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## Book Reviews

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## Book Reviews

*Flowing Through Time: A History of the Lower Chattahoochee River.* By Lynn Willoughby. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. xii, 234 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

It is said that water, like nutrients, *cycles* but a river, like energy, *flows*. The distinction between cycling and flowing is important because, whereas nitrogen, phosphorus, and carbon can be used again and again, energy can be transformed but not reused. Water, the earth's most precious molecule, cycles from the atmosphere to the earth and back again (the *hydrologic* cycle). But put water under gravity's influence and a river flows. For the past five centuries the Lower Chattahoochee River has flowed down a valley through cultural time from which there is no turning back.

In this well-written account of one of the South's great rivers, author Lynn Willoughby presents a concise, insightful chronology of centuries of accelerating change in the river, the land it drains, and the human cultures it has supported. Early chapters provide background on successive groups inhabiting (and disappearing from) the lower Chattahoochee basin: the post-ice age nomadic hunters, the Woodland hunters and gatherers, the Mississippian culture and its agrarianism, and the Creek Confederation. Later chapters chronicle more recent eras on the river, where the river became an increasingly stronger focus of economic development: the cotton economy, the Civil War years, steamboating, and dams and power production. The final chapters depict the increasing concerns about water quality as a result of pollution, both local and upriver. Transition between chapters is smooth, much as cultural transitions also seemed to flow with a sort of large-scale inevitability, driven by forces of human expansion and intrusion, and despite

considerable local and regional chaos along the way. It is difficult to read the chapters on the Creek removal and the near-immediate European land grabbing and partitioning and not sense the distinction between events cycling and flowing.

Through it all, what becomes clear is the dominance of major outside forces on the Lower Chattahoochee. Just as one must consider the whole river, not just the upper or lower part, to understand its ecological functioning, one must also see the entire river basin and beyond to understand why historical events happened as they did. For the most part the author succeeded in providing perspective for the ongoing change. Yet, a lack of adequate preparation for the reader on the looming importance of Atlanta to the Chattahoochee is perhaps one of the weaknesses of the book. The few references to Atlanta early in the book do not prepare the reader for its later importance. Unlike most large cities, Atlanta is situated high in its river basin and what happens there strongly affects the lower basin. Atlanta is seldom mentioned until the final chapters, although the river's future is strongly influenced by what happens there.

The mingling of text, photographs, and occasional maps in *Flowing Through Time* provide adequate orientation for the general reader as well as the specialist. A mixture of primary and secondary sources is provided for readers whose interest in the river and region are piqued by this worthwhile book, which makes for enjoyable leisure reading as well.

Rivers and the resources they provide are a highly relevant and scenic backdrop for viewing cultural heritage and change. Books such as *Flowing Through Time* provide a meaningful focal point for interpreting the history and culture of a region.

University of Idaho

DENNIS L. SCARNECCHIA

***Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.*** By Ira Berlin. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1998. xii, 497 pp. Maps, tables, abbreviations, notes, acknowledgments, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

A general study of this magnitude concerning North American slavery's early years is long overdue. On one hand, the period stretching from the Revolutionary Era to the early 1800s certainly



has not been ignored by scholars. On the other hand, we have awaited a study that focuses on the institution's early development, one that compares its evolution and many changing faces from region to region over two hundred years of experience. In filling this need, Professor Ira Berlin of the University of Maryland certainly has done a yeoman's job analyzing and interpreting the complexities of slavery and race over such a long period of time.

Berlin describes his subject as "a history of African-American slavery in mainland North America during the first two centuries of European and African settlement" (1). Generally, he analyzes societies with slaves (the Charter Generation) and slave societies (the Plantation Generation) from the early seventeenth century to the end of the Revolutionary period. Specifically, he probes topics such as the character of slavery in the early societies of the North, the Chesapeake, the Low Country, and the lower Mississippi River valley regions. Berlin skillfully examines its subsequent transformation into a more rigid institution based solely on race with the introduction of tobacco in the Chesapeake and rice in the Low Country regions during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

From the perspective of the 1990s, Berlin aptly describes how the life and culture of enslaved blacks evolved over time. To his credit, he does full justice to the complexity and variability of the various worlds created by bondservants, citing numerous examples that suggest they kept remaking their communities over time and from place to place against insurmountable odds. Berlin thus deals with the continued existence of a viable black culture in the four regions under study, certainly influenced by whites, but still uniquely African American in many ways.

This study offers a great deal to students of Florida history. Berlin clearly ties Florida (especially East Florida) to the development of slavery in the Carolina Low Country. But the plantation culture of Florida did not fully develop until after the mid-eighteenth century when transplanted Loyalist slaveholders from the Carolinas established rice plantations in the area. The author notes, "By the eve of the American Revolution, the rice coast stretched from Cape Fear in North Carolina to the St. John[s] River in East Florida" (143). Experiences of the lower Mississippi Valley areas of Louisiana and West Florida also came within Berlin's examination. The plantation system developed much more slowly in the former and hardly at all in the latter during this general period. Of course, sla-

very did grow by leaps and bounds in East and Middle Florida after Spain relinquished it to the United States in the early nineteenth century.

One might ask: "do we need another study that chronicles human bondage or man's inhumanity to man during the first two centuries of North America's growth and development?" The answer is a resounding "yes." Professor Berlin adds to our understanding of the constantly changing faces of slavery over a two-hundred-year period, while also contributing to our awareness of the peculiar institution's metamorphosis at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Because the writing is lucid, engaging, and extremely well documented, this book will stand with Philip D. Morgan's *Slave Counterpoint* as the two best histories of slavery written during the 1990s. This study will be of great interest to students of Colonial, Southern, American, and African American history.

Florida A&M University

LARRY E. RIVERS

***Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835.*** By Theda Perdue. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. xi, 252 pp. Acknowledgments, prologue, introduction, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Historians of women and gender have argued that bringing women into history would do more than inform the majority about its past. It would deepen understanding of human history since women and men together affect change over time. Theda Perdue's lucidly written *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* accomplishes both objectives. She gives her reader a clear understanding of the changing role of women among the Cherokees from the eve of contact with Europeans through the period of removal and resettlement in Indian Territory. At the same time, she delineates the way in which those changes affected the Cherokees as a whole and laid the basis for divisions within the life of the Cherokee nation.

By the nineteenth century a wealthy Cherokee elite had adopted the acquisitive outlook of commercially-oriented planters and many of the values of the Euro-American patriarchal family, including its insistence on female submissiveness. Simultaneously, however, the traditional and more communally-oriented values of



the Cherokee people persisted especially among the full-bloods and played a continuing role in lawmaking and court decisions within the emerging polity.

These cleavages persisted into the twentieth century, a fact well documented by the late Angie Debo in *And Still the Waters Run* (1940). Although often painful and a source of tension, they also served as a source of cultural strength since they played a vital role in the Cherokees' ability to maintain their identity as a separate people. Indeed, Perdue's study indicates that much of this cultural persistence is rooted in the ongoing commitment of many Cherokee women to their traditional values.

As Perdue explains, the Cherokee gender system was based on a belief that the world was ruled by complementary forces that each sex had to keep in balance. That meant that men and women lived side by side but almost autonomously in their realms. Moreover, like many Native peoples of North America, the Cherokees were matrilineal and matrilocal. Tracing their descent through clan mothers, they expected husbands to reside in the villages of their wives. Women owned the households and their own tools and enjoyed arenas within villages where they influenced communal decisions, especially those involving retribution following the murder or loss of family members. Female corn production provided most of the village nourishment, while the meat that men supplied was welcomed but not as highly valued.

Trade with Carolina colonists, which sent Cherokee men abroad on hunting trips and embroiled them in heightened warfare, eroded these sources of female power. After the American Revolution, the Cherokees (having supported the British) were a devastated people. To replenish their numbers they adopted captives, and some Cherokee women married Anglo-European traders. Since descent was traced through mothers, the children of these unions were Cherokee. Increasingly, as marked forces penetrated Cherokee life, these mixed-blood children assumed leadership roles. When Cherokee men married Euro-American women, matrilineal ties were weakened further. Increasingly divided, the Cherokees became a nation, largely to pass laws and create courts that protected the value and interests of the emerging elite. Cherokee women lost even more power as their people gave up vast expanses of land and felt the full impact of federal policies which were administered through Cherokee men. Missionaries, determined to spread Christianity and "civilization" left female autonomy even weaker.

Despite these pressures many Cherokee women maintained their more ancient traditions, thereby keeping them alive among their people. Perdue argues persuasively that today's service-oriented Cherokee leaders, Wilma Manchild and Joyce Dugan for example, are the descendants of the communally-oriented Cherokee clan mothers of the past.

This is one of the most important works on American Indian history in the last decade and a splendid contribution to women's history and gender history. Moreover, it is accessible to general readers and, even more important, an engaging story and an enjoyable read. It is also an important work on Southern history and, overall, a stunning achievement.

*University of Central Florida*

SHIRLEY A. LECKIE

***Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835.*** By Cynthia A. Kierner. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. xii, 295 pp. Illustrations, preface, notes, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

Cynthia A. Kierner's revisionist study of Southern women's roles in the public sphere is a rich and insightful account of the feminine experience in those transitional decades that separated the Colonial and Antebellum periods. Her focus is primarily on Virginia and the Carolinas, whose greater ethnic, religious, and economic homogeneity allowed her to identify clear patterns of change and to present defensible generalizations. As is to be expected, upper class women receive the most attention, but lower and middling classes of whites, African slaves, and their male counterparts also figure in the analysis.

*Beyond the Household* opens with a useful introduction that delineates the scope of the work, presents Kierner's working definition of "public sphere," addresses the distinctiveness of Southern women, and outlines the material, argument, and conclusions, chapter by chapter. My college-age daughter remarked after skimming the introduction, "She gives you the whole book!" This is not quite true, for the value of the study lies in the impressive amount of information that fleshes out this skeleton.

In her definition of "public sphere," Kierner rejects the masculine construct of voting, formal political debates, and office hold-



ing as too narrow and static, adopting a more inclusive one of exchanges on any extra-domestic ideas or issues. Here the public and private intersected, allowing women to cross the permeable boundaries and exercise considerable influence in the wider world. The changing nature of this public participation was shaped by the various roles and characteristics that society ascribed to women and the households that defined them. In each of these permutations, the quasi-political activities of women consistently complemented rather than challenged the existing order of social classes and patriarchal beliefs and practices.

Julia Spruill, in her classic and recently reissued *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, called attention to the change in women's political participation by contrasting their actions at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kierner zeroes in on the incremental changes that occurred within this period, dipping into the seventeenth century and fast forwarding to the mid-nineteenth century to place this evolution in clear relief.

