Perry, Newton Perry's daughter, and Nancy Benda, a prototype mermaid, for their scrapbooks, files, and interviews. In addition several mermaids, prticularly Bonnie Georgiadis, provided oral histories. Ricou Browning, the underwater double for the gillman in the science fiction cult classic, "Creature from the Black Lagoon," offered his insights. Other sources included company archives and clipping files. Local studios, aficionados and others provided some 250 black-and-white and color photographs. While the images are used largely for illustration and not analyzed in terms of visual culture, the layout and design is first rate. Despite this caveat, *Weeki Wachee* is a superb book in style and substance, a model for studying popular culture.

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