Mirroring the maturation and Europeanization of the colonies, women's economic roles narrowed, public activities declined, and domestic labor expanded. Religious revitalization awarded woman superiority in piety, virtue, and benevolence; prosperity assigned her the responsibility of civilizing her household and society by offering genteel hospitality in a salon-like setting and oversight of the private social rituals and public pageants that reinforced the social hierarchy; a new marriage ideal appreciated female sensibility, and educational opportunities widened to prepare her to be a more suitable companion to her husband. A similar pattern can be discerned in the North, although few studies of that region delineate it with such clarity. Although Kierner does not explore the intellectual underpinnings of this new emphasis on the status and influence of women, Enlightenment social thought also reflected this ideal. Scottish philosophers charted the stages of human civilization and defined them by the value and respect that each society accorded to its women.

All this changed with the Revolution that repudiated an aristocratic gentility that smacked of decadence and celebrated the plain style of Republican virtue. Even as it closed the earlier door of female influence, it pushed women through another and onto an overtly political stage. The ensuing debate over women's political role was ultimately resolved against the backdrop of the radicalism of the French Revolution by confining them to the household, de-



fining public activity as a solely political venture which was assigned to males of all classes. Women's public activities simply mutated and took yet another form by engaging in religious and benevolent activities that evangelical religion both sanctioned and encouraged.

Kierner ends her account with the appearance of the Southern lady as a cultural ideal, but as she charts the evolution of the Colonial woman to an Antebellum lady, she does not fall into the trap of suggesting that the end product of either the culture or its linchpin, the Southern lady, was inevitable. Her blend of secondary and primary sources in a flowing synthesis should engage the general reader as well as the specialist.

*Mississippi State University*

ELIZABETH NYBAKKEN

***Methodism and the Southern Mind.*** By Cynthia Lynn Lyerly. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. viii, 251 pp. Preface, introduction, epilogue, appendix, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

One of the most enduring forces in the lives of southerners is religion. While the Baptists have wielded significant influence in Southern society, they were not alone in altering the landscape and culture of the South in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Methodists also had a powerful hand in this transformation.

Cynthia Lyerly traces the evolution of Methodism in the South from a religious sect of the outcast to one of the South's dominant religious sects, arguing that the Methodists provided a critique of Southern culture: its notion of honor, greed, and slavery. She also claims that Methodism posed a threat to the South from 1770 to 1810 by promoting a world view foreign to that of Southern leadership. They opposed gentry custom, standard gender views, and sometimes slavery. Not until after 1810 did the hatred towards Methodists decline.

Lyerly's introduction begins with a 1788 statement by southerner Thomas Hinde to his wife: "I will stop you from going to hear these Methodists: They are turning the world upside down and setting people crazy." Many of the people presently living in the South would be surprised about the radicalism of early Methodists whose activities altered the religious and world view of southerners like Hinde. Methodism encouraged his wife and daughters to become

the spiritual caretakers of the family, disrupting his way of comprehending the world. The Hinde women were unrelenting in their quest for a closer walk with God.

Lyerly uses the inner urge of the Hinde women to connect the reader to the inner urge of John Wesley's early itinerant ministers. These men fanned out across the country, willing to preach to any and all. They held services in private homes, under trees, and wherever they could find an audience. On the Southern frontier, young ministers might receive small wages; however, they sometimes received nothing at all. Because many early Methodist ministers were circuit riders, lay leaders assumed a great deal of responsibility for religious life. Lyerly argues that lay leaders reveled in being outcast.

The author asserts that Methodism gave outcasts an opportunity at leadership. She clearly illustrates that Methodist ministers accepted poor whites, free black men, free black women, white women, and enslaved people. Their relationship with God was very personal. These outcasts developed a sisterhood and brotherhood among themselves that they could not forge with family members and friends. Their focus in life was completely to God; some members even found the Revolutionary War to be a distraction.

The chapter entitled "Slaves and Free Blacks in the Church" is a poignant reminder of the proactive abilities of Black Methodists. The anti-slavery struggles of Daniel Coker, Richard Allen, and lesser known black and white allies is used as a skillful reminder that race and slavery could not be forgotten, particularly by those in bondage. Lyerly's assertions fit well with recent studies on African American religion such as *Come Shouting to Zion* by Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood.

Like Donald Mathews in *Religion in the Old South*, Lyerly raises important issues about gender, class, and race in the Methodist church of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the issue of gender, she is careful to make sure that issues of women are woven into various aspects of class, values, race, and slavery. Throughout her book, class issues remain a constant discussion as Methodism rises to a point of acceptance in the South.

In short, the statements of Lyerly are well-proven with papers, letters, sermons, conference proceedings, and other primary sources. The book is written well with a clear argument and a topical organization that flows from conflicts surrounding Methodism to the doctrines and values of Methodism to the themes of race, class, slavery, and gender. The epilogue's discussion of the schism in the church is



excellent; however, the role of the African Methodist in the "Vesey Conspiracy" deserved greater attention. Nevertheless, Lyster's work certainly deserves space next to *Come Shouting to Zion*, *Religion in the Old South*, Merton Dillon's *Slavery Attacked*, and Rhys Isaac's *The Transformation of Virginia*. Her work would serve students and historians of the South well. She provides an excellent research tool for people interested in the impact of Methodism on the mind of the South.

*Eastern Connecticut State University*

STACEY K. CLOSE

***Primitive Baptists of the Wiregrass South: 1815 to the Present.*** By John G. Crowley. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. xiii, 245 pp. List of illustrations, preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

In 1987, John B. Boles noted that to write a comprehensive history of Southern religion would require considerable work on the numerous sects beyond mainstream denominations. This book, by erstwhile Primitive Baptist minister John G. Crowley, perhaps exemplifies the kind of monographs that Boles had in mind. Based on the church's rich oral tradition and its voluminous and carefully preserved records, Crowley's text details the origins and expansion of Old Baptists into the border area of Florida and Georgia from the early nineteenth century to the present. Along the way, he highlights the issues that have caused centrifugal trends in the religion for nearly two centuries.

The most serious point of discord among Baptists concerned the extent of atonement. By the Antebellum period, the missionary impulse that gained momentum during the Great Revival sundered the Baptists of the wiregrass South into two main factions—the Primitives and the Missionaries. Unlike Primitives, Missionary Baptists embraced a doctrine of general atonement. For this, their "strongly predestinarian" counterparts chastised the Missionary wing for lacking a definite Biblical mandate, overrating secular learning, and overemphasizing money. As Crowley put it, the Missionaries' stress "on money generated hostility among frontier Baptists, primarily because they had so little of it" (73).

In the 1850s, the Primitive Baptists realized considerable growth. The Ochlocknee Association had grown to include thirty-five churches ranging from Irwin County, Georgia, to Wakulla



County, Florida, which served 778 members. At that point sectional tension had become more heated. Although some Primitives engaged in the secession debate, many remained tepid toward disunion. When the war came, most of the wiregrass country escaped direct harm. Indeed, not until Reconstruction would the area experience considerable cultural and economic upheaval. Despite these changes, Primitives accomplished some positive organizational advances after the Civil War. For example, the Ochlocknee Association combined its western churches into a new association that consisted of nine churches and 237 members. Yet even while consolidating new church bodies, doctrinal strife "racked the Primitive Baptists during the 1860s and 1870s like ideological tornadoes, leaving slots of destruction behind them" (112).

By the 1890s, the internal turmoil had subsided. During this brief, calm interlude, the Missionaries experienced greater growth than did the Primitives. South Georgia preachers then began criticizing absolute predestination, declaring that the canon "made God the author of sin and stifled godly living" (136). For the next three decades, a new breed of Missionary Baptist appeared that absorbed much of the reform spirit that characterized the era. The so-called "Progressives," for instance, played prominent roles in the prohibition crusade. To them, sobriety proved inseparable from godliness. In contrast, Primitives viewed peccadilloes relative to alcohol as fairly venial sins.

The washing of feet after communion represented another traditional ceremony that Missionaries downplayed. Again, in contrast, because Primitives strictly interpreted the Bible, they highly valued the practice. During the Great Depression, footwashing generated a new chasm, the results of which lingered for many years. In 1938, a Primitive association adopted a resolution admonishing its followers to practice footwashing "one hundred percent." If any Primitives anywhere for any reason failed to perform the ritual, the association threatened "not to affiliate" with them.

Similar internecine squabbling afflicted the Primitives during the postwar era. However, to detail all the schisms, Crowley asserts, would be tedious and nearly impossible. Suffice to say, virtually all these ecclesiastical disputes "grew entirely out of personality conflicts, family feuds, and minor disciplinary questions" (182). Still, Crowley expects Primitives to heal gradually many of their old divisions. "They presently enjoy a greater degree of unity and mutual toleration," he concludes, "than at any time in their recent past" (190).

Crowley has done a commendable job painting a sensitive portrait of Old Baptists in the Deep South. But he missed an excellent opportunity to connect his study with important, relevant works. In short, he fails to cite James M. Denham's account of Florida crackers, Wayne Flynt's work on Baptists, or Samuel S. Hill's scholarship on Southern religion anywhere in his text. Had Crowley referred to this body of literature, *Primitive Baptists of the Wiregrass South* could have provided a broader and deeper understanding of the people whose history he has investigated.

Daytona Beach Community College

JOHN J. GUTHRIE JR.

***Designs Against Charleston: The Trial Record of the Denmark Vesey Slave Conspiracy of 1822.*** Edited by Edward A. Pearson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. xiii, 424 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

The melancholy proceedings that transfixed Charleston, South Carolina, in the summer of 1822, culminating in the public execution of thirty-five men and the conviction and banishment of forty others, have since occupied a central place in the history of American slavery. With "Gabriel's Conspiracy" (organized in and around Richmond, Virginia, in 1800) and Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion (which took place in the southern Virginia countryside in 1839), the Denmark Vesey Conspiracy has been cited since the days of the Antebellum abolitionist movement as evidence that African Americans did not meekly submit to their servitude. Now, for the first time, thanks to the efforts of Edward Pearson, the verbatim trial record of the Denmark Vesey conspiracy trials are available in print, accompanied by a substantial analytical introductory essay and a host of supporting documents. Taken together, these materials offer us an opportunity to reconsider what we can know about, and how we have chosen to understand, the lives and expectations of those people who, in the words of one of their executioners, passed from "time to eternity" upon the gallows outside of Charleston 178 years ago.

From the day that the conspiracy was revealed, the question that has most preoccupied students of the subject is whether the plot was genuine and, if so, whether it might have succeeded. Of course, the justices and freeholders who put Vesey and his associ-



ates to death had obvious reasons to regard the plot with deadly earnest. Not only were their lives at risk, but they also had to justify enormous public commotion and expense that the trials and executions entailed. In his introduction, Pearson accepts their view and argues for "intellectual sophistication" and "tactical practicality" of the plan. But in its basic outline, the 1822 plot differs little from that of Gabriel's or other urban conspiracies—including one investigated in Charleston in 1749. Like these others, the Vesey conspirators planned to attack at night, seize the arsenal, set fire to the city, and then kill the white inhabitants as they emerged from their homes.

However, to ask whether Vesey's plan might have succeeded if it were not betrayed is to wander beyond historical inquiry into the realm of conjecture. After the passage of so many years, perhaps the time has come to read the record of the Vesey conspiracy trials from a different perspective. Rather than focus upon the unique events of 1822, might one use the documents produced in this extraordinary proceeding as a window through which to perceive the everyday world of black Charleston in the first quarter of the nineteenth century? As Pearson himself notes, "the transcript of the Vesey trial uncovers the ways in which slaves fashioned their own lives as well as the ways in which they tested the authority of their owners." Viewing the trial record through this lens can reveal fascinating details regarding slaves' patterns of sociability, their hopes, their fears, and how they saw their world. In the last generation, many scholars have amply demonstrated how slaves constantly engaged in "everyday resistance" against slavery. We do not need the Denmark Vesey conspiracy to convince us of this fact. The trial record can offer us, however, a rare whisper of slaves speaking in their own words of "their own lives."

Florida slave masters undoubtedly read of the unfolding events in Charleston with horror, just as their slaves perhaps heard of them with hope. But there was possibly a more direct Florida connection to the Vesey Conspiracy. A key figure in the plot was an Angola-born conjure-man named "Gullah Jack" who claimed to be able to produce charms that would make the rebels impervious to bullets. Jack was reportedly brought to America in the early nineteenth century by Zephaniah Kingsley and labored on Kingsley's St. Johns River plantation before being sold to a Charleston master in 1810. At Jack's trial, one prosecution witness regarded him with particular enmity. "Your Altars and your Gods have sunk together



in the dust," the indignant judge pronounced, "the airy spectres, conjured by you, have been chased away by the superior light of Truth, and you stand exposed, the miserable and deluded victim of offended justice." Gullah Jack was hanged on July 12, 1822.

*University of Texas at Austin*

ROBERT OLWELL

***Winfield Scott: The Quest for Military Glory.*** By Timothy D. Johnson. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xi, 315 pp. Acknowledgments, list of maps and illustrations, appendix, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

Timothy Johnson lays more stress on Winfield Scott's elitism than other current biographers; Scott's aristocratic bent is the dominant theme of the book. Scott thought himself superior and unable to relate to common men. As a result, he became the only military hero who was defeated in a run to be president. A driving ambition grew from his determination to demonstrate his superiority. He pressed for higher rank until he reached the top and, at all levels, demanded higher pay than he received. He sought high social status, for which a large income was essential, but most of all he wanted fame.

Scott learned from his military experience. The excessive bloodiness of the Battle of Lundy's Lane in 1814 taught him to adopt tactics that would reduce carnage. From his unfortunate campaign in the Second Seminole War, he learned to find ways to counter guerrilla warfare. So except for Molino del Ray, his generalship in Mexico became a model studied by students of warfare. The masters he followed were European. For example, emulating Napoleon he pinned the foe in front, sending a turning column around the flank. His assignment from 1818 to 1821 was to prepare regulations for the United States Army from European examples. The published result was the Army's first set of by-laws. Scott thought of himself as America's finest general, and author Timothy Johnson presents him as fine a field commander as the United States has ever produced. History, the author says, has not done him justice.

Winfield Scott wooed a Richmond belle, Maria Mayo, for years before she married him in March 1817. They had two boys and five girls, but only three of the brood, all girls, survived into middle years. Scott showed no interest in other women, except that he rel-

ished their admiration. Maria was not much help to him in his career; she was in Europe years on end, dying in Rome in 1862.

Biographer Johnson places Andrew Jackson as the antithesis of Winfield Scott. Jackson once challenged Scott to duel, but as a duel violated army regulations, Scott declined. Scott's elitism could not accommodate Jackson's celebration of the common man, and in Scott's view, the Jacksonians were moving the nation toward ruin.

Scott made enemies easily. When Alexander Macomb became commanding general in 1828, Scott refused to take orders from him for some time. This estranged President John Quincy Adams who had appointed Macomb. Scott and Major General Edmund Pendleton Gaines exchanged vituperation for fifty years. When Scott finally became commanding general in 1841 his arrogance became legendary. He and Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War (1853-1857), clashed so continuously that the General finally moved the headquarters of the army out of Washington.

In writing about Scott's military campaigns, Johnson repeats an already well-told bit of history in very similar fashion. Charles Winslow Elliot, in *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (1937), devoted 27 percent of 763 pages to the War of 1812; John S.D. Eisenhower, in *Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of Winfield Scott* (1997) used 24 percent of 402 pages. Johnson allots 18 percent of his 242 pages. He says Scott started the army toward being able to cope with future wars. From his earliest years in the service, Scott developed a mistrust of citizen soldiery. For him the security of the nation depended on a truly professional force. All three biographers, Elliott, Eisenhower, and Johnson devote approximately 23 percent of their texts to the War with Mexico. For Elliott, this adds up to 180 pages; for Johnson, 55. Here as elsewhere, however, there is greater detail in Elliott.

Johnson devotes only 14 percent of his text to Scott's life after the War with Mexico. Most of that portion deals with the Civil War, including General George B. McClellan's about-face on the commanding general. Early in July 1861, McClellan wrote to Scott that all he knew about handling troops he had learned from Scott, but before the month was over he was writing to others that Scott was either a dotard or a traitor.

Johnson's book rests on thorough use of primary sources. It is a sound, readable, brief biography. It can be enriched by reading Elliott's more detailed narrative along with it.

Gainesville, Fla.

JOHN K. MAHON



*Rich Man's War: Class, Caste, and Confederate Defeat in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley.* By David Williams. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. xiv, 288 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 hardcover.)

While a new millennium dawns, historians of the Civil War remain absorbed with a question almost 150 years old: Why did the Confederacy lose the war? For decades, historians largely echoed the explanation first given by Robert E. Lee at Appomattox. Lee maintained that the Army of Northern Virginia, and ultimately the nation it served, yielded in the end to overwhelming numbers. Scholars agreed that the Confederacy failed on the battlefield, where an army drawn from a larger northern population and supplied by a superior industrial base sealed the South's doom. Such a military interpretation invariably led to great interest in battles and leaders, an orientation that consumes many to this day. However, a revisionist explanation for Confederate defeat, originating with scholars such as E. Merton Coulter and Kenneth Stampp but reaching a crescendo only in the last twenty years, has increasingly countered the traditional analysis. Its adherents maintain that the Confederacy collapsed from within. Due to various socioeconomic reasons, including cancerous class conflict, a lack of commitment to independence, and policies of the Jefferson Davis administration that worsened the plight of the Southern yeomanry, the Confederate States of America imploded. Most recently, scholars such as Gary Gallagher have rejected the revisionist argument and to an extent revived the traditional explanation. The debate as a result shows no sign of ending soon.

David Williams places himself squarely on the side of those who see Confederate failure as the product of internal divisions. Importantly, unlike other proponents of the "internal collapse" argument who tend to study the Confederacy's fringes, Williams boldly challenges the old orthodoxy from the heart of the Old South, the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia. In many ways, his remains a by-now familiar scenario nonetheless. Williams depicts a South rent by class conflict and racial divisions long before Fort Sumter. Aristocratic cotton planters and business elites controlled most of the wealth in the region, leaving half of the valley's white population to toil in poverty and virtually all of the black population to labor as unwilling slaves. Afraid of losing their wealth and power, most planters campaigned for secession in



1861. After initial enthusiasm, the mass of whites expressed second thoughts. While they fought Yankees in the field and struggled with deprivation at home, the elite persisted in their extravagant lifestyles. Acting as government officials, the wealthy also placed an increasing burden on the backs of the poor, while simultaneously protecting their own interests at every opportunity. Inevitably, the plain folk fought back through desertion, draft evasion, banditry, and in some cases outright Unionism. African Americans too resisted planter hegemony in a myriad of ways, from physical resistance to donning Union blue. In the end, the Confederacy fell, doomed from the beginning. According to Williams, it really had been a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight" along the Chattahoochee.

Strongly researched and written with clarity and verve, *Rich Man's War* succeeds splendidly in most ways. The incredible wealth of detail which Williams provides on the region is unrivaled. From the industries of Columbus to the rural lives of the poor, from common digestive illnesses born of a wartime diet to the manufacture of homespun, Williams knows the region, the period, and the place. His attention to the slave community, a subject too often slighted in similar works, is particularly admirable. Regrettably, Williams tends to use too broad a brush to paint what should be a subtle study in shades of gray. Indeed in many ways, the author's tone often harkens back to Progressive interpretations of the Civil War current during the 1930s but now considered passé. The men who brought about the Civil War wanted nothing more than economic power, Williams believes. Just as planter and business elites forced Southern secession, he insists, northern elites pushed a compliant Lincoln to save the Union largely to feather their own nests. The conflict was "a rich man's war" in the North as well as in the South. Such an interpretation leads the author to depict routinely nearly all of the planter-aristocrats in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley as nothing more than selfish and contemptible scoundrels. Motivated by greed and power, that aristocracy abused and betrayed the common folk until that proletariat could take no more. Today, Williams tellingly adds, little has changed in the region or in the nation for that matter in regard to the power of elites. The end result is a detailed and eminently useful study of a southern region that nonetheless seems too often cramped by the ideology of the class struggle.

*State University of West Georgia*

KENNETH W. NOE

*Patriotic Toil: Northern Women and the American Civil War.* By Jeanie Attie. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998. xiii, 294 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, prologue, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

*Patriotic Toil* is a study of economic, political, and ideological conflicts that surrounded northern women's support of the Union army during the Civil War. It specifically explores the relationship between northern women and the United States Sanitary Commission, a privately supported volunteer auxiliary to the Army Medical Corps that fitted out and supplied hospital units, cared for the wounded on the front and looked after the comforts of the soldiers.

According to the author, the Sanitary Commission embodied the larger political and personal goals of its founders—Henry Whitney Bellows, Frederick Law Olmsted, and George Templeton Strong. These urban elites saw in the organization a means through which they could achieve a platform for their class and national interests, that is, “a social welfare scheme that would mimic the functions of a strong federal government” (5).

As all American wars have, the Civil War released women from confining roles and gave them broader opportunities to express their beliefs and energies. Confident that the war would be short and enthusiastic about northern victory, women eagerly joined volunteer organizations to support their husbands and sons at war. By the opening weeks of war, when it became apparent that the Medical Department of the Union army was totally unprepared for war, thousands of aid societies worked to supply the necessities of soldiers, but in their eagerness, much food was left to rot, roads were blocked by civilian vehicles, and worse still the army was inundated by a flood of public bounty—handmade socks, scarves, mittens, shirts, and home-canned foods that were wasted where they were not needed.

Realizing the need to coordinate this spontaneous grass-roots activity, Elizabeth Blackwell and “Ninety-Two Respected Ladies” formed the Women's Central Relief Association “to direct social welfare and voluntary charity—a right expressed in the antebellum compromise on gender” (83). Still, stories about the disorganized nature of female benevolence and the confusion it produced at the warfront provided the impetus for the creation of the United States Sanitary Commission which trained nurses, coordinated the care of soldiers, staffed and supplied hospitals, set up and maintained



hospital ships and relief camps, and provided transportation for wounded soldiers. To finance its operations, thousands of local "Sanitary Fairs" were held which raised staggering amounts of money. For example, Mary Livermore and Jane Hoge organized the great Sanitary Fair in Chicago which raised over \$100,000.

In addition to being financial successes, the fairs afforded northerners a sense of social cohesiveness during the war. Since every city, town, and village had its fairs, these events highlighted and represented the decentralized, local, and female sources of charity work.

The Sanitary Commission gave thousands of women their first chance to exercise their executive abilities outside their homes. Many went on to careers as reformers at the end of the war. Organizing local aid societies, inspecting army hospitals, and staging sanitary fairs gave northern women the self-confidence and administrative experience which they later utilized with former slaves, urban charities, and the women's suffrage movement. Dorothea Dix, who was appointed Superintendent of Nurses, organized and trained the more than three thousand women who were army nurses during the war.

While the United States Sanitary Commission experienced much success in mobilizing northern resources and female labor in support of the Union, by 1863, the homefront was rife with rumors of corrupt operations and leaders who held selfish motives. In the midst of this controversy, a rival agency, the United States Christian Commission was established.

The Civil War finally came to a halt on April 9, 1865. Throughout the war, many of the nation's women had proven loyal supporters of the military efforts in both North and South. They hoped their gargantuan efforts would be recognized with extended rights, especially the right to vote. Their hopes were dashed when Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment in 1866; its provisions extended political privileges to white and black men but not to women.

While Jeanie Attie made extensive use of manuscript collections and letters written by hundreds of women, the book is not very successful in analyzing the central theme that the United States Sanitary Commission's founders held class and national interests which favored a strong federal government. The reader is left wanting a bit more insight which might have been accomplished had the author given greater attention to the interests of the male founders. A glaring omission as well, beyond one sen-

tence, is discussion of the contributions made by African American women in the North. They, too, supplied sanitary goods, spoke against slavery, and served on the warfront and homefront. Still, the strength of the book is the forthright discussion of the complex, collective, and various roles northern women assumed during the Civil War.

*Southern University at New Orleans*

BARBARA A. WORTHY

*Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta.* By Thomas G. Dyer. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. xiii, 383 pp. Preface and acknowledgments, introduction, appendices, notes, index. \$29.95 hardcover.)

*Secret Yankees* is the story of a contingent of Unionists in Confederate Atlanta. In the midst of seemingly unified Confederate sentiment in Atlanta, there were approximately one hundred families that could be classified as Unionists. In varying degrees, these people maintained their loyalty to the United States government, a loyalty motivated by the sanctity of the idea of Union, by religion, by self-interest, and by personal characteristics and temperament. Those who acted out their loyalty were, without a doubt, disloyal to the Confederacy, thereby exposing themselves to grave dangers.

Professor Thomas Dyer undertook this study after reading a diary that covered the first seven months of 1864, written anonymously by a Unionist woman living in Atlanta during the Civil War. The author referred to herself as "Miss Abby." Painstaking historical detective work revealed the diarist to be Cyrena Baily Stone. A native of Vermont, Cyrena had moved to Atlanta with her businessman-lawyer husband, Amherst, in 1854. On the eve of the Civil War, the Stones were among the socially and economically established in Atlanta, though they remained Yankees in the eyes of native Atlantans.

After the outbreak of war, life for the Stones and other Unionists became increasingly uncomfortable and even dangerous. Atlanta newspapers constantly fed fears of strangers and spies that bordered on paranoia. Ad hoc vigilance committees took it upon themselves to seek out the disloyal, using methods ranging from simple harassment to violence. In mid-1862, local authorities determined to attack the Unionist problem. The result was what Am-



herst Stone referred to as a "perfect reign of terror." For Atlanta Unionists, life was filled with constant threats of imprisonment, disaster, and death.

In April 1863, Amherst escaped to the North (ostensibly on business) where, ironically, he was arrested as a Confederate spy. Indeed, the number of Unionist men in Atlanta steadily declined until, by early 1864, only a fraction of the most active were still in the city. Most of the women, however, remained behind and continued to engage in anti-Confederate work. At the forefront of these efforts was Cyrena Stone. She and her group—white and black, male and female—provided aid to Union prisoners, slaves, and freedmen, and helped deliver military intelligence outside the city. They also engaged in secret periodic patriotic exercises which included the soft singing of patriotic songs and gazing upon the tiny American flag that Cyrena kept hidden in her sugar bowl. Cyrena endured arrest on suspicion of spying and the destruction of her home during the fall of Atlanta. In the autumn of 1864, Cyrena left Atlanta, never to return. She died in Vermont in December 1868.

A particularly interesting and illuminating aspect of *Secret Yankees* concerns the subject of conflicting loyalties during wartime. Dyer writes that the Atlanta Unionists "could not avoid encounters with conflicting loyalties, each with limits, each demanding something, and each requiring either a choice or a reconciliation" (74). Thus, "loyalty was frequently imperfect, rarely unconditional, and often influenced by circumstances" (267). Dyer includes accounts of numerous Atlanta Unionists that attest to the dilemmas that this group faced. He concludes that the loyalty of Cyrena Stone was about as unconditional as was possible in her circumstances.

*Secret Yankees* is the product of superb historical detective work. In Appendix A, Dyer included a fascinating account of his methodology in identifying Cyrena Stone as Miss Abby. Appendix B is the diary itself, beginning on January 1, 1864, and stopping in mid-sentence in the entry for July 22 of the same year.

In the "Preface and Acknowledgments," Dyer writes that his primary purpose was to "write a good story that is enjoyable for the general reader as well as for scholars." In this, he has succeeded brilliantly. For both the general reader and the scholar, *Secret Yankees* is both exceedingly informative and enjoyable.

*For Courageous Fighting and Confident Dying: Union Chaplains in the Civil War.* By Warren B. Armstrong. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998. xii, 171 pp. \$24.95 cloth.)

During the Civil War, regiments in the Union army included on their roster a chaplain. Who were these people, and what were they expected to do? How did they relate to the other officers and men? How did they deal with the realities of war? These topics are carefully addressed in this study by Warren B. Armstrong.

Before 1861, chaplains taught school at regular army posts in the West. Hastily drawn wartime regulation provided for chaplains in Union volunteer regiments, but did nothing to prescribe their duties. They found themselves vaguely responsible for the moral and religious conditions of their men. The officers of each regiment elected the chaplain. At first, only Christian clergy could serve, but in time a few Jewish rabbis were elected. By mid-1863, African American pastors served some of the black units. No central office coordinated the work of the chaplains, so on his own, each one had to work out his duties and relationships to his regiment.

In addition to conducting worship services, chaplains performed a variety of religious and secular tasks, ranging from comforting the sick, wounded, and dying to teaching the illiterate, to writing letters to the families of dead soldiers, to managing runaway slaves, to foraging for food. In brief, the chaplain became a "clerical jack-of-all-trades." The men and officers perceived their chaplains in different ways. Some saw them as Victorian moral scolds, as nuisances. (Indeed, chaplains' monthly reports told of their constant efforts to stop profanity, gambling, boozing, and similar soldierly recreations.) Some saw them as anti-military and a "fifth wheel." (It has always been awkward to merge "love your enemy" with ideas of a "just war.") But according to the author, most chaplains had the general respect of their colleagues because they were good men, energetically helpful in many ways and genuinely devoted to the well-being of the soldiers.

Whenever the Union army occupied southern territory, slaves left their masters and fled to Federal lines. Chaplains frequently assumed the duty of caring for the "contrabands." The work of Chaplain John Eaton is well known—General U. S. Grant made him the supervisor of freedmen's affairs in the Mississippi Valley. Other chaplains educated the former slaves, evangelized them, organized churches for them, and generally helped them adjust to freedom.



The author presents the chaplains as sympathetic, open-minded men who opposed slavery and believed in racial equality. Most held that slavery was the root cause of secession and war.

This slender volume uses research into the service records and official reports of many chaplains, but it relies most heavily on the post-war memoirs of the chaplains themselves. The author, who enthusiastically admires the chaplains, tends to take them at their own self-evaluations. The book is well documented with notes and extensive bibliography. This clearly is a study of army chaplains: it is not about the pre- or post-war lives of the men who filled that role, and it is not about the state of American religion. Given its narrow focus, this book provides a useful starting place for understanding the unheralded but ubiquitous and often heroic army chaplains.

*State University of New York, Purchase College*

EDWIN S. REDKEY

***Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920.*** By Elizabeth York Enstam. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998. xx, 284 pp. List of illustrations, list of tables, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.)

*In Women and the Creation of Urban Life*, Elizabeth Enstam unravels fascinating stories about women's roles in creating and preserving the historical landscape of Dallas, Texas. Using Dallas as a case study, Enstam's thesis is that women were not accessories to the development of urban life but rather were central and integral to the social, economic and political process that changed Dallas from an agricultural village to a modern city. The author supports this thesis by looking at five aspects of women's work. The first has to do with women's participation in the urban economy via paid employment and work in the home. Second, women played a decisive role in the establishment of schools, churches, and clubs, drawing relatives, friends and newcomers into patterns of association most often found in urban areas. The assumption of leadership roles in organizations that characterized modern urban life was the third area of investigation that Enstam probed. The fourth was women's activities in club movements which spearheaded the establishment of libraries and museums. Last but not least, women of Dallas became actively involved in politics. Rather

than shying away from politics because they did not have the right to vote, they learned the strategies and tactics of political action. In Enstam's own words, "they employed the social prescription of gender to get what they wanted from public sources" (xviii-xix).

Enstam is probably strongest in her conclusion when she asserts that "cities and not the frontier emancipated American women" (180), that urban life drew women out of the private domestic sphere and into the public area. A combination of jobs for relatively good wages, excellent material prospects, and better opportunities for family advancement drew women to Dallas. As these women moved from the private to the public sphere, from the frontier to the city, they selected, rejected, manipulated, and reshaped cultural forms and etiquette to meet their own needs within the context of the economic, social, and political environment in which they lived.

The thesis is as significant in the investigation of women's history as it is substantiated by solid scholarship. There is much to admire in the equanimity and thoroughness of Enstam's research. She draws on a broad range of primary and secondary sources, including letters, diaries, government documents, church and club records, periodicals, books, and pamphlets. In fact, the bibliography shines as an essential starting point for other studies to test Enstam's conclusion.

Enstam writes in a clear, crisp, and analytical prose and places her subject matter in the larger context of gender within the United States and Texas. She does particularly well in explaining the cultural role played by women in helping to shape the contours of twentieth-century American urban landscape. Now and then, small sections of the book may seem repetitious and occasionally cryptic, but all told, this is a well written and well researched book that offers valuable new information and insight into an important area of urban, Southern, and Texas history.

*Texas Southern University*

MERLINE PITRE

***To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism.*** By Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999. xiii, 365 pp. List of illustrations, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

*To Die For* "explores the origins, development, and consolidation of patriotic cultures in the United States between the Civil War



and World War I" (4). Cecilia O'Leary, assistant professor of history at California State University at Monterey Bay, argues that Union victory in 1865 was merely "the *beginning* [original emphasis] of a long and contentious struggle over who and what would represent the nation" (6). Her book, adapted from her doctoral dissertation, is the story of that struggle.

Unabashedly liberal in perspective, *To Die For* focuses on familiar analytical categories: race, class, gender, and region. Despite O'Leary's commitment to an "interdisciplinary approach" and her study of non-documentary sources while working at the Smithsonian Institution, her book is primarily about the organizations that contended for the right to define American patriotism.

The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) emerges as the most influential of those organizations. Building upon earlier studies, O'Leary shows how the GAR created "an expressive patriotic culture" founded on national unity, religion and militaristic ritual. She also traces the process by which the GAR excluded women and segregated African Americans within its own ranks.

In contrast to the GAR's "militaristic" patriotism stood women and African Americans whose definition of patriotism was "emancipatory." O'Leary devotes two chapters to the first national women's patriotic organization, the Women's Relief Corps (WRC), its internal politics, and its ambivalent relationship with the GAR. The WRC experienced the same pressures as the GAR including demands to racially segregate chapters in the South (which was done after 1900) and debates over the organization's mission. Ultimately, the WRC leadership declined to be a mere auxiliary serving the needs of aging veterans and became, in O'Leary's estimation, an active force in expanding the meaning of patriotism, even engaging in the suffragist and peace movements.

The several chapters on race and region are of most vital interest to students of Southern history. Concurring with other recent historians, O'Leary believes that white northerners reconciled with white southerners at the expense of African Americans who continued to celebrate Union victory as a victory for emancipation and equal rights. Organizations such as the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) insisted on a national history and a patriotic culture that honored the Confederate soldier and respected the Confederate cause. Despite continued complaints by UDC activists, O'Leary argues that history texts and the national consciousness "made significant conces-

sions" to the Confederate viewpoint (133). While Confederate veterans struggled against perceived anti-Southern histories, and GAR diehards balked at honoring the valor of the men who tried to destroy the Union, the former enemies found common cause in support of segregation and the war against Spain. "It would not be an overstatement to conclude that the white South won in the cultural arena what it had lost on the battlefield," O'Leary concludes (203).

While O'Leary offers important insights into the mindset of former Confederates and their reintegration into the national fold, her treatment of Southern patriotism is sometimes wanting. Her research on this subject is more superficial than on other topics (relying more on derivative than archival sources) and consistent errors in names and titles (calling the Confederate battle flag the "stars and bars" and Abram Ryan's famous poem "The Captured Banner") betray her relative unfamiliarity with Southern subjects. She neglects several landmark sources (notably Rev. Randolph McKim's 1904 Flag Day address) that offer insight into the "dual loyalty" of former Confederates. She also oversimplifies the relationship between racism and imperialism in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, neglecting the tendency of Southern racist politicians to oppose imperialism and militarism.

By World War I, American patriotism had not only become formalized (replete with flag codes and rituals for school children) but also jingoistic and intolerant of immigrants and dissidents. This "militarist, racist, and exclusive brand of patriotism" never enjoyed complete hegemony, O'Leary concludes (244). In the 1920s, the realities of a nation divided by race, class, and gender generated "insubordination" against the new orthodoxy and defied enforced unity. O'Leary finds solace in the conclusion that even after the conscious creation of an orthodox American patriotism, the meaning of "true patriotism" remained open and fluid.

*The Museum of the Confederacy*

JOHN M. COSKI

**Ralph McGill: A Biography.** By Barbara Barksdale Clowse. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998. 315 pp. Introduction, notes, sources, index. \$29.95 cloth.)

As historians continue to examine and pen the influence of Southern journalism on social and political developments during this century, perhaps no journalist will be more remembered than



Ralph Emerson McGill, and rightly so. McGill, who rose to fame at the *Atlanta Constitution* during the 1940s, exerted so much moral influence on Southern social movements and politics that he has been called "The Conscience of the South."

McGill, born in Tennessee in 1898, studied at Vanderbilt University and served in the Marines between 1917 and 1922. As a student, he joined the staff of the *Banner* newspaper in Nashville part-time and worked there full-time for a half-dozen years there after leaving Vanderbilt. McGill moved to Atlanta and the *Constitution* in 1929, where he spent the next decade as its sports editor as he searched for the opportunity to move into news, his passion. McGill got his chance in 1938, when he was named executive editor of the paper, a post he held from 1942 to 1960.

During those years, McGill earned a reputation as an outspoken critic of bigotry and segregation. During the 1960s, he was the publisher of the *Constitution* and, in many ways, personified the paper. McGill won the Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing (1959), the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1964), and honorary degrees from Harvard, Morehouse, Notre Dame, Brown, and more than a dozen other colleges. He was a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His books include *The South and the Southerner* and *No Place to Hide: The South and Human Rights*.

Since McGill died just days shy of his 71st birthday in 1969, only one book was available until recently about his life: a sympathetic 1973 biography written by *Constitution* colleague Harold Martin. Although the book lacks serious critical assessment of McGill's life and career, it is a useful and well written introduction to his life and work.

Barbara Barksdale Clowse's new biography of Ralph McGill is much more academic in content and style, reflecting vigilant examination of McGill's thousands of writings (he wrote more than twenty thousand columns), voluminous papers, and detailed interviews with those still alive who knew and worked with McGill.

Clowse carefully traces the development of McGill's career and eventual role as both leader and leading recorder of the South's "Second Reconstruction." His influence extended far outside the South—his syndicated columns demanded the attention of five presidents and millions of readers. McGill was hated as much as he was loved, and he seemed to cherish the thousands of readers who cared enough to hate him. Clowse also relates interesting influences and struggles in McGill's personal life, delving into his dis-

tant relationship with his son, his obsession with travel, and the idiosyncrasies that made McGill more human, less mythic.

Clowse's biography, however, is not written in the compelling, colorful, and evocative style that marked her subject's writing; her text seems to lack flow and continuity, and demands a vigilant reading. She does not allow the voice of McGill to resonate, presenting his writing in bits and pieces too small to provide the reader with any true understanding of McGill's famous editorial style. Clowse also fails to provide us with a thorough analysis of McGill's legacy. A post-biographical insight on McGill's indelible influence on Southern culture, politics, and journalism would have been a valued addition to the book, as would a more thorough analysis of the criticisms of McGill as an editor. For instance, Clowse alludes to McGill as a poor newsroom manager despite his reputation as a great writer, but the reader is left wanting for explanation.

Nevertheless, Clowse's work provides an adequate narrative of McGill's "gradualist" mentality regarding race and segregation, and a thorough account of the career of a Southern journalist who evolved into a major literary force in the country's great moral crusade for racial equality. This book provides a valuable addition to understanding McGill, Southern journalism, and the twentieth-century South.

*Florida Southern College*

MARIE HARDIN

***Pistol Packin' Mama: Aunt Molly Jackson and the Politics of Folksong.*** By Shelly Romalis. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999. xi, 245 pp. Acknowledgments, a note on available recordings, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper.)

A folk music heroine whose story is largely unknown to the general public, Aunt Molly Jackson wrote songs reflecting her experiences as the wife and daughter of Appalachian coal miners. For her and her contemporaries in the 1930s, music provided a means of resistance to harsh conditions as well as a way to illuminate their struggles to outsiders. In Aunt Molly's life anthropologist Shelly Romalis finds a fascinating story about the interaction of region, class, gender, and the politics of representing "authentic" others. Romalis uses Aunt Molly as a means to "magnify our understandings of how ordinary people's lives, women's experience, history, and ideology merge" (17).



Romalis first sets the stage for Aunt Molly's "discovery" in the early 1930s. A group of left-wing activists led by author Theodore Dreiser traveled to Harlan County, Kentucky, in November 1931 in order to gather the testimonies of striking coal miners and their families. The speaker who truly captivated them was Aunt Molly, a rural midwife in her fifties who sang her own composition, "Ragged Hungry Blues." Sensing the enormous symbolic potential of this living embodiment of Appalachian hardship, Dreiser and his committee encouraged her to move to New York City. For a time she and her half-siblings, Jim Garland and Sarah Ogan Gunning, were the darlings of the New York leftist elite, for whom they and their music represented the tragedy of exploited labor.

Although Romalis discusses Sarah in some detail as well, it is Aunt Molly's story that intrigues her. For example, Aunt Molly had a habit of declaring herself the author of folksongs that others also claimed to have written, and she freely interpreted the facts of her life depending upon her audience. Romalis is less concerned with the absolute truth of Aunt Molly's life and more interested in the ways in which she interpreted herself to the world—as a firebrand radical, an authentic voice of the downtrodden whose experiences entitled her to speak for the working classes.

Much of the book is devoted to demonstrating how Aunt Molly's and Sarah's lives illuminate issues surrounding music, gender, and class in contrasting ways. Separated in age by thirty years, they represented opposites in many respects: Molly, the outspoken activist who craved the spotlight; and Sarah, the traditional wife and mother whose greatest popularity came in the 1960s. Romalis brings those contrasts to bear on her discussions of the politics and gender dimensions of folksong (the two strongest chapters in the book). She offers an intriguing examination of the work of ballad collectors and the question of what exactly is "traditional" and what is "authentic." To Aunt Molly, her own work was "authentic" because it reflected her experience, and it was "traditional" because she used Appalachian musical forms. She angrily dismissed outsiders' attempts to represent her songs or write other versions, accusing them of "mommicking up" her work. Sarah, who remained uninterested in associating herself or her songs with a political cause, was less defensive about such issues. Both women, however, used their distinctly gender-based observations of life in Appalachia in creating their music. They wrote haunting recollections of hungry and dying children, and husbands and fathers who were

killed in the mines. They were articulating protest, but a distinctly female protest, stemming from their experiences as the daughters and wives of coal miners. Aunt Molly, however, actively participated in the strikes of 1931 and drew from a greater sense of radical politics in writing her music.

There are some problems with the book. Long block quotes of entire letters seem unnecessary, although the song lyrics are very helpful. Romalis repeats information on several occasions in a manner that disrupts the flow of her narrative. The imagined conversation with Aunt Molly strikes an odd chord. The book might also have benefited from a stronger editorial hand. Even so, by bringing Aunt Molly Jackson and Sarah Ogan Gunning to the attention of modern readers and by placing them in the context of the folk music "revivals" of the 1930s and the 1960s, Romalis has rescued these women from near obscurity and has offered scholars additional insight into the politics of gender and culture.

Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi

DEBORAH L. BLACKWELL

***Restructured Resistance: The Sibley Commission and the Politics of Desegregation in Georgia.*** By Jeff Roche. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998. xvii, 253 pp. Preface, introduction, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$40.00 hardcover.)

Georgia historians have been telling us for a long time that Georgia is different from the rest of the deep South; this book is an exegesis on that theme for the period of massive resistance. Jeff Roche claims that the Klan and the Citizen's Councils, which inspired fear and social unrest throughout the South in the wake of *Brown v. Board*, were not the most effective promoters of massive resistance in Georgia. That job was expropriated by politicians who discouraged alternative white supremacist leadership groups. Georgia's "courthouse-boardroom" coalition, sustained by the county unit system, had secured Talmadge Democrats and their friends in power at least since the mid-1940s. Georgia attracted businessmen who liked both the fiscal conservatism of Georgia Democrats and the steady supply of passive, non-union labor the state's political system assured. From Eugene Talmadge's death in 1947 through the administration of Ernest Vandiver in the early sixties, race baiting political campaigns and massive resistance law-



making went hand-in-hand with very real economic development. Resistance to racial change helped to preserve the comfortable status quo; as long as the business climate stayed healthy, the compact held.

The school desegregation crisis gradually brought down this house of cards—not for the businessmen, but for the politicians. When massive resistance became messy, embarrassing, or interfered with business as usual, it began to lose support. Because massive resistance had been a political strategy in Georgia, rather than a social movement, it lacked the broad underlying consensus and structure created by organizations like the Citizen's Councils in Alabama and Mississippi. It was vulnerable. So massive resistance in Georgia (or at least its legal basis) was defeated in 1961 by a combination of federal court orders and the reasoned arguments of the educated establishment. In 1962, as Atlanta accomplished token but peaceful school desegregation, the national media lauded "the city too busy to hate."

As the title of this book suggests, this transformation of Georgia politics was in no small measure the work of a commission headed by Atlanta lawyer and banker John A. Sibley; and what Sibley sought was not integration but a new, more tolerable and law abiding kind of resistance. Roche labels this change "Restructured Resistance," and the journey toward this end is the heart of his book. Georgia had passed a private school law right after *Brown*; by the end of the decade, with a challenge about to be decided in Atlanta's federal district court, the governor had to choose whether to obey the expected order or to abide state law (i.e., defy the courts and close the schools). In 1960, Ernest Vandiver asked a group of prominent Georgians to discern the will of the people and make recommendations to the legislature.

All of the men chosen were segregationists; John Sibley remained dignified, patriarchal, and paternalistic throughout the process. The question Sibley put to witnesses in hearings held in each congressional district were: assuming a decision against the state, should Georgia close all of its schools as required by the private school law? Or should Georgia rescind its massive resistance laws and give control of the desegregation process to each school district? The later option recognized devices for stopping integration at the local level: pupil placement programs, "freedom of choice" measures that allowed parents to get personal tuition grants if their school integrated, and "local option" plans giving

school districts the right to close schools. Sibley, the Atlanta elite, the NAACP, and many urban academic, parent, civic, and church groups who simply did not want Georgia's public schools closed supported the second option, but in the end the split between the two options was very close. The rich story of the individual hearings around the state shows the regional and demographic diversity among Georgia's many counties. But Sibley's report asked for an end to massive resistance laws and the institution of the local option plan, and this became the core of a new district-by-district approach to integration in Georgia.

Those of us who teach Southern history and the Civil Rights movement will want to own and use this book, and students and lay audiences will appreciate it as well. It sheds new light on Southern "moderates" and elites like Sibley and his friends, and delivers a fine analysis of Southern politics, Georgia style, from the mid-forties through the mid-sixties. It is highly recommended.

*Florida Atlantic University*

SARAH HART BROWN

***The Rural South Since World War II.*** Edited by R. Douglas Hurt. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998. ix, 202 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, suggested readings, contributors, index. \$35.00 cloth.)

The seven essays that make up this compact work of less than two hundred pages examine the astonishing changes that have transformed rural Southern life in the last half century. In so many important aspects of society—agriculture, racial arrangements, the role of women, religion, and politics—the rural South of the 1940s far more closely resembled life in the 1890s than in what it would become by the 1990s. The four essays on agriculture, race, women, and religion are especially effective in describing and analyzing these changes.

Donald L. Winter explores the revolution in agriculture as diversity replaced dependence on cotton with the emergence of soybeans, poultry, livestock, and even catfish production. Commercial farm operations now prevail where sharecroppers formerly toiled.

Orville Vernon Burton tracks the profound shift from segregation, disfranchisement, and forced subservience that marked the lives of black Southerners to a more inclusive system of racial accommodation that exists largely because of the 1964 Civil Rights



Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. While many journalists and historians have focused on civil rights developments in Little Rock, Montgomery, Greensboro, and Birmingham, Burton properly credits the role that poor, rural black people like Amzie Moore and Fannie Lou Hamer in Mississippi's Delta and parents in impoverished Clarendon County, South Carolina, have had in challenging entrenched and ugly racist leadership.

In a superb account of the lives of rural black and white women, Sally McMillan notes the decline in agricultural labor, the advent of labor-saving devices, and the efforts by truly poor women to overcome poverty, disease, and ignorance. Though many women have managed to obtain jobs in manufacturing and service industries that represent an improvement over what their grandmothers endured, they often still lead difficult and uncomfortable lives.

Religious institutions and beliefs are more important to rural Southerners than to their urban counterparts. The church has and continues to make their lives meaningful. Still, as Ted Ownby explains, serious contradictions have evolved among rural churches. Many of these institutions, especially the Southern Baptist congregations, have grown spectacularly as suburbs have expanded. This has prompted the construction of imposing new churches and the growth of spiritual, educational, and social activities. But their very size promotes impersonal relationships that threaten genuine beliefs and commitment. Simultaneously, many rural churches have experienced drastic declines in membership that have forced them to close or to consolidate. Ownby also provides a fascinating glimpse into possibly the most significant recent religious development—the growth of the biracial Pentecostal movement through the Church of God in Christ. With its emphasis on a personal and emotional relationship with God and its creative services punctuated with music, it has attracted thousands of rural Southerners.

The three essays on music, politics, and Southern distinctiveness are useful but somewhat less satisfactory than the aforementioned four essays. Bill Malone dwells mostly on the emergence of country music—from Eddy Arnold and Hank Williams to Elvis Presley. There is virtually nothing on black musicians or rhythm and blues. The essay on politics by Wayne Parent and Peter A. Petrakis considers the decline of the solidly Democratic South but bogs down in an extended excursion into the historiography of Populism in an effort to find the roots and appeal of the modern Republican Party among less prosperous white voters. The essay and sixteen ta-

bles accompanying it on the cultural distinctiveness of the South by Jeanne S. Hurlburt and William B. Bankston yield worthwhile information through a comparison of data compiled from surveys administered in 1972, 1984, and 1994 on guns, violence, race, political conservatism, morality, religion, and family life. But it seems to identify Southerners almost exclusively as white people. Moreover, it is not devoted solely to rural residents. And that is a problem with this essay and with the book as a whole. The distinction between the rural South and the rest of the South is not always precise.

There are several features of rural Southern life that were not included in this volume. If music merited inclusion, why not athletics and sports? An essay on education would have been welcome. What about an attempt to measure the impact of technological changes such as air conditioning, television, cable and satellite communications? There is not much attention devoted to migration into the South in the past quarter century.

Readers of this journal may be startled to learn that *The Rural South Since World War II* does not include Florida. The Sunshine State was left out intentionally because so many Caribbean and Northern migrants have made Florida home and thereby less a Southern environment. But Florida's experience may very well provide the example for the remainder of the South in the twenty-first century.

South Carolina State University

WILLIAM C. HINE

***Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction.*** By J. Morgan Kousser. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. x, 590 pp. Introduction, figures and tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.)

J. Morgan Kousser demonstrates a masterful command of two modern modes of historical analysis—social science history and “law office” history. He uses both in an uneasy combination in *Colorblind Injustice*.

Kousser's expertise in social science methods is well suited to his specialty of electoral history. *Colorblind Injustice* sweeps from the first Reconstruction to the present, concentrating on changes in voting rights law since the 1960s. In case studies involving the electoral base of political power in Los Angeles and Memphis, gubernatorial elections in Georgia, and congressional districting in North Carolina and Texas (there is no discussion of Florida), Kousser guides readers



through complex disputes involving the motives behind electoral policies and the consequences of institutional arrangements, such as at-large voting districts and runoff provisions. Kousser's model is objective social science, framing falsifiable hypotheses in pursuit of truth; he has no use for postmodernist relativism.

Kousser's other specialty is expert testimony in voting rights lawsuits. Since the 1970s he has been an expert witness for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union, and their Civil Rights coalition allies in litigation over racial and ethnic discrimination in voting and electoral policies. In such a role, historians function like plaintiff lawyers who begin with the answers and provide evidence favorable to their clients. The five case studies in *Colorblind Injustice* are based on Kousser's expert witness research. In this role, Kousser applauds the shift in federal voting rights policy since 1965 from guaranteeing minority access to the ballot box to maximizing the electoral success of black and Hispanic candidates, and he deplores the shift in Supreme Court rulings since *Shaw v. Reno* in 1993 against racial gerrymandering in electoral districts.

This is an angry book. Kousser has watched a Supreme Court majority in the 1990s whittle away at liberal legislative and court victories of the 1970s and 1980s that he helped win. He sharply attacks critics of race-conscious districting, such as political scientist Abigail Thernstrom and Supreme Court justices Clarence Thomas and Sandra Day O'Connor. In the name of high-minded color-blindness, Kousser believes, conservative Republicans (he calls them radicals) are cynically bent on "undoing" the civil rights gains of the Second Reconstruction, much as the conservative Redeemers of the 1870s and 1880s reversed the gains of the first Reconstruction.

Kousser is often persuasive in showing racial motives behind electoral structures, such as at-large districts, that seemed race-neutral on their face. In voting rights litigation, this was important to demonstrate discriminatory intent. He guides readers through the chess game of modern electoral districting, where legislators use sophisticated software to shape districts designed to achieve often contradictory goals—protect incumbents, disadvantage the out-party, elect black or Hispanic candidates, respect traditional political boundaries, meet equal-population requirements, create compact districts.

*Colorblind Injustice* chronicles an era of successful voting rights reform in which the civil rights coalition and the voting rights bar became fixated on the prime goal of maximizing the election of

black and Hispanic candidates. The virtues of this goal included measurable benchmarks of achievement and unity among coalition elites. On the downside, however, the goal was reductionist. By conflating minority representation in government with minority office-holding, it privileged one theory of minority representation and excluded an alternative theory, supported by a substantial body of research, that majority-minority voting districts dilute minority influence in surrounding areas and decrease overall support for minority-sponsored legislation. Thus the single-minded pursuit of majority-minority districts may have produced a painful trade-off, swelling the ranks of the black and Hispanic legislative caucuses while decreasing overall support for the substantive goals of minority constituents.

Republican strategists were quick to exploit this opportunity. During the Reagan and Bush administrations, Republican Justice Departments aggressively enforced redistricting following the 1980 and 1990 censuses, packing minorities into urban Democratic districts, reaping a harvest of Republican suburban districts, and winning control of Congress in 1994. Kousser and his colleagues in the voting rights coalition were thus painfully complicit in the sea of change of the 1990s they deplore.

Vanderbilt University

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM

***Soon We Will Not Cry: The Liberation of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson.*** By Cynthia Griggs Fleming. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998. xiii, 225 pp. Acknowledgments, a note on names, chapter notes, about the author. \$24.95 cloth.)

In *Soon We Will Not Cry*, Cynthia Fleming paints an intricate portrait of female leadership in the modern Civil Rights movement. This biography of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, former Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), provides an illuminating explanation of the intersection of race, gender, and sex in a major civil rights organization. While much of the author's discussion concerning the Civil Rights movement is not new, Fleming uses a number of oral interviews from Robinson's family and movement stalwarts that help to clarify and to provide context for a process that is sometimes difficult to understand. Arguing that the participation and leadership of women, especially Ruby Doris, in SNCC was central to the group's success



and eventual demise, Fleming begins with Ruby's childhood and early movement days in Atlanta. The remainder of the biography is divided into four sections: Robinson's entrance into SNCC, the sexual politics that wreaked havoc on the organization in Mississippi during the Freedom Summer of 1964, Robinson's tenure as Executive Secretary, and finally her painful and losing battle with cancer in 1967. Each section combines insightful analysis with anecdotal evidence to support her assertions.

While this biography does not deal specifically with Florida, it nevertheless will be of some interest to readers of this journal. Because Fleming covers a wide variety of SNCC activities throughout the South, readers seeking to compare and contrast Florida movement history with other states will have plenty with which to work. Fleming's descriptions of boycotts and protests that occur in Atlanta, Jackson (Mississippi), and Rock Hill (South Carolina), are strikingly similar to activities that took place in Tallahassee, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine. Furthermore, one will find that the life and times of Harry T. Moore, the former Florida NAACP coordinator who was murdered for decrying lynchings, segregation, and voting rights violations, was not much different from those of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson. Indeed, it is unfortunate that few scholars have succeeded in drawing parallels between Sunbelt Florida and the rest of the Deep South.

Scholars, however, have begun to pay increasing attention to the role of women in the Civil Rights movement. Fleming's work fits well into this recent development since she places women at the center of SNCC's decision making. She correctly asserts that in addition to the cooking, cleaning, and clerical tasks that women performed, they also helped to define organization policy and provided the bodies for protests, boycotts, and jailings, essential elements of movement success. Indeed, many SNCC members, while affectionately referring to her as the boss, revered Robinson and respected her for her toughness and for being "one of those people responsible for rallying the troops" (58). Having taken a stand on the gender issue, Ruby Doris organized a women's strike to protest sexist attitudes and actions in SNCC. While this ploy did not eradicate discrimination within the group, it succeeded in legitimizing gender issues, and as a result, women came to occupy higher, more important positions. James Forman's *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, Robert Terrell's *The River of No Return*, and Clayborne Carson's *In Struggle*, while excellent histories of SNCC,

offer little evidence of the extent of women's roles, especially Robinson's, in the evolution of the group.

Fleming's most important contribution lies in her discussion of gender and sex issues. She concludes that many of the black women in SNCC grew jealous of the favorable positions white women held within the group. Tension also arose when whites, especially women, received attention for their field work while the work of the black female workers went unnoticed and, according to some, unappreciated. Finally, the most intraorganizational strain occurred when, according to Fleming, black women grew resentful of the sexual relationships that often occurred between white women and black men. This last problem eventually contributed to the decision to oust whites from the group. Not long after this, SNCC disintegrated.

Although this biography is long overdue, it suffers from a few flaws. For example, in describing interracial gender and sexual relations, Fleming relies much too heavily on the words of blacks. She provides scant evidence of the views of whites, either male or female. While she claims that other people's explanations of Robinson's behavior and beliefs are too simplistic and that they "underestimate the complex historical and cultural factors" that shape the lives of black women, she offers no alternative explanation to the problem. Perhaps she might benefit from a comparison of the actions and attitudes of Robinson with those of Fannie Lou Hamer and Ella Baker.

Despite these minor problems, the book is well written and easy to follow. Anyone interested in the administrative history of the movement will enjoy this biography. This book also makes a valuable contribution to gender studies and to the literature of the Civil Rights movement.

*University of Central Florida*

CURTIS AUSTIN

***Ol' Strom: An Unauthorized Biography of Strom Thurmond.*** By Jack Bass and Marilyn W. Thompson. (Marietta, Ga.: Longstreet Press, 1998. 359pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, index. \$24.00 cloth.)

Strom Thurmond has had a varied career—teacher, superintendent of education, lawyer, state senator, circuit court judge, soldier, progressive governor, presidential candidate, U.S. Senator—and is credited with bringing the two-party system to the South (and South Carolina) and formulating the "Southern Strategy" that



propelled Richard Nixon to the presidency in 1968. In South Carolina he is renowned for his constituent service and for raising "personal politics" to an art form. Jack Bass and Marilyn Thompson covered Senator Thurmond for thirty years—Bass with the *Charlotte Observer*, Thompson with the *Columbia Record* and the *Washington Post*. The two have collaborated on a lively yet even-handed popular biography of the Senator based on numerous past interviews which, while it travels along familiar paths, paints a vivid portrait of the strengths and foibles of the longest-serving senator in U.S. history.

One of the strengths of *Ol' Strom* is the authors' deep knowledge of South Carolina culture, history, and politics, which helps put Thurmond's life and political maneuvering in proper context. Their well-honed journalistic instincts for the colorful story and the pithy quote makes the narrative come alive and engages the interest of the reader. Another is that they take Thurmond's story to late 1998, allowing them to discuss his second wife Nancy's battle with alcoholism and prescription drugs, the death of his daughter Nancy in 1993 at the hands of a drunken driver, and his 1996 re-election campaign.

While acknowledging Thurmond's strengths, such as his commitment to constituent service and his willingness to stand up for his principles no matter what the political cost, they are also willing to portray his less savory side—his vanity, his reputation for lechery, and his sometimes ruthless political ambition. They are less willing than other recent biographers to see his adaptation to the rising importance of African Americans in state and national politics as a deep-seated change in his beliefs as opposed to cold-blooded political calculation. They also devote a chapter to Thurmond's alleged African American daughter, an episode that other biographies of the Senator have treated gingerly and briefly, if at all. They are careful, however, to describe some of their journalistic confrontations with Thurmond that might affect their attitude towards him.

*Ol' Strom* is not without its flaws, not the least of which is that it says very little that is new. Nadine Cohodas's *Strom Thurmond and the Politics of Southern Change* (1993) heavily influences the authors' assessment of Thurmond's changing attitudes towards African Americans and civil rights. In addition, their evaluation of Thurmond's political legacy largely reflects the conventional view, which gives him primacy in creating the two-party system in South Carolina and the South as a whole. They fail to include historians who challenge that viewpoint, such as Russell Merritt who argues that Will-

iam D. Workman deserves the honor of bringing the two-party system to the state ("The Senatorial Election of 1962 and the Rise of Two-Party Politics in South Carolina," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 98 [1997], 281-301).

In common with other biographies of Thurmond, there is little examination and evaluation of his legislative career outside of his opposition to civil rights. His role in areas such as anti-communism or defense policy is mentioned perfunctorily and lacks a broader context. It also means that there are fewer details of his career after 1972, aside from descriptions of his constituent service and his role as "Santa Claus" for South Carolina. Finally, it appears that the authors made little use of archival material that became available for research after 1993, such as Thurmond's personal correspondence and the records of the South Carolina States' Rights Democratic Party found in the Strom Thurmond Collection at Clemson University.

All in all, *Ol' Strom* compares favorably to the two other recent biographies of Thurmond—Cohodas's book and Joseph C. Ellers's popular biography, *Strom Thurmond: The Public Man* (1993)—and serves as a mild corrective to both because of its different view of the subject. It is successful in giving a sense of the "character" that many South Carolinians have grown to revere. While not as complete a biography as one would like, *Ol' Strom* deserves a place on the bookshelf of anyone interested in the man and Southern politics.

Clemson University Libraries

JAMES EDWARD CROSS

***Taking Off the White Gloves: Southern Women and Women Historians.***

Edited by Michele Gillespie and Catherine Clinton. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998. xii, 187 pp. Introduction, about the contributors, index. \$27.50 cloth.)

White gloves appear to have gone the way of the pillbox hat and the panty girdle among women's apparel choices these days, but, as a new century beings, the image evoked by their mention is still strong. Though white gloves once signified breeding and "ladyhood," and though they could give a superficial elegance on Sunday mornings or at the prom, they were essentially nonfunctional. Who could do serious work wearing white gloves? The editors of this volume of essays tell their readers that taking them off means they are "getting down to the unfinished business of southern women's history" (1).



Since its inception at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in 1970, the Southern Association for Women Historians (originally *of* Women Historians) has worked to advance the study of women's history, especially Southern women's history, and the status of women in the profession. With a current membership of around eight hundred, the organization has taken great strides in pursuit of its dual goals. From modest beginnings with a few dozen pioneer founders, the group now swells to fill the space allotted to it at each annual meeting of the SHA. For the past fifteen years, it has been the practice for the SAWH president to invite a scholar of her choice to present an address at that session. These occasions are traditionally packed with eager attendees, who come expecting to hear the best practitioners of Southern women's history, and who are not disappointed. This lively volume showcases the talks of ten speakers who have addressed the assembled members of the Southern Association for Women Historians between 1986 and 1997; it takes its place as the fourth in the series of books developed from the Southern Conference on Women's History, sponsored by the SAWH.

Given *carte blanche* as a topic, the speakers responded in one of three ways. Their topics can be summed up broadly in three questions: "How did we get here?" "What have I been doing?" and "Where should we go from here?" The senior among them chose to address the first question, reminding audiences of the women historians who had come before them, and of the callous and condescending treatment they received at the hands of male administrations and colleagues in an earlier day. Contributors Virginia Van Der Heer Hamilton, Anne Firor Scott, and Carol Bleser write movingly and informatively of outrageous assumptions and stinging injustices meted out to women historians, alas, on the basis of their sex. A comment from Scott about her subjects (historians Virginia Gearhart, Julia Cherry Spruill, Guion Griffis Johnson, Margery Mendenhall, and Eleanor Boatwright) serves to encompass the reality of all women historians of the not-too-distant past: "Not only was their excellent scholarship almost entirely ignored, but not one was able to find an academic post worthy of her talents" (118).

Five contributors opted to deliver talks based on their current research interests, offering an impressive exhibit of the variety of scholarly foci among SAWH members. Mary Frederickson addressed women workers in the twentieth-century South; Suzanne

Lebsock, woman suffrage and white supremacy in Virginia; Catherine Clinton, the sexualization of rhetoric in the Antebellum period; Theda Perdue, differing ideas of sex and sexuality among European conquerors and Native American populations; and Jean B. Lee, what has been forgotten or misinterpreted about the experience of the American Revolution.

Addressing the third question were Glenda Gilmore and Darlene Clark Hine. In a particularly witty and sometimes barbed talk, Gilmore decried the tendency of some who write Southern political history to proceed "as if our work [the scholarship of members of the SAWH] is a heap to be skirted before entering the inner sanctum of southern historiography, the room from which white men called all the shots. There, women and African Americans exist only as objects, never as actors" (125). Her essay is a stirring call for a future in which "no one should be able to write about southern white men without writing about gender and race" (126). Hine too urges changes in the methodology and approaches of historians. Her particular concerns are that more scholarly attention be paid to black women's autobiography, that black women's history be accorded legitimacy as a subfield, and that historians work to reach a broader, non-academic audience. Because she offers illustrations from her *Gender and Jim Crow* to indicate exactly how meaning can change when historians consider women and/or African Americans as political actors and because she makes a persuasive and concrete case for re-envisioning postbellum Southern political history, Gilmore's is the better essay. Hine, though making an argument for change among historians, deals largely in generalities while Gilmore skillfully employs details to persuade readers of the wisdom of her proposals.

The style throughout is crisp and insightful, yet, at the same time, warm and personal. One registers immediately that these respected scholars were not merely addressing esteemed colleagues but also sharing thoughts with fondly regarded friends and associates. Frequently provocative (and sometimes outrageous, as in Clinton's "penarchy" and "Mammarchy"), these ten essays challenge and delight. Collectively, they serve as an instrument that takes the measure of the Southern Association for Women Historians and reveals it to be robust, vigorous—and still only twenty something.

North Carolina State University

PAMELA TYLER



## Book Notes

***To Die in Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas 1862-1865.***

By George Levy. (Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Company, 1999. 369 pp. \$29.95 cloth.)

George Levy has added new research material to his book, which was first published in 1994. Newly-discovered records show that Camp Douglas induced the death of Union soldiers as well as Confederate prisoners. Unlike Andersonville, the Southern prison camp to which it is compared, Camp Douglas had advanced sanitation systems and medical resources. Yet, these advantages did not prevent thousands of deaths at the prison. Levy provides a balanced and well-illustrated portrait of conditions in the camp and assesses the causes of the high mortality rate. Despite his gruesome subject, Levy manages to lighten the tone and make this book absorbing to read.

***Lighthouses of the Florida Keys.*** By Love Dean. (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 1998. 268 pp. \$18.95 paper.)

Love Dean has produced a new edition of her 1982 work, *Reef Lights—Seaswept Lighthouses of the Florida Keys*. Many changes have occurred since this book was first published, not least of which is current popular interest in preserving lighthouses. People have always been fascinated by lighthouses although they seem more attracted to the gleaming white edifices silhouetted by blue sky and surrounded by palm trees than the reality of iron towers off barren windswept coastlines. Still, Dean does justice to both by dedicating a chapter to each of the twelve lighthouses that once graced the Keys. She gives facts about the construction of each lighthouse as well as tales of shipwrecks and brief biographies of keepers' lives. Interesting to those who live by the sea and those who have never seen it, this attractive book will find admirers everywhere.

*Virginia's Private War: Feeding Body and Soul in the Confederacy, 1861-1865.* By William Blair. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. 152 pp. \$32.50 cloth.)

Historians dispute whether to view the Confederate population as uniformly united in a "Lost Cause" or divided by internal dissent. William Blair frames his argument within this debate, maintaining that Virginians had a complicated relationship with their nation that defies such a simple explanation. He does not claim that Virginia was representative of the Confederacy as a whole. It differed from its neighbors because it contained the national capital, and it was a border state that suffered many Union incursions. Nevertheless, he sees Virginia's "Home Front" as vital to the Confederate war effort. As a scholar, Blair notes some limitations to his work, but they will go unnoticed by all except experts in the field. This book is not typical of Civil War literature, but those interested in social history or the broader ramifications of the Civil War will find this scholarly work a surprisingly easy read.

*'Ware Sherman: A Journal of Three Months' Personal Experience in the Last Days of the Confederacy.* By Joseph LeConte, with a new introduction by William Blair. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 144 pp. \$12.95 paper.)

A founding professor of the University of California, Joseph LeConte came from Georgia where, in his youth, he was tutored by Alexander Stephens. LeConte's journal, then, provides an elite view of life at the demise of the Confederacy. During the Civil War, LeConte worked for the Confederate government producing medicines and nitre. His journal narrates his efforts to retrieve his daughter from behind Union lines and to remove his scientific work from the invaders. Although he achieved the former and failed in the latter, LeConte is clearly the hero, and he related his adventures in a swashbuckling style. Blair finds the journal important because it shows the effect of military strategy on a civilian population. As civilians did not know the position of enemy soldiers, any action seemed chaotic and dependent only on soldiers' whims. Scholars will, therefore, find this a useful primary source, but lay persons will also enjoy this slim volume. William Blair, author of *Virginia's Private War*, wrote a useful introduction to this edition of LeConte's journal.



*An Anthology of Music in Early Florida.* Compiled and edited by Wiley L. Housewright. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 312 pp. \$19.95 paper).

Wiley L. Housewright has collected 120 songs that Floridians would have heard, sung, and danced to between 1565 and 1865. He includes examples from many influences on Florida's culture—such as Native American, Spanish, African American, and religious—but British music predominates. "Leather Breeches," "Roll, Jordan, Roll," and "President Jackson's Grand March" are just some of the tunes included. The result is an eclectic mixture that allows everyone to find something to enjoy. Housewright provides introductory background to each section. But the sheet music rightly governs this work and will fascinate historians as well as musicians.

*Navy Gray: Engineering the Confederate Navy on the Chattahoochee and Apalachicola Rivers.* By Maxine Turner. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1999. 264 pp. \$22.00 paper.)

The paperback edition of this informative work is now available. Maxine Turner closely studies Florida, Georgia, and Alabama to conclude that the Union blockade succeeded as much because of Confederate bureaucracy as Union perseverance. Civil War enthusiasts will be pleased to learn more about the Confederate navy, whose story has been told less frequently than that of the army. Even so, many of the same themes dominate this account. Confederate hopes and persistence continued undeterred by shortage of resources and certain defeat. Although intended for a wide readership, this book will appeal primarily to devotees.

*Along the St. Johns and Ocklawaha Rivers.* By Edward Mueller. *World War II in Fort Pierce.* By Robert A. Taylor. *Wings over Florida.* By Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly. All in the Images of America Series. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 1999. 128 pp. each. \$18.99 paper each.)

Arcadia Publishing continues its popular Images of America series with three new titles. *Along the St. Johns and Ocklawaha Rivers* illustrates the remarkable vessels that plied the rivers when travel and trade were dictated by the rivers' flow. Maritime Historian, Edward A. Mueller has compiled a fascinating visual account of an era that

seems quite antiquated when compared to the fast pace of modern travel. Whereas Mueller's work concentrates on ships, Robert A. Taylor focuses on men in *World War II in Fort Pierce*. Despite the title, Fort Pierce takes second place in this tribute to those who trained to become Scouts, Raiders, Rangers, and Frogmen. While some of the photographs were posed, most are action shots showing the extensive preparation men received for war. In *Wings over Florida*, Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly combine both perspectives. They present a pictorial journey through time showing us the strange machines and brave people who contributed to Florida's aviation history. While Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart flew from the sunshine state, Homan and Reilly concentrate on less known individuals. The machines these early aviators flew look as though they would never have made it off the ground. From airships to space ships, it seems that Floridians have always wanted to fly.

***Sunshine States: Wild Times and Extraordinary Lives in the Land of Gators, Guns, and Grapefruit.*** By Patrick Carr. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999. 237 pp. \$14.95 paper.)

Newly offered in paperback, this 1990 collection of essays portrays Florida through the eyes of an English journalist who now lives in the Sunshine State. In the 1980s, Patrick Carr interviewed several Florida residents to compile this collection, and he uses these stories to highlight his love of and concerns for his adopted land. His diverse choice of interviewees includes an Aquamaid, a Seminole chief, and a narcotics cop. A bright cover and light-hearted tone hide the serious messages in these tales. These are parables that transplants and native Floridians alike will enjoy.

***Bernice Kelly Harris: A Good Life was Writing.*** By Valerie Raleigh Yow. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 288 pp. \$39.95 cloth.)

Valerie Raleigh Yow has produced a wonderful biography that involves her reader in Bernice Kelly Harris's life. Harris was born on a North Carolina farm. She became a teacher and married well. Her husband's family did not accept outsiders or encourage children, much to Harris's disappointment. Writing became her passion and allowed her to create an imaginary world into which she could escape the problems of daily life. In this biography, Yow not



only tells Harris's life story but also analyzes her work. Harris's novels examine women's relationships with each other, their men, and their community. Her stories received critical acclaim when they were published in the 1940s and were produced for television in the 1950s. Yet, despite this success, Harris was poor and virtually unknown when she died in 1973. Her life, paradoxically, was a tragedy and a success. This biography will encourage everyone to read some of Harris's works.

***The Wall Between.*** By Anne Braden. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999. 349 pp. \$19.95 paper.)

Republished and now available for a new generation to read, Anne Braden's work remains as important as it was thirty years ago. She has added an epilogue that traces the lives of the participants after the world-shattering events described and expands on her thoughts about continued racism. Anne and Carl Braden became famous when, in 1954, they bought a house in a white neighborhood on behalf of a black couple, Andrew and Charlotte Wade. A mob attacked the Wades in their new home and bombed the building. Fortunately, the couple survived. No one was charged with these attacks, but Carl Braden was imprisoned for sedition. Anne Braden's account of these terrible events is impossible to put down. Her riveting story concerns racism, desegregation, McCarthyism, and all of us.

***Flight Into Oblivion.*** By A. J. Hanna, with a new introduction by William C. Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. 306 pp. \$17.95 paper.)

At first sight this book appears to be a work of fiction, but it is, in fact, a classic work of history that has been republished. Civil War histories end at Appomattox, and Reconstruction histories begin a new era for the South. This framework ignores the fate of the Confederate leaders, as A. J. Hanna claims, and he fills that historical gap by explaining what happened to Confederate cabinet members after Appomattox. Only two managed to escape: John C. Breckinridge and Judah P. Benjamin fled separately through Florida to Cuba. Disguised as farmers, fishermen, and pirates, these men outwitted the Federal authorities. Others were not so lucky: well-known is Jefferson Davis's capture as he attempted to escape

dressed as a woman, but Hanna explains it from Davis's perspective. Still, Hanna does not neglect Federal opinion and devotes much space to details of public demands for Confederate leaders' executions. A new introduction by William C. Davis enhances this edition, and the original drawings and maps add even more flavor to this thrilling drama.